VOLUME 28 • NUMBER 2 • SUMMER 2016

Studies in American Indian Literatures

EDITOR
CHADWICK ALLEN, University Of Washington

Published by the University of Nebraska Press

The editor thanks the Office of the Provost at the University of Washington for its financial support.

The book review editor thanks the Electa Quinney Institute for American Indian Education at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee for its financial support.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Studies in American Indian Literatures (*SAIL* ISSN 0730-3238) is the only scholarly journal in the United States that focuses exclusively on American Indian literatures. *SAIL* is published quarterly by the University of Nebraska Press for the Association for the Study of American Indian Literatures (ASAIL). For current subscription rates, please see our website: www.nebraskapress.unl.edu.

If ordering by mail, please make checks payable to the University of Nebraska Press and send to

The University of Nebraska Press
1111 Lincoln Mall
Lincoln, NE 68588-0630
Telephone: 402-472-8536

All inquiries on subscription, change of address, advertising, and other business communications should be sent to the University of Nebraska Press.

A subscription to *SAIL* is a benefit of membership in ASAIL. For membership information, please contact

Jeff Berglund
PO Box 6032
Department of English
Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, AZ 86011-6032
Phone: 928-523-9237
E-mail: jeff.berglund@nau.edu

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Anthropological Index*, *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*, *Bibliography of Native North Americans*, *Current Abstracts*, *Current Contents/Arts & Humanities*, *IBR: International Bibliography of Book Reviews*, *IBZ: International Bibliography of Periodical Literature*, *MLA International Bibliography*, and *TOC Premier*.

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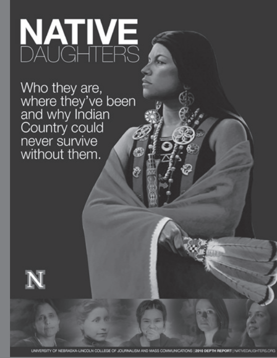
NATIVE DAUGHTERS

"A nation isn't conquered until the hearts of its women lay on the ground."

—Northern Cheyenne Proverb



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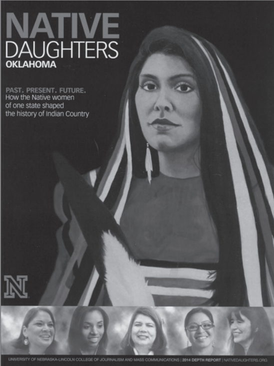

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FROM THE EDITOR

Scholarship Intersects Pedagogy

Since its beginnings in the 1970s, the Association for the Study of American Indian Literatures has insisted that we keep issues related to pedagogy central in our promotion of the scholarly study of Native American and Indigenous literatures. Not simply which texts we choose to analyze matters for the ongoing development of the field, ASAIL members have consistently argued, but also which texts we choose to include in our syllabi and, as important, how we choose to teach those texts in actual classrooms filled with actual students. As in our scholarship, so too in our pedagogy: context and method matter as much or more than specific content. Although only the opening article explicitly addresses the difficulty of adequately framing complex works within the undergraduate classroom—especially when that classroom includes students who identify as Indigenous—all four articles in this issue of *SAIL* engage critical issues that affect, inform, and challenge our approaches to teaching Native American and Indigenous literatures at all levels.

Issue 28.2 begins with Blake Hausman's compelling account of his attempts to navigate the thorny ethical issues that erupt when teaching John Rollin Ridge's 1854 *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit*, the text that is generally considered the first novel written by a Native American author. In classroom discussions, Hausman asks, how can instructors effectively contextualize Ridge's problematic depictions of Indigenous characters, which his novel unequivocally marginalizes and unambiguously denigrates? Are standard biographical contextualization and historical explanations for Ridge's rhetorical choices enough to (help) make sense of

these disturbing nineteenth-century representations for twenty-first-century readers?

In the article that follows, Lisa Michelle King continues Hausman's practical focus on questions of effective contextualization and adequate rhetorical framing for problematic or disturbing representations. In a fascinating investigation of the 2014 controversy over the repatriation of scalps held at the Karl May Museum in Germany—a museum devoted to celebrating and even perpetuating the stereotypical and denigrating nineteenth-century representations of American Indians created by the popular German writer Karl May—King demonstrates just how closely Indigenous activist efforts in the present remain tied to dominant stereotypes developed in the past.

Next, Lindsey Claire Smith and Trever Lee Holland argue the need for a critical (re)contextualization and a crucial rhetorical (re)framing for the acclaimed novels of contemporary Chickasaw writer Linda Hogan. Although Hogan's *Mean Spirit*, *Power*, *Solar Storms*, and *People of the Whale* have been celebrated primarily for their broad appeal across multiple Native and non-Native communities and for their applicability within environmentalist and ecofeminist critical movements, Smith and Holland resituate these diverse works within specifically Chickasaw history and traditions and within specifically Chickasaw political and economic struggles with the U.S. settler states of Oklahoma and Texas. Smith and Holland demonstrate how Hogan's works engage and explore the ongoing relationships of the Chickasaws and other southeastern peoples removed to what is now Oklahoma to significant resources of water and waterways and, importantly, how these Indigenous nations understand their ongoing battles over water rights.

Finally, issue 28.2 concludes with Brian K. Hudson's evocative reframing of Native American novels written in the 1930s within the emerging critical field of animal studies and through the more specifically Indigenous theory of "first beings." Continuing the important work he began in a 2013 special issue of *SAIL* devoted to animal studies, Hudson explicates the central crisis of Indigenous confinement in D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* and John Oskison's *Brothers Three* in terms of these novels' complex discourses on the domestication of nonhuman animals. Moreover, in order to better understand how McNickle and Oskison confront the settler politics of Indigenous confinement, Hudson urges us not to simply choose between figurative and literal readings of key

scenes involving nonhuman animals, such as cattle and horses, but rather to combine these approaches to analysis. Similar to the other scholars featured in this issue, then, Hudson thus offers strategies for reading complex Native texts that will be useful both for future scholarship and for future classroom pedagogies.

Chadwick Allen

Indians in the Margins

Teaching the Native American Characters in John Rollin Ridge's *Joaquin Murieta*

BLAKE M. HAUSMAN

The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit (1854), is generally acknowledged as the first novel written by a Native American. Although its author, the illustrious Cherokee writer John Rollin Ridge (Yellow Bird), claimed that *Joaquin Murieta* was entirely factual, most scholars agree that the book is mostly fictional, thus qualifying it as a "novel."[1] In addition to its status as the first Native novel, *Joaquin Murieta* is a notable "first" in many other ways. It is believed to be the first Anglophone novel published on the American West Coast, as well as the first novel to address the aftermath of the US-Mexican War, the Americanization of the Southwest, the California gold rush, and the Foreign Miner's Tax, which codified institutional racism in 1850s California. Perhaps most important, it was the first full incarnation of the global cultural icon, Joaquin Murrieta, a character described by Luis Leal as "the only Californian hero at the level of art, history, and myth" (xcvii) and by Maria Herrera-Sobek as "the paradigmatic folk hero" of Latin Americans in the United States (11).[2] Ridge's book is clearly a significant text.

It is important to acknowledge the significance of Ridge's book because, as Rennard Strickland and David Farmer remind us, "the life of John Rollin Ridge is so dramatically improbable that its tragic events obscure his achievements" (10). When preparing to examine Ridge's *Joaquin Murieta*, it is important to step back and consider the scope of Ridge's achievement with the book. Granted, as an American writer of the mid-nineteenth century, John Rollin Ridge will never be considered one of the country's greatest stylists. Louis Owens once described *Joaquin* as "abominably written" (39–40), a sentiment echoed by many of my students when I've assigned the book in my composition and literature classes. However, while Ridge will never rival Herman Melville, Frederick

Douglass, or Walt Whitman in terms of literary artistry, *Joaquin* nonetheless remains a remarkable artifact from the American 1850s.

In his only novel, Ridge created an archetypal culture hero, and this phenomenon should not be understated. The book generated a character who would grow to enter the global constellation of freedom-fighting folk heroes, a character who would inspire hundreds of variations, permutations, revisions, and reinventions across the globe. Joaquin's character would evolve into the subject of folk songs, dime novels, short stories, and films. Joaquin's story would inspire anthemic works of literature by Pablo Neruda, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, and Isabel Allende. Joaquin would also become the basis for Zorro and therefore the progenitor of Batman.[3] In addition to its influence in the canons of literary and popular culture, Ridge's book planted itself into the early historiography of the western United States. The highly fictional novel was absorbed into the work of early California historians like Hubert Howe Bancroft and Theodore Hittel as a collection of verifiable facts. Ridge's Joaquin snuck into the historical archives like an archetypal trickster, something that now seems like a signal flare to illuminate the slippery boundaries between history and myth. For many scholars of Native American writing, the long list of Ridge's achievements with *Joaquin Murieta* should seem like something to celebrate.

Given the book's status as both an intriguing historical artifact and a notable first novel, it is not surprising that *Joaquin Murieta* has found its way onto the reading lists for many college classes, especially if the course focuses primarily on Native American novels, early American literature, California studies, or studies of the American West in general. On one level, this kind of promotion for the work of any Native author is an inherently good thing. The more Native voices, the better. But on another level, incorporating *Joaquin* into a syllabus is an act riddled with problems. In the analysis that follows, I focus my inquiry on the characters that can often create the most friction for instructors interested in teaching Ridge's book: the American Indian characters that Ridge uses to populate the margins of the narrative.

WHO'S INDIAN IN *JOAQUIN MURIETA*?

Ridge's Native characters are problematic, to put it mildly. They do not give us any obvious reasons to celebrate. To clarify, by Native characters,

I refer not to the novel's group of Mexican protagonists but rather to the characters who are related to modern federally recognized tribes: Indigenous people from present-day California, and Cherokee people who left the Cherokee Nation to immigrate to California.

Because Ridge's Native characters are so disconcerting and disagreeable, it is often easier to simply avoid them than to reckon with them. It is therefore not surprising that much of the most interesting Americanist scholarship on *Joaquin Murieta* as a literary artifact tends to emphasize the idea that Ridge was slyly ridiculing the process of American expansion and colonization. But this scholarship, whether by design or out of convenience, tends to focus most (if not all) questions of Native politics, identities, and legal realities upon Ridge's apparent critique of colonial language and ideology, its subtextual resistance to the language of institutionalized American racism. For example, Maria Mondragon reads Ridge as a literary "shapeshifter," disrupting "the dominant culture's privilege to control history" (179–80), while Lori Merish imagines Ridge's "trickster-like" narration as working to unsettle "Euroamerican ownership of print as a technology of memory and means through which national culture is defined" (61, 49). From these clever angles, Ridge's *Joaquin Murieta* offers readers a pro-Indigenous message worth celebrating. However, it is not clear whether such interpretations are always helpful when teaching the book, especially in an introductory context.

The most common approach to sidestepping the problems inherent to Ridge's Native characters is to read the character of Joaquin as a metaphor for Ridge himself. Over the years, literary scholars have created a chorus of consensus around the idea that Joaquin is Ridge's avatar, that writing about Joaquin's character enabled Ridge to participate in a masquerade wherein he could play out his vivid revenge fantasies. It was no secret that Ridge harbored a lifelong desire to avenge the execution of his father (John Ridge), grandfather (Major Ridge), and uncle (Elias Boudinot), and many scholars read the revenge-fueled ethos of *Joaquin Murieta* as a projection of Ridge's wishes to retaliate against the Ross Party nationalists who killed his relatives. As early as 1939, Franklin Walker claimed that "in having Joaquin achieve his revenge by wiping out his degraders one by one, Ridge was vicariously blotting out each of the assassins who had driven their knives into the body of his father" (53). Decades later, in his 1988 short story, "Yellow Bird: An Imaginary Autobiography," Robert Conley would imagine

the act of writing *Joaquin Murieta* as therapeutic for Ridge, something that enabled the exiled author to process his traumatic memories. Louis Owens expanded the Ridge-as-Joaquin argument to a national scale in his 1992 study, *Other Destinies*, contending that "Ridge felt obligated to disguise his outrage at America's genocidal treatment of his tribe, accomplishing this disguise by writing a novel masquerading as a biography of a California bandit" (24).[4] Owens's argument, though provocative, can seem too expansive for many scholars, a sentiment evident in Jace Weaver's 1997 study, *That the People Might Live*; Weaver reads the novel as "a thinly veiled revenge fantasy in which the Mexicans stand in for pro-Removal Cherokees and the Anglos represent, not themselves, but other Cherokees—the Ross Party," ultimately claiming that "Joaquin is none other than Ridge himself" (78).

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the general critical consensus, at least among scholars focusing mainly upon Native literatures, seemed to be that the primary Native character in the novel is actually the Cherokee author disguised as the book's Mexican protagonist. And for instructors who teach *Joaquin Murieta*, this interpretation of Ridge as Joaquin can incite some truly inspired class discussions. A pedagogical dilemma, however, results from placing greater emphasis on the novel's subtext than its actual text. To be sure, the novel's Cherokee subtext is fascinating, and students will invariably be captivated by a detailed history of the Ridge family's role in US-Cherokee relations. However, this subtextual fascination alone does not validate Ridge's problematic portrayal of Native American characters in the novel.

One useful angle on *Joaquin Murieta*'s Native subtext is to consider the dynamics of the young publishing industry in San Francisco in the 1850s. Students are quick to recognize that the values and practices of the American publishing industry have long been hostile toward Native people and Native politics. Louis Owens follows this line of inquiry in his writings about Ridge, suggesting that many of the problems inherent to Ridge's novel are actually manifestations of the paradigms that dominated (then and now) the process of literary publication. For Owens, who reads Native authors themselves as the ultimate heroes of the Native novel tradition, Ridge was forced to submerge his pro-Indigenous messages into the novel's subtext because the publishing industry was not amenable to any story that affirmed Native vitality and complexity. Owens claims:

> Nearly a hundred years would pass before a novel written by a Native American could address the issues of injustice and genocide more directly, and even more time would pass before a work by an author recognizably Indian would gain critical acceptance. And in the novels of later generations of Indian writers, the character of the mixedblood behind the mask—Ridge himself—would move into the novel as protagonist and central concern. (40)

Owens's argument can often serve as a practical starting point for classroom discussion, and it can help instructors build a larger schema for understanding how Native literatures fit, or not, into the larger family of American literatures.

But does the racism inherent to the publishing industry alone somehow vindicate Ridge's portrayal of California Natives? Can instructors actually rely on Owens's argument to validate Ridge's uncomfortable Indians in the margins? No, not really. Ridge's chauvinism and general prejudice toward western tribes is abundantly clear. Ironically, in his journalism, Ridge employed the derogatory term "Digger Indian" to criticize the horrific violence committed by Anglos against California Natives.[5] Acutely critical of the "civilized ignorance" that guided Anglo relations with California Natives, Ridge was probably the most vocal defender of Native people in the California press of the 1850s (*Trumpet* 62). Does this fact validate the concluding line of Ridge's 1857 essay, "Oppression of Digger Indians": "There is no plea for the poor Digger but that of humanity. He has none of the romance which gathers around the nobler savage of the western prairies—he cannot defend himself of his rights, and a prayer for mercy is his only argument against cruelty and oppression" (*Trumpet* 65)? Surely, Ridge needed to engage the language of the machine on its terms, to invoke the racist lexicon of everyday life in the newly Anglicized California in order to connect with his audiences. But does this fact excuse Ridge's description of the "Digger Express" in *Joaquin Murieta*: "To those unacquainted with California customs, it may be necessary to explain that it is common in the mountains and mining districts to employ Digger Indians as bearers of letters, or runners upon errands, from one point to another, they being very expeditious on foot and willing to travel a considerable distance for a small piece of bread, fresh meat or a ragged shirt" (*Trumpet* 130)? Does Ridge's strategy for audience engagement validate his claim that

California Natives have "a superstitious dread of that mysterious power which makes *a paper talk without a mouth*" (*Trumpet* 130, emphasis in the original)?

It is difficult to characterize Ridge's vocabulary and his ideology when discussing the "Diggers" as anything other than racist. Students will invariably ask, why would a Native author portray his Native characters like this? A wise instructor will be prepared to engage this question. The racism inherent to the 1850s publishing industry, or the people's-hero-freedom-fighter ethos of the larger Murrieta archive, or the labyrinth of biographical information about the Ridge family and the Cherokee Removal, or the personal traumas that haunted Ridge his entire life—will any of this provide your students with acceptable answers about why Ridge drafted his Native characters?

It is because of these questions that I bring a pedagogical lens to the first Native American novel. Instructors who teach *Joaquin Murieta* in their courses should anticipate discomfort when students read and discuss the Native characters. In the next section, I don't promise a single answer to your students' questions, but I will identify important textual details and practical strategies for engaging students. In the end, as with so many things, the answers seem to involve empowerment—the empowerment of not only our current students but also the next generation in general.

CONSCRIPTION AND PUNISHMENT: RIDGE'S EMIGRANT HALF-BREEDS AND INDIGENOUS CALIFORNIANS

It is difficult not to read the Indigenous Californians and emigrant Cherokees in *Joaquin Murieta* as foils of each other. The Californians appear during Joaquin's early escapades near the beginning of the book, and the "Cherokee half-breeds" populate the narrative near the end, almost as if they are bookends designed to echo yet contrast each other. They are diametrically opposed not only in terms of their relation to the overall plot sequence but also in regard to whether Ridge imbues them with the capacity to be fully human.

The first Native American characters to appear in *Joaquin Murieta* are the Indigenous Californians. Before examining the finer points of how Ridge renders these characters, however, we must acknowledge

that even speaking about Ridge's Indigenous Californians is to enter an arena of fiction. On one level, this is simply how *Joaquin* operates, for the book continuously presents fantasy as verifiable fact. But whereas Ridge constantly reminds his readers that Joaquin remained an honorable individual even after his violent turn, the Cherokee author does little to explicitly validate or humanize his Native Californian props.

Make no mistake about it: Ridge's depiction of Native Californians as "human savages" makes it difficult to teach *Joaquin Murieta* in any context (Ridge, *Joaquin* 26). How does a responsible instructor justify assigning Ridge's book? Imagine you have a California Native student in your class. How would you, as the instructor, expect that student to respond to Ridge? How would you contextualize these details? What can be done to anticipate or redirect student concerns?

To begin, how does an instructor explain why Ridge misnames the California tribe to whom he devotes the most space? Ridge frequently references the "Tejons," but this name is a misnomer, and the group in question is actually Miwok. As Mark Rifkin notes, Ridge's portrayal of Miwok history of diplomacy is dead wrong, whitewashed with ready-made images of sultry savages (44–45). Perhaps the most immediately accessible approach to the "Tejon" issue is to alert students to the idea that Ridge was simply a racist Cherokee. You can always remind your students that Ridge grew up owning slaves, that he opposed emancipation, and that he believed that Cherokees and other eastern tribes were more evolved than people indigenous to the West Coast. This is all certainly true, and it has always been easy to employ some good populist rhetoric in order to stoke mass resentment of the Ridges. However, while true, this approach does little to help California Native students sympathize with Ridge or his portrayals of noble savagery.

Another approach is to encourage students to perceive Ridge's imagery as a strategic means of engaging the preconceptions of the Anglophone Californian reading audience of the mid-1850s. Such a reading resonates with Louis Owens's argument that Ridge ultimately was forced to kowtow to the expectations and assumptions of the burgeoning Anglophone publishing business, an industry that could sell books containing noble savages as comic props but had no place for complex, fully humanized California Native characters. A responsible instructor can then remind students that although Ridge came to California with his eastern prejudice firmly intact, he was nonetheless one of the most vocal

and ardent defenders of the rights of California Natives in the press. One could also invoke Ridge's flair for irony, a quality of his writing that Weaver and Rifkin celebrate,[6] and suggest that Ridge's reliance on noble savage imagery is merely a ploy, a bait-and-switch, designed to ingratiate the author to his Anglophone readers while simultaneously using those characters to ridicule the ineptness of the Anglophone enterprise.

One could also argue, as I will now, that a complex and productive schema for discussing *Joaquin Murieta* in the classroom is one that allows students to criticize what happens when Native communities are enlisted to perform the grunt work of an ever-expanding imperialist machine. More specifically, Ridge exposes the fallout of the processes by which these marginalized communities are enlisted as colonial agents with state sanction to enact punitive violence. This may be the most effective, face-saving approach that an instructor can take to the Native characters in *Joaquin Murieta*, though the success of this approach is not guaranteed and may depend more upon the context, demographics, and location of the class than upon what the instructor does to prepare.

Early in *Joaquin Murieta*, Ridge establishes a pattern of Native Americans being coerced to participate in the warfare between Mexicans and Americans. Readers first encounter an anonymous group of "Indians" when Joaquin's band travels to the forests of Humboldt County in late 1851. The bandits have "induced" the Indians to help them steal some horses from nearby Americans, but the raid is unsuccessful (Ridge, *Joaquin* 26). Ridge writes, "So efficiently did these simple people render their service" that the Anglos set out to avenge their losses by targeting the Natives (26). A skirmish ensues, and several Indians are killed. While the scene is brief, it introduces the theme of the coercion of Native people, and it shows how Natives can easily become targets of retaliatory killings. Ridge reinforces this theme of Native bodies as objects of colonial conscription when Joaquin's band encounters the infamous "Tejon Indians" in southern California. Unlike the unnamed Indians in Humboldt County, these Tejons are recruited as agents of the United States. They are conscripts of colonization.[7]

Within this context of colonial coercion and conscription, it may be significant that Ridge portrays the Tejons as the only people in the entire novel capable of capturing Joaquin alive. After being tipped off by the Americans and induced to catch the bandits, the Tejons somehow capture Joaquin and his men without much effort. This is monumental. They

trick the tricksters. They rob the robbers, taking all of the bandits' clothes, their weapons, and a total of $10,000. The narrator notes that "never were men so completely humiliated. The poor, miserable, cowardly Tejons had achieved a greater triumph over them than all the Americans put together!" (Ridge, *Joaquin* 38). Understandably, Ridge's word choice in this passage has angered many critics; to Karl Kroeber, for example, the scene is "a passage of scathing ridicule of California Indians that sounds like Twainian racism" (6). While I agree that the phrase is evidence of Ridge's own blatant prejudice, the notion that the Natives' "triumph" supersedes that of "all the Americans put together" warrants closer consideration. Although Ridge does not explicitly challenge the anti-Indian prejudice common among his readership in Anglophone California, he seems to use that prejudice to subtly lead his Anglophone audience into a place where their own cultural competence is ridiculed.

Does this Native "triumph" over the bandits compensate for the Natives' otherwise cartoonish and degrading portrayal? For some students, yes, but for others, no. It may ultimately depend upon the individual student's appreciation of dramatic irony. In the end, it probably comes down to how much the student is willing to forgive Ridge for his prejudice, and how much the instructor wants the class to try to forgive.

Although there isn't much scholarship that attempts to read something of substance into Ridge's Native characters, perhaps the criticism that does exist will prove useful to the cautious instructor. The work of Louis Owens and James Cox has proven especially useful in the classroom. Owens, for his part, reads everything in the novel as a projection of Ridge's muted desire to reclaim an Indigenous identity, claiming that every character in the book reflects "the complexity of the mixed-blood author's feelings," and therefore both the California Natives and the emigrant Cherokees are reflections of Ridge's fractured Native consciousness (39). Students who follow Owens's logic out to its conclusion will ultimately see every character in the novel as a reflection of Ridge's personal trauma and terminal identity crisis. Although Owens's argument is unlikely to supplant the inevitable frustrations that many students will have with Ridge's representation of the California Natives, it's an idea that could catalyze some provocative discussions.

In his 2006 study, *Muting White Noise*, James Cox makes a laudable effort to focus primarily on the dynamics of print texts, rather than authorial biography, in Ridge's novel. Cox explores how printed texts

function as agents of power and containments throughout *Joaquin Murieta*, suggesting that "the connections between Ridge's biography and the novel [are] less important . . . than Ridge's exploration of Murieta's ability to negotiate a textual world that a hostile colonial presence tries to control" (32). Cox interprets the "simultaneously hopeful and distrustful relationship that Native characters have to other texts and to reading, writing, and textual production" as a defining characteristic of the Native novel tradition, thereby creating a lineage between *Joaquin* and more contemporary Native literatures that does not rely on Ridge's biography as the primary point of connection (24). Cox claims, "Textual production and dissemination threaten [Joaquin's] freedom and life, but Murieta is also able to use texts to his advantage," suggesting that the Mexican bandits demonstrate "one strategy that Native people can use to resist their capture in the written word: they can become discerning and critical readers" (27).

While Cox's interpretation is certainly generative in the classroom, it does not alleviate all the concerns that many students will have about Ridge's "Digger Indian" characters. And when trying to frame Ridge's portrayal of California Natives during the "Digger Express" scene in relation to his larger argument about textuality in the novel, Cox is inevitably drawn back to questions of authorial intention: "Some evidence in the novel suggests Ridge is mocking what he considers to be an Indian population inferior to the Cherokees, though the tone of the passages about the Digger Express also suggests the possibility that he is mocking the stereotype of the Indian who fears writing" (28). While students are generally quick to recognize Ridge's mockery of Anglo misperceptions throughout the novel, it remains difficult to appreciate Ridge's capacity for irony without returning to his biography and his own history of writing about Indigenous Californians. And while many students appreciate Cox's attempt to redirect attention away from Ridge's biography, the fact that the discussion of Ridge's California Natives ultimately seems to lead back to authorial biography may leave students skeptical about Cox's claim that themes of the power of textuality can supplant the author's life story (and therefore his internalized prejudice) as the central means of reading the novel's Native significance.

Looking beyond Ridge's own life story and the novel's continual emphasis on textuality, a careful instructor can illuminate how the novel's juxtapositions of colonial incompetence and punitive actions present

varying modalities of justice. The California Natives represent a vision of justice wherein humiliation trumps physical abuse and lethal violence, and the characters' disposition aligns them with Joaquin's own values. For instance, when the "Tejons" contact a judge in Los Angeles County about their captives, the judge misunderstands their message, believing that the misguided Indians are complaining about a "feud" between themselves and the "greasers" (Ridge, *Joaquin* 39). The pervasiveness of American ignorance and the ineptness of American bureaucracy fall in Joaquin's favor, and the Tejons are ordered to do what they want with the bandits. The Tejons then lead the bandits to a small clearing in the woods, where the bandits assume they are about to be executed. Instead, the bandits are tied to trees, flogged, and once again humiliated.

For these California Native characters, humiliation works. The bandits, sent naked into the forest after the Tejons release them, laugh heartily at the experience. When some of the bandits discuss pursuing revenge on the Tejons, Joaquin forbids it. In Joaquin's mind, humiliation is much nobler punishment than imprisonment or execution. Joaquin's refusal to retaliate against the Tejons may well be significant, especially given the novel's general obsession with violent retaliation against perceived injustice. Additionally, later in the book, when Joaquin famously signs his name on his own "Wanted" poster, he boasts that he "will pay $10,000" for his own capture (Ridge, *Joaquin* 68). While ridiculing the incompetency of American forces who have been unable to capture him, Joaquin also implies that by giving $10,000 to the Tejons, he has already paid the "processing fee" for his capture, humiliation, and release.[8]

Because they deliver justice through nonlethal humiliation, Ridge's fictional "Tejons" present a stark contrast to the cold justice enacted by the emigrant Cherokee characters who appear toward the end of the novel. These "Cherokee half-breeds" live in an area named "Cherokee Flat," which seems to be the present-day ghost town of Cherokee, California, located in the foothills north of Oroville and east of Chico.[9] Like the California Natives, these emigrant Cherokee characters help to focalize issues of colonization, coercion, and conscription.

Although Ridge's Cherokee characters seem to have the capacity to function autonomously, they do not enter the novel's mainline narrative on their own accord. Rather, they enter the narrative when contacted by members of the American military. The reader first meets the Cherokees during an encounter with the American Captain Ellas, who informs the

Cherokees that Mexican outlaws are nearby. Ellas does not attempt to conscript the Cherokees into battle on behalf of the United States; he simply delivers information. Ellas then leads the Americans farther into the mountains, where they capture a Mexican person. Ridge's narrator describes this Mexican as peripheral and noncombative: "This individual was not a 'fighting member,' but rather a sly and secret friend who had volunteered to take care of one of Joaquin's wounded men who had been hit in the skirmish at Chaparral Hill the day before" (Ridge, *Joaquin* 123). Lacking a jail of their own in the vicinity, the Americans arrest the Mexican and take him to Cherokee Flat to be held overnight. Leaving their prisoner with the Cherokees, the Americans move out in pursuit of the "fighting" bandits, who had traveled higher up into the hills. At this moment, Ridge's emigrant Cherokees become both jailors and executioners: "The wounded man being a trouble upon their hands, . . . the Cherokee half-breeds and others at the Cherokee House concluded to hang him, a very necessary ceremony which was soon performed" (124).

Why do Ridge's Cherokees hang a man who poses no danger? Clearly, it was not "necessary" to execute a medic. He might have been more useful to the Cherokee community alive than dead. However, these Cherokees not only seem to ally themselves with the Americans until the end but also seem incapable of meting out any kind of punishment other than execution. Thus, Ridge's Cherokee characters give students something concrete to meditate on and criticize, for this portrayal of Cherokee-on-Mexican violence speaks to the novel's concluding "lesson" that "nothing is so dangerous in its consequences as *injustice to individuals*" (Ridge, *Joaquin* 158, emphasis in the original). The Cherokees' hasty decision to execute Mexican prisoners merely perpetuates cycles of injustice to individuals whose punishments are incommensurate with their crimes. The executions also suggest not only an internalization of the ideologies of American racism but also an acceptance of the disproportionate punitive actions that can result from systematic racism.

Regardless of his own elitist Cherokee-centric chauvinism, Ridge does not cast his Cherokee characters in a particularly favorable light. The hanged man was tangential to both the plot and the warfare. Like the Cherokees themselves, this man was peripheral, a nameless character who momentarily slips from the margins into the narrative's central

focus. Both the Cherokees and the Mexicans they execute are treated as pawns within larger systems of oppression fostered by American "nativism" and the racist economy of post-1848 California. Although Ridge's emigrant Cherokees render an image of Cherokee autonomy within the American system, and although they seem to possess the autonomy to determine how justice is meted out, their decisions are ultimately unjustifiable extensions of colonial ideology.

Simply put, the deeds of Ridge's "Cherokee half-breeds" offer readers a stark representation of injustice in action, even though it is sanctioned within the racist legal system of its time and place. Students may wonder how these emigrant Cherokees were deputized as agents of authority within the state of California in the first place, but Ridge never tells us how (or even if) this process was made official. On the whole, the novel provides no concrete legal basis for justifying why one racialized group is given greater punitive agency than another. Thus, the actions of Ridge's Cherokee executioners reflect something of great substance back upon the novel's mainline narrative, as well as upon the larger metafictional constructs at play throughout the book. These characters may also indicate a deep degree of Cherokee self-criticism, and students are generally quick to respond to this. All told, these Cherokee characters present quite the paradox.

Perhaps paradox, duality, and contradiction should be read as representations of a traditional Cherokee paradigm that underscores the entirety of Ridge's book. Perhaps. However, the contradictions embodied by Ridge's Cherokee characters are neither generative nor life-affirming; rather, their contradictions seem to lead only to destruction. This quality becomes especially salient when the Cherokees are solicited to serve as agents of the American military near the end of the novel. Captain Ellas enlists "a number of Cherokees . . . to go out and way-lay the different trails between Bear Mountain and San Domingo Range, to which they readily assented" (Ridge, *Joaquin* 127). By assenting so "readily," it seems that Ridge's Cherokee characters have no caveats about serving as henchmen for the Americans. The Americans soon capture "a Mexican" (yet another tangential character without a name), and they bring him back to Cherokee Flat. After the Mexican confesses his knowledge of Joaquin and the bandits, the Americans cannot decide what to do with him. Captain Ellas is not sure if the man should be executed, so he leaves that decision with the Cherokees. Ridge writes:

> Ellas left him in charge . . . of the two Cherokee half-breeds with the request that they would give a good account of him, whereupon the crowd dispersed. At about twelve o'clock in the night, the Cherokees went to Ellas's house in San Andreas and informed him that they were ready to give "a good account" of the Mexican. Nothing more was said on the subject, and the next day, he was found hanging on a tree by the side of the road. (*Joaquin* 128)

Once again we see Cherokees performing unnecessary executions without much deliberation. They contribute to American "progress" by assisting in the hunt for Joaquin, and they have no qualms serving as outsourced executioners for the American machine. Once again, the emigrant Cherokees are unable to imagine a form of punishment other than execution.

One could use the peripheral Native American characters in *Joaquin Murieta* to argue for the devastating effects of internalizing American ideology and acquiescing to colonial practice. Jesse Alemán makes a similar argument in his provocative essay "Assimilation and the Decapitated Body Politic in *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta*," and this line of reasoning seems to resonate with students, especially minority students searching desperately for a sign that Ridge's book offers them a glimmer of possibility or hope. Indeed, such a reading challenges the prototypical Cherokee nationalist perception of the Ridges as assimilationists who lacked concern for the potentially self-destructive effects of internalizing American ideology. Given the fact that Ridge's father and grandfather were involved in modernizing the ancient Cherokee blood law, which sanctioned clan-based eye-for-an-eye retaliation as the basis of balanced justice, it is also quite possible to lead students toward a particularly Cherokee context for *Joaquin Murieta*'s critique of culturally sanctioned retaliatory violence (Wilkins 41; Parins 4). To be sure, blood law was invoked as justification by the men who killed Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot (Wilkins 334). In a novel obsessed with the problems of how retaliatory violence is justified, readers are time and time again exposed to cycles of state- or culturally sanctioned cycles of violence. Thus, an instructor can frame the novel as a text that prods readers to recognize and question processes that sanction all violence, especially racialized retaliation.

The unfortunate truth, however, is that Ridge's Native foils are not

balanced. On the one hand, the Cherokee characters offer astute readers an opportunity to locate an internal, nation-specific, Native-authored critique of how Native laws may be problematically constructed through colonial practice and how punishment for transgression is delivered inequitably. But on the other hand, there is no equivalent potential for complexity or dimensionality evident in the California Natives. Whereas Ridge's "Cherokee half-breeds" seem to be Natives postfall, removed from precolonial homelands and precolonial modes of being, Ridge's Indigenous Californians are Native prefall, living in a mythical Eden yet lacking the capacity for knowledge and power that characterizes all the other postfall characters in the novel. As Mark Rifkin puts it, Ridge's "Tejons" are presented "as lacking the (potential for) civilization of peoples such as the Cherokees" (44). Regardless of how much our students may sympathize with Ridge's childhood trauma, and no matter how much they can identify with the "eternal shadow" that clouded his mind after witnessing his father's execution (Ridge, *Poems* 7), it remains exceptionally difficult to encourage some students to read between the lines and delve into the novel's subtext because the treatment of these two Native groups is so unequal. For many students, Ridge's unequal treatment of these two Native groups cannot be reconciled or resolved, and prospective instructors should expect this inequality to become part of the classroom conversation.

While Ridge's Native characters clearly embody certain stereotypes of Native Americans that the dominant culture has long perpetuated, these Indigenous characters are by no means the only stereotypical figures in *Joaquin Murieta*. The entire book can often seem like a continuous procession of two-dimensional characters and hackneyed dialogue. Remarkable though it may be as a historical artifact, Ridge's book is far from high art. Prototypical pulp fiction, Ridge's narrative is a "blood-and-thunder tale" that catalogs the escapades of California's original gangster (Jackson xlix). When reading the book, readers may sense that they're merely being exposed to a series of ready-made images, cut and pasted from the romantic European bandit narratives that Ridge had access to as a child, rearranged and reconstituted from Ridge's unique perspective, and hurriedly patched together onto the landscape of gold rush era California.

Perhaps we should not fault Ridge for reproducing stereotypes to such a degree. As Ridge writes in the book's first paragraph, he wrote the

book "not for the purpose of ministering to any depraved taste for the dark and horrible in human action, but rather to contribute my mite to those materials out of which the early history of California shall one day be composed" (*Joaquin* 7). If Ridge was to meet this goal with *Joaquin Murieta*, then he would need to engage the reading audience of his era on terms they would find familiar. Joseph Henry Jackson, who authored the introduction to the 1955 University of Oklahoma centennial reprint of *Joaquin Murieta*, claims that Ridge, "however unreliable he may have been as historian or biographer, understood his public's relish for good strong story-telling" (xxvii). Perhaps the book's "cliché parade" quality was merely the inevitable result of the convergence between Ridge's astute sense of audience awareness and his larger aim of capturing the romance of the Murrieta narrative so that future generations would continue to enjoy the story. One could even interpret Ridge's abundance of clichéd imagery as having created the conditions for future writers and singers to utilize Ridge's novel as raw material for a new version of Joaquin's saga, since the stock images would be immediately familiar and ready-to-use for potentially any storyteller who came into contact with the Murrieta legend and was inspired to reinvent the story once again. However, these possibilities notwithstanding, it remains difficult for readers of Native literatures, especially students new to the materials, to look past the book's cliché parade of Native characters. For modern readers, and especially for readers sensitive to how the ongoing cultural struggle for Native self-identification entwines with the work of political self-determination, Ridge's imagery remains tough to swallow. And it still remains largely unclear—both for experienced critics and for students new to the material—what, exactly, Ridge was trying to accomplish with his stereotypical depictions of Native people in general and of Indigenous Californians in particular. For instructors, these issues will continue to present perpetual challenges.

NOT ALL CLASSROOMS ARE CREATED EQUAL: CONTEXTS AND SCHEMA FOR TEACHING RIDGE'S *JOAQUIN MURIETA*

Are some instructional contexts better suited than others to incorporating *Joaquin Murieta* into a syllabus but not getting stuck on Ridge's highly problematic depictions of Native Americans? Do we have reason

to believe that Ridge's book is capable of functioning equally well in the context of a course on "California literature," or "California Indian literatures" in particular, as in a more general course on Native American literatures or pre–Civil War American literature?

Because I have taught Ridge's novel in a variety of contexts, from selective R1 universities to open-enrollment community colleges, my classroom experiences provide some practical insight for others who are preparing to teach *Joaquin* in their own future courses at almost any level. It is my hope that these concluding reflections will be useful for all teachers—for instructors who already teach the book regularly, and for instructors preparing to teach the book for the first time.

Most recently, in the second-year course on Native American literatures that I teach at a large urban community college, a couple of students asked about the degree of influence that John Rollin Ridge had on the generations of Native writers who came after him. Are contemporary Native writers inspired or influenced by Ridge? My best answer was that we can take inspiration from Ridge by celebrating his accomplishments and by using him as a negative example of what not to do.[10] Another student then asked about the purpose of reading a book that disparages California Natives if that book does not have a clear connection with, and a positive influence on, some contemporary works of Native literature. I'm not sure there's a clear answer to this student's question, but I have become convinced that some contexts are more conducive than others to creating this sense of connection, continuity, and transgenerational influence.

Courses that prioritize California studies, western studies, and California or West Coast literatures seem to be the most optimal contexts for teaching Ridge. Although Ridge has never been cited as an influence by more contemporary California Native writers like Wendy Rose and Janice Gould, it is not difficult for students to see connections between the hostile environment that Ridge experienced in the mid-nineteenth century—in terms of both official state law and the unofficial politics of the young publishing industry—and the ongoing hostilities that serve as recurrent themes in the work of contemporary Native writers from California. And because Ridge's book served as the template for California's most enduring culture hero (or antihero), it is nearly impossible not to trace Ridge's influence through the generations. Whether the course focuses exclusively on Native American writing from California,

or whether the course addresses California or West Coast narrative and history more generally, Ridge's *Joaquin Murieta* is most at home in a California-centric context. And when the course is designed to develop a schema for "reading California," students are more likely to take liberties when interpreting Ridge's imagery, more motivated to recognize how the deep racial tensions of the gold rush era inform audience expectations for Ridge's stereotypical Native characters, and generally less inclined to take Ridge's most derogatory descriptions personally.

In contrast, Ridge's novel is much more difficult to incorporate into literature courses with a continental or global focus on Native American or Indigenous writers. The difficulties seem to emerge precisely because Ridge's influence on contemporary Native writers is terminally unclear. And without that clear lineage between *Joaquin Murieta* and the Native present, some students will question whether *Joaquin* truly "belongs" in such a course. On one level, these are the same kinds of questions that scholars have been asking for decades. But on another level, our students often enter our courses without the critical and contextual schema necessary to imagine Ridge's place within the larger evolving traditions of the Native American novel.

The institutional context is also likely to affect the overall class perceptions of Ridge's novel. Despite Ridge's lack of direct influence on modern Native novelists, *Joaquin Murieta* will inevitably work well in a graduate or upper-division course on Native American novels or transnational folklore, precisely because the students are already predisposed to dig well beneath the surface, to read for context, and to enjoy the novel's seemingly endless maze of subtextual connections. In contrast, *Joaquin Murieta* is often more difficult to incorporate into an introductory first-year or second-year course about Native American literatures, especially in an open-enrollment context. Students in introductory courses, Native students in particular, are likely to find more inspiration in the works of other "early" Native authors, like E. Pauline Johnson and D'Arcy McNickle, who make a deliberate effort to represent Native characters in a more complex and affirmative manner.

The challenge, then, for the Ridge-curious instructor of Native literatures—especially at tribal colleges, community colleges, and high schools—is to build an effective schema. Whereas a course on California novels begins to build the necessary schema in the very title of the course, the same cannot be said for introductory courses on Native lit-

eratures. In these contexts, it is the instructor's responsibility to bring that sense of transgenerational inspiration up from the subtextual conversation and into plain view. Consider how your students might be able to perceive Ridge's influence across time and space in relation to the larger Murrieta archive. Consider sharing Pablo Neruda's statement in the author's foreword to *Fulgor y muerte de Joaquin Murieta*: "Whoever approaches the truth or legend of this bandit will feel the charismatic force of his gaze." You could then play the old Los Madrugadores recording of the "Joaquin Murrieta" corrido, examining how and where this popular rendition of the romantic drama appears to stem directly from Ridge's story. You could then show the YouTube video of Teatro Campesino's 1969 rendition of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales's epic poem, *I Am Joaquin*, with Luis Valdez's deep voice trumpeting the importance of respecting Indigenous people and traditions, and again ask students to trace elements of Ridge's romantic narrative in this pivotal poem.[11] Your students will be fascinated by the myth-making process, even if they remain skeptical about Ridge himself.

In closing, the takeaway for teachers at all levels is that students who can see how an author has inspired others are more inclined to find some inspiration of their own in that author's work. Thus, instructors who consider using Ridge's *Joaquin Murieta* in their courses should think carefully about this: How can my reading list construct an arc that enables my students to find some kind of inspiration from Ridge? Even if Ridge's influence on more contemporary and more affirmative artists is indirect, this pedagogical strategy has been proven to work. Students who can see Ridge doing something that provides a partial model for themselves in the twenty-first century will remain uncomfortable with Ridge's racist Indian characters (and we should remain uncomfortable with them), but they are unlikely to get permanently stuck on, or find themselves feeling disempowered by, the novel's racist imagery.

However, if the instructor is not sure that students will be able to find some kind of transgenerational inspiration in Ridge, then problems could quickly arise, especially for Native students in the class. When this happens, the best approach is generally to call out Ridge's personal racism, perhaps putting it into the context of the ongoing conversations about Cherokee Freedmen and then to follow suit with recent generations of scholars who see Ridge as a negative example. As the celebrated historian Angie Debo wrote back in 1931, Ridge "fell short of great in

literature—perhaps in part because he never spoke for the Indian people," suggesting that Ridge's prose and poetry would have been less formally derivative if he was a genuine advocate for the actual needs of real Native communities (71). The implication for your students is that they should respect the Native communities they know now while they're alive and have a choice.

In the end, students who are upset with John Rollin Ridge can take aim at the fact that after leaving the Cherokee Nation for California at the age of twenty-two, he never went home to visit his family in and around Indian Territory. He always claimed that he wanted to return home, be reunited with his mother, and start an Indian newspaper. He claimed that his dream was to someday serve as founding editor for "a newspaper devoted to the advocacy of Indian rights and interests," one that would publish writings from "the leading minds in the different Indian nations" (Dale and Litton 86). In a letter he wrote to his mother in 1855, Ridge declares, "Men, governments, will be *afraid* to trample upon the rights of the defenceless Indian tribes when there is a power to hold up their deeds to the execration of mankind" (86, emphasis in the original). Just imagine what a writer with Ridge's fire and passion could have done for Native people if he was not shunned and exiled. And if your students want to avoid following Ridge's mistaken footsteps, then they shouldn't let themselves be cut off from home, either. So if you have parents, go call them now. Yes, this is an admittedly pathos-heavy approach, but it can give your most at-risk students a sense of potential validation and purpose. It can also create a pedagogical arc between Ridge's isolation and the more community-driven work of a modern writer from California like Natalie Diaz. Because in the final analysis, the more the instructor enters the course with the intention of building this kind of larger schema, of having it hardwired into the reading list, the more the students can feel empowered to do something useful with Ridge's awkward Indians in the margins.

BLAKE M. HAUSMAN is an English instructor at Portland Community College, Southeast Campus, in Portland, Oregon. He is the author of the novel *Riding the Trail of Tears*, as well as several essays and interviews. He holds a PhD in English from the University of California, Berkeley, and he is an enrolled citizen of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.

NOTES

1. In *The Real Joaquin Murieta*, historian Remi Nadeau declares that at least two-thirds of Ridge's book is pure fiction.

2. Note on the spelling of "Murrieta": The double *rr* spelling is correct in Spanish, but English speakers in 1850s California tended to use a single *r*. John Rollin Ridge employed the American spelling throughout his novel. In this essay, and in general, I use the American spelling only when referring to books, like Ridge's and Neruda's, that use the single *r* for Joaquin's last name. I use the Mexican spelling, "Murrieta," on all other occasions.

3. It is well documented that Bob Kane, the original creator of the Batman comics, cited Zorro as a direct influence. We have no evidence that Kane knew the Murrieta mythos was the basis for Zorro, but from a modern perspective, the lineage between Murrieta and Batman is clear.

4. In Owens's construction, Ridge himself is the would-be Native hero, but the racist climate as perpetuated by the publishing industry has forced his true feelings into the subtext. Thus, the novel is a "fascinating testimony to the conflicts and tensions within the mixedblood author, who moves easily inside the dominant white culture but cannot forget or forgive the denigration of that culture by his indigenous self" (Owens 32). In line with his larger vision of the evolution of Native American novels, Owens contends that *Joaquin Murieta* "marks the thinly camouflaged beginning of a long campaign by Native American writers to wrench a new genre—the novel—free from the hegemony of the dominant and (to Native Americans especially) destructive culture of European America" (32–33).

5. The irony of a Cherokee writer joining in the collective ridicule of "Digger Indians" due to a Native diet that included roots and other items for which one must "dig" should not go unmentioned. Like many Indigenous people, Cherokees have long favored root vegetables. One particularly humorous historical incident worth remembering is when Major George Lowery, the assistant principal chief of the Cherokee Nation at the time of Removal, responded to the racist criticism of a Georgia congressman during a gathering in Washington, DC, in April 1824. Lowery was with a Cherokee delegation (including Major Ridge) that came to negotiate with the Adams administration. At dinner one evening, when the Cherokees found themselves at a table with the Georgia congressman, the Georgian proclaimed that Cherokees were "savages subsisting upon roots." At this moment, Lowery "pointed to a dish of sweet potatoes and, in a loud voice," asked the waiter "to bring him 'some of those roots.' He took only a small portion, but managed to catch the attention of the dining room. Several times he asked for more of 'those roots,' adding at each request, 'we Indians are very fond of roots,' while diners all about burst into laughter" (Wilkins 158).

6. Please see Weaver (79); and Rifkin (45).

7. See Rifkin's essay for more detailed context of the relationship between Miwok people and American expansion.

8. For an excellent reading of this "Wanted" poster scene, see Cox (29).

9. This location, "Cherokee Flat," is significant because it reminds us that many

young Cherokees left the Cherokee Nation in the 1850s to pursue better fortunes in California, often at the urging of the Cherokee Nation leadership. Carolyn Thomas Foreman's article "Edward W. Bushyhead and John Rollin Ridge: Cherokee Editors in California" compares Ridge to another significant emigrant Cherokee writer. Foreman explains how Bushyhead, unlike Ridge, kept up connections with family in the Cherokee Nation and ultimately returned to the Cherokee community as he grew older.

10. The notion that Ridge provides a negative example for Native writers is evident in several works produced by Cherokee writers. Rennard Strickland's *Tonto's Revenge*, Robert Conley's *The Witch of Goingsnake and Other Stories*, and Louis Owens's *Other Destinies* all focus on Ridge in their opening story or chapter. Each writer frames Ridge as an example of what happens when a Native writer is disconnected from his tribal community or unable to express himself in Native-specific terms. This perception of the problems resulting from Ridge's disconnection from the Cherokee Nation has also been echoed over the years by several contributors to the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, such as Edward Everett Dale, Angie Debo, and Clyde Ellis.

11. Readers of Gonzales's poem may notice that Ridge's fictional description of the abuses that Joaquin and his spouse suffer at the hands of racist Anglos appears in the very epicenter of *I Am Joaquin*.

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Revisiting Winnetou

The Karl May Museum, Cultural Appropriation, and Indigenous Self-Representation

LISA MICHELLE KING

> Yes, the Indian is a sick, a dying man, and we now stand at his miserable bedside feeling sorry, with nothing left to do but to close his eyes. It is serious enough to witness the death of any human being—how much more serious, then, is it to see the destruction of an entire race! . . . The dying Indian could not be integrated into the white world, because of his unique character. Was that reason enough to kill him? Could he not have been saved? But what use are such questions in the face of certain death? . . . I can only lament, but change nothing; only grieve, but not bring a single dead back to life.
>
> —Karl May, preface to *Winnetou I* (1892)

The last several years have been significant ones for Native activists in North America, from the Idle No More movement (see "The Manifesto"; Kino-nda-niimi Collective); to the Keystone Pipeline protests, which have helped bring attention to land rights (e.g., Simmons-Ritchie; Khan; "Rosebud Sioux Tribe"); to the *Walking with Our Sisters* commemorative art installation, which honors missing and murdered Indigenous women (Belcourt).[1] But protest and attention have slowly been spreading to less immediately tangible but no less important issues; the protests surrounding the Washington, DC, football team mascot and other "Indian" mascots are perhaps the largest example. Rather than demanding change regarding physical assaults on Native lands and bodies, the mascot protests challenge the very rhetorical frame: the damaging narrative of Indians as noble savages, things of the past, that perpetuates itself in mainstream popular culture and has very real deleterious effects on Native self-perception (Fieldman). The decades-long struggle has proven that this kind of challenge is one of the toughest to make in large part because

it strikes at the very root of where these misrepresentations of Native peoples come from: long-held constructions of Native American peoples that exist to serve European American cultures, the "white man's Indian" (Berkhofer). In spite of their less immediately tangible existence, these constructions are still important to dismantle because of their influence on the thinking and action of people who use them. Native sovereignties in any form are hard for European American cultures to recognize if the rhetorical frames these cultures call on to understand Native peoples create distortions, and so these stories need critique and dismantling just as much as degrading environmental practices or discriminatory law.

This essay is a critique of one of those stories.[2] The narrative of the 2014 scalp repatriation controversy at the Karl May Museum in Radebeul, Germany, was covered in multiple news outlets, including Native outlets such as *Indian Country Today Media Network* and *Native News Network*; German outlets such as *Der Spiegel* and *Die Süddeutsche* and even tabloids such as *Bild*;[3] and most recently in US mainstream news in a special feature entitled "Lost in Translation: Germany's Fascination with the American Old West" for the *New York Times* (Eddy). Once it was revealed and confirmed that the Karl May Museum was in possession of Native American human remains in the form of scalps and that some were on display, a repatriation outcry led by Cecil Pavlat (Sault St. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians) and backed by the global organization Survival International began in March 2014 (Haircrow, "Tribes"). Since then, Pavlat, Ray Halbritter (Oneida Nation), and other delegates have traveled to the museum to meet with staff there and negotiate the process of at least seeking the provenance of the scalps in question and, if possible, begin the repatriation process (Haircrow, "Agreement"). For the moment, a kind of truce has been reached. The actual scalps have been removed from display and replaced with replicas, though curator Hans Grünert has repeated that the museum owns the actual scalps by German law, and under German law the museum is obligated to do nothing unless provenance can be established without a doubt (Eddy).

While the protests and negotiation over repatriation have galvanized discussions and brought media attention to the Karl May Museum, I would argue that the problems do not and will not end with repatriation of a few (or even many) items. Far more subtle but more far-reaching and problematic, the exhibit itself presents a rhetorical frame that distorts perception of Native American peoples throughout Europe. The Native

nations and communities whose cultures are represented have a right to question what is going on there, and a visit to the "Villa Bärenfett" on the museum grounds reveals the significant problem: the display of Native American nations' material culture as support for the fiction, attitudes, and misrepresentations of Karl May's nineteenth-century *Winnetou* adventure novels. While the Karl May Museum is not the only museum with collections of Native material culture, this particular exhibit provides a case study in rhetorical display that points straight to one of the most recognizable and deeply problematic perceptions of Native nations throughout Europe. A great deal of work needs to be done to address these perceptions, and the goal of this study of the Native American portion of the museum is threefold. First, I provide some culturally relevant context for the discussion of the exhibit—including who May was and what he wrote—to answer basic questions about how its display is situated in the broader popular German perception of Native Americans. Second, I discuss the exhibit itself, providing an overview of what is on display and an analysis of how the exhibit functions within the context of May's fictional legacy and the Karl May Museum. Finally, I argue the rhetorical ramifications of such an exhibit and what it implies for global Indigenous sovereignties. Overall, such an exhibit as it stands in such a context demonstrates a violation of Indigenous rights to self-representation—and thus perpetuates inaccurate and potentially harmful stereotypes of Native American peoples that serve German and European audiences at the expense of Native communities and nations.

Winnetou as the (German) White Man's Indian

Generally speaking, the existence of a museum exhibiting scalps and other Native American material culture in Germany may seem peculiar, especially when such a display is so far from the objects' origins and the collection is not supported by a university, a state-owned institution, or some other major museological establishment.[4] How did they get there, and what is the interest? More specifically, in the case of the Karl May Museum's Villa Bärenfett (Villa Bearfat), how did the collection arrive there, what is its significance there, and in what larger cultural and historical context does an interest in the *Indianer* (Indian) exist? In this section, I will briefly outline the ways in which the construct of the "Indian" has taken on particular significance within German narratives

of identity and the impact of Karl May's *Winnetou* trilogy of novels and thus provide the frame for how the Villa Bärenfett exhibit's existence fits within these historical constructions.

Numerous scholars have taken up the discussion of how Native American peoples have been constructed to fit European and European American narratives of themselves, using Native Americans as a foil for the positives and negatives of civilization, of progress, or of Manifest Destiny. Two of the most-cited scholars—Roy Harvey Pearce and Robert F. Berkhofer Jr.—have already articulated the process.[5] Other scholars have expanded on this work; S. Elizabeth Bird in her edited collection *Dressing in Feathers*, Philip Deloria's monograph *Playing Indian*, and Gretchen M. Bataille's edited collection *Native American Representations*, for example, all describe the various processes of Europeans and Americans donning or manipulating these constructions to further function for European American communities. In one form or another, all highlight the "Indian" as a construction and a strategically created and deployed rhetorical trope used by Europeans and European Americans for their own purposes at any given point in time since contact and colonization.

While it might be easy to make German culture(s) the scapegoat simply because of the wider visibility of the *Indianer* and the clever and enduring marketing of Karl May's nineteenth-century writing, Germans are far from the only ones who engage in the construction and perpetuation of "Indian" tropes and stereotypes for their own purposes, and certainly not all Germans purposefully appropriate this trope.[6] Yet Karl May, a German author, is a particularly well-known instance of this phenomenon, and the long-term impact and recognizability of his work make it still worthy of attention and study, as his biographers and critics assert (see Helmut Schmiedt 326–27). May is famous for his adventure novels, especially the *Winnetou* trilogy of novels, which are set in the Wild West of the United States. His Winnetou character first appeared as "Inn-nu-wo" in a short story in 1875 and was later renamed and expanded upon in subsequent work. In 1893 May published the first volume of the *Winnetou* trilogy with which most readers are now familiar (Hoffman 57–58; Schmiedt 73; Walther 106). The books' protagonist, Old Shatterhand, is a German-born adventurer who consistently outfights, out-shoots, out-hunts, and generally out-pioneers the seasoned American mountain men and through a sacred ceremony becomes blood brothers with a noble and handsome young Apache chief named

Winnetou. As a pious Christian, Old Shatterhand does not support the wholesale extinction of Native American peoples, but as the epigraph at the beginning of this article indicates, “Yes, the Indian is a sick, a dying man, and we now stand at his miserable bedside feeling sorry, with nothing left to do but to close his eyes” (May, 1892 “Preface” xiii). The defeat of the noble savage was, to the protagonist and many nineteenth- and twentieth-century German readers’ understanding, inevitable, and so the trilogy ends with Winnetou converting to Christianity and then dying of a grievous wound earned in his final battle. May himself envisioned his work as “a memorial to the red race” (ein Denkmal der roten Rasse) (qtd. in Walther 106). Native cultures from across the continent are combined in a colorful mash-up, including Winnetou’s Mescalero Apache community living in pueblos and using totem poles as torture stakes. This trilogy is the particular story, the rhetorical frame, through which the exhibit at Villa Bärenfett was conceived and is displayed.

This rhetorical frame is laden with multiple meanings, and so a German historical framework is worth sketching in order to understand why the Karl May phenomenon has the staying power it does in the first place. German scholar Susanne Zantop focuses on German history and culture from 1770 to 1870 and argues that while Germany never had a colony in North America and had only a limited time and space for participation in colonizing efforts (its own colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific lasted only from 1884 to 1918), it still fostered “colonial fantasies” that make an impact today (*Colonial* 192). According to Zantop, “colonial fantasies” are “stories of sexual conquest and surrender, love and blissful domestic relations between colonizer and colonized, set in colonial territory, stories that made the strange familiar, and the familiar ‘familial’” (2). In her analysis of these German colonial fantasies, Zantop demonstrates how the desire and inability of Germany (or its three hundred principalities, which constituted a barely unified “Germany” in the nineteenth century) to colonize on the same scale as others led to an amplified rivalry with England and France and created space for Germans to assume an “armchair colonialist” stance. As Zantop puts it, this armchair colonialist was “the critical bystander who felt free to denounce and condemn the atrocities committed by others. It fostered a moral high ground, a sense of ‘difference,’ and a desire for action—‘we’ would not repeat the mistakes that ‘they’ had made” (193). The result of this constellation is, Zantop argues, a means by which eighteenth- and

nineteenth-century Germans could identify as fellow underdogs or victims in a brotherhood with Indigenous peoples in North America and Africa even as Germans ignored and often still ignore their own participation in colonialism and further perpetuate colonialist fantasies.

The German *Indianer,* therefore, comes in part out of this powerful ideological construction, and the Karl May novels are an illustration of both Zantop's colonial fantasy and the German "white man's Indian." Zantop's concept of colonial fantasies is reflected vividly in the *Winnetou* stories, as the character of Old Shatterhand enacts precisely what she describes: the entire trilogy revolves around the loving, loyal, at times borderline homoerotic relationship between Old Shatterhand and Winnetou, Old Shatterhand's demonstrated physical superiority as a pioneer/colonizer, and his scathing critiques of "Yankees" and their duplicitous nature and treatment of Native Americans.[7]

This rhetorical narrative and its concomitant construction of Native Americans as noble but vanishing savages, a foil to the would-be German blood brother, still makes a rhetorical impact in the twenty-first century. To date, the Karl May novels have an estimated one hundred million copies in print, translated at last count into thirty-nine different languages (Zantop, "Close" 4; Walther 10–11).[8] The power of the narrative and its Winnetou figure is in large part driven by the consistent recycling of the *Indianer* for new purposes within German culture and subcultures. A long-term scholar of German *Indianertümelei* (Indianthusiasm), Hartmut Lutz observes that identification with Native communities and nations continues to be reinforced depending on the German community and time in question and is still frequently tied to German national identity. He defines this ever-shifting Indianthusiasm as "a yearning for all things Indian, a fascination with Native Americans, a romanticizing about a supposed Indian essence. . . . [It] is racialized in that it refers to Indianness . . . as an essentializing bioracial and, concomitantly, cultural ethnic identity that ossifies into stereotype. . . . Relatively seldom does *Indianertümelei* focus on contemporary Native American realities" (169, his italics).

Lutz traces the history of this tendency, from Hitler's lauding of Winnetou as the ultimate company commander, to American Indian Movement support groups in East and West Germany before reunification in 1990, to cultural appropriation by New Age culture. Katrin Sieg further explores contemporary "playing Indian" in Germany, or "ethnic drag," as

she terms it, finding that East and West German *Indianer* hobbyist groups had different motivations for their research and play-acting depending on location and generational attitude.[9] Even the more sympathetic readings of German fascination with Native peoples still recognize the multiple ways Germans have constructed the *Indianer* framed through a given historical moment and based on a perceived mutual lost tribal past and a desire to reclaim it (Penny). Contemporary manifestations of Indianthusiasm continue to be marketed, be they contemporary children's books and cartoons (the children's show *Yakari* [2014] is a current offering on German KiKa programming), televised reruns of Karl May–based westerns, *Der Schuh des Manitu* (from 2001, and one of the highest-grossing movies in German history),[10] tipis at summer camp, or dressing up as an Indian for carnival or for a Karl May reenactment.

In sum, the *Indianer* as a German construct has had and maintains a powerful resonance. Particularly in the manifestation of the Winnetou character, the Karl May books and their continued role in German popular culture reinforce the *Indianer* construct for German audiences. The Karl May Museum, then, exists as a touchstone, a memorial, and an ongoing support to contemporary German Indianthusiasm, with rhetorical and material consequences.

THE KARL MAY MUSEUM AND VILLA BÄRENFETT

Having sketched a brief picture of German use of the *Indianer,* in this section I turn my focus to the Karl May Museum itself, especially to the Villa Bärenfett, which houses the Native American exhibit. Here I outline the specific history of the institution, the construction and purpose of the Villa Bärenfett, and the overall mission of the Karl May Museum in order to establish its stated intentions and meaning-making frame. I visited the museum in June 2013, when I had the opportunity to spend two days documenting the exhibit and collecting publicity materials and exhibit guides. I also conducted interviews with André Köhler, at the time the museum's public relations officer, and René Wagner, the long-time director of the museum (now replaced by Claudia Kaulfuss).[11] Given the framework already established, and despite some claims to the contrary, what becomes apparent with an examination of the exhibit in the rhetorical context of the museum and the larger German cultural history of *Indianer* is that it fails to live up to its vision of "cross-cultural

understanding, compassion, and tolerance" (Wagner, "Zum Geleit" 4) and in many ways operates counter to that vision.[12] Instead, as the following reading and analysis of the exhibit space will show, because of its contexts and current configuration it reinforces stereotypes of Native Americans within the broad German frame and perpetuates misunderstandings of past and contemporary Native peoples.

Situated in the quiet city of Radebeul, just outside of Dresden, the Karl May Museum has been developed in the house and on the grounds of the late Karl May. May published his adventure stories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and when he passed away in 1912, he was a famous and well-read author in Germany and beyond. According to the short guidebook called the *Karl May Museum Kurzführer*, his widow, Klara May, sought to preserve and perpetuate his legacy in part through the creation of a museum of artifacts from the American West, particularly Native American artifacts (Hoffman 7). In 1926 Klara May purchased a collection of Native American objects from Ernst Tobis, stage name Patty Frank, who was a circus performer and—inspired in his youth from reading Karl May's books—a collector of Native American ethnographic artifacts. With Frank's help and the additional collections Klara and Karl acquired on their visit to the United States in 1908 (and then on a solo journey Klara undertook in 1930), she had the foundation of the present collection of over eight hundred objects. To house the exhibit, a log cabin–style building was erected in 1926 in the back garden of the Mays' house, and in 1928 the Villa Bärenfett exhibit was opened to the public (Hoffman 7; Schmiedt 288–89). Much later in 1985, the actual May residence was converted in part to preserve May's study, library, and reception room and to make a new exhibition space with the additional installation of the exhibit *Karl May—Leben und Werk* (Karl May, life and work). This building is now known as "Villa Shatterhand," named after the fictional German frontiersman in the *Winnetou* books and May's performed alter ego. The *Karl May—Leben und Werk* exhibit was refurbished in 1992 (Hoffman 60). The "Überblick zur Museumsgeschichte" (Overview of the museum's history) previously on the museum's website further explains that the Villa Bärenfett exhibit was remodeled in 1970, though little has been done with it since (Karl May Museum 2014).

On the museum's website, the "Zukunftsvision" (Future vision) tab provides documentation of the museum's most recent additions to the

complex, though since the summer of 2014 the renovation plans that were available to the public have been removed. So far the planned American West–themed playground has been installed, as well as a new log cabin building for children's and education activities called "Villa Nscho-Tschi."[13] Acknowledging that the display techniques, climate technology, and multimedia features lag far behind contemporary practice, the museum has made Villa Bärenfett a high priority for renovation and for a new addition. The previous plans indicated the addition of a building in southwestern Native adobe-style architecture (Karl May Museum, "Unsere Vorhaben" 2014 tab, since removed), though present plans (as of November 2015) are unclear. Currently, the "Unsere Zukunftsvision" subtab describes the museum as existing between "Literatur und Ethnologie, Tradition und Innovation, Kindern und Erwachsenen, Fachleuten und Touristen, Marktorientierung und Bildungsauftrag" (literature and ethnology, tradition and innovation, children and adults, professionals and tourists, a market orientation and an educational mission). It suggests that the new renovations for the *Indianer Nordamerikas* exhibit in Villa Bärenfett will bring the climate systems up to date and add *interaktive Akzente* (interactive accents) (Karl May Museum, "Unsere Zukunftvision"). Donations make the contributor a *Blutsbruder* (blood brother) to the museum (Karl May Museum, "Werden Sie").

The overall mission frames the Karl May Museum's work, which is squarely oriented on Karl May's writing and legacy. The German-language trifold brochure for the museum (titled *Der Wigwam Old Shatterhands* [Old Shatterhand's wigwam]) does not provide an explicit mission statement for the overall museum, though it is clearly Old Shatterhand's (the German protagonist's) "wigwam" that one visits. Similarly, the English-language version of the same pamphlet (retitled *A Visit to the Karl May Museum*) bluntly states, "The Karl May Museum Radebeul near Dresden is dedicated to preserving the cultural heritage of Karl May" (Karl May Museum 2013; PDF from web 2015). The museum's *Kurzführer* provides a brief explanation up front that states that both Villa Shatterhand and Villa Bärenfett are "carried by the same spirit of cross-cultural understanding, compassion, and tolerance vis-à-vis largely foreign cultures and worldviews, a spirit to which Karl May and the endowment named after him feel responsible" (Wagner, "Zum Geleit" 4), though the emphasis on Karl May's worldview and view based on his writings is quite clear. The rhetorical emphasis is well

defined: this establishment is about May and what May did, not specifically about Native Americans per se.

I emphasize that the rhetorical framing of all activities and displays using Native American material cultural within the Karl May Museum exist to support the legacy of Karl May and the fiction writing that made him famous, not to support Native American communities or their cultural and rhetorical sovereignty. Köhler explained that far from being an institution that reinforced colonial mindsets, the museum exists to support May's final vision as developed in his later writings, especially in the fourth *Winnetou* volume, which was published long after the first three (Köhler, personal interview). Though he admitted that this book is not widely read, widely translated, or well known even within Germany, it includes a philosophy based on peace and mutual understanding that he claims the museum means to support (Köhler, personal interview). At the same time, the "spirit of cross-cultural understanding, compassion, and tolerance" appears to be lost in the effort to maintain the stature of May himself and the denial of what May's full legacy is in terms of German colonial fantasies and Indianthusiam and in how the Native collections are used to support those fantasies.

RHETORIC IN THE DETAILS: THE EXHIBIT ITSELF

The contradictions in the rhetorical frame have already been demonstrated in the way the museum describes itself and in how Villa Bärenfett remains locked into an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scaffolding: Indian peoples are generally objectified for the pleasure of tourists, and visitors access the exhibition through the lens of the popular and well-known *Winnetou* trilogy and Winnetou as a tragic, noble, vanishing Indian. The Villa Bärenfett exhibit thus exists to educate, but to educate in terms of the fantasy, in terms of the imagined German "Indian." Here lies the crux of the problem, as I will demonstrate with an analysis of the exhibit space itself.

As already noted, a visitor accesses Villa Bärenfett after having first crossed the gardens behind the original May residence, Villa Shatterhand. The visitor passes several wooden Indian sculptures (including a life-sized depiction of a man and a woman in a canoe, with his hand reaching under her robes), some other artwork (mostly not Native-

made), and totem poles positioned as garden art before gaining access to the log cabin–style building. Upon entering, the first room a visitor sees is the Wild-West-Raum (Wild West room), which is arranged to look like a room in a log cabin complete with fireplace; an American flag; a portrait of Patty Frank; hunting trophies from North American moose, bear, elk, and a "jackalope"; and black "scalps" made of horse hair that are designed to replicate human scalps. The labels here identify the objects, and the label for the Patty Frank image explains the history of the Villa Bärenfett collection and Frank's role in its existence. Here also begin the scavenger hunt–style labels designed for children to keep them interested in the exhibit (Köhler, personal interview). The first is labeled *Indianermärchen* (Indian fairy tales) and is marked with the image of a cartoon bear in a Plains Indian eagle feather headdress and breastplate named Grosser Häuptling Kleiner Bär (Big Chief Little Bear). Each children's label draws attention to particular aspects of each exhibit display and also marks the path of the children's exhibit tour of the same name (which is advertised as also including a human Grosser Häuptling Kleiner Bär tour guide in fringed costume, complete with feather headdress).

The next room is the special exhibit / traveling exhibit space, and in the summer of 2013 it was dedicated to a display of *Winnetou* movie memorabilia. The exhibit, sponsored in part by the Karl May (Film) Fan Gruppe, Berlin (Karl May Film Fan Club, Berlin), covered the history of Karl May's Winnetou character and stories as they were translated to film, from the 1930s to the 1990s, with special attention to the movies produced in West Germany in the 1960s. The exhibit included movie posters, photographs from the sets, marketing memorabilia, movie props (particularly weapons), life-sized photo cutouts of stars Pierre Brice as Winnetou and Marie Versini as his sister, Nscho-Tschi, and two display cases with the beaded costumes and black wigs worn by Brice and Versini in their roles. The exhibit space has since been occupied by exhibits such as *Klara May als Fotografin: Eine Frau und ihr Hobby* (Klara May as photographer: A woman and her hobby), highlighting Karl May's second wife's photography collection from their travels (Karl May Museum 2014, "Sonderaustellungen") and an exhibit on the Swiss/French *Yakari* comics and show, in "celebration of the tradition of Karl May and James Fenimore Cooper in today's popular culture" (Karl

May Museum, "Neue Sonderausstellung"). As of the winter of 2015–16, the space displays *Verborgene Schätze—aus dem Depot des Karl-May-Museums* (Hidden treasures—from the Karl May Museum depot), which appears more ethnology oriented but still operates within a "hidden treasure" frame familiar to readers of the *Winnetou* novels (Karl May Museum 2015, "Sonderaustellungen").

Following the Wild-West-Raum and the special exhibits space is the Native American ethnographic exhibit, which takes up substantial space. The visitor first encounters a diorama on the right entitled "Heimkehr von der Schlacht" (Homecoming from battle), which Köhler pointed out is meant to provoke some self-reflexivity in the viewer (personal interview). The small label that goes with it does state that this diorama is meant to represent the German perceptions and stereotypes based on books and film. The label reads:

> (ein durch Bücher und Filme im deutschsprachigen Raum geprägtes Indianerbild)
>
> Eine Gruppe Krieger kommt auf wilden Mustangs heran, Tomahawks, Lanzen und erbeutete Skalpe schwingend. Würdevoll tritt ihnen ihr Stammeshäuptling American Horse entgegen, angetan mit Festtagskeidung und dem prächtigen Federschmuck als Zeichen seiner Würde.
>
> Ihm gegenüber vor dem Tipi, der typischen Behausung der Prärie-Indianer, sitzt eine Squaw, beschäftigt mit einer Perlenstickerei. Ihre rote Gesichtsbemalung bedeutet: siegreiche Heimkehr ihres Mannes.
>
> Am Zelt steht die Kindertrage, darin eingewickelt das Kind.
>
> (an image of the Indian produced/reinforced by German-language books and films)
>
> A group of warriors rides in on wild mustangs, swinging tomahawks, lances, and collected scalps. Dignified, the tribal chief American Horse approaches them dressed in festival-day clothing and a magnificent feather decoration as a show of his dignity.
>
> Facing him in front of the tipi, the typical housing of the Prairie Indians, sits a squaw, busy with her beadwork. Her red face paint signifies the victorious homecoming of her husband.
>
> Against the tent stands the child carrier, within which a child is wrapped.

Directly to the left and continuing through the rest of the space, material is organized roughly according to geographic regions first, then thematically in following display cases: “Musik und Tanz” (Music and dance), “Medizin und Medizinbündel” (Medicine and medicine bundles), “Friedens-/Zeremonialpfeifen” (Peace/ceremonial pipes), “Skalpe als Kriegstrophäen” (Scalps as war trophies) (in 2013 with actual human scalps), “Männerkleidung” (Men’s clothing), “Frau und Kind” (Woman and child), and “Indianische Schuhe” (Indian shoes). The final exhibit space is devoted to perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn, providing historical documentation of major figures in the battle and German artistic interpretation of the event (including a large triptych painting by artists Elk Eber and A. Roloff). Distributed throughout the main ethnographic exhibit space are life-sized mannequins representing various regional and tribal styles of dress, with particular emphasis on Apache and Plains cultures—the main tribal groups depicted in the *Winnetou* novels.

Labels (all in German, without written English or other translations) overall tend to lean toward ethnographic interpretation, explaining what each region or tribal community ate, wore, or hunted or how they used the objects in question. The labels’ text is maintained in the past tense, and references to the destruction of Native cultures are a part of the narration from the beginning. There are also inaccuracies and ambiguities in several of the labels, which, though it may appear on the surface to be an attempt at splitting hairs to address them, actually have subtle and important rhetorical consequences for those who take those labels as truth. Also distributed through the collection, as noted above, are the Grosser Häuptling Kleiner Bär labels for children.

There is no doubt that this is a beautiful and valuable collection, with materials that span the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—pottery, masks, clothing, weapons, weaving, saddles, beadwork, feather work, a Sun Dance robe, and, as can be guessed from the thematic list above, sacred objects and, until recently, human remains. At the same time, there are significant problems with the effects of the rhetorical intention—using a collection of Native American artifacts to support and celebrate Karl May—in terms of the meaning-making consequences of the frame, contents, and arrangement. What becomes apparent in a survey of Villa Bärenfett is the purposeful focus on those who supported the creation of the museum itself (Patty Frank and Klara May exhibits), the fascina-

tion with fantasies—particularly Karl May's—about the American West (the Wild West room, honoring the movie westerns, the *Yakari* exhibit), and an effort to illustrate and support those fantasies with actual ethnographic evidence (the extensive artifact displays). As I argue here, the exhibit has little relevance in Radebeul, Germany, except to exist as a prop to Karl May's fiction. While a desire for a cross-cultural exchange and education might be part of the vision, in actual execution the exhibit—and its future vision—mostly reinforces cultural appropriation.

Because the immediate first two stops for a visitor have specifically to do with those who created and supported the museum and the legacy of Karl May's fiction, be it Patty Frank, Klara May, or a film club, the rhetorical frame of *Winnetou* is set from the beginning—this is about the German and European fantasy story, not Native Americans themselves. Köhler claimed that this was self-understood, that no one actually takes the Indians of May's fictional world seriously except as they are symbolically significant or idealized (personal interview). However, his observation points precisely to the problematic nature of the exhibit. Knowing that May's Indians were not and are not real, but desiring to have their symbolic worth (whatever that worth happens to be for a given reader or generation of readers) reinforced using *actual* Native American peoples, their histories, and their material culture is a direct act of distortion and appropriation. Given the present Karl May frame, whatever self-reflexive critique might be implied with one small label will fall short because the entire collection is framed through Karl May's fantasy.

For example, though the "Heimkehr von der Schlacht" diorama (figure 1) is meant to comment on the stereotypes Germans have about Native American peoples, it is difficult to imagine that it accomplishes the goal of self-reflexivity that Köhler hopes for. The diorama makes use of all of the same kinds of actual Native artifacts that the rest of the exhibit does, including clothing, beadwork, mannequins, and a feather warbonnet. The figures are posed in a similar way to the other mannequins in the exhibit, and because there is another family grouping (the "Prärieindianerfamilie in Festtagskleidung um 1880" [Prairie Indian family in celebration dress circa 1880]) immediately nearby that is seriously meant, the difference is hard to tell. There is nothing to set the first diorama apart as a German caricature of Native Americans except for one line on the label (see above). In fact, the professional photograph of the "Heimkehr" diorama is the image used to advertise Villa Bärenfett

Fig. 1. Titled “Indianer Nordamerikas,” image of “Heimkehr von der Schlacht.” Dietmar Berthold, 2002.

in the trifold visitor’s brochure (*Der Wigwam*) and is itself not labeled by its exhibit title but instead as a factual “Indianer Nordamerikas” (North American Indians). Furthermore, that same photograph is the recommended image for the press to use in representing Villa Bärenfett (Karl May Museum, “Pressebilder”). Any potential irony or critique of the *Indianer* stereotype is lost in the way this diorama is actually used, and the rhetorical consequence is that the fictional May frame takes the place of actual history.

The exhibit techniques and labeling of the displays provide another point of illustration of the subtle and not-so-subtle ways the collection’s interpretation under the May frame creates problems. The exhibits themselves are outdated by museological standards in their emphasis on regional organization, thematic organization that lumps multiple Indigenous cultural groups into one ideal, and choices in how and if to display sacred or potentially controversial items. As Evan Maurer has observed, curator Stuart Culin of the Brooklyn Museum set the early twentieth-century standard for the display of Native objects by dividing them by

region, choosing one tribe to represent it (regardless of diversity), filling display cases according to function, providing some ethnographic background, and using mannequins and dioramas to demonstrate objects' wear and use (Maurer 24). At the same time, he argues, the effect of the display techniques was to freeze the Native subjects in time, in effect helping to "deny American Indians a modern experience" (24).

The exhibits of Villa Bärenfett currently follow these techniques, in spite of the advances of the museological world and the techniques developed to work in and with Indigenous communities. There are no discussions of Native American peoples today or as survivors. The May frame, as suggested by the epigraph above, requires a dying Indian, a Winnetou who is fascinating to examine and worthy of lament but doomed to perish except as he might be preserved in story and through collecting. Therefore, the exhibit remains focused exclusively on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with little reference to the present. A few labels make oblique references to the present where they must (e.g., the label for the totem pole admits that it is a contemporary Native work), but the narrative presented to visitors is one of cultures frozen in time.

Other labels point to the ways in which Native American culture is narrated for the sake of supporting the May frame or are simply erroneous. The label that explains the significance of feather headdresses claims that after the move to reservations around 1870, "verlor die Federhaube ihren Charakter als Kriegerauszeichnung und wurde zu einem festlichen Schmuck, den eigentlich jeder respektable Mann tragen konnte" (the feather headdress lost its character as a marker of a successful warrior and became a festive decoration that any respectable man could wear) ("Adlerfederhauben" [Eagle feather headdress]). The resulting suggestion for an unsuspecting reader of the label is that it is acceptable for anyone to wear a feather warbonnet because these headdresses no longer have any meaning. The sale of feather headdresses in the gift shop reinforces this.

In another example, the exhibit of human scalps—beyond the simple fact that it was a display of human remains—misrepresents a controversial practice, its label claiming simply in two sentences that precontact Native American peoples (such as the Iroquois and Muscogee, it claims) already practiced scalping because they believed it gave them *magische* (magical) power. The next two sentences claim that white people made scalping a practice that stands as a "bloody documentation of the grue-

some extermination of the Indian" in how bounties were set. While this does have some documented basis in historical fact, the emphasis on *Ausrottung* (extermination) again places Native American peoples as extinct relics of the past. The final sentence endeavors to explain the Native American ceremonial use of scalps (again, *all* Native Americans) and how the women danced with them, without contextual references:

> **Skalpe als Kriegstrophäen**
> Schon in vorkolumbischer Zeit wurde bei einigen Stämmen, z.B. bei den Irokesen und Muskhogee, dem besiegten Feind der Skalp genommen. Sie glaubten, damit die dem Kopfhaar innewohnende magische Lebenskraft auf sich übertragen zu können.
>
> Mit der Erschliessung des Inneren von Nordamerika machten die Weissen den Skalp zu einem blutigen Dokument der grausamen Ausrottung der Indianer. Hohe Geldprämien–1764 zahlte man für einen männlichen Skalp 134 Dollar, für einen weiblichen 50 Dollar—dienten als Anreiz zur systematischen Niedermetzelung von Männern, Frauen und Kindern.
>
> Beim Skalptanz, einem zeremoniellen Tanz, mit dem die Seele des skalpierten Feindes versöhnt werden sollte, trugen die Frauen die auf Rahmen gespannten Skalps auf langen Stangen tanzend mit sich.
>
> **Scalps as War Trophies**
> Already in pre-Columbian times, some tribes, for example, the Iroquois and Muscogee, took the scalps of their defeated enemies. They believed that with the hair from the head they could transfer the magical life power they [the scalps] possessed.
>
> With the development of the interior of North America, the whites made the scalps a bloody documentation of the gruesome extermination of the Indian. High bounties—in 1764 one paid $134 for a man's scalp and $50 for a woman's scalp—gave incentive for the systematic butchering of men, women, and children.
>
> In the Scalp Dance, a ceremonial dance through which the souls of the scalped enemies should be reconciled, the women carried scalps stretched on frames on long sticks and danced with them.

The rhetorical consequences of these particular labels are multiple: the mislabeling or vague labeling further divorces the objects from their

context and appropriate significance; the feather headdress label excuses non-Native appropriation of feather headdresses and their "festive" use; and the scalp label oversimplifies and sensationalizes a historical practice, overgeneralizes about who did what, and makes Indians absolute (extinct) victims. (It should be said that even if the scalps are replaced with replicas, as is the present plan after Pavlat's visit, the replicas still symbolize precisely the idea the label describes.) Through the May frame, then, Native Americans are again noble, savage, dead and gone, and their remains can be appropriated for whatever uses a respectable man sees fit.

The single point of somewhat visible cooperation with contemporary Native American contributors to the exhibit is the Little Bighorn exhibit at the end of the tour, though even this is enmeshed in the Karl May narrative. Situated as a kind of exemplar of an actual historical event instead of ethnographic narration, the display provides a history of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, complete with images of the battlefield as it stands now, photographs of the major leaders from the US Cavalry and Native bands, samples of weapons, and a short video documentary from the battle site dated 1993. The centerpiece of the display, however, is a juxtaposition of a large triptych painting of the fight at "Little Big Horn" by two German artists positioned over a glass case displaying an equally large nineteenth-century Plains-style narrative painting account of the battle entitled *Custers letzter Kampf* (Custer's last battle). What sets this Native piece aside from the rest of the work in Villa Bärenfett is the fact that it was recognized in 2002 by a Native visitor and artist, Arthur Amiotte (Oglala Lakota), as a work by his great-grandfather. After testing and reanalyzing, with the help of Amiotte, the museum altered its original erroneous declaration of the piece's provenance and has since built a better display case and relabeled it appropriately. The painting now lies in a horizontal glass case, with the German triptych displayed above it in juxtaposition. The exhibit further works through significance of the Indian Wars as "das Ende indianischer Freiheit" (the end of Indian freedom) and highlights a display case featuring a Ghost Dance shirt, the archaeological reconstruction of the battleground, and the conflict over its commemoration. The video documentary, featuring elder Joseph Medicine Crow (a descendant of White Man Runs Him, a scout for Custer) singing a battle song, provides both a sampling of oral history and a sense of actual Native voice.

Yet this display and the exhibit as a whole come to a close with a final quotation from Karl May's *Winnetou I*:

> Wenn es richtig ist, das alles, was lebt, zum Leben berechtigt ist, und dies sich ebenso auf die Gesamtheit wie auf das Einzelwesen bezieht, so besitzt der Rote das Recht zu existieren, nicht weniger als der Weisse und darf wohl Anspruch erheben auf die Befugnis, sich in sozialer, in staatlicher Beziehung nach seiner Individualität zu entwickeln.

> If it is true that every living thing has a right to life, and if this applies to whole nations as well as to individuals, then the Indian [literal translation, the "Red One"] has no less a right to his existence than the white man and is entitled to his chance to develop socially and politically in his own way.

While this is ostensibly a statement in favor of equality for Native American peoples, it is taken out of context within May's preface to the novel; this particular excerpt is preceded by the clear statement that "the Indian is dying" and followed by the epigraph as above. May clearly believed Native peoples to be a vanishing race, and so this attempt to salvage the *Winnetou* novels as frame is deceptive. At the same time, given the clear narration of destroyed cultures and lost freedom in the exhibit itself, this last label stands as the nineteenth-century lament over the Native American who is "thrown to the ground, crushed, trampled on by a fate that knows no pity" (May, *Winnetou I* xi) that it is. Whatever attempt at grounding a museum visitor's steps in actual history and the influence of Native voices is colored—if not trumped—by this final assertion of the May frame.

In short, this rhetorical meaning generated by the exhibit does little to forward rhetorical sovereignty or cultural sovereignty. First and foremost it is a footnote and a prop to "the Karl May legacy" as a legacy of colonialism and cultural appropriation. Villa Bärenfett blends the collections with the Karl May fictional world, erasing almost all Native voices in order to support the Karl May fiction and to fulfill Karl May fans' expectations. As both Wagner and Köhler observe, it is meant to be seen as an educational, cross-cultural support that broadens visitor perspectives and gives them authentic Native American culture to consider (Wagner and Köhler 2013). Perhaps there is a chance for that, but the

current exhibit is not cross-cultural—it is appropriative, and it does not promote Native voices, with the exception of the Little Bighorn section (and that via Amiotte's serendipitous help). The exhibit techniques lock people in the past, and therefore safely in the Karl May narrative, unable to challenge or change it and its vanishing Indian.

RAMIFICATIONS FOR INDIGENOUS RHETORICAL SOVEREIGNTY ON A GLOBAL SCALE

In *The Truth about Stories*, Cherokee writer Thomas King asserts that because stories have so much power, we need to be careful of the stories we tell and the ones that are told—in short, the stories that we accept. If he were to meet someone from far away (in this case, Pluto), he writes, "Personally, I'd want to hear a creation story, a story that recounts how the world was formed, how things came to be, for contained within creation stories are relationships that help to define the nature of the universe and how cultures understand the world in which they exist" (10). Given the way that story/narrative/history shape these relationships, museums are one of the most powerful purveyors of story; their status as institutions of science and education, and thus the narratives they provide to the public, should not be underestimated. At the same time, the problematic stories that have historically been told are also connected to societal systems of colonialism and oppression that support the status quo and carry emotional weight for all involved. These popular colonial stories die hard, however slanted or downright false they have been proven.

While the Karl May Museum may seem like a relatively small and insignificant site, it rests at the epicenter of one of these defining stories for Germany and Europe at large, wherever Karl May has been read. Therefore, the problems with its use of examples of Native American material culture, especially as they are so far from the homelands, cultural contexts, and people who gave them existence, are worth considering as part of a larger pattern or, if anything, the center of that pattern. Every public display, every museum exhibit tells a story that defines, in some way, "the nature of the universe" and how cultures understand each other in relation to each other and the world. Every public display, every museum exhibit, is an opportunity for Indigenous peoples to reassert themselves, to narrate their own lives and histories in ways

they have not previously had. And no, not all stories are created equal; as the Karl May narrative and museum amply demonstrate, narratives are created and disseminated as part of a culture's fabric, for particular purposes, often at the expense of other cultures or peoples. The alternative of simply providing an array of perspectives as though each were equal distorts history. It is not a matter of everyone having his or her own opinion; Indigenous rhetorical sovereignty is at stake.

In his germinal article that drew direct attention to rhetorical practices as part of Native and Indigenous sovereignty, Scott Richard Lyons defines "rhetorical sovereignty" as "the inherent right of [Indigenous] *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" (449–50, his italics). Based on an understanding of Indigenous communities as nation-peoples rather than nation-states, Lyons argues that the exercise of rhetorical sovereignty—Indigenous self-representation—eschews the European-based individualism of the nation-state and instead supports both self-government and "the affirmation of peoplehood" (456), which moves Native nation-peoples toward an overall sovereignty that, like the Haudenosaunee that he cites as an example, includes "the right of a people to exist and enter into agreements with other peoples for the sole purpose of promoting, not suppressing, local cultures and traditions, even while united by a common political project—in this case, the noble goal of peace between peoples" (456). Self-representation is part of the project of Indigenous sovereignty, however sovereignty comes to be defined by an Indigenous nation or community, and by changing and challenging the historical representations made of them (the white man's "Indian"), Indigenous peoples can also challenge the policies and material consequences these historical representations have supported.

For museums, this has meant a calling to account for the scholarly and representative practices involved in the creation of exhibits and museum sites. Knowing full well the impact that past museological attitudes and displays have had on the public and on Indigenous communities, museum scholars and curators—both Indigenous and Indigenous allied—have already been arguing for alternative methods and critical perspectives for years (see, e.g., Mihesuah; West; Kreps; Lawlor; Lonetree; Lonetree and Cobb-Greetham; Sleeper-Smith). "No longer can we take the Western museum concept and curatorial practices as nat-

uralized givens," Christina Kreps argues; we must "now see them [the concept and the practices] as cultural artifacts in themselves, or products of particular historical and cultural contexts created to serve specific interests and purposes" ("Non-Western" 459). Scholarly endeavors and research practices with Indigenous peoples require decolonization, meaning (at minimum) a reorientation of research to work with and serve Indigenous peoples rather than building scholarly work on their backs to serve non-Indigenous purposes (Tuhiwai-Smith). Around the world—North and South America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere—existing museums developed at the sites of colonization have turned to rethink their positions vis-à-vis the Indigenous peoples they have claimed to represent and have made efforts to consult with and work alongside Indigenous communities (see, e.g., Rassool in Sleeper-Smith; Coombes). Yet even these museums struggle to tell these stories responsibly; for example, though the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC, has done groundbreaking work in consultation and mounting of exhibits with Native communities and nations, critiques about how well it acknowledges colonialism (Lonetree and Cobb-Greetham), the attendant "hard truths" it arguably skirts (Lonetree), and the ways in which it needs to clarify its frame (L. King) suggest ways in which it still has work to do. Tribally owned and operated museums are substantial and perhaps the primary platforms from which Indigenous communities and nations can self-represent—Brenda Child has argued that they are uniquely positioned to do so in ways that regional or national museums cannot—but even they have challenges to work out as they negotiate and reshape the rhetorical and historically colonial frame of museums for their own communities.

Considering rhetorical sovereignty as the right to claim self-representation is therefore key in building Indigenous sovereignty in relationship to museums, and while all these examples come from colonized lands, self-representation is arguably not necessarily restricted to homelands or, in this case, North America. The "United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (UNDRIP) clearly states that basic rights include "the right to maintain, protect, and develop the past, present, and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature" (UNDRIP Article 11 [1]); "the right to the use and the control of their ceremonial objects; and the right

to the repatriation of their human remains" (Article 12 [1]); "the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories, and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information" (Article 15 [1]); and "the right to maintain, control, protect, and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions" (Article 31 [1]). There is no question that Indigenous peoples have a recognized right to their cultures, past and present, wherever those cultural representations take place.

If anything, the farther away from origins or homelands these collections are, the more they need appropriate context to make them accessible. In *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian Ott outline the intersections of rhetoric, memory, and place as they conceive them to meet in museum and memorial spaces. One concept that emerges from this discussion is "rhetorical legibility," or "a sense of readability or understanding of an expression" in public sites (4). But far from being transparent, rhetorical legibility is "predicated in publically recognizable symbolic activity in context. That is, rhetoric typically understands discourses, events, objects, and practices as timely, of the moment, specific, and addressed to—or constitutive of—particular audiences in particular circumstances" (4). Rhetorical legibility also presupposes a multiplicity of meanings based on social norms, accepted cultural practices, accepted histories, and orientations toward the symbol or meaning making in general (4).

In the case of Native American collections far from home, making them "rhetorically legible" in a way that is in line or at least in conversation with Indigenous rhetorical sovereignty is a particular challenge because of how easy it is for the host community's own interpretations to override Indigenous meaning making. Any museum that houses Indigenous or Native American artifacts has an obligation to work as far as it can with the communities it wishes to represent, as best it can in the context of Indigenous or Native American material culture, in cooperation with Indigenous and Native American communities and nations. At the very least, such a museum would need to be self-critical and conscious of the way it uses its Indigenous collections to attempt avoiding appropriating these objects' rhetorical, meaning-making potential. When such institutions fail to engage in self-critical practices, they silence Indigenous peoples. Thus the Karl May Museum starkly

illustrates the need for museums to reconsider and keep considering their relationship to colonial narratives and their lasting, present consequences, even if those institutions are far from the collections' original homes. In that space, what is made legible is the German narrative of *Indianer* while the other potential meanings, including Indigenous meanings, for these objects and displays are largely invisible.

CONCLUSIONS: WHERE THE CONVERSATION STANDS

As the protests against "Indian" mascots have already argued, simply to change the name from the "R-word" is not enough, however offensive it is; the very image of the Native as a mascot is the problem. Likewise, repatriating a few items from the Karl May Museum collections will not fix the larger problem; for instance, at the time of this writing there are attempts to revitalize interest in the *Winnetou* stories with a new three-part "TV-Spektakel," complete with Albanian actor Nik Xhelilaj in the title role of Winnetou ("Darsteller in TV-Remake"). The popular emphasis continues to rest on fantasy and stereotype, and the Karl May Museum as it stands will support and perpetuate them.

In order to challenge this problem in a meaningful way, the May frame in Villa Bärenfett needs a new vision and a new way to make this collection legible, though it requires more than an updated display, better climate control, and more interactive features for visitors. If the Karl May Museum wants a new vision, one that actually and tangibly promotes peace, tolerance, and cross-cultural understanding, it should devise a long-term plan that uses its current fund-raising to attempt an actual partnership with Native American peoples, not the colonial fantasy. It will need to slough off the desire to be a "blood brother" or to play Indian (or even protector of the Indian) and instead recognize the realities and consequences of colonialism of which the Karl May story is a part. It has the potential to use the evolution of May as a writer, however limited it was, to actually illustrate how paradigms can shift and how to become active in this endeavor. The human remains need to go home, without question. The Native American materials that might remain in the collection can be reimagined in tandem with the communities they represent, not as an illustration of the Karl May fiction but rather as a properly contextualized counterpoint to it, a place to begin the conversation of colonialism, Germany's role in it, the power of rep-

resentations and the distortions of "playing Indian," and what contemporary partnerships look like. It also has the opportunity to bring its narrative visibly into the twenty-first century, perhaps with an expansion of the collection with new and contemporary work to show living Indigenous artistic traditions, not vanishing Indians.

In my interviews with Wagner and Köhler, both lamented the drop-off in visitors to the museum in the last decade. On the one hand, they were conscious of how the current exhibit does not really do justice to Native peoples; on the other hand, they both voiced a strong desire to make May's legacy relevant for the next generation. They recognized that the current May narrative played to "Indianthusiasm" and wished to be more respectful in the display of Native material culture, but they could not think of what could be done to make the museum more respectful to Native communities and nations while remaining relevant to the Karl May fandom and the regional population. Köhler, however, insisted that the current museum had plenty of Native visitors, most were impressed with the exhibit, and none had complained (personal interview). Currently, the museum has been maintaining that line in spite of the now publicly documented efforts since 2010 to repatriate human remains (and also technically with the exhibit label that was admittedly caught in error by Amiotte on the provenance of the Little Big Horn painting).

In her response to a letter from Survival International arguing for repatriation during the 2014 protests, the present director of the museum, Claudia Kaulfuss, asserted, "It has never been and never will be the Karl May Museum's aim to show disrespect to any Native American or First Nations culture" (1). At the same time, she firmly denied any conclusive provenance that would allow her to return the scalps and insisted that the display of the scalps was a demonstration of "a part of Native American cultural history. If you saw our exhibition, you would know that there is a special focus on the misuse of scalps" (1).[14] The collection, in the meantime, is "one of the most valuable in Europe" and "symbolizes Native American life, struggle, and suffering. We are aware of Native Americans / First Nations not being extinct, having Native American visitors and guests to our Museum every year who know about and also like the exhibit" (2). Kaulfuss closed her letter by articulating an interest in "intensifying the dialogue with Native Americans" and her appreciation of "critical views" (2).

It is true that the value of the collection is in many ways beyond esti-

mating, and the Karl May Museum is on the cusp of a developmental shift. The question remains whether it will finally attune itself to the protests, concerns, and "critical views" that are now coming across the Atlantic, even after the problems with the scalps are settled, or whether it will insist on the value of the collection as valuable insofar as it continues to serve the Karl May fiction. The Karl May Museum also raises continued questions about how other European museums rhetorically frame themselves and their Native American collections. Sorting out matters concerning ownership, representation, and what should ideally happen at the Karl May Museum or any other is without question a complex task, and cultural differences, translation issues, cost, and physical distance complicate matters further. Yet if Karl May's words as they are mounted at the end of the exhibit are to be relevant at all—if there is an actual recognition that Native American peoples have a right to develop in their own ways—then it is past time for the museum to set an example for other institutions by offering itself as a partner to the communities it represents, not a blood brother, and by becoming critically aware of its story's impact in Germany, in Europe, and all the way back to the Americas.

LISA KING is an assistant professor of rhetoric, writing, and linguistics in the Department of English at the University of Tennessee–Knoxville. Her research and teaching interests are interdisciplinary and include cultural rhetorics with an emphasis on contemporary American Indian and indigenous rhetorics, visual and material rhetorics, and rhetorical sovereignty. More specifically, her focus rests on the rhetorics of cross-cultural sites such as Indigenous museums and cultural centers and theorizing cross-cultural pedagogies. Her scholarship has appeared in journals such as *College Literature*, *Pedagogy*, *American Indian Quarterly*, and *JAC*. Currently, her book manuscript "Legible Sovereignties" continues to explore the rhetorical practices that surround and produce public representations of Native peoples within the United States in museums and cultural centers. She is of European and Delaware descent.

NOTES

All English translations of German-language museum-related materials are the author's and were completed in consultation with native German-speaking scholars; there were no English-language labels or materials at the time of the research visit except for the single brochure. English translations from the *Winnetou* trilogy rely on Michael Shaw's translation of May's work but were cross-checked with the German originals.

1. I use "Native" or "Native American" in this article as it is commonly accepted in Native American and Indigenous studies to indicate Indigenous nations and communities primarily of the United States. Particularly because of the mixed contents of the Karl May Museum, I use "Native" to refer to the materials there unless I am speaking of a particular object whose community/nation provenance is known. I use "Indigenous" to speak broadly of such peoples from around the colonized world. I use "German" in the article to refer to a culture situated specifically within political boundaries of the present but also to the nation as it was defined during the nineteenth century and during its post–World War II division between East and West. While many of these perceptions of Native peoples extend to other German-speaking countries and countries in Europe, the scope of the article is restricted to Germany.

2. I do want to acknowledge here the generosity of both André Köhler and René Wagner in their willingness to speak with me about a difficult subject and engage in a dialogue that showed promise of developing into a deeper conversation. I hope at some point we can begin it again. Thanks also to reviewers for their helpful feedback and to my department for its funding support of my research.

3. I include *Bild* here among more august publications because of its wide circulation; even if it is not generally considered a reliable news source, it is still a popular publication that skews to the sensational, which means its coverage of Native protests and events creates additional interpretive problems that deserve attention.

4. Not that academic institutions are automatically better in their care or stewardship of Native American material culture, though because of their obligations as educational establishments they have frequently done more to situate their collections; it is simply more conventional that such places should house these kinds of collections.

5. I note these two scholars' well-established work in order to foreground the rhetorical nature of the "Indian" as frame, as well as to fully acknowledge the theory that is so frequently footnoted in German and American scholars' analyses of the *Indianer*.

6. For example, in "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective," Austrian scholar Christian F. Feest observes that this phenomenon has occurred in literature across Europe, and he cites Swedish, French, English, Polish, and German writers and artists who either created Indian heroes with European lineage or went so far as to attempt to claim Native lineage themselves (Feest 29). Additionally, he observes that Indian hobbyism is far from an exclusively German practice, as it has "deep historical roots in countries such as Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, and the former Czechoslovakia" (though he also notes that only a fraction of the population participates in this kind of "cultural transvestism") (30–31). Kate Flint's recent work on the history of British formulations of the "Indian" as it affected British perceptions of the Americas and, in tandem, its own place in the world in relationship to the America-as-British-conceived-Indian trope underscores the variation of the "Indian" over several centuries in Europe.

7. It should be noted that May himself never set foot on American soil until 1908, long after the first three *Winnetou* novels were published, and even then he did not go farther west than New York State.

8. As already noted, it is worth pointing out that many European countries and cultural groups have participated in the May phenomenon, but it is beyond the scope of this study to address them all. Because Karl May is German and his museum is in Germany, the focus for this study is Germany.

9. For a more extensive treatment of hobbyist role playing based in perceptions of the American Wild West in East Germany, see Borries and Fischer.

10. While it could be argued that *Der Schuh* is a subversive film for its mockery of Karl May, because the satire does not seriously attempt to replace these stereotypes with anything substantive, in my own reading of it the film uses Karl May and the *Winnetou* trilogy as a convenient construct to mock German popular culture that ultimately does nothing to address Native American realities, thus reifying the problem and cementing the mock Indian in popular imagination. Whatever its rhetorical intentions, it is effectively a film for Germans, about Germans, at Native peoples' expense.

11. In December 2013 Wagner was suddenly replaced by Claudia Kaulfuss, who is the current director; Köhler was still listed as the public relations manager up until April 2014 (shortly after the story and Native protests over the museum's display of Native scalps broke in German media), though the website no longer shows him on staff. Email efforts to reach both of them and the museum itself for comment have been met with silence.

12. "Beide Ausstellungen sind vom Geist der Völkerverständigung, der Nächstenliebe und der Toleranz gegenüber uns weitgehend fremden Kultur-und Lebensauffassungen getragen, einem Geist, dem sich Karl May und die nach ihm benannte Stiftung verpflichtet fühlen" (Both exhibits are carried by the same spirit of cross-cultural understanding, compassion, and tolerance vis-à-vis largely foreign cultures and worldviews, a spirit to which Karl May and the endowment named after him feel responsible) (Wagner, "Zum Geleit" 4).

13. The building is named for the character Winnetou's younger sister, who in the first volume of the trilogy falls in love with Old Shatterhand, seeks to go east to get a white woman's education in order to be more palatable to him (a doomed endeavor given that Old Shatterhand cannot see himself marrying an Indian), and dies a tragic death at the hands of deceptive "Yankees" on her way (May, *Winnetou I*).

14. It should be noted that, as the labeling discussion above already reveals, the "special focus" is problematic at best.

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"Beyond All Age"

Indigenous Water Rights in Linda Hogan's Fiction

LINDSEY CLAIRE SMITH AND
TREVER LEE HOLLAND

From the Mississippi Flood of 1927 to the Dust Bowl of the 1930s, from Hurricanes Katrina and Rita of 2005 to the BP oil spill of 2010, from the Flint, Michigan, water crisis of 2016 to drought conditions that have persisted for the past several years, environmental events have revealed water to be both a threatening curse and a threatened commodity. Amid these threats—and institutional responses to them—human beings strive not only to survive but also to conquer, an impulse that has intertwined claims to waters with the conquest of Native America. Waterways are thus a central emphasis in Linda Hogan's ecocritical works, which link water to tribes' exercise of sovereignty. Though Hogan's writings have been productively studied within the broader context of environmental literature, her renderings of Indigenous waters are also linked to the historical and legal challenges that her Chickasaw community has endured as it has sought to manage its waterways in Oklahoma. At present, the Chickasaws are embroiled in a high-stakes battle over access to water in Oklahoma, and the tribe's differences from Indigenous nations in the West, which are typically based on reservations, lie at the heart of the disputes.

This article connects Hogan's depiction of Indigenous relationships to water in her novels *Mean Spirit* (1990), *Power* (1998), *Solar Storms* (1995), and *People of the Whale* (2008) with Chickasaw histories of water and the tribe's investment in resource management. This investment includes its involvement in two lawsuits, *Tarrant Regional Water District v. Herrmann* (2007) and *Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations v. Governor Mary Fallin, OWRB, and Oklahoma City* (2011).[1] These historical and legal contexts highlight anew Hogan's occupation with water as united to her commitment to Indigenous sovereignty and her broader assertions of social justice and global environmental activism. Throughout

her works, set in locations both near to and far from Chickasaw country, which she calls “the place where I originate” (Harrison 162), Hogan creates images of water that capture her investment in Indigenous peoples’ relationships to the natural world, which express both political and spiritual sovereignty. Ultimately, this study of Hogan’s literature sheds new light on the political and cultural implications of her work, as well as on the critical role of water to Indigenous narratives.

Hogan’s career, spanning numerous plays, poetry collections, essays, and novels, defines her as one of the foremost Indigenous ecofeminist writers. Scholars such as Lee Schweninger have examined how Hogan’s writing diverges from stereotypical associations of Native peoples with elements of nature while at the same time firmly establishing an Indigenous land ethic. Others, including Lydia Cooper, have explored the sacred dimensions of Hogan’s commitment to sustainability. Greta Gaard and Sylvia Schultermandl have argued that Hogan’s environmental ethic is inclusive, incorporating those of many tribal and ethnic identities. Joni Adamson extends this inclusivity, pointing out alliances between humans and nonhuman species as evidence of cosmopolitanism in Hogan’s work. This inclusivity, however, has also led some to question the effectiveness of Hogan’s environmentalism. As Ernest Stromberg points out, Hogan’s rendering of tribal nations of which she is not a member has, for some, shadowed her attempts to affirm political Indigenous sovereignty. Our study of Hogan’s representations of water within the context of Chickasaw water rights affirms connections between literature and the concrete realities of law and land within a particular tribal jurisdiction, balancing typical pan-Indian assessments of her work.

Though she currently resides in Colorado, Linda Hogan keeps a home in Ada, Oklahoma, the capital of the Chickasaw Nation, where she combines her bond to this homeland with her writing and activism. Her sense of environmental responsibility is captured in words from her memoir, *The Woman Who Watches Over the World* (2002): “We are together in this, all of us, and it’s our job to love each other, human, animal, and land, the way ocean loves shores, and shore loves and needs the ocean, even if different elements” (29). Rooted in her Chickasaw identity, Hogan thus looks outward to landscapes and communities across the globe through her characters, who, through their interactions with water, express social and environmental activism.

Hogan's foregrounding of water as key to sovereignty in her works reflects her Chickasaw ancestors' close association with waterways from earliest accounts. Chickasaws, like other tribes descended from mound-building Mississippian peoples of the South, including Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Seminoles, who were also relocated to Indian Territory, espoused belief in a cosmos that was ordered in relation to spirits, plants, and animals and in which water held a critical role. According to Robbie Ethridge, this cosmos consisted of three worlds: Above World; Middle World, the world of humans; and Below World (19). Middle World was a disc floating on water, and it was connected to the other worlds through "a central axis . . . [that] could take the form of a center pole or a sacred tree, often a cedar tree. From the center radiated the four cardinal directions" (20). The Below World was likewise characterized by water, as the realm was understood to be completely underwater, ruled by the Underwater Panther, or Piasa (22). Importantly, Mississippian ecological knowledge dictated that humans maintain the balance of the cosmos, reinstating order during periods of imbalance (24). Water, then, was not simply a commodity necessary for survival; it was tied to Chickasaws' spiritual lives as well.

Chickasaw oral tradition shares some affinity with this anthropological assessment. As Richard Green explains, Chickasaws locate their narrative of migration to their southern homelands in the story of twin brothers, Chickasah and Chatah, who, at the direction of medicine man Ubabeneli, follow a sacred pole, or *fa-bus-sah,* westward (5–6). The story goes that the pole would be erected in camp, and overnight mystical forces would move it slightly to indicate the direction for travel. The people traveled west from what is now Mexico before reaching "an immense body of water," apparently the Mississippi River, "that stopped them cold, both physically and emotionally. Their astonishment and reverence was such that they named it *misha sipokni,* 'beyond all age.' . . . Physically, the vast river was so inspiring that many believed it was a sign they had reached their destination" (5–6). The people crossed the river, however, since the pole continued to lean east, and they came to reside near the Tombigbee River. Accounts differ as to how and why the two brothers, whose names correspond to the tribal names Chickasaw and Choctaw, became separated. Considering the significance of the sacred tree to Mississippian cosmology, as well as the prevalence of water in that belief system, one may begin to contemplate the profound

connection that Chickasaws developed to the Tombigbee and Mississippi Rivers and eventually to other waterways in Oklahoma.

Traces of the centrality to her fiction of these connections to water appear in Hogan’s meditations on environment, *Dwellings* (1996). Hogan argues in her essay “What Holds the Water, What Holds the Light” that “water and earth love each other . . . meeting at night, at the shore, being friends together, dissolving in each other, in the give and take that is where grace comes from” (46). In this language, Hogan adopts a tone that celebrates the relationships between the planet’s resources and points out the importance of water for herself as a Chickasaw woman, for her community, indeed, for all life. Hogan describes the movement of water as round and cyclical and suggests that the ecological effects of unsound practices also move “in a circle, following us around the world as we lose something of such immense value that we do not yet know its name” (107–08). Hogan’s writings, though celebrating the earth’s gifts, thus also expose state and federal policies to govern, contain, dominate, and control.

Through ranging characters and settings, Hogan’s novels all assert the necessity of the Western world to reorient toward environmental sustainability. Hogan explains, “If I look back on my novels as a pattern, every one of them has a return to indigenous knowledge systems. . . . I think that the Western world has that to learn from indigenous peoples all over the world” (Harrison 170–71). Similar to the ethics determining Mississippian belief systems, the scenarios created emphasize humans’ responsibility to correct environmental imbalances. In Hogan’s novels *Mean Spirit* (1990) and *Power* (1998), these scenarios occur on landscapes of the South, places infused with spiritual and historical memory. In these locations, water accentuates Native peoples’ long-standing environmental stewardship of their homelands, which is their foundation for counteracting nontribal control. The trickling sounds of southern waters in *Mean Spirit* intensify to a roar in *Power*, and both novels show water’s critical role in tribal sovereignty despite the actions of state and federal authorities.

Mean Spirit, like current disputes over water rights in Oklahoma, explores battles over oil extraction that were central to the founding of the state. The historical inspiration for the novel is the Osage Indian Murders of the early 1920s. This act of terrorism during heightened infiltration of Osage land by non-Indians occurred when dozens of

Osage citizens who had rights to revenue from oil on their lands were methodically killed by a gang of white men led by William Hale. As Alix Casteel argues, the non-Indians of the text conflate oil reserves with oil-rich Osages themselves, and the wounds they inflict on both are a perversion of Natives' ties to land and resources in the area (50). Though Hogan is primarily occupied with characters of a different tribe from her own, her Chickasaw identity nonetheless pervades the narrative. *Mean Spirit* depicts strong matriarchs, such as the character Belle Graycloud, a part-Chickasaw expert corn farmer who, with silver hair "like an ancient waterfall" (10), is descended not only from Osages but also from ancestors who came to Oklahoma from Mississippi over the Trail of Tears. Evocative more of Mississippian peoples than the patrilineal Siouan peoples from whom Osages descended, matriarchs such as Belle are leaders of their families and tribe, and their direction is critical to survival despite physical and environmental threats.[2] Fulfilling a well-established pattern, images of water—and its scarcity—permeate the text's representation of the ethical and environmental imbalance that the murders, not to mention statehood itself, represent.

Fire and water are dominant images in *Mean Spirit* that evoke a particular landscape at the same time that they are the framework for human relationships to ecology. The story begins with a forecast for drought by Michael Horse, a water diviner, which foreshadows later human and environmental tragedies. The opening scene, describing "tents of gauzy mosquito netting" set up "near the marshland" (3), seems more characteristic of the South than Osage country, which is prime cattle-ranching land in northern Oklahoma. Nevertheless, in placing together images of marshland and fire, Hogan foregrounds a central tension between water and drought on the land that is brought into stark relief because of the oil industry: "A little ways down the road toward Watona, Indian Territory, a forest of burned trees was just becoming visible in morning's red firelight. Not far from there, at the oil fields, the pumps rose and fell, pulling black oil up through layers of rock" (4). As the novel progresses, the acceleration of the oil industry pollutes the water and scars the land at the same time that it prompts Grace Blanket's murder and her daughter Nola's endangerment. This danger appears when Nola and her friend Rena discover oil in a stream near their home: "At first it looked like blood. They thought it was silty clay seeping from the bottom of water, but then they smelled the oil" (228). The metaphorical representation

of oil as "the broken earth's black blood" (229) intensifies as Watona becomes arid and dusty and Indians seem to become scarce, evidence of the state's lax efforts to report the Osage murders to the FBI.

This environmental degradation disrupts the balance of the earth and has profound spiritual implications. Along with Michael Horse, whose observations in *The Book of Horse* lead him to rethink the authority of the Bible, Lila Blanket is another character with keen insight cultivated through water. A river prophet, Lila is "a listener to the voice of water, a woman who interpreted the river's story for her people" (5). Hogan continues, "A river never lied. Unlike humans, it had no need to distort the truth, and she heard the river's voice unfolding like its water across the earth. One day the Blue River told Lila that the white world was going to infringe on the peaceful Hill People" (5–6). Though the Blue River is in the Chickasaw Nation, quite a ways south of this Osage setting, its message is no less consistent with the sullying of the waterways of the Hill people, Osage traditionalists, the fencing of Belle Graycloud's creek, and the increasing presence of ghosts. Hogan writes, "It seemed as though, toward the end of that year, people became the opposite of what they had previously been, as if the earth's polar axis had shifted" (171). Joe Billy, an Osage Christian pastor, confirms that the white world is waging a war against the earth (14), and he develops a sense of resignation that leads him to renounce Christianity. By the end of the novel, Michael Horse's and Sam Billy's efforts to bring the earth back into balance by reconnecting with Indigenous ecological and spiritual knowledge, emblematized in the bat religion, do contribute to the survival of Nola and the remaining members of the Graycloud family, which reflects the sense of human responsibility to the earth that is such a signature characteristic of Hogan's writings.

Power likewise interrogates the tensions between tribal peoples and nontribal governments over natural resources, specifically southern waters. Hogan situates the novel within the historical trial of James E. Billie, a Seminole, who was arrested, tried, and acquitted for killing a Florida panther, a federally protected endangered species (Bolgiona 142). As she does in *Mean Spirit,* Hogan references Mississippian culture and cosmology, a precursor of Chickasaw culture. Like the Mississippian religion, the creation story of protagonist Omishto's fictional Taiga tribe is linked to the panther. A spiritual being that sustains the life of the tribe and is closely associated with the watery environment of the

swamps of southern Florida, the panther's significance to the community is highlighted when an older Taiga woman, Ama, shoots and kills it. Ama stands trial and is acquitted by the state but ultimately banished by tribal elders.

Hogan links the fate of the Florida panther and the Taigas in the unique southern environment of the Florida Everglades, where, in the aftermath of a hurricane, urban development threatens sustainability. Reflecting the connections between endangered natural resources and the precarious status of the tribe, Omi states, "There are so few of them [Florida panthers] as there are of us. Thirty of them left, maybe less, no one knows for sure, but they are endangered" (58, 59). Further exposing the complex relationship between her people and environmental resources, she goes on, "We are Taiga Indians and no one has heard of us. We are a small tribe and we are swamp people. Some say we, too, are fallen" (85). As in *Mean Spirit,* the landscape in *Power* uncharacteristically becomes marked by drought. Omi explains, "The land and the trees have needed rain. It has been a drought. This is the year of wildfire in places that were swamp, the year Lake Okeechobee was opened and the water level down here rose so much it drowned all the fawns" (27). The Taigas' loss of water rights has a dramatic impact; the state's water policies change the entire ecosystem.

Unchecked urban development in southern Florida is to blame for unsustainable water practices in the novel. Jack E. Davis argues: "Land companies, corporate farmers, and politicians alike believed that once the rich peaty Everglade's soil was liberated from the 'damage of inundation' . . . the region would offer unlimited possibilities for agricultural expansion and profit" (55). Through Ama's civil and tribal trials, Hogan critiques a legal system that does not support the needs of the fragile ecosystem of the Taigas, however. As Lee Schweninger points out, though the panther is ostensibly the symbolic focus of the novel, it is the panther's habitat—threatened by development, especially roads—that is key to the future of the tribe, which must enact a right relationship with that environment (201). Ama braves the legal system because of her belief in the panther-centered creation account, which promises the regeneration of a dry and broken world. Greta Gaard interprets these actions as Hogan's commentary on the ethics of tradition: "Questioning tradition by seeking the roots of tradition may be a more liberatory strategy for discovering a life-affirming way of living on this earth that has always

been the oldest tradition of all” (89). Although tribal members do not understand Ama’s motivation—to strengthen the community’s spiritual resolve by shielding them from the fragile and sickly condition of the panther—the tribal court, unlike the state court, recognizes the importance of the panther and water to the future of the Taiga people.

The two recent lawsuits over water management in Oklahoma, *Tarrant v. Herrmann* and *Chickasaw v. Fallin*, mirror this conflict between tribal and state courts amid urban demands, with the *Tarrant* case especially offering a case study of the implications for tribes of unchecked development in the contemporary era that Hogan depicts in *Mean Spirit* and *Power.* This conflict between Texas and southern Oklahoma tribes over access to resources is hardly new. After Andrew Jackson signed into law the Removal Act of 1830, the Chickasaw leadership signed the Franklin Removal Treaty, which ceded Chickasaw lands but stipulated that “if a country suitable to their wants and conditions cannot be found, then . . . this treaty and all its provisions shall be considered null and void” (qtd. in St. Jean 10). This stipulation resulted in considerable delay in the Chickasaws’ move from Mississippi; the leadership’s dissatisfaction with their choices in Indian Territory meant that eventually their only option was to purchase land within the Choctaw Nation. A key item in the removal document that the Choctaws signed in 1830, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, was free and navigable streams in Indian Territory.

For Chickasaws, a central concern in identifying suitable lands in Indian Territory was likewise access to water. During their expeditions in Indian Territory in the early 1830s, they sought two characteristics: fertile bottoms along streams and cane brake to provide winter forage for livestock (Paige, Bumpers, and Littlefield 27). They found the Red River watershed (which forms the current Oklahoma-Texas border) to be the most promising, since the False Washita, Blue, Boggy, and Kiamichi waterways had such bottoms and cane, along with nearby timber and rich prairies (27–28). Eventually, in 1837 the Chickasaws and Choctaws signed the Treaty of Doaksville, which created a Chickasaw district that was subject to Choctaw law but was on equal footing with Choctaw districts and equally represented in the Choctaw Council (65). Because Chickasaws retained control over their own finances, they were well positioned for their later restoration of national sovereignty in an agreement with the US government in 1856.

Upon their arrival in Indian Territory, many Chickasaws were eager to make their homes immediately in the agreed-upon district, since it was as close as they could approximate to the lands they had left within the Tombigbee River watershed. Chickasaw agent G. P. Kingsbury observed that the area on the Clear Boggy River was sufficient range for livestock, containing cane brakes and grass, as well as fertile land, timber, and good water (Paige, Bumpers, and Littlefield 172). The first Chickasaw agency, Boggy Depot, was established there and eventually became a stop on the Butterfield Overland Stage Coach route, as well as a Confederate commissary depot during the Civil War.

Once in Indian Territory, Chickasaws found themselves in continual conflict with Texas, a precursor of the current tensions over access to water. Texas was waging its own campaign against Indians due to some tribes' affiliation with Mexico. Kickapoos, for example, were expelled from Texas and pushed onto the lands of Chickasaws, who did not welcome them, and Texans constantly invaded the area (St. Jean 30–32). In the late nineteenth century, the land that was supposed to be under the exclusive control of Chickasaws in Indian Territory was, much as the case had been in Mississippi, subject to accelerating non-Indian encroachment, with adverse results for the natural resources there. In the aftermath of the Curtis Act of 1898, which mandated the Five Tribes' allotment and the dissolution of tribal governments by 1906, some non-Indians who took up residence in the Chickasaw Nation began fencing off the tracts and exhausting the land. Environmental degradation had taken its toll by the 1930s, when the fertile agricultural potential of Chickasaw country in Oklahoma had been compromised by erosion due to deforestation, overuse of the land, and cattle ranging (St. Jean 59).

According to the *Tarrant* suit, filed in 2007, Texas did not have enough water to supply and sustain its municipalities and had claims to waters in Oklahoma, an argument that touched upon Choctaws' and Chickasaws' long-standing concerns about environmental security as a mainstay of sovereignty. The Tarrant District serves North Texas municipalities, including Fort Worth, which have a reputation for their proliferation of suburbs, exurbs, and unchecked urban sprawl. This distinguishing culture of Texas cities is the result of developer-friendly policies, including tax laws, and investment in highways to the neglect of mass transit or other environmental considerations (Kim). In the Texans' view, Oklahoma had more than enough water and should have been

compelled to sell its water out of state despite its current ban on water sales. When in 2007 the Tarrant District sought to tap the Kiamichi River, not only wholly inside Oklahoma but also within Choctaw and Chickasaw jurisdictions, the state refused to allow the sale. The United States Supreme Court heard arguments in the case in April 2013, during which Charles Rothfield, representing Texas, offered that Texas had the right to cross into Oklahoma and get its fair share of the state's water (Slanchik). The suit did not name tribal authorities, which indicated a lack of acknowledgment of tribes' claims to waterways and followed a history of tensions between the Chickasaw Nation and Texas over access to tribal lands. On June 13, 2013, a unanimous supreme court ruled in favor of Oklahoma, with Justice Sotomayor delivering the opinion (*Tarrant Regional Water District v. Herrmann*). In an interesting twist, the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations filed briefs in support of Oklahoma's position regarding the *Tarrant* case despite their separate suit, *Chickasaw v. Fallin*, against Oklahoma state authorities.

Hogan's assertion of water rights as fundamental to Indigenous sovereignty is thus firmly rooted in historical and present realities, which, as in *Mean Spirit* and *Power*, are rendered in Hogan's other two novels, *Solar Storms* (1995) and *People of the Whale* (2008). In these texts, governmental policies radically compromise waterways and endanger the livelihoods of Native peoples. Though departing from settings in the South, the two texts are nonetheless shaped through Hogan's Chickasaw lens and exhibit the author's engagement with tribal water rights on an international scale. *Solar Storms*, which Rachel Stein and Joni Adamson name as a signature title in the literature of environmental justice (156), depicts Cree people's historical relationship with water and their fight for water rights in Quebec in the 1970s. According to Laura Castor, in the 1970s, Hydro-Quebec (a hydrotechnological corporation) began to construct dams on major rivers to produce electricity consumed by New England states, which resulted in "widespread, comprehensive damage to the James Bay ecosystem and . . . Cree communities" (158). In addition to exposing this injustice through the novel, Hogan portrays the indigenous communities' assertion of their political autonomy in their fight for water; importantly, Bush, who leads this fight, is a Chickasaw woman. The setting, a region in dispute between Canada, the United States, and tribes, is removed from the Chickasaw Nation, but the text, which incorporates commentary on legal frameworks that disrupt

Indigenous water rights, exposes the broader problems—including disputed jurisdictional authority—that undermine environmental sovereignty for tribes such as the Chickasaws that are fighting against diversion of their water.

The fight for water depicted in *Solar Storms* demonstrates a common lack of governmental acknowledgment that tribes rightfully claim both resources and land. Although Cree people never surrendered their claims, in 1971 Hydro-Quebec "began diverting the energy of the rivers flowing into the James Bay" (Castor 157–58). The ensuing ecological collapse as a result of the changes to the topography of the land was widespread, and the damage to Cree peoples culturally and psychologically was equally severe (158). In his discussion of Quebec dams, historian Will Hamley explains that water and land represented more than simply economic resources to Cree people; they were a "means of survival" (94–95). As Hamley argues, Cree existence is culturally, physically, and spiritually linked with the land, and "the impending upheavals would compromise their existence as distinct cultures" (100). The ties between the tribe and its waterway thus demonstrate the justification for water rights upon which federal Indian policy is based.

Hogan's narrative calls attention to Cree resistance to threats to its water chiefly through the actions of strong Indian women in the community of Adam's Rib, a female-centered society. The protagonist, Angel Wing, ruminates on the effects of colonial history on the ecology of her homeland, describing a "place where water was broken apart by land, land split open by water so that the maps showed places both bound and . . . boundless . . . in an ancient pact, now broken" (21). In her view, developers embrace a ruthless attitude toward water management: "These men would do anything to take it, change it, and make it fit their wants and dreams. A golf course would break apart the holy ground, a hunting lodge for those few monied men to come for trophies. Above all, they were certain they would win in this game of their creation" (282). However, the blame for reckless attitudes toward water is shared among many, including herself. Angel laments, "Between us there had once been a bond, something like the ancient pact land had made with water, or the agreement humans once made with animals. But like other bonds, this bond, too, lay broken" (22). Angel learns from a tribal elder that in the past, the people were forced "to overtrap for food," which led to the starvation of many after animal populations fell (238). This threat

of starvation recurs and serves as a poignant reminder of the threat to tribal life that a compromised environment causes. As in Hogan’s other fiction, broken relationships between humans and the natural world in *Solar Storms* signal imbalance in the cosmos that must be righted.

Convinced of the necessity of fighting the developers, Angel, along with her great-grandmother Agnes Iron, Agnes’s mother, Dora-Rouge, and Bush, a Chickasaw who once was married to a Cree man, embark on a perilous journey through the Boundary Waters to protest at the site of the dam, giving shape to Hogan’s model of community activism infused with the energy of female leadership. According to Bush, legal authority is the earth’s alone: “Why are only white laws followed? This will kill the world. What is the law if not the earth’s?” (283). Bush’s sentiments mirror the ethical justification for civil disobedience when the future of the cosmos is at stake. Although Bush and the Cree fail to stop the construction of the dam, they continue their fight through legal battles in an attempt to assuage a history of colonialism that endures in environmental policies and actions.

Hogan’s most recent novel, *People of the Whale*, ranges across multiple geographies, comprising a global scope unseen in her other fiction. Like *Solar Storms*, the novel is based on an actual conflict over rights to waterways that inform recent cases concerning federal Indian law. Hogan’s fictional A’atsika community is a thinly veiled rendering of the Makah tribe, which resumed whale hunting in the Pacific Northwest in 1999 in accordance with rights outlined in the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay but with the opposition of some animal rights groups (Anderson). But in a departure from the narrative alliances in Hogan’s other novels, in this text, the characters who are portrayed most positively are those who oppose the exercise of treaty-protected tribal hunting rights. Because of this perhaps unexpected position, human responsibilities for conservation in accordance with Indigenous knowledge in *People of the Whale* present a complicated rendering of Indigenous sovereignty. Schweninger therefore links the conflicts over the whale hunt in *People of the Whale* with the sacrifice of the panther in *Power*: “In supporting both treaty rights and the whale’s rights, Hogan faces an apparently irreconcilable paradox . . . not unlike the issue of Ama’s ceremonial hunting of a Florida panther. It also shares similarities with the literary conundrum of arguing for an American Indian land ethic while at the same time defying stereotypes of Native Americans as inherent land stewards” (203).

One of the text's significant accomplishments, then, is its incorporation of varying Indigenous perspectives on conservation.

From the beginning of *People of the Whale*, ethical considerations concerning the hunt are not framed simply in terms of sympathy for whales; instead, they are determined by the importance of the ocean and its myriad creatures to the culture and lifeways of the A'atsika people, much like the spiritual and practical importance of water to Mississippian peoples such as the Chickasaw. The novel begins with a memory of time before the community's decline:

> We live on the ocean. The ocean is a great being. The tribe has songs about the ocean, songs to the ocean. It is a place where people's eyes move horizontally because they watch the long, wide sea flow into infinity. Their eyes follow the width and length of the world. . . . Down the beach a ways to the south, white piles, shining piles of clam and oyster shells were left behind by the earlier people, the Mysterious Ones, who were said to have built houses of shells, perfectly pieced together. These places truly existed, the secret places where houses were made of shells. (9)

In these first words, rather than land, water is a spiritual, historical, and living homeland. The holy people of the community, the Mysterious Ones, live as close as possible to the ocean, and their spiritual descendant, Witka, resides in a home overlooking the sea. Witka, a pillar of the culture, maintains the community's right relationships to creatures of the ocean, especially whales, through his superhuman ability to hold his breath underwater. Witka's grandson Thomas shares this special capacity to span the worlds of both water and land, made evident when an octopus walks out of the ocean on the day of Thomas's birth.

Though these two men share peculiar aquatic blessings, as is typical of Hogan's writings, women characters also have special capabilities and are the moral compass for the community's behavior toward natural phenomena in the ocean. Ruth, Thomas's eventual wife, is born with gill slits, while Marco Polo, the couple's son, is born with webbed feet. After Thomas's departure for the Vietnam War, where, suffering from trauma, he remains in exile from his homeland and creates another family overseas, Ruth emerges as the strongest character, raising her son alone, enduring his and Thomas's disappearance, and exhausting herself in her actions to oppose the resumption of whale hunting. As Joni Adamson

explains, the character Ruth is not simply subject to environmental idealism but also a "lifelong fisherwoman" who "understands marine biology," a sensibility that Adamson likens to Hogan's own experience as an ethnoscientist (158). Like the opposing images of water and drought that appear in *Mean Spirit* and *Power,* an old man's prophecy of impending drought and destruction by fire comes to fruition in *People of the Whale* once, amid protest by female elders, a whale is hunted and killed with machine guns, apparently in order to sell the meat to Japanese businessmen. Sensing that the sea is holding its breath for this wrong to be accounted for, Ruth makes the sacrifices necessary to return water to the community, allowing her ultimately to assume residence at Witka's place, cementing her assumption of authority.

Connecting the waterways of the A'atsika people to Asian waters in the ranging geographies of the novel through images of fishing, pearls, and other markers of coastal life, Hogan appeals to environmental ethics that are broader than the specificities of fishing and hunting rights spelled out in the Treaty of Neah Bay and, as Adamson notes, recognize differing Indigenous perspectives in the politics of recognizing creatures as earth-beings (159). Hsinya Huang states this slightly differently, emphasizing that Hogan's achievement is recognition of a multispecies connectivity that transcends a human-creature binary (128). Hogan's move is controversial because it seems to pit her against tribal authorities and ally her with non-Indians. However, in accordance with value she places on female authority, which she attributes to her Chickasaw ancestry, Hogan asserts that her opposition to Makah whaling is inspired by the female elders with different views, who are being disrespected by those who are eager to whale at whatever cost. In an editorial for the *Seattle Times*, Hogan cites interviews with Makah elders who speak of corruption, the false promise of economic development, and harassment as evidence of the illegitimacy of authorities who claim to speak for the tribe ("Silencing"). She explains that though she supports treaty rights, such hunting practices are meaningless without the web of culture, religion, and tradition that gives the practice necessary legitimacy: "There is a fine line between hunting as ceremony and the breaking of spiritual laws. For the Makah, whale hunting in the past was tied together with an elaborate and complex web of culture and belief. In older days, a whale hunt would have been a mighty event with much preparation, made out of deep need and hunger, love and respect for

the whale." Hogan's position is thereby consistent with the philosophical justification for water rights enshrined—though often disputed—in federal Indian law.

The complications of enacting water rights across broad geographies, including state and national borders (even borders across species), which Hogan emphasizes in these latter two novels, can be traced to inconsistencies that form North American water policy. An established pattern of response to water demands centers on creating infrastructure that redirects water in order to support current human practices, especially those associated with urban development, even when those practices are unsustainable. As climate change alters human relationships to water, Indigenous peoples and their cultures are especially vulnerable (United Nations; Maldonado et al. 3). In the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, for example, Houma and related Pointe-au-Chien and Biloxi-Chitimacha communities in Louisiana were devastated due to widespread flooding and high winds, heightened because these communities are generally not protected by levees (Collins 48; Dardar 29; D'Oney 21). In order to provide more protection from hurricanes, the United States Army Corps of Engineers designed the Morganza to the Gulf Hurricane Protection Project (Nixon). Nicknamed "The Great Wall of Louisiana" by critics, the project will not protect some Indigenous tribes, and as a result, communities in places such as Isle de Jean Charles are reluctantly facing relocation (Sturgis). This levee, aiming to shield Louisianans from water disaster, obscures the impact that such engineering projects have had on coastal erosion in the homelands of Louisiana's Indigenous peoples, however. While on the surface it may seem that they require the protection of federal authorities who are more equipped to manage water, these tribes in fact have a long history of navigating the unique ecosystem of coastal Louisiana—it is manmade activity rather than the swamp geography itself that has created new threats (D'Oney 13–18).

The instigation of this greater governmental involvement in water management followed disasters such as the Mississippi Flood of 1927 and sought to address needs for soil conservation that were in sharp relief in places like Oklahoma because of the Dust Bowl. This acceleration of projects to control the nation's water places the federal government in sometimes confusing roles concerning tribal claims to water. While it directs the Army Corps of Engineers, the United States is also

a trustee to tribes; the basis of federal Indian law is the principle that the United States is obligated to protect Indigenous lands, assets, and resources held in trust in exchange for land cessions. Therefore, as Benjamin Simon and Harvey Doerksen explain, "Although it is convenient to think of the federal government as a single entity with which to bargain or negotiate, this is far from the actual case. The federal government is . . . composed of many different bureaucratic entities whose roles, as well as goals and objectives, often conflict" (30). Added to the complexity of these competing loyalties is the ambiguous application of federal Indian law to tribes without reservations, such as those in the South, including Oklahoma, whose lands were allotted. According to Ramsey Kropf, "Allotments tend to mark a gray area between federal reserved rights and states' rights" (95). Amid this uncertainty, like Hogan's portrayal of Florida in *Power,* states have often been most hostile to tribes when it comes to water rights (McCool 31). Reflecting this tension, in response to the Chickasaws' and Choctaws' lawsuit against the state of Oklahoma, state authorities have questioned whether US law regarding tribal water rights applies in Oklahoma at all.

Legal precedent concerning tribal water rights is overwhelmingly directed at communities and authorities in the West, which highlights the eagerness with which national expansion and urbanization were pursued in the twentieth century. In 1902 the Reclamation Act was passed, through which the United States made a significant investment in irrigating the West (McCool 23). On the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation in Montana, non-Indians' construction of dams interfered with the tribes' agricultural practices. In its decision concerning that case, known as *Winters v. United States,* the Supreme Court, putting in place the most important precedent concerning tribal water rights, held that tribes had rights to sufficient water to fulfill agricultural purposes on reservations, federal rights which from then on have been called *Winters* rights (Colby et al. 10). To clarify their role, states considering water projects typically initiate general stream adjudications, "court actions to determine the type, amount, and priority date of every user's water right in a particular watershed or basin" (9). Because of sovereign immunity, however, the federal government and tribes historically could not be taken into state court over water rights. As a result of state frustrations, in 1952 Congress passed the McCarran Amendment, which allowed states to include the federal government in these adjudications (9).

This multifaceted history of water management, especially disputes about state, tribal, and federal authority, explains why the stakes of the fictional scenarios that Hogan creates in her novels are so immediate and current, especially in Chickasaw country, which for Hogan is both a creative and a literal homeland. The lawsuit over access to Sardis Lake, *Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations v. Governor Mary Fallin, OWRB, and Oklahoma City,* currently in mediation, disputes an application by the city of Oklahoma City and the Oklahoma City Water Utilities Trust to purchase rights to store water from the lake, which, though within the tribes' jurisdictional boundaries in southeastern Oklahoma, was constructed by the Corps from 1975 to 1982 as a product of increased federal involvement in tribal waterways across the nation. According to the tribes, Oklahoma City's and the Oklahoma Water Resources Board's actions have ignored the tribes' treaty-protected rights to negotiations regarding the lake (Carter).

Determining rights to the water in Sardis Lake necessitates interpretation of laws that contain language appropriate for reservations in the West for the circumstances of allotted tribes uniquely rooted in the histories of the South and southern Oklahoma. Parties involved in the Sardis lawsuit are advancing such acts of interpretation in their varying descriptions of the conflict. The Oklahoma Water Resources Board describes itself as follows: "OWRB has long been committed to vigorous defense of the water rights and needs of the state and all of its citizens. This includes both proactive and defensive protection of the state's longstanding authority to manage its surface and groundwater supplies equitably in continued pursuit of a strong economy and healthy environment" ("Legal Matters"). This claim of the "state's longstanding authority" essentially disregards any tribal authority over water. Likewise, in its opening brief in support of its motion to dismiss the suit, the OWRB seems to question the very existence of tribal jurisdictions through the following language: "The Tribes' complaint asserts that they have federally protected water rights in the basins within what they term their former 'Treaty Territory.' . . . The Tribes' claimed 'Treaty Territory water resources' allegedly lie within the Kiamichi Basin, the Clear Boggy Basin, and 'all or part of 29 other surface water systems'" (1). Further, the OWRB asserts that because the tribes' suit threatens federal contracts issued by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of

Reclamation, these parties must necessarily be involved but are immune from suit (2). Of course, this argument completely ignores the federal government’s role as trustee to tribes or the tribal water rights outlined in the *Winters* case.

On the other hand, the tribes’ basis for their position as described in their statement of complaint is firmly grounded in their government-to-government relationship with federal authorities over and above state authority. The tribes also make the case that the state’s refusal to involve the tribes in plans for Sardis Lake necessitated the lawsuit. The opening words of the complaint clearly assert sovereignty:

> The plaintiffs, the Chickasaw Nation and Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma (“Plaintiff Nations”) seek declaratory and injunctive relief to protect their federal rights—including their present and future use water rights, regulatory authority over water resources, and right to be immune from state law and jurisdiction. Each of these rights is guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, Act of Sept. 30, 1830, 7 Stat. 333 (“1830 Treaty”), and is protected by federal law. The Plaintiff Nations hold those rights within the territory set aside by Article 2 of that Treaty, as later modified by the 1866 Treaty of Washington, Act of Apr. 28, 1866, 14 Stat. 769 (“Treaty Territory”). The Plaintiff Nations’ rights under those treaties, which are the “supreme Law of the Land,” U.S. Const., art. VI, cl. 2, are prior and paramount to any water rights or regulatory authority claimed by the Defendants, and are protected by the disclaimer of authority over Indian rights and property on which Congress conditioned Oklahoma’s statehood in the Oklahoma Enabling Act, Act of June 16, 1906, 34 Stat. 267 (“Oklahoma disclaimer”), as well as other controlling federal law. (“First Amended Complaint” 1–2)

Along with offering political justification for rejecting the state’s actions, the tribes tie their argument to the importance of these particular waterways to their communities’ ways of life. They explain that the water coincides with “homeland purposes of their Treaties, which purposes including providing an environment with clean and healthy rivers and streams, abundant upland and aquatic resources, pursuing economic and self-sufficiency, and meeting the present and future needs of commu-

nities" (2–3). Both tribes have invested heavily in media campaigns that emphasize conservation as crucial to their case (*Water Future*).

In addition to highlighting the continual importance of water to Chickasaw and Choctaw tribal cultures, the rhetoric associated with the Sardis lawsuit indicates a problematic and repeated model of the links between colonialism and water management that is front and center in Linda Hogan's fiction. Though more recent policy has shifted toward controlling demand rather than enhancing supply, the legacy of the federal and state development of a massive flood control and reservoir system is heightening tensions between overlapping authorities over water. This is especially evident because the future security of clean water is uncertain in the face of growing urbanization and increasing periods of drought. However, for tribes such as the Chickasaws, management of parks and recreational areas and development of cultural and historical centers within their lands, especially those connected to the waterways that so attracted their ancestors, are key to the exercise of sovereignty in the present. Now a state park registered on the National Register of Historic Places, Boggy Depot was under threat of closure due to budget cuts in 2011 when the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations purchased the area back from the state. Likewise, the Chickasaw Nation has successfully recovered management of the Chickasaw National Recreation Area, including Lake of the Arbuckles, an area containing sulfur springs that the Chickasaws have historically regarded as medicinal. Adjacent to this recreational area, the Chickasaw Cultural Museum opened in 2010, which, along with tribal archives, includes a re-created village and council house, traditional foodways café, and state-of-the-art exhibit space and incorporates a water pavilion, plants, and trees that are native to Oklahoma and to Chickasaw homelands in the Southeast ("The Campus"). The Nation is also partnering with a newly launched Water Policy Institute at East Central University in Ada to research water management and improve water quality in Oklahoma.

Linda Hogan's literary occupation with water rights, stirred by her Chickasaw ancestry and germane to continual incidents of injustice, coincides with her public environmental activism. Within the Chickasaw Nation, Hogan has in the past organized an annual literary salon where writers, scholars, and artists connected to the work of Indigenous rights gather to converse and share one another's accomplishments. In

her travels, she continues to speak out about the importance of protecting the environment, so crucial to Indigenous cultures across the globe. She has also made no secret of her feelings concerning the threats to Indigenous water posed by resource extraction projects, including hydraulic fracturing in Oklahoma and the construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline, which, protested by tribal citizens as part of the Idle No More Movement in Oklahoma, will run directly through the Chickasaw Nation (Peeples; Wall). Though Hogan lives in Colorado, she retains strong ties to Chickasaw country; Oklahoma is the setting for two forthcoming book projects.

As Hogan’s novels indicate, the importance of water to Chickasaw history and culture and to its status as a sovereign nation is indisputable and links to struggles for environmental justice across the nation and globe. Although often misrepresented and misunderstood, the legal battles of the Chickasaw Nation with the states of Texas and Oklahoma represent a history played out over generations—and across literature—between state and federal governments and tribal peoples who retain sovereign rights to water. These battles, waged for the sake of our communities and cultures, are certainly worth fighting for the benefit of all.

LINDSEY CLAIRE SMITH is associate professor of English at Oklahoma State University and cofounder of the Oklahoma Indigenous Studies Alliance. She is the editor of *American Indian Quarterly,* author of a monograph entitled *Indians, Environment, and Identity on the Borders of American Literature,* and coeditor of a collection of essays entitled *Alternative Contact: Indigeneity, Globalism, and American Studies*. She is currently at work on a book project on urban Indian literature.

TREVER LEE HOLLAND serves as the book review editor for *American Indian Quarterly* and recently received his PhD in English at Oklahoma State University, focusing on Native American literatures. His dissertation addresses the role of performance and mimicry in modernist depictions of Native Americans. His research interests include the intersections of Native American literary studies with queer theory, women and gender studies, modernism, and postcolonial studies.

NOTES

1. The *Oklahoma City Journal Record* has compiled an archive of articles chronicling the progression of these two lawsuits. It is available at http://journalrecord.com/oklahoma-water-wars/water-archives/.

The tribes’ involvement in these cases was likely galvanized by an earlier case,

Oklahoma v. Tyson Foods (2009). The state of Oklahoma sued Arkansas-based Tyson Foods for polluting the Arkansas River watershed in the northeastern part of the state, within the Cherokee Nation. Though the attorneys general of the state and tribe entered into an agreement in which the state was to represent the tribe's interest in the lawsuit, a district court dismissed Oklahoma's claims for monetary damages on the grounds that the state failed to join the Cherokee Nation as a required party. See McBride.

2. Hogan's loose representation of Osage culture in *Mean Spirit* has been the subject of some controversy. See Anderson; and Warrior.

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Domesticated Species in D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* and John M. Oskison's *Brothers Three*

BRIAN K. HUDSON

Racist attitudes that popularly constructed Indians as savages were prominent in public consciousness in the early twentieth century, even though federal policy had shifted from military maneuvers to paternalistic practices ostensibly designed to "help" Indians become productive individuals in American society. These changes in ideological and practical tactics were among many that contributed to the weakening of the power of sovereign tribal governments. Chief Justice John Marshall, who had delimited Native sovereign tribes as "domestic, dependent nations" in the early 1830s, manifested the direct, legal codification of this designation.[1] It was Marshall's definition that legally domesticated Native nations, subordinating their political interests to federal law and ensuring that they would not have a secure foothold within the paternalistic political landscape for another century.

It is not surprising that politicians used nonhuman animal domestication—the taming and subjugation of other animals for human use—figuratively in debates centered on US Native political issues during this time. It may prove more surprising that, in the earlier half of the twentieth century, Indians and our allies also used nonhuman animal domestication to represent opposition to these paternalistic practices. These figurative depictions of other animals as Indians are dramatized sympathetically in early Native novels. There are certain passages, however, that require literal analysis, that is, readings in which animals represent actual members of nonhuman species. But we can read these texts without reducing their meanings to depend upon either a figurative or a literal reading. In reading them this way, we can understand ourselves as "first beings" and can approach texts depicting nonhuman animals in a more nuanced manner.[2] Additionally, by analyzing the narratives by Native

peoples about ourselves and other animals—and the ways in which these narratives overlap—we can understand how federal ideologies and policies adversely affect more than just the human species.[3]

First beings, as I have suggested elsewhere, is a conceptual category that attributes indigeneity to other species. As Seneca philosopher John Mohawk reminds us, dominant Native ways of understanding our place in the world often avoid making the dogmatic categorical distinction between human and nonhuman.[4] My intent in this essay is to continue to invalidate racist notions of Indians as savage animals while honoring Native ontologies that do not categorically separate the human species from all the rest. I pursue this line of inquiry with the hope that it will persuasively illustrate how Native literatures provide a more balanced understanding of the relationships between human and nonhuman animals. I also hope it will allow readers to recognize, without reverting to romantic nostalgia, how those relationships have been compromised by assimilative practices exercised upon Native populations.

Using a theory of first beings to read these texts undermines the racist trope of the animalistic Indian while recognizing those instances in which our interests and those of other species coincide. I argue, through my readings of *The Surrounded* and *Brothers Three,* that confinement is the main political tactic wielded in the early twentieth century against Indigenous political agency. American colonial powers used tactics of confinement, which were (and still are) detrimental to human and nonhuman Indigenous beings alike, by continual encroachment upon reserved tribal land and the subsequent effect of livestock being kept within increasingly smaller fenced allotments. This tactic of confinement is evidenced in *The Surrounded* in chapter 27, in which the protagonist, Archilde, attempts to save a starving mare. A figurative reading of this chapter recognizes the mare as a Native American human and Archilde as the paternalistic federal agent who, in spite of his good intentions, is blind to the interests of the Indian. A literal reading (the mare as a domesticated nonhuman animal) helps us to understand how these tactics of confinement literally changed our relationships with other animals for the worse. But bifurcating our understanding of this chapter in McNickle's novel—reducing it to either a figurative or a literal reading—ignores the overlapping interests of first beings. To read McNickle's chapter from a more inclusive standpoint, I argue, allows us to better understand the implications of confronting a politics of con-

finement through domestication. I follow with a reading of how a contemporaneous novel, John M. Oskison's *Brothers Three*, alludes to these same concerns. We can understand these concerns in Oskison's novel of domestication and confinement more clearly when placing it alongside *The Surrounded.*

Sioux critic Vine Deloria gives us the most popular example in Native theory of the figurative use of confinement via domestication. In *Custer Died for Your Sins,* Deloria provides a strong critique of race relations between white and Native peoples. In the first chapter, Deloria describes the earliest popular colonial perceptions of Natives as "a picturesque species of wildlife" who were "wild animals to be hunted and skinned" (*Custer* 6–7). He goes on to explain that colonists repeatedly passed laws to make Indians "conform to white institutions" (8). Deloria describes how the solution to the "Indian Problem" morphed from the wholesale slaughter of Native populations to one that forced assimilationist policies upon Indigenous peoples. The implementation of laws in service of these policies encouraged the kidnapping of Native children, who were delivered to boarding schools for reeducation; similarly, these laws encouraged white churches to attempt to erode tribal cultures and thereby sovereignty. All of this was done, he writes, to make sure that "Indians were forced into American life." Deloria provocatively describes how, through colonization, "the wild animal was made into a household pet whether or not he wanted to be one" (8). In following with the view of animal-like Indians, assimilationist policies such as those practiced at Carlisle Indian school (at least, under the administration of Richard Henry Pratt), forced land allotment, and other attempts at weakening tribal power were employed to individualize or, to continue Deloria's metaphor, to domesticate Native populations. Deloria cleverly exposes racist attitudes that have described Indigenous human populations as animalistic and that have, in one form or another, continued to thrive to this day.[5] He uses the concept of domestication to illustrate this relationship, one in which Indians are positioned as animals—either wild or domesticated—in opposition to "civilized" humans.

Directly following the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, through which John Collier and others sought to counteract these assimilative practices, Salish Kootenai novelist D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded* shows the effects of assimilationist policies on both Native Americans and nonhuman animals. Before looking at this novel, I briefly explain

the similarities between domestication and assimilation that will be integral to my analysis of these texts. I do not intend to conflate these two concepts, although I do hope to carry some of the provocative effect of Deloria's language. Instead, I look specifically at texts in which problems of assimilation and domestication overlap. I'm interested here in how domestication *figuratively* represents assimilation, especially in instances when texts also apply literally to nonhuman animals. Domestication in the stricter sense (i.e., of nonhuman animals) happened alongside the domestication, or assimilation, of Indigenous populations through the discourse of individualism and the practice of allotment. An understanding of the intersection of human and nonhuman domestication is crucial to an understanding of ourselves as first beings.

The primary goal of domestication is to change the behavior of the nonhuman animal in such a way that it serves human interests above the interests of the nonhuman animal or the species. Practiced in such a way, domestication is speciesist: human interests are privileged at the cost of deprivileging, or altogether ignoring, the interests of nonhuman animals, who are almost invariably denied equal consideration in the process of domestication.[6] The justifications used to substantiate colonial ideologies for assimilating Indians follow a similar logic. The primary reason for assimilating Indigenous populations is to change the cultural behaviors of Native peoples to serve normative colonial interests rather than Indigenous or tribal interests. The difference is that assimilation denies equal consideration of interests in terms of race or ethnicity instead of species. Therefore, the resemblance between assimilation and domestication rests upon a denial of agency. Colonization—in the context of the United States for my analysis here—has, in several instances, not only produced the effect of denying agency to Indigenous peoples by means of assimilationist methods but at the same time effectively denied interests (and the agency to fulfill those interests) to nonhuman animals through the similar method of domestication.[7]

Domestication and assimilation are similar in their logical structure; however, it is an understatement to note that assimilation is a complicated concept with a long and troubled genealogy within colonial discourses about Native Americans, as well as within Native discourses about colonial occupation. It would be helpful, therefore, to have a working definition of the term. Cherokee critic Daniel Heath Justice provides one such definition when he writes that assimilation entails

"the wholesale rejection of Indigenous values and their replacement with Eurowestern values, either through choice, coercion, or violence" (xvi). Here we have a description of assimilation that, although not necessarily devoid of Native agency ("through choice" being one option), is not likely to be motivated by or to produce effects that are in the best interests of Indigenous peoples. Justice differentiates assimilation from what he and others have termed *acculturation*.[8] He explains the concept of acculturation in relation to Cherokee culture as "the adaptation of certain western ways into a larger Cherokee context, thus changing some cultural expressions while maintaining the centrality of Cherokee identity and values" (xvi).

Acculturation by definition allows more agency to Native actors than does the alternative of assimilation. By understanding a particular cultural shift as acculturation, we can recognize how it does accommodate consideration of Native interests by allowing more Indigenous agency in determining what those interests are and how they are met. One way to understand the difference between assimilation and acculturation is by examining how they relate to the Native novel. Although the novel was originally a non-Native genre, Indian novels are not products of assimilation. In continuing tribal traditions of storytelling, Native novelists incorporate Western forms of expression into the larger tribal context. In this act of acculturation, Native novelists exercise more agency by deciding which "Eurowestern values" to adopt and how to integrate them into existing tribal cultures. These two ways of adapting to fit mainstream American culture as Justice defines them—assimilation and acculturation—are only two points on the spectrum of responses to colonial pressures to adapt. Whether a specific cultural shift should be categorized as assimilation or acculturation is contingent upon the details of each case and should be determined from within the culture. The deciding factor between the two is a complete rejection of tribal culture or an incorporation of outside values into existing tribal tradition. Whether by assimilation or by acculturation, the goal (as far as dominant federal interests in the mid-1930s were concerned) was the making of an ostensibly free American who owned a parcel of land and who used that land, often by domesticating nonhuman animals in particular ways, to participate in the competition of the free market as an individual.

The confining American narrative of individualism worked to assimilate Native peoples by absorbing us into mainstream white culture and

stripping us of our tribal identities. As Joel Pfister writes, the concept of individualism is prevalent by "the nineteenth century—the era of the rise of industrial capitalism, of the White middle-class cult of sentimentalized domesticity, of romanticism, and of Manifest Destiny," and reformers preached this doctrine (8). One of the most appalling distillations of this concept was Richard Henry Pratt's famous dictum to "kill the Indian in him, and save the man" (Pfister 44). Instead of the colonial rationale that Indians should be killed because we were savage animals, the new colonial tactic was to kill the Native cultures within us. Pratt was particularly enthusiastic about reforming Indians through education in this way. As Pfister explains, Natives were the "subjects of crusades mounted by White reformers and schools to 'individualize' them" (12). Individualism was the raison d'être of the Carlisle Indian School, particularly so under Pratt's administration. These reforms would create workers to fit the industrial capitalist mode of production and, at the same time, divest Native tribes of their political power. In the Great Plains, the occupations of farming and cattle ranching were especially expected to transform Indians into properly assimilated, productive members of the dominant American way of life. Pfister describes the prevailing ideology as having become by this time one in which "cities, farms, and cattle had come to signify taking the 'right path': being Christian, American, individual" (49). The problematic way individualism is manifested, Pfister writes, downplays Indigenous social modes of identity as well as "connectedness to the nonhuman" (17). These social modes, which stress relationality between humans and other species, are integral to many Native ontologies. As a consequence of individualism through ideological and actual domestication, traditional theories concerning the relationships between Native peoples and nonhuman animals were overwhelmed by restrictive colonialist narratives.

To define those Indigenous social modes that were downplayed, Pfister delineates the concept of *individualism,* which serves the goals of assimilation, from the concept of *individuality,* which is less myopic and more aligned with the way Justice defines acculturation. Individuality has the potential to be adapted to diverse cultures rather than merely serving colonial designs. Many ways of understanding Native individuality include communal modes that are often incompatible with American individualism.[9] Cherokee critic Jace Weaver recognizes Native individuality, and Native literature, as most concerned with "commitment

to Native community" (xiii). Furthermore, in his description of Indigenous community, Weaver insightfully references Native ontologies when he writes that "no sharp distinction is drawn between the human and nonhuman persons that make up the community" (39). By contrast, due in part to the legacy of Cartesian thinking that informs it, the American doctrine of individualism marginalizes Native philosophies that narrate connectedness to other species. René Descartes's "cogito ergo sum" was formulated, as Jacques Derrida critiques, by denying agency or sentience to other species (54).[10] The foundational influence of Cartesian philosophy on individualism continues to deny animals the agency that Native discourses recognize. It furthermore overshadows the many types of Indigenous individuality that connect us to the nonhuman world. As Louis Owens explains, mainstream American fiction, in which we should include the narrative of individualism, dismisses "the alien nonanthropocentric and ecologically oriented world-view of the Indian" (*Other Destinies* 8). Grand narratives of individualism through methods of assimilation and domestication obscure an understanding of ourselves as first beings, an understanding that has the power to recognize a more diverse sense of Native being.

My readings of these two early Native novels—McNickle's *The Surrounded* (1936) and Oskison's *Brothers Three* (1935)—treat them as useful in illustrating how the doctrine of individualism constricts our relationships with nonhuman animals and how certain practices of domestication show potential for Indigenous individualities that demonstrate more balanced relationships between humans and other species. These novels were published directly after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and, as such, are productively read in relation to the political landscape surrounding this important piece of legislation. This act, often referred to as the "Indian New Deal," was championed by John Collier, who served as commissioner for the Office of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, in an attempt to undo damage done by the Dawes Allotment Act and other policies inflicted upon tribal cultures in the colonial goal of assimilation through individualism. These political discussions, in which McNickle was involved, were abundant with the growing possibilities of tribal resurgence through the political recognition of diverse Native individualities. As such, *The Surrounded* and *Brothers Three* provide a good starting point for an inquiry into domestication and individualism in a Native context. Besides being influenced by the political

landscape, these novels are largely informed by the authors' own experiences with nonhuman animals. They portray domestication as problematic for first beings, that is, both Indigenous human populations and nonhuman animals. They show how certain US policies encouraged particular practices of domestication for economic gain while unsuccessfully attempting to domesticate Native individualities that did not fall in line with the American narrative of individualism.

As previously mentioned, political discourse in the early twentieth century made figurative use of nonhuman domestication. The idea of political oppression as being figuratively represented as domestication likely influenced McNickle's work. He was directly involved in Native politics, and, in fact, he began working for John Collier, who was the driving force behind the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the same year *The Surrounded* was published (Parker 68). McNickle worked for the Office of Indian Affairs for sixteen years. James Ruppert notes that after Collier's retirement in 1945, McNickle attempted to carry out the work the retired politician had started (32). Deloria explains that Collier created the act to combat the forces of assimilation that had been weakening Native political and cultural agency. Collier envisioned that tribal governments would be recognized by the federal government "as a business venture" under the new act (Deloria, *Reorganization* xiii). It allowed tribes to choose who represented their interests to the federal government. Any Native person could be nominated as an agent representing the tribe as long as that person was a citizen of the United States, at least twenty-eight years old, and had worked in "agriculture for at least five years" (ix).[11] The language of the act acknowledged narratives of individualism, assimilation, and domestication but allowed Native tribes more agency in determining their own methods of acculturation in the awakening federal recognition of tribal political interests.

In relation to the practices of farming and ranching, Deloria notes that "it is plainly evident that the intent of the bill was to ensure that the allotment policy be strengthened by hiring a person better acquainted with local agricultural activities" (*Reorganization* iv). Strengthening allotment policies by requiring agricultural experience, however, was against Collier's original intent. He had assumed that Indians would be interested in returning individually held acreage to tribal communal holdings, thereby reversing the confining effects of allotment. What Collier found, however, while traveling around Indian Country to lobby

for the act, was that Native people were reluctant to reverse the land privatization set in motion by the Dawes Act and similar policies (xiii). Many had grown comfortable with owning land individually and were wary about transferring their land to communal ownership, even if it was to be restored to their tribal nations. Regardless of this setback, the intent and effect of the Indian Reorganization Act was to provide systemic—albeit limited—agency for the collective interests of Native nations by giving each nation the power to elect a representative. These representatives would then be recognized by the federal government in a more consistent fashion than tribal spokespeople had been in the past.[12] The Indian New Deal provided more Indigenous agency in the form of representation to mitigate the effects of the policies of domestication driven by the doctrine of individualism by providing a way for the otherwise reticent federal government to recognize democratically elected tribal spokespeople.

In response to the ongoing debates about Native sovereignty, Collier and McNickle used the metaphor of domesticated nonhuman animals to spread awareness of the political strategy of confinement.[13] Collier used domestication figuratively when lobbying Natives to support the Reorganization Act. Shortly before the act was passed, in a 1934 meeting of the Plains Congress in Rapid City, South Dakota, Collier explained that Natives needed to organize as corporations to strengthen their political agency. Using domestication figuratively, similar to how Deloria does many years later, Collier explained to the Plains Congress that the act was a solution to the problematic choice of being either dependent upon the federal government or ignored by it altogether. He announced at the meeting that "Indians have been taught that they had to choose between remaining like so many domestic animals being taken care of by the federal government or else thrown to the wolves" (as cited in Deloria, *Reorganization* 31). Here is a clear figuration of the Indian as domestic nonhuman animal. While Collier depicted the position of Indians as "domestic animals" in relation to federal paternalism, he eschewed the colonial alternative of "wild animals" (as Deloria terms it), instead portraying settlers as the wild "wolves." It is within this same political landscape (although before McNickle joined the BIA), in which Indians are referred to as domesticated nonhuman animals, that McNickle rewrote the draft of his first published novel.[14] As Pfister explains, *The*

Surrounded "narrates the anger and resentment many Natives felt in response to Euramerican efforts to make them dependent" (218). It is fitting that as an expression of this resentment, McNickle chose to depict the suffering of domesticated nonhuman animals. The metaphor of Indians as domestic pets (or unwilling pets, as described by Deloria) is similar to McNickle's use of nonhuman animals to stand in for colonized Indians. It was a prevalent trope in political discourse at the time. It is also evidence of recognition of the intersectional oppression of first beings, human and nonhuman indigenous beings.

In addition to McNickle's attention to and involvement in Native politics, his experiences growing up in what would become the setting for *The Surrounded* shaped the use of nonhuman animals in his writing. In her account of McNickle's family history, Dorothy Parker details that the family moved to the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana, where he was raised as an enrolled member of the tribe (7).[15] Parker describes the valley where McNickle grew up as "ideally suited for stock raising, and areas not under cultivation were open range," where "horses and cattle grazed freely during winter and were rounded up in the spring for branding and farm work" (8). This communal use of the land was more suitable than individually owned tracts for domesticating nonhuman animals. Therefore, fencing of the land that had previously served as open, communal range resulted in less feeding ground for livestock, who formerly grazed more freely on public lands. McNickle recounted the dramatic effects of the allotment and subsequent influx of white homesteaders, describing how "the range was fenced and the local people were forced to sell their herds because they could no longer support them" (Parker 16). This is similar to how McNickle's grandfather Isidore Parenteau was forced by colonial encroachment of communal land to leave his cattle ranch to find work elsewhere (Parker 6). The Riel Rebellion, in which McNickle's grandfather participated, was started when "men arrived to survey the land and plot it into sections for homesteading and sale" (Purdy 2). McNickle refers to his grandfather in a letter as one of Riel's rebels who "died in poverty, his large ranch and herds of stock swallowed in the onward rush" (Owens, *Other Destinies* 61). Local ranchers in McNickle's time, concerned with the loss and suffering of livestock from insufficient acreage, were forced to ship in additional feed, a cost to which they were not accustomed, or to sell large portions

of their herds. In the same letter, McNickle voices his concern with how the policies of assimilation, particularly allotment, created problems for Native humans, as well as their domestic nonhuman animals.

Both Collier and McNickle recognized the suffering of domesticated nonhuman animals. In his push for support of the Indian Reorganization Act, Collier demonstrated a keen awareness of the suffering of domestic nonhuman animals kept by southwestern tribes who faced a similar shortage of land. Arguing for the need for herd reduction because of environmental issues and diminished land holdings, Collier said that he saw "terrible things," such as "cattle standing with icicles hanging clear to the ground, of their frozen breath and I saw sheep dead, frozen in the cold" (Deloria, *Reorganization* 169). Both Collier and McNickle recognized and detailed the ways in which land allotment, in contrast to traditional modes of agriculture, resulted in restrictive domestication to the detriment of both formerly sovereign nations and their nonhuman animal livestock.

In contrast to increasingly confined methods of domestication, traditional agricultural practices used by both Indians and non-Indians show concern for nonhumans in relationships of domestication. As Bernard Rollin explains, "If the animals thrived, the producers thrived. The animals' interests were the producers' interests" (6). Rollin is concerned with practical ethics. He writes that he recognizes through his work with ranchers that their practices of traditional agriculture rely on an obligation to their livestock. In fulfilling this obligation, humans feed and protect the domesticated animals against predators to create better conditions for the nonhuman animals than "if left to fend for themselves" (5). Rollin explains that ranchers with small herds still practice this kind of traditional husbandry to this day. In doing so, they see themselves "as stewards of land and animals, as living a way of life as well as making a living" (55). Ranchers of smaller herds, like McNickle's grandfather, are successful if they keep in mind the interests of their livestock by alleviating suffering, excepting, perhaps, the act of slaughter.

For McNickle, the event that most vividly illustrates the effects of allotment practices upon nonhuman animals was likely the buffalo roundup. Parker explains that a specific buffalo herd "posed a particular problem, as buffalo were notoriously difficult to keep fenced" (16). McNickle remembered being a witness to the collection of this particular herd. He recounted that "as a child of five or six I stood watching,

amazed and terror-stricken, through the heavy timbers of the corral. One buffalo cow had been gored and her insides were pouring out. I either saw or was told about the great bull who went charging up the ramp and right through the other side of the stock car" (16).[16] This experience undoubtedly raised McNickle's awareness of problems associated with the domestication of nonhuman animals. Indeed, it was partially his upbringing on the Flathead Indian Reservation, in addition to his political engagement, that inspired McNickle to use the trope of domestication to represent attempts to disrupt Native cultures by means of assimilationist policies. These experiences clearly inform McNickle's use of nonhuman animal domestication in his first published novel.

In *The Surrounded*, McNickle portrays the shared indigeneity of first beings by depicting the suffering of nonhuman domestic animals and the corresponding emotional suffering of his protagonist. While on a self-imposed, lonely trip to the badlands, Archilde happens upon a mare and her colt who have been left to fend for themselves on the barren terrain. The narrator describes these abandoned animals as having been "willing workers in their day" who now have been discarded and suffer in a state of profound neglect (237). This neglect is evidenced by the description of the elderly mare as "unbelievably thin and gaunt. Every vertebra was visible, even to the point where the rib was attached, and the sharp hip bones had worn the hair away when she lay down" (238). Archilde is distressed at this sight, and this recognition of nonhuman suffering compels him to save the mare because "his feelings would not allow him to abandon her" (240). Trying to improve the mare's chances for survival, Archilde spends several hours coaxing and chasing her so that he can lead her to a more suitable spot to graze and drink (242). Archilde eventually succeeds and catches the mare; however, as he begins to lead her slowly and painfully to the watering hole, he notices that she is severely lame, perhaps as a result of the hours he has spent pursuing her. He is profoundly disturbed, so much so that the mare's "every limping step tortured him" (241). In this dramatic episode, McNickle shows us mutual suffering—Archilde recognizes the physical pain endured by the mare, which causes him to suffer emotionally in sympathy for her plight. He wants to feed her oats and trim her mud-entangled tail because "it was the least thing a creature of feeling could do" (238). By characterizing both Archilde and the mare as "creature[s] of feeling" and depicting their mutual suffering, the narrator places the

two within the category of sentient beings, momentarily obscuring the distinction between human and nonhuman.

At the end of the chapter, Archilde's need to alleviate the mare's suffering overwhelms his judgment. The narrator tells us that Archilde is aware that "he was probably driving her away from water and her usual feeding ground—but he couldn't stop" (240). His attempt at benevolent domestication fails and leads to more acute suffering. When he finally succeeds in leading the mare to a source of water, she falls to the ground and refuses to eat or drink in her exhausted state. Even in her pitiful condition, the mare vocalizes a last protest against Archilde, groaning "a final note of reproach for the ears of the man who had taken it upon himself to improve her condition" (242). Upon hearing the coyotes in the distance, Archilde, in a fit of frustration, shoots the mare dead, scorning her as a "perverse creature" (242). This gruesome episode closes with Archilde guarding her corpse from the coyotes for no clear reason other than his confused emotional state. Archilde's compulsive need to improve the situation of the mare, who had been left for dead, results in a macabre display of misguided domestication.

McNickle shows in this chapter how individualism disrupts tribal identity by representing the domesticated relationships of tribes to the federal government through the figure of the mare. In addition, McNickle illustrates the literal consequences of federal policies on our relationships with nonhuman animals. Laird Christensen recognizes this when he claims that assimilation in the novel works to diminish ecological modes of Salish knowledge and denigrate "traditional patterns of relating to family, society, and ultimately the more-than-human world" (3).[17] Archilde is distraught because he realizes that the traditional Salish balance between human and nonhuman has been disrupted. This novel shows how the same strategy of confinement that led to the dominance of American individualism and allotment led to the suffering of more than just the human species.

Federal assimilation policies changed ranching practices despite the shared interests of Indigenous humans and nonhumans. Archilde finding a mare left in the badlands would not have been an isolated incident at the time but an unfortunate standard occurrence. The narrator tells us that "frequently in the fall ranchers with no hay would turn all their stock loose and forget about them until spring. Then they would ride out to collect those that had survived" (37). Diane L. Beers explains that

this practice of letting the livestock "fend for themselves was so common in the plains and mountain states that some lawmakers specifically excluded the intentional starvation of livestock from their cruelty statutes" (102). Animal rights organizations at the time, specifically American Red Star, lobbied vociferously against the practice (101).[18] However, before legislation pushing for land allotment, this practice of letting livestock graze in open fields was in the best interests of both rancher and the livestock when, as Dorothy Parker notes, "pasturage was plentiful" (8). After allotment changed the landscape, which McNickle experienced during his lifetime, the abundant grasslands were confined to many individually owned fenced parcels. In the episode with the mare, McNickle references this specific practice of domestication and the change in federal policy against communally held lands that corrupts it. These changes are evident as the narrator tells us that Archilde notices that all the cattle and horses had been collected but "only the hopelessly old and crippled were left, and they were a sad lot" (237). Beers explains that, spurred by American Red Star, "investigators as well as local volunteers began a thorough examination of range stock conditions" (119). She notes that during these examinations, the animal rights organization "found the stock owners very ready to cooperate with them" (119). Ranchers were understandably concerned with minimizing the suffering of their livestock, especially since federal allotment practices had imposed upon the existing, standard, free-range practices. The interests of the livestock in not suffering from starvation were also in the best interests of the ranchers. These shared interests, however, were corrupted by federal policies of assimilation and confinement.

Critics have analyzed McNickle's depiction of the mare in this chapter as symbolizing Indigenous human suffering due to the destructive effects of assimilative practices that confine Native cultures. Alicia Kent, for example, reads the episode between Archilde and the mare as representing "paternalism of federal policy toward Native Americans" (32). John Purdy reads the episode with the mare as the misguided attempt at fixing a "Salish character flaw" to cure poverty (71). Purdy furthermore sees this critique rooted in Salish oral tradition, giving us reason to read the paternalism being critiqued by McNickle as from both outside and within Salish culture. Understood in this way, the effect that the doctrine of individualism has on Archilde is evident from the beginning of the chapter, as he is "spending much of his time alone" (236). Archilde

is alienated from both his father's and his mother's ways of life, which, as Robert Holton notes, are depicted as antagonistic through their separated living quarters early in the novel (74). As *The Surrounded* begins, Archilde has returned from his life of traveling and playing violin to help with a harvest, but he is reluctant to become a farmer like his father, Max. The narrator tells us that Archilde would bring in the fall harvest and "would take care of that as part of his last duty to Max, then he would pack his clothes" (236). Archilde is not very interested in taking the "right path," as Pfister terms it, of continuing the farming tradition with all the individualism that the occupation entails.[19] The "right path" ends up being the wrong path for Archilde, who feels alienated from his Salish mother, Catherine. Acquiescing to American individualism would confine him from his Salish identity, one of the many diverse Native individualities that rely on community connection.

The figure of a nonhuman animal, such as the mare, signifying Indigenous humans is prevalent in *The Surrounded*. Early in the novel, Archilde thinks that the elders of his tribe did not seem like "real people" (62). He continues by explaining that "the buffaloes had been real things to his mother, and to the old people who had come to eat with her tonight. To him they were just fenced up animals that couldn't be shot, though you could take photographs of them" (62). Other clear textual evidence exists for us to read the mare as representing Salish individuality. Directly before the badlands chapter, the narrator tells us that a poor, blind, and deaf old Indian woman is "living like an animal" by bringing home the waste products from slaughterhouse rendering (234). Archilde's attempt at helping her also fails (233–34). Furthermore, the narrator compares the attempts of Archilde's nephews, Mike and Narcisse, at running away from home to the mare's plight in that they should be left alone (248). We can see the mare standing in figuratively for Indians and Archilde representing an internalization of the federal policies aimed at paternalistically improving the situation of Native peoples.

One of the larger effects of these paternalistic colonial narratives has been the change in how Natives relate to the land, including its nonhuman inhabitants. As Archilde's mother explains, "In the old way of living one never stayed in one place for very long. One camped wherever there was game and grass and water for the horses" (172). Confinement policies were enacted to force the nomadic lifestyle of Plains tribes into agrarian modes and to also force those tribes that had always practiced

agriculture to do so in more confined spaces, or allotments. Domestication of nonhuman animals on increasingly smaller fenced allotments as a means of providing sustenance and a new way of living was pushed to replace traditional hunting relationships with nonhuman animals.

Creek critic Craig Womack reads this novel's use of other animals as literally depicting the exploitive hunting relationships to which nonhuman animals are subjected. Womack references an earlier hunting scene where Archilde refuses to kill a doe, eliciting scorn from his mother for being a poor Salish hunter. Referring to personal hunting experience, Womack's analysis of the relationship between himself and a hunted doe applies as equally to game animals as to the domesticated mare, despite his and Archilde's differing intents. Womack writes that "there is no way to escape the fundamental inequity of the relationship. I would go as far as to say the lack of relationship: she's dead, we're not" (12). He explains that Archilde displays "a potential understanding for nonviolent relationships with animals that he never quite succeeds in understanding" in his hesitation to kill the doe (14). This same lack of understanding leads Archilde to ignore the agency of the mare, whose condition he "had taken it upon himself to improve" with fatal results (242). He practices a form of domestication with the mare in which the interests of the nonhuman animal are actively worked against because, as Womack observes, "Archilde thinks he understands what is best for the recalcitrant animal. In fact, he thinks he understands better than she does" (16). In terms of the mare's interests, Womack also astutely notes that Archilde's actions have decreased the "chances of survival of her young colt" (16). This lost potential for the recognition of nonhuman agency and the interests of the mare is a result of federal policies of allotment and individualism and the later disconnection from the land and its many species of inhabitants. The chapter in which McNickle's protagonist encounters the mare in the badlands works both on the figurative level by dramatizing assimilative practices affecting Indians and on the literal level by depicting problematic practices of nonhuman animal domestication caused by the same colonial forces. A colonial strategy of confinement domesticates both the Salish people and nonhuman animals.

When we take seriously both the figurative and literal readings of the badlands episode of McNickle's first published novel, we read it from the standpoint of first beings. In doing so, we see how the suffering of Indigenous humans is a result of policies of confinement that are responsible

for allotment practices, which is also inextricably linked to the confinement and suffering of nonhuman animals. In the chapter where Archilde encounters the mare in the badlands, McNickle chronicles the beginning of the new processes of animal agriculture that were forced upon Indigenous peoples. These initial fencing practices have escalated to the extreme confinement practices used in current industrial agriculture—what Rollin calls "confinement agriculture." Traditional husbandry has been abandoned in favor of profit margins and antibiotics, leading to the "physical and psychological deprivation" of the nonhuman animals, whose suffering is necessary for industrial agriculture to exist (11). This suffering is endemic due to "lack of space, lack of companionship for social animals, inability to move freely, boredom," and other problems (11–12). Confinement agriculture is abhorred by those who still practice traditional nonhuman animal husbandry, Rollin notes, because they understand "their animals are more than mere economic commodities" (55). Colonial narratives of confinement are integral not only to how we domesticate nonhuman animals but also with respect to how federal policies attempt to domesticate Native populations. As Kent writes about *The Surrounded*, "confinement becomes the controlling metaphor for modernity in McNickle's novel, most obviously suggested in its title" (37). Like the allotment fences, the discourse of individualism confines the possibility of competing Native individualities, some of which connect us to nonhuman animals. The restricting doctrine of individualism is inseparable from the practice of confinement agriculture of nonhuman animals. Colonization perpetuates a restrictive culture for humans and nonhumans alike.

Some texts are more easily read through an understanding of ourselves as first beings. Another strongly autobiographical novel contemporary with *The Surrounded* gives us an example of a less obvious text—one that makes sense to read from the standpoint of first beings when read alongside *The Surrounded*. *Brothers Three*, by John M. Oskison, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation who was born and raised in rural Oklahoma, was published in 1935, a year before *The Surrounded*.

The novel is a frontier romance about the sons of Francis Odell and three generations of the family living as farmers and ranchers in Indian Territory under the jurisdiction of the Cherokee Nation (what Oskison refers to as "old I.T."). As Bethany Ridgway Schneider explains in Oskison's entry in the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*, the novel

"traces the tragedy of mixed-blood siblings who give up a traditional relationship to the land in order to pursue the American dream of individual wealth" (198). This 448-page novel is divided more or less evenly among the three sons of Francis, the sections being named "Timmy," "The Herdsman" (for Roger), and "Mister" (the nickname for Henry). The novel continues past the early death of the mother, Janet, and the eventual death of the father, Francis, to explore how the three sons handle the family farm. Timmy pursues a life in town in banking and business. Roger continues his father's interest in cattle, although he leaves the management of the farm to Timmy's wife, May. Mister is the only brother to receive a college education. He tries to become a writer, fails, and then tries to play the stock market to restore the diminishing family fortune. This also fails, as his efforts coincide with the stock market crash of 1929. The novel ends on a note of hope for the future of the farm, although little evidence is given to the reader to warrant such optimism.

Like McNickle's, Oskison's rural upbringing informs the use of nonhuman animals in this novel, which is also strongly autobiographical. Although we should not reduce Oskison's novel to a simple biographical reading, there are many parallels between his actual life as depicted in his unfinished autobiography and the Odell family as described in the novel. As in Oskison's real life, the patriarch of the family is a white man who has been granted citizenship in the Cherokee Nation through marriage to a Cherokee woman. Janet, the mother of the three brothers in the novel, like Oskison's own mother, dies when the boys are young. Henry (or Mister, as he is often called), like Oskison, leaves the farm to receive an education and to become a writer. Although Oskison does not depict the shared interests between human and nonhuman animals as concisely as does McNickle in the badlands chapter, there are many excerpts in which the characters entertain radical notions of animal agency. The novel also depicts characters who practice responsible traditional agriculture and husbandry. So there is potential in Oskison's novel for this understanding that we are first beings.

Just as a concern for nonhuman suffering is a prominent theme for McNickle, attention to the suffering of other animals was also important in Oskison's fiction and his personal life. In his unfinished autobiography, there is evidence that his father, John, influenced him regarding animal ethics.[20] Although his father engages in hunting, he refuses to hunt at night, "saying that he didn't want the thought of a crippled and suffering

bird on his conscience" (*Tales* 73). Oskison compares his father to a child in a Dickensian novel. After his father's parents died when John was just two years old, he came to live with his uncle as an "unwanted orphan" (65). The extent to which John was unwanted is illustrated by his recollection of being neglected as though he were a beast of burden. He recounts being forced at a young age to drive a team of oxen on all-night trips to St. Louis. Oskison explains that his father "remembered with bitterness winter nights on the road, and the agony of staying awake as he trudged along beside the oxen, thinly clothed and badly shod" (65). John is resentful of the mistreatment to which his uncle subjects him, and this story strongly suggests that he recognizes his own suffering as shared between himself and the oxen. Instead of John recounting that he drove the oxen, he says that he was "trudging along beside" them. John bitterly explains that his uncle did not expect him to live long and intended to get all the work he could out of him while he was still living (66). Oskison's concern for animal suffering, passed down from his father, provides evidence for why we see episodes touching upon the suffering and interests of other animals in *Brothers Three*.

In addition to Oskison's father being treated as a beast of burden, we are shown correct and incorrect ways of treating and thinking about domestic nonhuman animals in the novel. Incorrect relationships are coded as non-Indian, specifically as belonging to settler culture, or, more particularly, to the "invaders of this Indian land" (*Brothers Three* 54). The narrator tells us that those invading Indian Territory were drawn by "skinny old horses or gaunt sore-shouldered mules" (55). Oskison opens his autobiography by explaining how he inherited his temper from his white father. This temper is most vividly depicted in *Brothers Three* when, in a fit of "white-faced fury," Francis "mercilessly" whips an uncooperative mule, causing the animal much suffering (23). In contradiction to these foreign ways of treating animals (and Francis's own treatment of the mule), we see examples of proper traditional husbandry. For example, the narrator explains that Francis was pleased that Roger "knew the cattle as individuals" (66). As the narrator explains, it was important to be able to single out livestock who needed special feeding and would thrive only under careful practices involving individual attention, even calling for "surgeon-like attention" to ensure that the animals were in the best health possible (167). Roger also muses

that "a horse to him was something more than a four-legged beast with strength to carry a rider and more or less sense. It was individual, as distinctive as one of his brothers" (167). Oskison's novel does not stop at the respectful consideration of the welfare of working animals. The youngest son, Mister, notes that he had "never been able to think of animals merely as objects to be bought, tended, and sold" (198). The buying and selling of cattle, however, is the exact business of the Odell family. This is one reason that leads Mister away from the "traditional relationship to the land," as Schneider phrases it, to New York and to a life of writing.

Like the comparisons of animals to humans in McNickle's novel, there are several places in *Brothers Three* where Oskison uses nonhuman animals to figuratively depict Mister, the character who most closely resembles himself. We are told by the narrator that when Henry was given the nickname "Mister" by a family friend, his mother asked, "Who are you calling Mister, the baby or the dog?" (315). A further use of nonhuman animals as figuratively representing Mister is shown during his attempt to imagine what his first moments of life were like. He pictures "his own serious, wrinkled monkey face" (315). Furthermore, he imagines that as a small child who was nursed by his Aunt Liza, he did so "as a purring kitten" (316). It is not only his early life when Mister uses figures of nonhuman animals to describe humans, and in fact he obscures the distinction between humans and nonhumans by means of a particularly vivid example of anthropomorphism. While looking at microbes in biology class at college, Mister recalls that he "tried to write the usual student observations, then got to imagining them as human and described their capers and quoted their observations on me and the instructors and professors" (327). We can see that Oskison is using the figure of the nonhuman animal to depict Mister and also to show us how he imagines other humans and nonhumans. One of the points where the novel shows the potential for and understanding of human and nonhuman as first beings is Roger's recognition that nonhuman animals are "individual, as distinctive as one of his brothers" (167).

Roger's realization that the cattle are individuals can be explained in terms of his privileging good husbandry techniques over shoddy work with the livestock. As Rollin explains, the interests of a rancher practicing traditional agriculture and the interests of the nonhuman animal overlap to a great degree in raising livestock in a traditional way.

By understanding the cattle as having individual interests, Roger can reduce the suffering of the nonhuman animals and ensure that they thrive and subsequently return a good profit when slaughtered, but Mister's recognition of the cattle as more than commodities is a much more radical realization. Along with seeking his education and career as a writer, this realization is one of the influences that lead to his decision to leave the farm. Paradoxically, it is a singular encounter with an individual steer that ultimately strengthens Mister's resolve to devote his time and energy to restoring the farm to its former glory:

> He sat statue-like waiting to see the lot-fed steers appear: they had sensed his presence and, somewhat fearfully, were marching in mass to investigate. The white-faced leader emerged from the shadows, stopped, and the others crowded up on it. Blowing, the steer advanced slowly until Henry put out a hand to touch its muzzle. Then the beast whirled, snorting and led the rest away at a lumbering gallop. (437)

It is this act of reaching to touch an individual steer that prompts Mister to reassess his time on the farm. He comes to the realization that "it's details like that I must have for my stories. . . . I've been a fool to imagine I could find reality anywhere else" (437). Mister later proclaims that "the Farm's a Living Organism" and decides to stay and revive it by renovating the fields and structures on it (448). But it is notable here that Mister forgets his earlier, more radical objection to raising livestock: that nonhuman animals are more than "objects to be bought, tended, and sold" (198). In practice, Mister fails to recognize the nonhuman animals as individuals but, rather, sees his own path to individualism through the domestication of livestock. Still, Mister's failure in this endeavor is only partial, and the novel holds greater potential, particularly alongside Oskison's nonfiction. In these works, in addition to recognizing the problems affecting herds and tribes confined to reservations, Oskison unambiguously uses the language of domestication to describe the situation of Indians. In an article titled "Making an Individual of the Indian," he writes that, when put on reservations and rations, the Indian lost romantic appeal and "became of no more interest than any other stall-fed creature" (380). Here we can see that, just like Collier, McNickle, and Deloria, Oskison uses domesticated nonhuman animals as a figurative vehicle for Indigenous humans. In *Brothers Three*, Mister illustrates the

possibility for an understanding of ourselves as first beings in these passages, which becomes clearer when reading the novel alongside the badlands chapter of *The Surrounded* and Oskison's nonfiction.[21]

Oskison's answer to this problem of confinement on reservations is that the "modern Indian must be thought of as an individual, not merely as a unit in certain tribal groups" ("Making" 381). He lauds the idea of "individual responsibility," which has "been directed toward getting every tribesman into his own house, on his own land, and at work for himself" (381–82).[22] The doctrine of individualism that McNickle depicts as the problem is, for Oskison, the answer to Native problems. It should be noted, however, that Oskison advocated individualism as a solution, but it was a solution contingent upon Indigenous agency in choosing it.[23] Lionel Larré explains that Oskison's work "signifies that the only struggle worth fighting was the struggle against the ultimate dehumanization that the paternalistic reservation system tended to accomplish" (Introduction 15). In reading Oskison's work as more than that of a fervent assimilationist, Larré writes that, even though Oskison was a founding member of the Society of American Indians, which advocated assimilation, he rarely used the term, preferring instead the word "amalgamation" (13). This concept of amalgamation, while similar to Justice's acculturation by maintaining a sense of Native identity, is, however, far from the harsh critique of individualism seen in McNickle's novel. We can see, however, Oskison's critique of individualism without Native agency in Mister's failure to understand the intertwined problems of Native humans and nonhumans.

Oskison's characterization of Mister as being unrealistically hopeful in regard to the survival of the family farm brings Oskison's seemingly disconnected critiques of reservation policies and animal welfare together. In his nonfiction, Oskison recognizes the same problem with herd management in the Southwest that McNickle describes in the newly allotted Indian lands in Montana. In "Arizona and Forty Thousand Indians," Oskison writes about the Navajos that "the growth of their herds and flocks has forced them to seek pasture outside the limits of their mountain and desert reservation" (422). Here, we see Oskison recognizing confinement as a problem for both the Navajos and their domestic nonhuman animals. His solution is class based and rests upon the recognition of the shared interests of white owners of small herds and Native ranchers. Oskison lauds a particular white rancher who

works well with the Navajos and does not mind their herds wandering onto his land because "they look after my stock" when they wander onto the reservation (422). This friendly white rancher is juxtaposed with the myopic focus on profit by the big cattle companies who ignore the interests of the Navajos and their herds (423). Even though Oskison recognizes the same problems that McNickle uses to great effect in *The Surrounded*—notably, the culture of confinement, which affects human and nonhuman animals—he does not quite allow Mister to make this connection in *Brothers Three*.

Oskison's critique of the "big cattle companies" is an apt observation for the time. Agriculture, most notably, the cattle industry, was growing rapidly before the thirties; according to Rollin's accounts, it had doubled in the hundred years before 1920 and doubled again between 1920 and 1950 (8). Beers also notes the large increase in the number of animals entering slaughterhouses between the two world wars (103). This increase meant that fewer workers were dealing with more livestock while supplying an increasing number of postwar consumers. This also meant that traditional ranching techniques were quickly abandoned to deal with the volume of livestock. Unlike Roger's careful husbandry, which relies on knowledge of animals as individuals, the shift from traditional to industrial agriculture meant "less attention [was] paid to individual animals" (Rollin 9). The growth of demand and subsequent supply of beef along with fewer slaughterhouse workers was only possible by an increase in productivity and increased mechanization (Rollin 9). Such technological advances and the exponentially increasing numbers of livestock resulted in even more suffering for the nonhuman animals at the slaughterhouses. Industrial agricultural practices "pushed the mallet men beyond their physical capabilities, meaning that fewer of their blows struck their mark. Consequently, thousands of animals were fully conscious when they went to the killing floor" (103). The well-being of the human worker is similarly neglected with the shift from traditional to industrial agriculture. The agricultural path to individualism was paved with increased suffering for many individual nonhuman animals.

We can see that despite Oskison's use of the figure of the "stall-fed creature" to critique reservation policies, Mister fails to fully recognize the interconnected interests of domestic nonhuman animals and Indigenous peoples in *Brothers Three*. What is most noticeable, though, is the novel's lack of attention to the suffering of nonhuman domestic animals

in one of its most extreme forms: the overworked slaughterhouse. There is only one mention of suffering during slaughter. It is made by Janice, a woman from New York who becomes Mister's wife. She visits the farm with a romantic interest in the lifestyle of the cattlemen. Thinking about the large mass of cattle destined for the slaughterhouse, she excitedly wonders, "What a river of blood would flow from their carcasses!" (201). What is troubling in *Brothers Three*—given all of this attention to animal suffering and even Janice's speculation of how the killing floor would look—is the complete absence of consideration of the other animals' interests after the family travels with the cattle to the Chicago stockyards. The final fate of the cattle is ignored. This is congruent with John Berger's claim that "animals have gradually disappeared" under the economic mode of industrial capitalism (11). Philip Armstrong explains in his reading of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* that even when the atrocities of the slaughterhouse are on display, they are presented in a way that forces the viewer to concede that "certain kinds of suffering or deprivation are unavoidable and must be accepted in the pursuit of progress or profit" (141). The primary concern of the Odell family is the pursuit of profit; the interests of the nonhuman animals almost disappear.

Janice is the only one who contemplates the cattle beyond leaving them at the stockyards and counting the price per head. Her vision of the morbid display on the killing floor is thrilling to her because it is a spectacular example of human "pursuit of progress." The omission of further mention of the slaughterhouse in *Brothers Three* can also be explained, as Rollin does, by the fact that "few ranchers have ever seen their animals slaughtered; even fewer wish to. The vast majority see themselves as stewards of land and animals, as living a way of life as well as making a living" (55). The slaughterhouse, along with the changes in production that created more suffering, was antithetical to the ethic of traditional husbandry techniques. Because it is necessary for the ranch economy, it also disappears from the thoughts of the cattlemen—just as it has disappeared, as Berger notes, from public consciousness. The only subversive narrative here is Mister's reluctance to view the cattle "as objects to be bought, tended, and sold" (*Brothers Three* 198). But his objection is lost at the end of the novel when he resolves to again take up the lifestyle of a rancher to save the farm. It should be conceded that it is hard to read Mister's attempt at coming back to the Depression-era farm as promising and easier to see it as false hope in this path to individual-

ism. While *Brothers Three* contains many of the elements that McNickle's badlands chapter does, it does not readily lend itself to be read from an understanding of ourselves as first beings. We can, however, understand how the disparate elements of Oskison's figurative and literal use of nonhuman animals show potential for such a reading when placed alongside *The Surrounded.*

The language of domestication prevalent in the political debates over Indigenous sovereignty in the mid-1930s is expertly condensed in the badlands chapter of D'Arcy McNickle's *The Surrounded*. As Louis Owens explains, "Individuals find themselves trapped in a kind of mute isolation" in McNickle's novel ("Red Road" 240). I would only add that these individuals are not always human. We can also see that another novel at the time, Oskison's *Brothers Three*, contains potential for bringing the interests of humans and nonhumans together. But it is Mister's adherence to individualism as the solution to federal paternalistic policies that prevents such a potential from being fully realized. By reading these texts from an understanding of ourselves as first beings, it becomes evident that the racism inherent in the language of Native American domestication and the speciesism integral to exploitative practices of domestication of nonhuman animals share the same source. These two texts show us how confinement agriculture and the confinement of Native peoples are interwoven. We can understand this fully only by engaging in both figurative and literal readings of domesticated nonhuman animals in Native literatures. Reading in such a way also privileges Indigenous ways of understanding the world that do not draw a sharp distinction between human and nonhuman beings.

BRIAN K. HUDSON is a citizen of the Cherokee Nation from Bushyhead, Oklahoma. He is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the University of California at Riverside. He received his PhD in English with a concentration in literary and cultural studies from the University of Oklahoma. Hudson recently published a special issue of *Studies in American Indian Literatures* on animal studies and edited Carter Revard's latest collection of poetry, *From the Extinct Volcano, a Bird of Paradise*. His short story "Land Run on Sooner City" will be published by Theytus Books in the upcoming anthology *mitewacimowina: Indigenous Science Fiction & Speculative Storytelling*. He is currently working with Grace Dillon on a collection of critical essays on Indigenous science fiction.

NOTES

1. Marshall used this language to define tribal nations in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worchester v. Georgia* (1832). It is how Native nations have been defined in a guardian/ward relationship since the early 1830s (Wilkins and Lomawaima 61).

2. I am unconcerned here with whether the particular nonhuman animal, such as equine, originated on this continent. These species are Indigenous in regard to my political analysis because certain species have become culturally important to certain Native nations and vice versa.

3. See Hudson.

4. Mohawk insightfully explains that, rather than being superstitious, Native narratives about animals form "a system of belief about how the world in structured and about how humans should behave in that world" (20).

5. The current debate over the Washington Redskins' name and several other sports mascots illustrates one such way Native Americans are characterized as savage and animal-like. In fact, the ten most popular team mascots are either animals or Indians. See Rider.

6. For a thorough explanation of the concept of speciesism, see Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation*, which includes a comparison of the logics of racism and speciesism (6).

7. My point here is not to claim that all domestication of nonhuman animals serves the goals of the proponents of assimilation. The practice of keeping sheep among several southwestern tribes is understood as traditional, for example, and there is a long history of domesticating other species, such as canines, throughout the precolonial Americas. See Schwartz.

8. D'Arcy McNickle also uses the term *acculturation* in describing Native cultural change (see *Tribalism* 9–11).

9. It is important to keep in mind that acculturation, as Justice defines it, allows for the possibility of Native individualities that are not necessarily always at odds with the doctrine of individualism. If we were to ignore these examples, we would be conceding too much power to the narrative of individualism to define itself by what it is not.

10. Descartes wrote that nonhuman animals are "automata" (Regan and Singer 14).

11. Alicia Kent explains that McNickle applied to work with Collier "in part out of a desire to become a part of these changes" to tribal governance (29).

12. This is until the federal termination policies starting in the 1940s.

13. McNickle also uses this language in his nonfiction. He writes that in the popular imagination, the idea of the vanishing Indian "occasioned regret, it was no more deeply felt than that expressed for the extermination of the passenger pigeon and the buffalo. Such losses were accepted as part of the cost of taming a wilderness world" (*Tribalism* 3–4).

14. McNickle called the first draft of *The Surrounded* "The Hungry Generations." As Birgit Hans explains, it "would have fitted very comfortably into the group of early

[Native] novels if McNickle had managed to get it published before he started serious revisions in 1934" (2). The final draft is stylistically more modern.

15. Parker explains that with evidence of his Cree ancestry, his father convinced the Salish Kootenai tribe to adopt McNickle. His tribal enrollment became a point of contention between his parents.

16. Parker notes that some buffalo did escape the roundup and "became the original herd of the National Bison Range, Moiese, Montana" (261). See EarthJustice for video with Tim Preso, managing attorney of the EarthJustice Northern Rockies office, explaining the importance of rebuilding bison populations, whose decimation was encouraged by the US Army in the mid-nineteenth century.

17. Christensen faults the human exceptionalism of Christianity conflicting with animistic Native spirituality (11).

18. Shultz explains that "a broad publicity campaign was begun in 1918" by American Red Star (119).

19. As Christensen notes, the novel "contains no examples of successful Native farmers" (13).

20. This has recently been published as *Tales of the Old Indian Territory and Essays on the Indian Condition*, edited by Lionel Larré.

21. I don't argue that Archilde makes this connection in *The Surrounded*. His confusion is, in fact, indicative of a lack of understanding. However, I do argue that McNickle shows us how human and nonhuman interests coalesce in his novel, whereas *Brothers Three* does not quite seem to make the connection, despite many of the elements being there.

22. It is interesting to note here that the Five Tribes, of which the Cherokees were included, were exempt from the Indian Reorganization Act (Deloria, *Reorganization* x).

23. See Oskison, "In Governing" 441.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Stephanie J. Fitzgerald. *Native Women and Land: Narratives of Dispossession and Resurgence*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2015.
ISBN: 978-0-8263-5557-7. 163 pp.

David J. Carlson, *California State University*

There is a growing body of scholarship that aims to radically reimagine the techniques of indigenous literary criticism and to break down the rhetorical and methodological barriers that sometimes divide academic discourses from the people they are intended to reflect and, ideally, to serve. Stephanie Fitzgerald's new book, *Native Women and Land*, might be situated in dialogue with much of that recent work (texts like Craig Womack's *Art as Performance* and Betty Booth Donohue's *Bradford's Indian Book*, to name just two). One of Fitzgerald's major aims in this slender volume is to urge readers to reorient their understanding of narrative genres in a way that foregrounds the broad relationship between acts of storytelling and the politics and history of dispossession. The "Land Narrative," as she defines it, is a capacious and flexible category that encompasses stories of origin rooted in the oral tradition; the literary fictions of writers such as Louise Erdrich, Linda Hogan, and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn; and the deployment of social media by activists in the Idle No More Movement. While Fitzgerald rightly situates her book as an intervention into the field of ecocriticism (one that renders it more "attuned to the complex and ever-shifting relationships Native people have with land tenure and the federal government"), this study should also be approached as an invitation to literary scholars to pursue greater experimentation in our critical praxis. To her credit as well, *Native Women and Land* extends that invitation in a manner that is accessible and well suit-

ed to discussion in the undergraduate classroom. Indeed, this is where I suspect the book may find its largest audience.

The introduction to *Native Women and Land*, "Toward a Land Narrative," lays out an ambitious conceptual framework. Fitzgerald foregrounds four major critical interventions that her study seeks to advance: (1) refocusing scholarly attention on writings by Native women, which she argues (following Shari M. Huhndorf) have been largely overlooked by a male-dominated literary nationalist discourse; (2) highlighting how Indian dispossession is both an environmental and a political issue; (3) reorienting an increasingly globally focused ecocritical scholarship back toward indigenous locality; and (4) developing literary and environmental studies in a way that avoids shallow and stereotypical notions of the "ecological Indian." In pursuing these goals, Fitzgerald focuses her attention on diasporic indigenous populations (nations and communities removed from their traditional homelands, such as the Cherokee) and on other peoples who have experienced substantial dispossession (such as the Dakotah). In doing so, she stresses that land narratives (understood as acts of "place-making," as defined by linguistic anthropologist Keith Basso) can be, and have been, employed to support the resurgence of tribal nations and communities confronting the challenges of land loss. Fitzgerald aligns herself with Elizabeth Cook-Lynn in viewing literature and storytelling as integrally tied to the complex politics of dispossession and recovery. She also insists on the need for an "environmental literary practice" that is attuned to the interconnection between land tenure, U.S. Indian law, and environmental issues. But in invoking examples such as Diné Natural Law to illustrate the nexus between storytelling, ecological consciousness, and jurisprudence, she also highlights how indigenous systems of knowledge can be placed at the center of an ecocritical praxis that responds to the history of colonialism.

Native Women and Land is divided into two parts, each containing two chapters and focused on two forms of dispossession, which are indexed by the Cree words for land (*askîy*) and water (*nîpîy*). Considering the scope of the issues raised in the introduction, it is unsurprising, but also a bit disappointing, that these four chapters move very quickly over their chosen territory. Indeed, my main criticism of *Native Women and Land* is that it would benefit from being considerably longer and more methodical in its explication of its examples. In chapter 1, "Remov-

als and Long Walks," for example, Fitzgerald examines the process by which Native peoples (in this case, the Cherokee and the Diné) who have been moved to unfamiliar locations must "[re-place] themselves in a new land by creating new stories" and "incorporate their original stories into new land narratives" (26). The discussion commences with personal narrative, as Fitzgerald recounts her own visits to the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma to participate in the Cherokee National Holiday, which commemorates both the 1839 signing of the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation and the end of the "Trail Where We Cried." Personal experience then serves as a bridge to connect acts of contemporary museological storytelling at the Cherokee Heritage Center with a discussion of Diane Glancy's two *Pushing the Bear* novels (published in 1996 and 2009). Glancy's work both represents and theorizes, in narrative form, the process by which indigenous people (women especially) "[carried] stories with them on the Trail," thereby both keeping the Cherokee creation narrative alive and allowing for the reconstitution of the nation in a new space (an argument made with somewhat different emphases by Daniel Heath Justice in *Our Fire Survives the Storm*). The modeling of methodological flexibility in this chapter is striking and suggests some of the ways that indigenous literary studies might continue to develop. At the same time, though, Fitzgerald's readings of the novels are quite short. As such, the chapter can only gesture at how we might develop an understanding of the aforementioned process of narrative reconstitution. The discussion ends before telescoping back out to fully reconsider the realm of contemporary Cherokee place-making praxis in light of Glancy's work. Finally, the chapter's complementary discussion of the Diné's use of story in the face of the Long Walk is similarly both methodologically exciting and somewhat incomplete in execution. Fitzgerald provocatively links Luci Tapahonso's famous poem "In 1864" with a YouTube video (and its attached comments) uploaded by a user calling himself "daybreakwarrior." This video offers a narrative about the Long Walk told by daybreakwarrior's "Grandma Margaret" in the Navajo language. Untranslated, however, this "land narrative" can only be discussed in limited ways as a general example of the role of narrative in fostering survivance. Fitzgerald's move to highlight the way that Diné "land narratives" traverse conventional literary forms and social media platforms is innovative, then, but the explanatory discussion of the evidence remains primarily suggestive.

In many respects, it seems to me that *Native Women and Land* is driven by two somewhat conflicting imperatives that are difficult to balance in a brief study. On the one hand, Fitzgerald's goal is to expand our sense of the corpus of "land narratives" and to highlight the need for new methodologies and approaches to *critical* storytelling that are able to adequately respond to and mobilize that narrative tradition to confront political and ecological crises. The content of the remaining chapters is illustrative of this as Fitzgerald discusses the following: the fiction of Louise Erdrich, read in a way that highlights the connection between land tenure and environmental issues on the postallotment reservation; the works of Linda Hogan and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, discussed in a way that foregrounds indigenous systems of knowledge involving justice in environmental contexts; and the documentation on various media platforms of the effects of climate change on indigenous communities in Alaska and Louisiana. As an introduction to the potential breadth and complexity of women's "land narratives," these chapters work admirably.

On the other hand, Fitzgerald's introduction to *Native Women and Land* strongly suggests that an indigenous ecocriticism centered on women's experiences, narratives, and networks also requires an intensely localized and detailed form of scholarship to illuminate. At one point, for example, she suggests the need for a more nuanced critical lexicon to think and talk about tribal land. She notes that we would do well to speak of "Indian place" as a way of evoking indigenous systems of knowledge and narrative. At the same time, we might employ "Indian land" as our legal term, one that encompasses individually or tribally owned land, trust land, among others, and the various apparatuses that surround them. But overlying both of these, she observes, is the idea of "Indian Country," a more equivocal term that perhaps connotes some of the same things as "Indian place" but also invokes the imperialist and colonialist discourses that have displaced and dispossessed Indian people, to their great cost and to the detriment of the environment. This is a rich conceptual framework one might apply in generating critical work and engaged teaching. To employ it as a heuristic tool in literary criticism, however, requires sustained attention to the complex contexts in which land narratives are grounded, as well as a methodical exegesis of those narratives themselves. That is difficult to achieve in a short book. At this stage in her thinking, then, Fitzgerald seems to have endeavored primarily to offer up a framework for indigenous ecocritical practice. To

deploy more fully the kind of critical practice she lays out appears to fall outside the purview of a text that is roughly 120 pages (minus its notes and bibliography). In the end, of course, it may be that its very conciseness and suggestiveness render *Native Women and Land* precisely the kind of text that can be most usefully integrated into the classroom. Fitzgerald's book will invite its readers to practice literary criticism in new ways, and we are always in need of that kind of work in our field.

DAVID J. CARLSON is professor of English at California State University, San Bernardino. He is the author of *Sovereign Selves: American Indian Autobiography and the Law* (University of Illinois Press, 2006) and *Imagining Sovereignty: Discourses of Self-Determination in American Indian Law and Literature* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016). He is also a founding coeditor of *Transmotion*, an on-line, open-access journal of indigenous studies hosted by the University of Kent.

Diane Glancy. *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2014. ISBN: 978-0-8032-4967-7. 124 pp.

Diane Glancy. *Report to the Department of the Interior: Poems.* Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 2015. ISBN: 978-0-8263-5571-3. 97 pp.

James Mackay, *European University Cyprus*

Diane Glancy is a writer peculiarly marked with obsessions. Her always experimental work may flit from historical reconstruction to present-day midwestern monotony, from the aftermath of the BTK killings to the Trail of Tears, from a novel set in a very real hell to a film set partly in Fritz Scholder's imaginarium, but certain themes emerge again and again. Seldom have they come together with such skill and control as they do in her latest diptych, part of an outpouring that has seen her publish no fewer than five books in the past year.

There is her descent from Cherokee ancestors and the way that, as she puts it in her autobiographical essay "Two Dresses," this "leavened the whole lump." Raised outside Cherokee culture, neither a citizen of the Cherokee Nation nor a speaker of Tsalagi, nonetheless she has an inescapable fascination with reclaiming her heritage, which has driven the vast majority of her prose and poetry. Speaking of driving, she repeatedly returns to the image of a lone driver traversing a vast plain, simul-

taneously still and in motion. This in turn speaks to a postmodern sense of deep time as something that can be understood in myriad complex ways, each history like a car journey that finds just one line of many, each narrator providing just one limited perspective on events that it is not possible to "fully" understand. This in turn is supplemented with a deeply felt and deeply considered Christian faith, the main subject of perhaps a third of her works, which creates a fragmented, tenuous sense of community even among the chaos of evil actions. Topping this all off is a compulsive drive to animate unconsidered lives and unheard voices, often those of people known as someone's wife, someone's victim, someone's survivor.

Reading these latest works brings another obsession into particular focus, a preoccupation with education in all its forms. Reclamation of heritage, after all, requires self-education, and Glancy clearly allies her formidable intellect with an extraordinary work ethic. Previous forays into the past, notably her stories of Sacajawea (*Stone Heart*) and Saint Kateri Tekakwitha (*The Reason for Crows*), have required extensive archival work. Glancy has also explicitly talked on numerous occasions of an almost psychogeographical element to her work, wherein she travels, armed with her research, to important sites in her narratives, opening herself up to hearing voices from the earth. As she puts it in *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education*, "Historical memory, if there is such a thing, is an interior landscape of tribal voices and events that come over the lanes of traffic as I drive the highways and back roads on various journeys. As I re-drive their space" (60). Yet education is no unalloyed pleasure in her writing. She has written many times of the struggle she has felt, both as student and educator, even to speak in the classroom. The title character of her novel *Flutie* (later filmed as *The Dome of Heaven*), a novel that contains many autobiographical elements, is struck almost dumb with the need to express something that feels inexpressible, a narrative that Glancy pairs with the story of tongueless Philomela.

So it is very easy to understand why the prisoners of the title should be of interest to Glancy. Following the Southern Plains Indian Wars, "seventy-two of the worst prisoners" (1) were taken from the allied Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, and Caddo tribes and shipped as far from Indian Country as possible, to Fort Marion in Florida. There their hair was forcibly cut, their clothes were exchanged for army uni-

forms, and they were handed into the charge of Captain Richard Henry Pratt, he of the infamous phrase "A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man" (Pratt 260). In accordance with these beliefs, the Fort Marion prisoners were instructed in English, mathematics, and other subjects in an effort to turn them into model citizens of the United States. Most famously, they were given art materials and encouraged to create drawings and paintings to sell to the public, the ledger art that continued traditional art styles and practices into new materials.

These days we would probably follow Raphael Lemkin in defining such forcible education as a form of genocide or ethnocide. Yet to those caught up in such events things were not necessarily so clear-cut. As Glancy points out toward the end of this book, some of the prisoners in later life became recruiters for the Carlisle School or became members of Christian churches (one, David Pendleton Oakerhater, is now considered a saint by the Episcopalian Church). Some named their children after Pratt. Many, however, were irretrievably damaged by the experience. "Most," as Glancy records, "found themselves at odds with their people and themselves." The education—or indoctrination—that was forced upon them also gave them the ability to petition the colonial power for release and opened possibilities for making a living in the destroyed postwar world of their nations. Twelve died in Fort Marion.

The task of reconstructing the prisoners' thoughts is an impossible one. They left only a few records beyond the ledger art, mostly letters written long after the process of education, some "graffiti" (one author's description, which Glancy corrects to "petroglyphs") on the walls of Fort Marion, and little else. Richard Henry Pratt, by contrast, left extensive archives. The obvious inequities in power have permanently and all but completely erased the subjective experiences of powerful warriors (and one child) rendered stuttering schoolchildren. Glancy therefore turns to her own biography as a parallel that allows her not to resurrect or re-create (she explicitly notes at the end of the book that "there was no way to retrieve [the living being of meaning]" [121]) but to point up an imaginative or empathic bridge that exists between past and present. Compulsively telling and retelling the prisoners' story interleaved with her own, then interleaving that with the story of her researches, paralleling

her journeys with theirs, reproducing photographs of places and people mentioned in the narrative, discussing the shortcomings of the documents upon which she is building this re-creation, Glancy simultaneously makes us feel "a ghost of their world—like old lettering on window glass that was revealed in frost" (121), and dramatizes the complete impossibility of such a resurrection. Along the way she provides profound meditations on the impact of the past on the present (and vice versa), themes that return with more force in the other volume under review.

"Once our stories were round / but the wolves made them square as houses," records the speaker of an early poem in *Report to the Department of the Interior* (4). Published as part of the Mary Burritt Christiansen poetry series, which promotes poetry on "the realities of . . . experiencing [the] West and the Border as places and as metaphors," this collection explodes any idea of a linear history. The first major section is devoted, in typical Glancy style, to the wife of Henry Bull Head, the leader of the police force at the Grand River agency, better known as the man who killed Sitting Bull. The first three poems in this section read as imaginative history, reanimating a figure all but lost to history in the classic Glancy style, allowing for the full complexities of Bull Head's position. The fourth poem, however, introduces us to the true complexity of Glancy's postmodern histories. Titled "When Cézanne Visited America," the poem deals with a visit that never happened, a place that doesn't exist, an impressionist working at the same time as Bull Head's death, and the closing of the frontier wrenched violently into juxtaposition. A further poem, titled "Bull Head's Wife Studies Frances Glessner Lee's Visible Proofs, a Series of Crime Scenes Reconstructed in Miniature in the 1940's and '50's for Use in Forensics," consists entirely of the list of the dead after the failed arrest of Sitting Bull written by James McLaughlin, with the single added line "+ wives and children who depended on them" (15). The facts of history are rounded by their echoes in the present.

Other sections recapture other children: the daughter of Spotted Tail, the children beaten and educated in boarding schools. A bravura late section, however, reveals that "there was another fish tank behind the tank / I was watching" (63): the spree killing at Red Lake, Minnesota, in 2005 that resulted in the deaths of ten people. Glancy places herself in the mind of the killer, sixteen-year-old Jeffrey Weise, where a confused mixture of ideologies—Native Pride and Nazism—mingle with a

destroyed family and mental illness. By placing this section where it is, Glancy impressionistically shows how the history of colonialism continues to inflect the tragic present while avoiding any simple binaries of colonizer/victim. An imaginative final section, written as a play script, opens up a space for the symbolic return of the buffalo and the concomitant survivance of Native peoples.

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Yvette Nolan. *Medicine Shows: Indigenous Performance Culture*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 2015. ISBN: 978-1-77091-345-5. 169 pp.

Tracey Lindberg and David Brundage, eds. *Daniel David Moses: Spoken and Written Explorations of His Work*. Essential Writers Series 42. Toronto: Guernica, 2015. ISBN: 978-1-55071-948-2. 472 pp.

Alexander Pettit, *University of North Texas*

I continue to regret the reluctance of the U.S. theater community to acknowledge what strikes me as a plain truth: a disproportionate amount of the most formally bold and intellectually rigorous drama of the last quarter-century has been written by Aboriginal and Métis playwrights from Canada. Yvette Nolan and Daniel David Moses stand out even in a group that includes Tomson Highway, Marie Clements, Drew Hayden Taylor, and other worthies. Nolan's account of Indigenous drama from the 1980s to the present demonstrates that "other worthies" is a hefty category, and conspicuous among her book's merits is its engagement with playwrights as yet underrepresented in print. Unavoidably, however, her commitment to talented but unpublished practitioners like the Turtle Gals, Melanie J. Murray, and Clifford Cardinal hints at the difficulty of establishing a reputation as a writer absent an accommodating textual environment. Six of the plays that Nolan discusses are unpublished, and several are out of print, although the news that Playwrights Canada Press plans soon to release two plays by Cardinal perhaps encourages

hope that Nolan's book is stimulating publication of new work and providing "a way to remember . . . the work that has happened" (6).[1] Surely the enterprises are complementary.

Nolan is well suited for her task. In addition to having written two of the most compelling plays of the last few decades—*Annie Mae's Movement* and *The Unplugging*—she has directed some of the most important productions of Aboriginal plays. For eight years she was artistic director of Native Earth Performing Arts (Toronto); for three she was president of the Playwrights Union of Canada. Happily for readers keen on clarity, Nolan has chosen to write "in a non-scholarly way—in plain language" (3). With respect to method, Nolan again avoids the potholes of academic argument, following the plays associatively and thematically rather than conscripting them rhetorically. Her softening of the line between exposition and exegesis is decorous but never evasive, and time and again she brings one as close as print allows to what she calls "the quiddity of the work" (107). Consider the wrap-up of her remarks on Moses's *Brébeuf's Ghost*: "Tracking the infection of a community through fifteen characters, seemingly major figures die early, and the narrative leaps to another character, challenging the audience or reader to figure out how everyone is connected to each other" (42). Nolan's nod at Jonathan Swift (117) emboldens me to reference the dean's friend Alexander Pope: Nolan is adept at stating "what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed." Few critical skills offer readers a greater yield, and none occasions greater delight. When one thinks, "I knew that—almost!," one learns. Nolan is a teacher.

The book is not a memoir, as it might have been given its author's centrality to many of the productions under consideration. Nolan, rather, celebrates those whom she calls "theatre makers," meaning actors, designers, producers, and dancers, as well as playwrights—roles, she reminds us, that often overlap in any theater that struggles for recognition. This expansiveness complements the book's topical reach, evident in often overlapping disquisitions on, for example, the ethics of directing; the cost of sets; the practical and philosophical problems that attend reliance on urban and often white audiences; zoning issues; the "bad medicine" of culturally ignorant reviews (109); and the importance both of supporting playwrights intent on doing more than "explaining themselves to non-Native audiences" and of participating, with due caution, in "eighth fire" ecumenicism (75–76, 117). The inclusion of many

production stills and two bibliographies, one tabulating performances recollected by "twelve Indigenous artistic leaders" (143), enhances the book's appeal and utility.

Given the breadth of Nolan's interest in Indigenous drama, it seems appropriate to identify more of the other artists whom she honors with her attention: Keith Barker, Shirley Cheechoo, Darrell Dennis, Waawaate Fobister, Michael Greyeyes, Larry Guno, Falen Johnson, Margo Kane, Jani Lauzon, Kevin Loring, Cathy MacKinnon, Cheri Maracle, Billy Merasty, Muriel Miguel, Monique Mojica, Archer Pechawis, P. J. Prudat, Ian Ross, Donna-Michelle St. Bernard, and Michelle St. John. As any useful critic must, Nolan tells her readers that they have more reading to do. Here's hoping that Playwrights Canada and the few other presses who care continue to abet this rewarding task.

A collection of "explorations" into Moses's work seems to call for the sort of range that animates Nolan's book. As an introductory essay by Don Perkins and an equally helpful bibliography indicate, Moses's oeuvre is more extensive than one gathers from his freestanding books. To limit the point to his dramatic writing, six plays have been published only in periodicals or as loose-leafed copyscripts; and Perkins notes that parts of a seventh appeared in a German collection and that a new play has already been workshopped. It is therefore disappointing to find the textual record narrowly represented in this well-meaning but diffuse volume, two thoughtful essays on Moses's underappreciated poetry notwithstanding. Moses's first staged play, *Coyote City,* receives ample attention, brilliantly in an essay by Rob Appleford and conscientiously in several other instances. *Almighty Voice and His Wife* also fares well, for example, in Jo-Ann Episkenew's patient contextualization of the play as a response to "government agricultural policies" (295) and Helen Gilbert's labored but informative essay on "indigenous minstrelsy" (314). But Perkins alone has anything to say about the uncollected plays, the three "mythopoeic plays" (44), and the new play, and the nature of his contribution prohibits close critical engagement. Even *Brébeuf's Ghost*, a landmark of postmodern drama, receives scant mention, although Appleford again delivers, this time in a learned excursus on the "Windigo complex" in that play (266).

The collection's bulk renders its topical thinness all the more vexing. The volume is longer and pricier than other entries in the Essential Writers series, but a lack of editorial discrimination rather than an

abundance of good material seems at issue. One appreciates the editors' inclusion of diverse perspectives, written and oral, academic and otherwise, but for all that, several entries seem inapt. Particularly difficult to countenance is the inclusion of a "round-table discussion" in which Lindberg and the venerable Maria Campbell are joined by a poet who professes to "know so very little about playwriting and about the whole world of theatre" (279) and a geography professor who identifies herself as "the least familiar with the literature here" (278). Although my own fumblings in the field impress upon me the justice of the poet's assertion that "a white audience . . . obviously and apparently . . . doesn't get" many of the "nuances" in Aboriginal drama (279), I continue to regard extensive reading as prerequisite to published critical enquiry. Omitting this piece and a number of others, pruning most of the rest, and rigorously copyediting an often muddled text would have allowed the book to convey a rigor and scrupulousness befitting its subject.

Grumblings aside, it would be churlish to disrespect the editors' desire to "celebrate [Moses's] kindness, his generosity to the arts community and his role as activist" (1–2). These qualities animate the two genial interviews with Moses that stand to be among the book's most popular entries. Moses's generosity is on display in his contribution of a poem "inspired by" a trip to Lethbridge that Brundage seems to have organized (195) and in his authorization of the first book-printing of a radio-play entitled "My Grandfather's Face." Moses shares the story behind this proud account of a stolen mask in Brundage's 2004 conversation with him and his parents, a voluble couple who make for pleasing company on the sometimes rocky trek through this book. Here, as in the case of Brundage's historicized account of a trip to Moses's native Six Nations Grand River reserve, one is thankful for the editors' willingness to include nonacademic "explorations" of Moses. At such moments the collection joins Nolan's book as a welcome alternative to a culturalist "discourse" often readier to patronize nonacademic constituencies than to consult them, race be damned.

I was pleased to order both of these books for my university's library, and I will not hesitate to direct students to them. Although I might wish the collection trimmer and more carefully presented, I expect to continue learning from it, as certainly I will from Nolan's sturdier contribution.

ALEXANDER PETTIT is professor of English, University Distinguished Teaching Professor, and affiliated faculty in women's and gender studies at the University of North Texas. His recent essays have appeared in *SAIL*, the *Philological Quarterly*, the *Eugene O'Neill Review*, *Canadian Literature*, the *Tennessee Williams Annual Review*, and the *Journal of American Drama and Theatre*.

NOTE

1. Annie Gibson, publisher, Playwrights Canada Press, writes that PCP will publish Cardinal's *Huff* and *Stitch* in 2017 (email to the author, 5 Jan. 2016).