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## **Guides and Guidance: Subverting Tourist Narratives in Trans-Indigenous Time and Space**

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GUIDES AND GUIDANCE: SUBVERTING TOURIST NARRATIVES IN TRANS-  
INDIGENOUS TIME AND SPACE

by

Shanae Aurora Martinez

A Dissertation Submitted in  
Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
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at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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## ABSTRACT

### GUIDES AND GUIDANCE: SUBVERTING TOURIST NARRATIVES IN TRANS-INDIGENOUS TIME AND SPACE

by

Shanae Aurora Martinez

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2019  
Under the Supervision of Professor Kumkum Sangari

My dissertation is a study of the ways in which Indigenous writers and theorists suggest we decolonize the sites of knowledge production through our pedagogical and methodological practices. Ultimately, my dissertation is about the power of story and finding the necessary strategies to change the narratives that do harm in our daily lives. I focus on the sites of knowledge production because these are the institutions and practices with which I am the most familiar. The purpose of this work is beyond metaphorical as I strive to forefront the narratives that change the ways in which settler-Indigenous relationships are formed in a geopolitical context. The subjects of this study include textbooks, curriculum requirements, archives, landscapes, fieldwork research methodologies, museum discourse, tourist sites, and schools that utilize decolonial praxis. As its primary theoretical framework, this project relies on Doreen Massey's conceptualization of space as interrelational and ongoing, coupled with Linda Tuhiwai Smith's definition of *intervening* as an Indigenizing methodology that changes institutions to serve Indigenous peoples, rather than changing Indigenous peoples to fit institutions. Since the sites of knowledge production are often intertribal, I examine trans-Indigenous strategies for intervening in Eurocentric narrative spaces by using Chadwick Allen's trans-Indigenous methodologies in my literary analysis. In this study, I also analyze academic tourism — yet to be explored in my field — as the conflation of research methodologies and tourist practices at

museums and heritage sites where knowledge is packaged for popular consumption and risks being unethically oversimplified. I expect my dissertation fieldwork on the spatial narrative of the Indian Community School (ICS) in Milwaukee and the Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) will illuminate necessary strategies to create spaces that reflect our shared visions for a just society.

For Merkie,  
my ride or die (2003-2018).

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*Intro — “In the world we want many worlds to fit:” Mapping Trans-Indigenous Geographies*

The impetus for this project is a commitment to establishing relational practices based on mutual respect and reciprocity around which to build a cooperative, global community dedicated to social justice. The vision presented in the chapters that follow is drawn from a critical analysis of the practices that shape our relationships to one another in geopolitical spaces wrought by centuries of colonial violence. The strategies for developing social justice relational ethics are not mine, but distilled from a trans-Indigenous study of worldviews and interrelational practices situated across multiple sites of knowledge production. Since our relationships are not static, our worldmaking pedagogies and methodologies must be dynamic.

Several theories inform my analysis that are specific to the sites of knowledge production under investigation in each chapter. However, there are a few core theories and concepts that reappear throughout the project, which are necessary to forefront. In “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang assert that “[settler] colonization can be visually understood as the unbroken pace of invasion, and settler occupation, into Native lands...[Therefore,] Decolonization, as a process, would repatriate land to Indigenous peoples” (25). Since settler colonialism is always about the land, my analysis incorporates cartographic depictions of the relational practices that shape geopolitical spaces to frame how space is conceptualized throughout this project. According to Dakota scholar Waziyatawin,

Colonization, by its very nature, is antithetical to justice. Therefore, complete decolonization is a necessary end goal in a peaceful and just society. This would entail overturning the institutions, systems, and ideologies of colonialism that continue to affect every aspect of Indigenous life. In a nutshell, we must rethink our ways of being and

interacting in this world to create a sustainable, healthy, and peaceful co-existence with one another and with the natural world. (Waziyatawin 13)

In Waziyatawin's vision for decolonizing the Dakota homeland in Minnesota, she suggests several practical solutions. Among them is a call for truth-telling, so that the violences wrought by colonization can be adequately redressed. Honest narratives about the history of colonization are necessary because history continues to affect Indigenous-settler relationships in the present. As Waziyatawin explains: "if settler society denies the injustices of the past and present, then the impetus to maintain the status quo is strong; there is no recognized need for change" (Waziyatawin 83). In order for decolonization to be realized in the Americas, settler society must accept responsibility for the systemic injustices of settler colonialism and chattel slavery.

Since colonial injustice is deeply systemic this project also relies on *intervening* as a decolonial strategy, or methodology, in the case of knowledge producers. According to Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith,

Intervening takes action research to mean literally the process of being proactive and of becoming involved as an interested worker for change. Intervention-based projects are usually designed around making structural and cultural changes....Intervening is directed then at changing institutions which deal with indigenous peoples and not at changing indigenous peoples to fit the structures." (Smith 147)

This intervention-based project functions within narrative space to change how we express our relationships to one another at the sites of knowledge production, which I refer to as storytelling pedagogy. In *Keeping Slug Woman Alive*, Greg Sarris explains his pedagogy as one that "tells stories about relationships....to create a document representing exchanges that open the world people share with each other" (6). The audience, according to Sarris, must recognize the



narrative as a form of dialogue in which the “reader... cannot be separated from the history of their reading, of all that makes for their encounter with, and response to that which they read” (5). In this way, storytelling praxis is an exercise in empathy because as Sarris reflects, “in understanding another person and culture you must simultaneously understand yourself” (6). Not only does storytelling pedagogy require that one recognize their own subjectivity in relation to that of others, but they must also recognize their place in an interconnected dynamic complex of subjectivities.

Indigenous Peoples have long recognized the power of storytelling as a form of worldmaking. Cherokee writer and scholar Thomas King’s “Massey Lectures” distill Indigenous narrative theory into the succinct observation that “the truth about stories is that that’s all we are.” King suggests that our stories are what define who we are, and if we are dissatisfied, then “Tell a different story” (164). Storytelling is precisely how Indigenous peoples resist ethnocide within the settler colonial system. Acoma Pueblo writer and scholar Simon Ortiz asserts that “The oral tradition has been the most reliable method by which Indian culture and community integrity have been maintained” and in the face of perilous circumstances, “The continued use of the oral tradition today is evidence that this resistance is ongoing” (9; 122). Maya revolutionaries of the EZLN share Ortiz’s sentiment and rely on communiques to disseminate their worldview to the global community.

In 1996 the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional/Zapatista Army of National Liberation) released their “Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle,” exactly two years after declaring war on the Mexican government for signing their death warrant in the form of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). At the conclusion of their manifesto, the EZLN narrates a decolonial vision for a world that intervenes in our contemporary reality:

Brothers and Sisters: Many words walk in the world. Many worlds are made. Many worlds are made for us. There are words and worlds which are lies and injustices. There are words and worlds which are truths and truthful. We make true words. We have been made from true words. In the world of the powerful there is no space for anyone but themselves and their servants. In the world we want everyone fits. In the world we want many worlds to fit. The Nation which we construct is one where all communities and languages fit, where all steps may walk, where all may have laughter, where all may live the dawn. We speak of unity even when we are silent. Softly and gently we speak the words which find the unity which will embrace us in history and which will discard the abandonment which confronts and destroys one another. Our word, our song and our cry, is so that the most dead will no longer die. So that we may live fighting, we may live singing. Long live the word. Long live Enough is Enough! Long live the night which becomes a soldier in order not to die in oblivion. In order to live the word dies, its seed germinating forever in the womb of the earth. By being born and living we die. We will always live. Only those who give up their history are consigned to oblivion. We are here. We do not surrender. Zapata is alive, and in spite of everything, the struggle continues.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. (III)

This passage grounds the trans-Indigenous conceptual framework for this project. It is multifaceted and multifunctional serving as a manifesto, an Indigenous intervention on oppressive global forces, and a practical demonstration of worldmaking through relationship building and storytelling. Later declarations also include statements of solidarity with detailed plans of action, however, my primary interest in the EZLN's declarations is their articulation of the complex interrelationships that narrate Indigenous space in their worldmaking vision.

The Zapatista vision for changing how we relate to one another is a narrative intervention in the hierarchical and alienating settler colonial relationship dynamics that define contemporary geopolitics. In this simple phrase, "Brothers and Sisters," a far from simple paradigm shift is proposed using language that practices social justice worldmaking, but remains attentive to

heterogeneity (“Many worlds are made”) and asymmetrical power relationships between “the powerful...and their servants.” For those who benefit from relegating Indigenous peoples to the margins of predetermined progressivist time for the purpose of furthering Indigenous economic or geopolitical marginalization, Massey’s proposition parallels the EZLN’s declarations since both function as an intervention in assumptions about Indigenous place. In Massey’s analysis, space and multiplicity are codependent, emphasizing our “contemporaneous plurality” within space “as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity” that is a malleable and ever present constant (9). By characterizing “the world of the powerful” as one constructed according to vertical relationships, the Zapatistas use the medium of their declarations, addressed to the national and global communities, to remake the world according to their self-determined place within it.

The succinctly simple manner of expressing their decolonial worldview emphasizes its understated complexity and makes complex interconnections accessible to a broad audience, effectively horizontalizing the production and distribution of knowledge. This call to action begins by addressing the national community of Mexico along kinship ties as siblings, a relationship that implies a horizontal distribution of power and works in opposition to the paternalism often directed at Indigenous peoples within settler colonial discourse. In the “Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle” (2005), or la Sexta, the Zapatistas expand their audience to include the world, but maintain their egalitarian address by calling on the world community of brothers and sisters. The establishment of horizontal relationships in their vision for the global community is a strategically articulated narrative intervention on settler colonial metanarratives that *talk about* or *down to*, but rarely *with* Indigenous peoples. The act of positioning themselves within horizontal relationships reveals an important intersection between Zapatista conceptions

of social justice worldmaking practices in the global community and Chadwick Allen's trans-Indigenous methodologies for global Native literary studies, both of which seek to decenter settler metanarratives and worldviews.

This project utilizes trans-Indigenous methodologies to study Indigenous practices for establishing social justice at institutionalized sites of knowledge production. As a methodology, the trans-Indigenous allows for the study of multiple Indigenous visions for the global community to reveal shared, or trans-Indigenous, practices for the purpose of Indigenizing knowledge production en route to global decolonization. Since decolonization is not possible without the return of Indigenous land, I suggest we start with public lands and public institutions. The localized sites under investigation in this study include academic institutions and museums as geopolitical spaces with discourses that overlap in particularly troubling ways with tourism and exploitative forms of travel and research. As will be demonstrated in the chapters that follow, many Indigenous worldviews value mobility and travel, but this project asks how we might draw on trans-Indigenous visions for a decolonized global community to establish ethical travel practices? I suspect the answer can be found by studying how Indigenous narratives, grounded in culturally specific worldviews, suggest we might move ethically through space, which Massey defines as inherently plural.

The point of establishing trans-Indigenous methodologies according to Allen, is not to subsume the studies of specific traditions and contexts within global fields of inquiry, but “to invite specific studies into different kinds of conversations, and to acknowledge the mobility and multiple interactions of Indigenous peoples, cultures, histories, and texts” (xiv). This approach to the study of Indigenous texts acknowledges dynamic interrelations. By prioritizing Indigenous-centered studies, trans-Indigenous methodologies reaffirm Indigenous peoples' agency and avoid

the pitfalls of Indigenous-to-Indigenous comparative projects that produce “hierarchies of Indigenous oppression — or legitimacy or authenticity — that serve only the interests of the settler,” and instead work toward more horizontal relationships in our worldmaking narratives (xiv). In their efforts to establish relationships based on mutual respect and dignity, the Zapatistas manifest a trans-Indigenous practice of working “across” diverse and complex identities to decenter dominant settler culture and create a world where “everyone fits.” As Allen explains,

Similar to terms like *translation*, *transnational*, and *transform*, *trans-Indigenous* may be able to bear the complex, contingent asymmetry and the potential risks of unequal encounters borne by the preposition *across*. It may be able to indicate the specific agency and situated momentum carried by the preposition *through*. It may be able to harbor the potential of *change* as both transitive and intransitive verb, and as both noun and adjective. (xiv-xv)

In his speculative analysis of the prefix *trans-*, Allen’s proposal for new academic practices aligns with Massey and the Zapatistas. Allen uses the term *encounters* to describe relationships, he conducts a close reading analysis of *trans-* that emphasizes the centrality of language, he is attentive to asymmetrical power dynamics, and he envisions change through literary studies.

Allen’s trans-Indigenous methodologies utilize Indigenous juxtapositions, which “place diverse texts close together across genre and media, aesthetic systems and worldviews, technologies and practices, tribes and nations, the Indigenous-settler binary, and historical periods and geographical regions” (xviii). This methodology does not assume comparable equality between texts or contexts, but emphasizes the plurality that exists in narrative space and asks us to see texts and contexts differently according to their interrelationships. Purposeful Indigenous juxtapositions ask readers and researchers to engage in multiple *re-visions* according

to how texts might function in specific contexts and within particular worldviews. Allen further explains that the “goal in staging purposeful Indigenous juxtapositions is to develop a version of Indigenous literary studies that locates itself firmly in the specificity of the Indigenous local while remaining always cognizant of the complexity of the relevant Indigenous global” (xix). Understanding particular texts and contexts on the grounds of their self-determined worldviews is an essential component of defining the local while using a methodology that invites engagement with globalized contexts.

To illustrate a trans-Indigenous methodology, Allen analyzes a mixed-media sculpture by Maori artist Fred Graham, titled *Whakamutunga (Metamorphosis)*. This three-dimensional figure of a diving whale synthesizes Maori and Northwest Coast American Indian materials, designs, worldviews, and languages within the context of trans-Indigenous mobility. The upper and Northern pointing end of the whale (tail and fins) is designed according to Northwest Coast American Indian aesthetics while the lower and Southern pointing end of the whale (head) is designed according to Maori aesthetics. The sculpture is featured on Allen’s book cover and I have included an image of it below.



Image: *Trans-Indigenous* book cover from U of Minnesota Press website.

The background creates a geometric “horizon and equator... a zone of contact between sky and sea and between north and south that coincides with the zone of transformation in the figure of the whale” (xxiii - xxiv). Graham describes the whale as a frequent traveler between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, an Indigenous symbol that moves through the trans-Indigenous Pacific Ocean, and is transformed by its travel across Indigenous spaces (xxiv - xxv).

Two canonical essays in Indigenous literary studies that have heavily influenced my definition of Indigenous space are N. Scott Momaday’s “The Man Made of Words” and Leslie Marmon Silko’s “Language and Literature From a Pueblo Indian Perspective.” Each essay defines Indigenous narratives as theories that shape the practices for ethical interrelationship. Their worldviews are circulated through storytelling within the community to define appropriate social behavior in various contexts or to transmit important knowledge for maintaining the health

of the community. The ways in which people build relationships are found within specific Indigenous worldviews that define space and position it within larger geopolitical, ecological, and cosmic systems.

While Momaday discusses how narrating an Indigenous land ethic is essential for ecological justice, he also connects ecological justice to defining Indigenous identities. He begins the essay with the question “What is an American Indian?” and his answer lies in story, relationship, and sovereignty: “The answer of course is that an Indian is an idea which a given man has of himself. And it is a moral idea, for it accounts for the way in which he reacts to other men and to the world in general. And that idea, in order to be realized completely, has to be expressed” (NBTT 82). By emphasizing the importance of self-narrating Indigenous identity based on one’s ethics, Momaday expresses a political worldview shared with the Zapatista’s when they assert that “Only those who give up their history are consigned to oblivion” and Thomas King when he reminds us that our contemporary ethics are of our own making, “We’ve created the stories that allow them to exist and flourish./Want a different ethic?/ Tell a different story” (164). In each indigenous context, narration is an important component of social justice worldmaking that must be grounded in worldviews that value both coexistence and literature.

After stating his theory that one’s Indigenous identity must be realized through expression, Momaday goes on to tell a series of telescoping and intersecting stories that collectively narrate how he defines his own Kiowa identity. He situates his sense of self among a curated web of tribal stories, including one he imagines based on stories he has heard about his foremother, Ko-Sahn, and a story about an unnamed ancestor referred to as The Arrowmaker, who uses language as a weapon to protect his home from an enemy. Momaday, King, and the Zapatista manifesto discussed previously, reinforce Simon Ortiz’s claim that “resistance...has



been carried out by the oral tradition. [And] The continued use of the oral tradition today is evidence that this resistance is ongoing” (NBTT 122). Resistance through the oral tradition is not only about the content of the narratives, but the form that the narratives take, and the place that they occupy as part of the community’s collective knowledge repository.

The structure of Momaday’s essay follows Silko’s description of Pueblo expression, which resembles a spider’s web and “as with the web, the structure emerges as it is made, and you must simply listen and trust, as the Pueblo people do, that meaning will be made” (NBTT 159). According to Silko, and demonstrated by both she and Momaday, narratives in the oral tradition do not move in a linear pattern and like the web with intersecting and expanding threads, “one story is only the beginning of many stories and [there is] the sense that stories never end” (160). In this telescoping web form, many Indigenous narratives defy generic categorization. According to Silko, “Anthropologists and ethnologists have...differentiated the types of stories Pueblos tell...[but] we make no distinctions between types of story — historical, sacred, plain gossip — because these distinctions are not useful when discussing the Pueblo *experience* of language” (162). The Pueblo experience of language is very similar to an Indigenous Mexican experience of the oral tradition as explained by Carlos Montemayor in the introduction to *Words of the True Peoples/Escritores indigenas actuales*,

In reality, from the Indigenous perspective there is no clear demarcation between a short story and the medical, religious, or historical *information* contained in communal tradition. That is to say, it is not always possible to speak of fiction writing, since all narrative writing is based on traditional information and is therefore of historical and social value: in other words, nonfiction. (6)

Because narratives are used to convey cultural information, generic distinctions are not useful when we consider the role of the oral tradition for constructing worldviews that define appropriate relationships for the benefit of the community. In a communal act of self-narration, seemingly individual stories intersect with others in a narrative web that is all-inclusive of the Pueblo world and defines Pueblo space, for example. While Ortiz comments that the continued use of the oral tradition is an ongoing act of resistance, Silko demonstrates that the patterns and structures of Indigenous narratives resist settler colonial categorization, even when the medium of print is used for the benefit of the tribal community.

The “story within story” complex structure of Indigenous narratives overlay the specific land bases of particular tribes and sometimes fuse with stories of surrounding tribes to construct trans-indigenous and transnational narrative webs. Narration is an act of world making, but the worlds we make are not static. They are constantly in the process of negotiating their relationships to other worlds. The narratives change and intersect with other narratives and new narratives are created to define changing relationships that enable different worlds to exist simultaneously. Often, narratives communicate relationships to the same spaces, which might be a point of transcultural cooperation or competition, especially where land and resource rights are concerned. In a California context, Ohlone Costanoan/Esselen writer and scholar Deborah Miranda explains that the stories narrate ancient Indigenous relationships to the land in spite of settler colonial metanarratives: “The stories still exist, and testify that our connections to the land live, like underground rivers that never see the light of day, but run alive and singing

nonetheless. The stories call us back” (129). For peaceful coexistence to be possible, each worldview must value cooperation and social justice, because “no justice, no peace.”<sup>1</sup>

The analysis that follows illustrates the contest of trans-Indigenous and transnational worldviews and narratives in the Indigenous Americas that cannot be separated from the geography of the land itself. Mapping is not just a metaphor, but used literally in the sense that maps are narratives that communicate particular worldviews. Maps are an explicit expression of a culture’s relationship to the land, and cartographic representations are the primary texts at the center of this introductory chapter. Each map depicts the US Southwest region including the settler colonial borderlands between the US and Mexico. The truth-telling power of storytelling is a trans-Indigenous methodology and spatial practice that enables the study of multiple Indigenous visions for achieving decolonization. Since decolonization is not possible without the return of Indigenous land, the texts under investigation are cartographic representations of interrelationships in geopolitical spaces. Storytelling takes many forms. The analysis below demonstrates one of the many ways in which storytelling as an act of resistance intervenes in settler metanarratives to stake decolonial land claims by imagining Indigenous futures.

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<sup>1</sup> Condensed from the quote by Emiliano Zapata: until there is justice for the people, there will be no peace for the gov/spanish version



Image: Author photo of “1540-1861: Mapping the Transmississippi West” by Carl I. Wheat, *Volume Three: From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys 1846-1854* (The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1959) from The Newberry Library.

The region now known as the U.S. Southwest is a contested space. Colonized first by the Spanish along with Franciscan missionaries, claimed by Mexico, and invaded by the United States, Indigenous peoples are often erased from the settler metanarratives conveyed by official maps depicting the region. Prior to the 1848 ratification of the “Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo” that ended the Mexican-American War and enabled the U.S. to fulfill the imperialist doctrine of Manifest Destiny, the settler nation-state of Mexico’s border extended as far north as Oregon and as far east as Texas. Since maps communicate valuable knowledge about physical geographies, this map depicts the transnational relationships between settler colonial nation-states as one that

is more rigidly defined than the porous interrelationships practiced by those living in the borderlands. There is no evidence of Indigenous presence on the land except for the Indigenous language place names that are still in use.

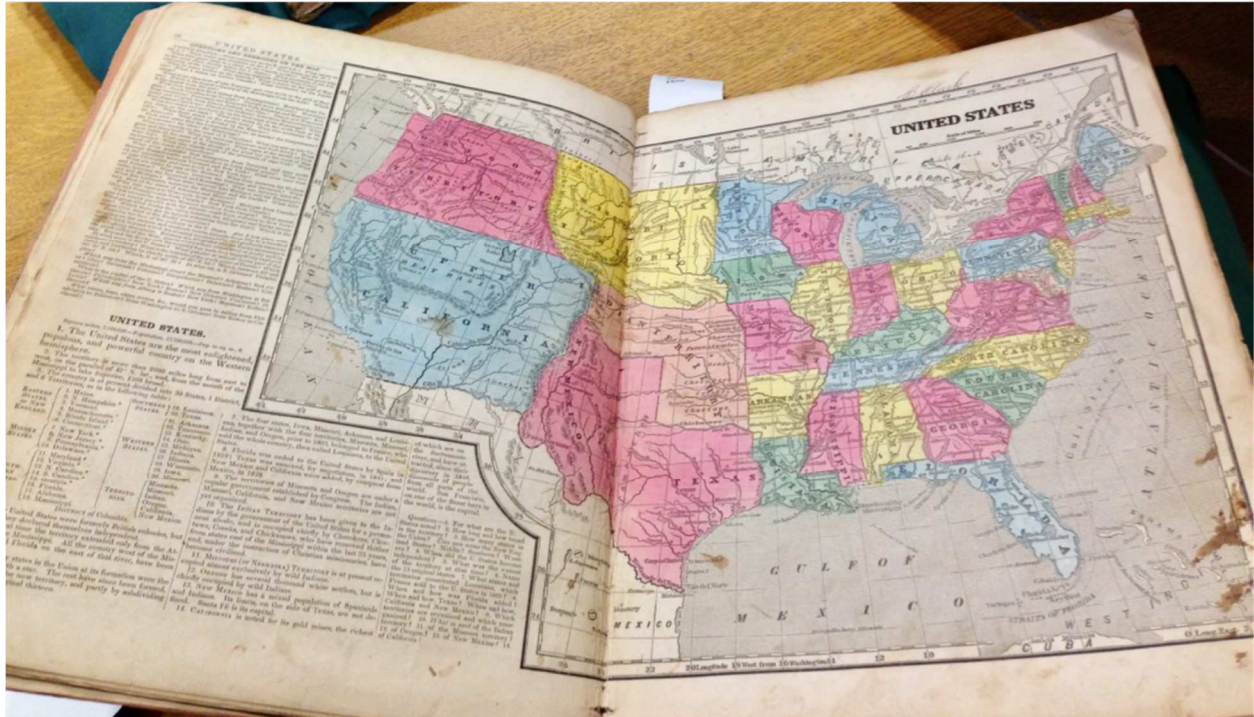


Image: Author photo of *Morse's School Geography* (1850) from The Newberry Library.

By 1850, maps of the United States began to depict its new nation-state borders, even while state borders remain yet to be determined. This image is from Morse's *School Geography* textbook, a respected and well-circulated depiction of what was known and taught about the region to settler school children. The only indication of Indigenous presence, aside from the extant use of Indigenous language place names, is the rough formation of Oklahoma, labeled "Indian Territory." As the story goes, the U.S federal government established "Indian Territory" because it is the site where settlers marched the Cherokee, Muscogee, Seminole, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Ho-Chunk nations from their ancestral homelands in the U.S. Southeast during their forced removal west of the Mississippi River known as the Trail of Tears. This map shows Oklahoma to be noticeably larger than it is today, which is an indication of future encroachment



by settlers. The late Oklahoma historian and settler truth-teller Angie Debo has written extensively about Oklahoma, including the circumstances under which Oklahoma state borders recolonized “Indian Territory” following the discovery of oil. Debo writes about the violent injustice of state government collusion in the murders of Indigenous peoples so that settlers could steal their oil rich lands. In the newly established U.S. Southwest, the state territories are vaguely recognizable today, but become more clear as the years progress.

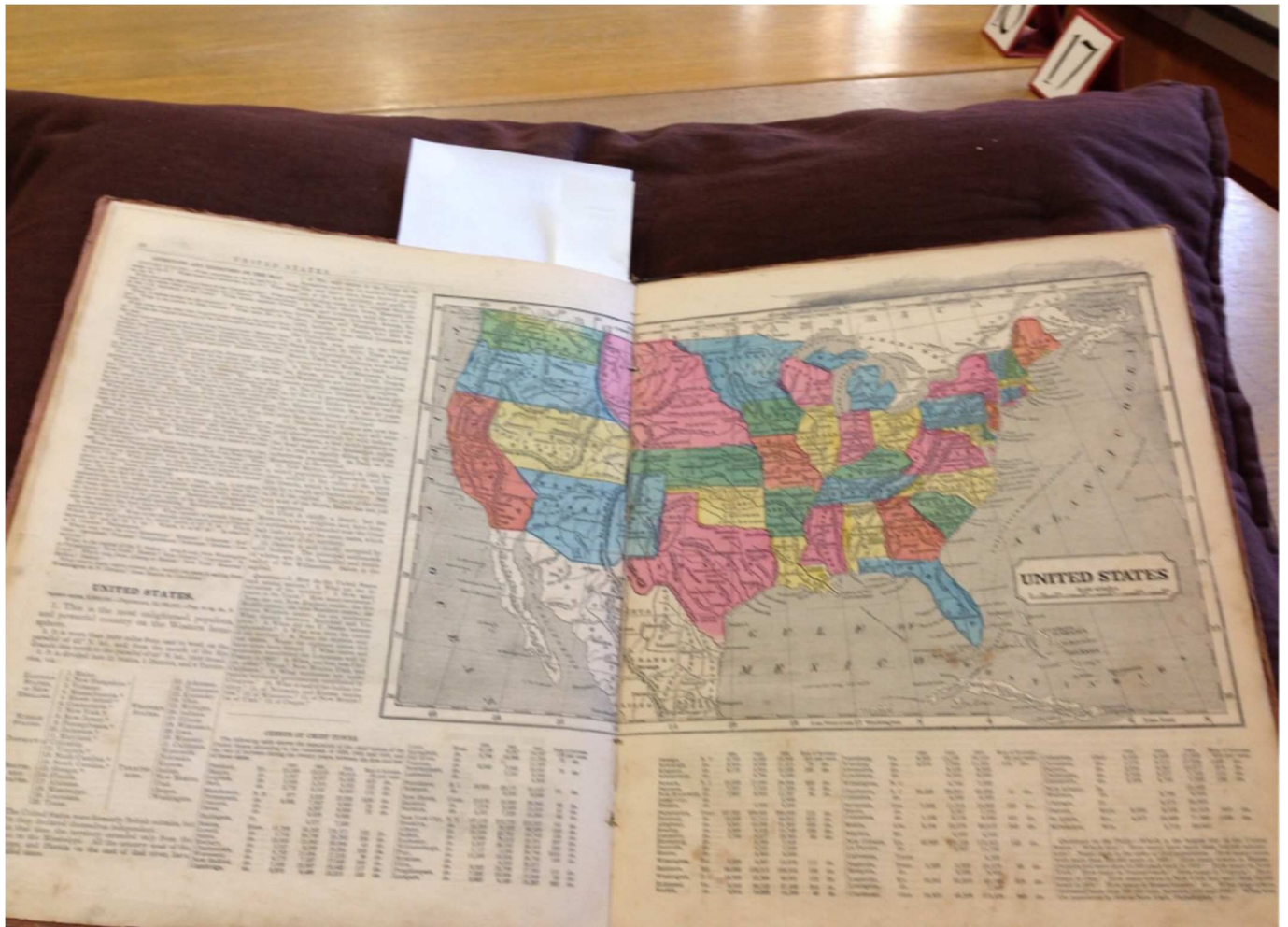


Image: Author photo of *Morse's School Geography* (1854) from The Newberry Library.

By the time the 1854 edition of *Morse's School Geography* textbook was published, states are beginning to take a more recognizable form, including Oklahoma. It is well known that mapping is a form of narrating colonial claims to a particular geography. According to settler

scholar Robert Becker, under Mexican rule in the U.S. Southwest, the maps called diseños (designs) and were part of land title petitions submitted by settlers that described the land they wished to colonize (n.p.). Diseños were not drawn to scale, and they relied on geological features, yet they were a fundamental part of defining the parameters of specific settler land claims (Becker n.p.). Ironically, under this system land titles were granted with several provisions that ostensibly protected Indigenous Peoples' rights while simultaneously displacing them from their lands. For example, the first provision requires that "a permanent dwelling [be] erected and inhabited," encouraging settlers to squat on the lands they wished to claim, while the third provision states that the "rights of previous inhabitants [Indians] be reserved and protected" (Becker n.p.). These provisions were established by the Mexican government, but U.S. settlers disregarded land title provisions and simply occupied properties with armed guards until the Indigenous inhabitants and rightful landholders were forced off their own land. The U.S. refused to honor many Indigenous and Mexican land titles granted by the Mexican nation-state and Mexican descendants in the U.S. recognize the annexation of northern Mexico by the U.S. as an imperialist invasion by a colonial regime.

During the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 70s, activists intervened in the settler metanarrative that demanded Mexican-American assimilation to the U.S. nation-state by staking a much older claim to the geography. Drawing on Nahuatl oral stories that describe an eagle sitting on a nopal and consuming a serpent, activists in the Chicano Movement deployed this symbol and others like it to claim Indigenous ancestry in the U.S. Southwest and throughout Mesoamerica. However, the symbol of the Plumed Serpent is also the nationalist symbol that graces the flag of the settler nation-state of Mexico. In their attempts to reclaim Indigenous ancestry, activists in the Chicano Movement appropriated a symbol of mestizaje in Mexico that

celebrates Mexican heritage for its Spanish and Indigenous cultural influences. While this symbol subsumes Indigenous cultural diversity in favor of a homogenizing nationalist myth, it also completely erases African ancestry from Mexico's heritage.



Image: Author photo of Aztlán, from the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago.

At the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago, Xicanx history begins with two maps. The first is featured here and highlights the Mexican territory before U.S. invasion. It is similar in shape to the Carl Wheat map, but there is less detail about Mexican state lines and this map lays claim to Texas, another contested site. The second map, which is not presentable because of its low picture quality, outlines the Mesoamerican cultural influence. The geographical parameters of Mesoamerica is also the former site of the Aztec Empire, which is known to extend beyond contemporary geopolitical borders. While this map acknowledges Indigenous heritage, it is also a homogenizing representation.





Image: Author photo of art exhibit at the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago.

In the art installation above, a street vendor's cart is organized as a mobile screen-printing, poster-making and button-making station for community artists and activists. The sign that hangs on the cart reads "Cultura es remembering our stories," paying homage to bilingualism and Indigenous storytelling practice as an intervention in oppressive metanarratives. Unfortunately, the story that is told by this map and the one of Mesoamerica privileges the geopolitical borders of the Aztec Empire, another imperialist project dominated by Nahuatl cultural influence. The Xicanx narrative of Aztlán is just as imperialist as the settler depiction of the region because it only acknowledges a homogenous Indigenous presence.

Indigenous peoples in the U.S. Southwest with homelands within the parameters of Aztlán's cultural boundaries have expressed a sense of frustration with Xicanx Nationalists who assert a creation story and a claim to land that encroaches on *their* tribal narratives and *their* long standing claims to the exact same geography. The story of the Plumed Serpent is too vague to accurately locate, but it is thought to be closer to the site of the Aztec Empire's capital,

Tenochtitlan, known today as Mexico City. However, Indigenous peoples in the US Southwest and Northern Mexico maintain tribal narratives that identify more precise geographies, and Indigenous writers and scholars have attempted to mitigate this intertribal tension over a trans-Indigenous geography with their own narrative interventions. In the following sections, I will discuss three maps that intervene in both the settler metanarratives of the U.S. Southwest and that of Chicana nationalism for the purpose of decolonization.

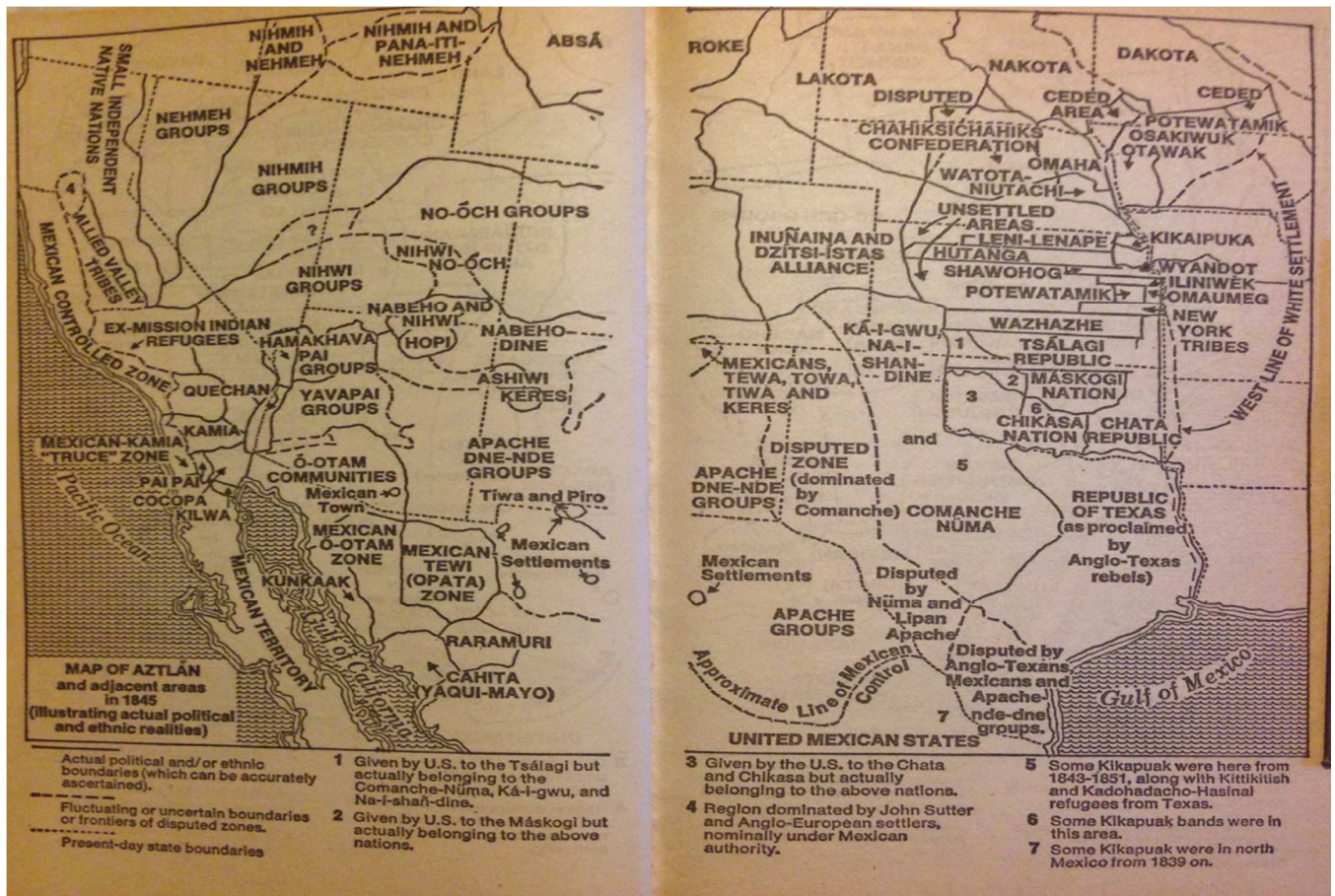


Image: Author photo of “Map of Aztlán” from *Aztecas Del Norte* by Jack Forbes.

In *Aztecas del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlán* (1973), the late Powhatan-Renapé and Lenape author, Jack Forbes makes the controversial claim that Chicanos are the largest tribe in North America. His “Map of Aztlán,” appears before the preface and depicts the complex intersection of narratives that claim to have a rightful relationship to the region. Forbes attempts

to illustrate the “actual political and ethnic realities” of Aztlán, outlining the geopolitical boundaries of the settler colonial nation-states, tribally specific geographies, and areas with disputed boundaries. The map appears to encompass the region claimed by Xicanx nationalists in the US as their homeland since being displaced from their tribally specific geographies and stories. A major factor contributing to Xicanx being the largest tribe in North America is due to settler colonial projects of displacement and ethnocide that have affected millions of Indigenous Peoples in the Americas since the invasion. Xicanx know they come from the Americas even if they are unable to locate and reclaim specific Indigenous identities.

By representing Indigenous geographical boundaries, Forbes intervenes in the metanarrative of cultural hegemony. He outlines Indigenous geographical spaces with clearly defined solid lines, to indicate those land claims that are indisputable. The Indigenous cultural regions that Forbes calls disputed zones are trans-Indigenous geographies shared between Indigenous groups and these regions are demarcated by long dashes. The most unstable boundaries are marked with short dashes and they identify nation-state boundaries, representing them as the most tenuous land claims by making them appear more porous. Since the entire map only covers the U.S. portion of Aztlán, the map validates the Xicanx metanarrative. This map is a strategic narrative intervention that Indigenizes the region and rivals the diseños drawn for settler colonial land title petitions. Despite similarities however, the “Map of Aztlán” still maintains an Indigenous worldview because interrelationships between tribal communities are depicted based on tribally specific stories. Close observation will reveal that only the largest tribes and those with federal recognition are represented, but in this decolonial vision of trans-Indigenous space, the settler colonial borders appear to be the most disputed.





Image: Author photo of the “Five Hundred Year Map” from *Almanac of the Dead* by Silko.

In the opening pages of Laguna Pueblo author, Leslie Marmon Silko’s novel, *Almanac of the Dead* (1991), Silko’s “Five Hundred Year Map” compresses trans-Indigenous time and space. It deploys a visual technique that is similar to Forbes’ “Map of Aztlán” by roughly outlining the region. Silko does this, not to validate Xicanx Indigeneity, but to invalidate settler colonial borders in the region. All borders are removed except the US-Mexico border, which is drawn as a prominent, but rigidly inaccurate straight line. By claiming that “the future [of all the Americas] is encoded in the ancient symbols and old narratives,” Silko reinforces the ancient connection between storytelling and world making that will continue into the indefinite future. Both *Almanac* and the Zapatista manifesto lay claim to Indigenous futures on the grounds of their

histories of struggle and survival. Many even believe that *Almanac of the Dead* prophesized the Zapatista uprising. This is where the “Five Hundred Year Map” breaks with the “Map of Aztlán,” because Forbes fixes his map temporally in 1845, and Silko’s map imagines an Indigenous future.

The text in the lower right hand corner narrates the trans-Indigenous geopolitics in the region, explaining: “The Indian Wars have never ended in the Americas. Native Americans acknowledge no borders; they seek nothing less than the return of all tribal lands.” Drawing the US-Mexico border as a straight line undermines the authority of the border metanarrative and depicts its arbitrary existence. The border is drawn with measured precision, symbolically representing the partition for the rigid imposition that it is on the area, while critically alluding to the flexibility with which laws around the border are enforced for privileged settlers. Silko has written extensively about living on her ancestral land in the borderlands of two settler colonial nations. In the personal and borrowed narratives she shares, one need not even attempt to cross the border to be harassed by white supremacist border police who “stop people with Indio-Hispanic characteristics, ... cars in which white people travel with brown people...[and] anyone who looks asian” (*Yellow Woman* 108). Racial profiling is now legal in Arizona since the 2010 passage of SB 1070, but it is an indiscriminate tactic that has been informally used for centuries.

This act of mapping defines Indigenous space as continuous, intervening in settler colonial metanarratives. Silko’s map tells a story about the cultural reality of the region, rather than the metanarrative ideology. It depicts a decolonial space that includes nonhumancentric relationships, trans-Indigenous alliances, and alliances with descendants of formerly enslaved Africans, all victims of settler colonialism in the Americas. The trans-Indigenous worldview represented in this cartographic narrative is heavily influenced by Pueblo stories that compress

time and locate Indigenous futures in old prophecies about the arrival and inevitable disappearance of European worldviews.

In *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987), the late Chicana author, Gloria Anzaldúa's shape poem, "El Retorno [The Return]," functions as a narrative map that undermines settler borders and literally narrates an inevitable, decolonized, pan-Indian future in both shape and content. The shape is a nebulous allusion to Aztlán, while the text refers to "this

*This land was Mexican once  
was Indian always  
and is.  
And will be again. (113)*

land" and compresses temporalities by mixing word tenses. While Anzaldúa uses the Chicana Nationalist rhetoric common to her generation, she is still engaged in a very Indigenous practice that recognizes narrative as the space where worldmaking begins and ends. This is the most important part because as Kiowa writer and scholar N. Scott Momaday reminds us, "We are what we imagine. Our very existence consists in our imagination of ourselves. Our best destiny is to imagine, . . . who and what, and that we are. The greatest tragedy that can befall us is to go unimagined." Without self-narration, the future of Indigenous peoples is subsumed by settler colonial metanarratives.

When social justice narratives are at the forefront of our collective knowledge repository we will be one step closer to decolonization. Academia is inundated with stories and it is our responsibility as knowledge producers to identify the strategies necessary to intervene in the metanarratives that have violated our humanity so that we can privilege the stories that envision social justice worldmaking. So how might this project translate the worldviews within Indigenous narratives into trans-Indigenous decolonial practices for the global community? An

essential component of this decolonial vision would enable people to navigate diverse spaces while maintaining a deep regard for their ethical responsibilities to the peoples and places with which they relate. To ensure effective dissemination of a social justice oriented worldview, it is important that oppressive narratives are disrupted at the sites of knowledge production.

The parameters of this study include several sites of knowledge production because these are the spaces with which I am most familiar and thus, ethically positioned to evaluate. These sites broadly include curricular requirements, textbooks, academic research methodologies, archives, museums, and that grey area where the production and consumption of knowledge bleeds into travel and tourism. The sites of knowledge production are located in a loosely defined North America with particular focus on the US with spatial and textual narratives written in English because that is the language in which I am fluent. My examination of narrative space relies on literary representations of Indigenous spaces by Indigenous writers and storytellers alongside discourses perpetuated by settler colonial institutions of knowledge production. Underlying this complex of Indigenous and settler colonial discourses are particular worldviews and value systems that often confront and conflict with one another in ideological and geopolitical space. Discourses drawn from academic, commercial, religious, and governing institutions will be approached for their narrative value in relation to Indigenous American narratives to illustrate how colonial metanarratives function as tools of oppression. The purpose of this study is to identify the strategies necessary to effectively intervene in Eurocentric colonial metanarratives for the liberation for all. Indigenizing the intersecting institutions of education and tourism, while simultaneously working to disrupt settler colonial metanarratives on the land itself is my small contribution to centuries of struggle that continue today.

Academic discourse, curriculum requirements, museum exhibits, and tourist narratives are the institutional narratives of interest in this project since they continue to assert narrative authority over Indigenous peoples and places under the guise of authenticity despite their tendency to be incomplete, inaccurate, and dehumanizing. As a result of the social hierarchy inherent in colonial societies, the ways in which Indigenous peoples represent themselves, their histories, and their worldviews are often subjected to ridicule, neglect, or outright dismissal in favor of the narrative representations colonial institutions of knowledge production put forth about them. Tourism, specifically tourist practices, are the focal point of this project since the peoples and places subjected to touristic consumption are the sites at which settler colonial institutions converge to assert authority over Indigenous peoples and places.

My core argument is that settler colonial institutions reinforce one another to validate the existence of the settler colonial nation state because they are founded on the same white supremacist worldview that exploits Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous American geographies. I posit that superficial representations of Indigeneity are easily commercialized and consumed and their consumption replicates the practices of tourism in academic methodologies and museum designs. A major component of this project requires me to define the practices of tourism and consider how settler colonial metanarratives have been disrupted in literature and practice. To do this work, my study wholeheartedly embraces Craig Womack's claim that Indigenous American literature is American literature because "tribal literatures are not some branch waiting to be grafted onto the main trunk. Tribal literatures are the tree, the oldest literatures in the Americas, the most American of American literatures. We are the canon" (6). By using the metaphorical imagery of the tree to assert the central position of Indigenous literature Womack disrupts the metanarrative of the canon by placing the canon firmly in the Americas. Indigenous origin stories



are the roots of Indigenous literature and those roots are undeniably situated in this precise location. Following Womack, the core of each chapter will be built by privileging theories and literatures from the Indigenous Americas and situating them within the narrative matrices that overlie specific sites of analysis, which are both literary and literal. Moving through Indigenous and colonial narrative spaces in each chapter will allow me to trace the movement of signs and symbols across space and time as well as their points of intersection, transformation, consumption, and disruption.

In *Chapter One — Storytelling as Decolonial Praxis: Indigenizing Pedagogies and Curriculums*, I examine the ways in which Indigenous educators and theorists demonstrate the decolonization of settler colonial pedagogies and curriculums by intervening on academic iterations of settler colonial metanarratives. As an Indigenizing and decolonizing methodology, *intervening* is an ongoing process that will take the form of pedagogical praxis, however, I will also employ the noun form — *intervention* — to identify narratives that forefront decolonial worldviews in settler colonial spaces. The texts under examination in this chapter demonstrate both *intervention* and *intervening*, framed by King’s assertion in *The Truth About Stories* that if we are displeased with our contemporary ethics, it is our responsibility to tell a different story with different ethics (164).

At the heart of this chapter are curriculum requirements, textbooks, and oral stories, which all employ storytelling as pedagogy in various Indigenous American contexts. The analysis of each text is built on Greg Sarris’ assertion in *Keeping Slug Woman Alive* that in many ways, storytelling praxis is an exercise in empathy. Each Indigenous writer positions their text as an intervention in the settler colonial metanarrative from a specific Indigenous temporal and spatial context. This chapter includes an examination of Victor Montejo’s critical analysis of

Indigenous erasure from a fourth grade Guatemalan social sciences textbook and Deborah Miranda's *Bad Indians*. While both Montejo and Miranda directly intervene on the settler colonial metanarratives that pervade school curriculums, this chapter also examines the polyvocal narrative in Patty Loew's *Indian Nations of Wisconsin* history textbook and the co-authored, *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*. *For Indigenous Eyes Only* is a collection of essays specifically structured as a textbook with activities and critical thinking questions at the end of each chapter inviting the reader to engage the information from their own storied context. Of utmost importance for decolonial storytelling praxis is the emphasis on our dynamic interpersonal practices, rather than our static positionalities. Not only does storytelling praxis require that one recognize their own subjectivity in relation to that of others, but they must also recognize their place in an interconnected complex of subjectivities.

In *Chapter Two — Disrupting Authority: Academic Tourism and the Guise of Accuracy*, I investigate how the methodological production of knowledge is laden with touristic practices that rely on the colonial myth of the Vanishing Indian. Despite recent interventions in settler colonial discourse by Indigenous Studies, tribal value systems and worldviews are still marginalized, frequently misrepresented, and exoticized in settler colonial institutions of knowledge production. As Lisa Lowe reminds us, academia is a liberal humanist institution that through its discourses and practices continues the violence of defining who is human in a way that has excluded, and continues to exclude, historically subjugated populations (208). In relation to the Indigenous Americas, early ethnographers undertook the task of preserving Indigenous cultures because extinction was perceived as inevitable in a progressivist temporality. By embracing the Vanishing Indian myth contemporary academics and knowledge producers deny that Indigenous peoples are part of living, contemporaneous cultures with dynamic futures.

This chapter will critique the intersection of academic and tourist practices by analyzing the function of the guide to archival knowledge embedded in landscapes. In Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes*, Indigo and Edward represent two types of travelers: Indigo immerses herself in the worlds of the diverse seeds she collects to better understand their properties, while Edward, the professional botanist, neglects the cultural context surrounding his samples. Edward's collection of seeds for commercial consumption as a method of study calls into question the accuracy of academic claims that rely on decontextualized approaches, while replicating the tourist practice of sampling and consuming the other. I also revisit Miranda's multi-genre text, *Bad Indians*, to analyze the creative juxtapositions she utilizes to criticize the conflation of tourism and pedagogy with regard to the California Missions by guiding readers through personal, tribal, and historical narratives that uncover the brutal history of missionization behind the tourist facade. While the Missions have long been popular tourists site, fourth graders are encouraged to visit the Missions as research for their Mission diorama projects, despite the inaccurate historical narratives that are sold there.

Miranda and Tallulah from Blake Hausman's *Riding the Trail of Tears* illustrate the essential role of educated and social justice oriented guides. Tallulah is a guide on the virtual reality trail of tears ride who is highly valued for her historical knowledge to correct the misinformed expectations of the visitor by offering a realist representation of this brutal historical event. I approach my analysis of Tallulah alongside Rebecca Roanhorse's virtual reality tour guide, Jesse Trueblood to demonstrate the necessity of intervening in settler colonial metanarratives for collective liberation. Each of these authors works to disentangle the tourist narratives from the academic narratives by calling into question methods of knowledge

production in liberal humanist institutions and the pervasive acceptance of such knowledge in tourist narratives.

The first two chapters demonstrate the conflation of tourist practices and ethnographic research as an exercise of settler colonial power, while *Chapter Three —Exhibitionary Expectations: Museumization and Temporal Imprisonment* investigates how museums function as popular sites of knowledge production that further invite tourists to maintain the myth of discovery. Philip Deloria’s study, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, illustrates the connection between narrative representations, exhibition, and the projections of authenticity that underlie museum and academic discourses. It is on the grounds of representation that Deloria identifies the continuation of the Indian Wars “waged on the cultural front.” According to Deloria, “political and legal struggles are tightly linked to the ideologies and images — the expectations — that non-Indians have built around Native people” (104). The texts under examination include Gordon Henry’s *The Light People* and Gerald Vizenor’s screenplay, “Harold of Orange,” which confront the political struggles over museum representations that pander to colonial myths.

Henry and Vizenor both critique the dehumanizing museumization of Indigenous peoples and cultures by deploying trickster strategies to intervene in tourist metanarratives. Henry demonstrates how metanarrative claims of authenticity and accuracy in museum discourse hinge on the rise of anthropology and the exhibition of artifacts as circulating symbols celebrating imperialism and institutionalized Eurocentrism. Harold, Vizenor’s self-identified trickster character, upsets the hierarchies built into museum exhibits by serving as the guide on an anti-tour that undercuts institutionalized progressivist metanarratives. Relying on the work of Vizenor scholar, Kimberly M. Blaeser, this chapter will examine the trickster figure’s strategies to reestablish an egalitarian narrative space for transformation and transcendence. My analytical

emphasis on the trickster figure will serve as a pivotal model for intervening in settler colonial metanarratives in museums, and the broader intersections of academia and tourism.

In an attempt to bridge theory and practice, *Chapter 4 — Transformative Hubs: Self-Representation in Indigenous Narrative Spaces*, offers an analysis of the spatial narratives representing Indigenous Peoples in the architectural design at two local sites of knowledge production: the Milwaukee Public Museum and the Indian Community School of Milwaukee (ICS). This comparative fieldwork chapter reveals the ways in which these controlled representations negotiate visitor expectations and self-representations. By examining ICS as a model for Indigenizing education in settler colonial context through a spatial analysis, reveals a narrative that values trans-Indigenous interrelationships and worldviews. Educational institutions must meet specific standards to gain accreditation through settler colonial systems, however students enter spaces that are constructed by Indigenous peoples to create an Indigenous narrative space where Indigenous signs, symbols, and values must be negotiated with accreditation standards.

The project closes with an epilogue to reflect on the necessity of storytelling praxis in decolonial world making for our collective survival. It situates my study in the context of ongoing efforts by Indigenous Studies scholars, educators, and writers to intervene in the institutional sites of knowledge production that continue to assert authority over Indigenous Peoples and geographies. My closing discussion returns to the narratives embedded in maps and it is grounded by a cosmovision map of Dinétah that was presented at UWM by Sherwin Bitsui in March 2018. I hope my analysis can offer insight into the intervention strategies that Indigenous writers suggest for decolonizing the sites of knowledge production and open up

questions about ethical relationship practices and research methodologies in transnational and trans-Indigenous spaces.

*Chapter One — Storytelling as Decolonial Praxis: Indigenizing Pedagogies and Curriculums*

In the introduction I demonstrate the reflexive relationship between narrative and space. Space is constructed through relationships, narration is one way we relate to one another, and innumerable relationships exist at once, constructing narrative complexes in which worldmaking is an ever present constant. My goal is not to generate strategies for creating a decolonized world because so many Indigenous writers have already done this important work. The purpose of this project is to parse out the intricacies of these narrative-focused strategies for decolonization to demonstrate their application in the microcosms we navigate daily. While Waziyatawin offers a practical plan for decolonizing the Dakota homeland in Minnesota by focusing her analysis on public institutions in physical space, this project illuminates how decolonization might be achieved in the narrative space of public institutions specifically dedicated to knowledge production. Decolonization must happen on both the physical and the ideological geographies that perpetually shape our relationships and construct space.

This chapter will examine a selection of narratives and narrative interventions presented in selected educational curriculums and texts. If we take Thomas King’s mantra that “The truth about stories is that that’s all we are” (2), the question at the heart of this chapter asks: what stories do public school curriculums tell about our relationships and what type of worlds do these narratives construct? Furthermore, how have indigenous writers proposed changing the stories that sustain settler colonialism in educational institutions in order to communicate a social justice worldview committed to decolonizing the Americas? To answer these questions, I define narrative interventions in accordance with Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s definition of *intervening* as a methodology, which seeks to change institutions, rather than “changing indigenous peoples to fit the structures” of institutions (147). As a decolonizing methodology,

intervening is an ongoing process that will take the form of pedagogical praxis in the analysis that follows. However, I will also employ the noun form — intervention — to identify narratives that dismantle settler colonial metanarratives to forefront decolonial worldviews. The texts under examination in this chapter demonstrate both intervention and intervening, framed by King’s assertion in *The Truth About Stories* that if we are displeased with our contemporary ethics, it is our responsibility to tell a different story with different ethics (164). As a narrative intervention, King’s call to action disrupts the passive acceptance of injustice inherent in platitudes like, “that’s just the way things are” or “life’s not fair” that misrepresent our worlds as static, rather than dynamic. Through a combination of storytelling and literary analysis, King theorizes storytelling as decolonial praxis utilized by Indigenous educators in a multitude of forms and contexts.

In the first essay, “You’ll Never Believe What Happened,” King juxtaposes family stories and creation stories to communicate a lesson about how the stories we tell about our micro and macro relationships directly affect how we relate to each other. In his familial stories, King offers a snapshot of life growing up with a single mother and an absent father. He reflects on the certainty that his father didn’t leave him behind out of hate just as his mother didn’t stay out of love. Yet, King acknowledges his emotional impulse to maintain this story “because it is easy and contains all my anger” (25). His self-analysis reveals the purpose of King’s family narrative as a repository for his anger toward his father, while the power of his narrative maintains his anger in a way that obstructs the formation of healthy relationships with either parent. Narrative allows him to exert a semblance of control over his father’s rejection of him when in reality King has no power to change the past, only how he relates to it. By critically analyzing how this story



determines his power to reject a relationship with his father in an unrealized future, King offers a lesson in being self-aware of the stories we allow to control our relationships and our worlds.

Within a broader context, King's analysis of the value systems underlying the stories that inform our institutionalized relationships reveal the danger of clinging blindly to any narrative. Embedded in his family story is King's criticism of its binary structure. By vilifying his father's abandonment as an act of hate and romanticizing his mother's care as an act of love he creates an easy dichotomy that glosses the complex reality of his family dynamics. King goes on to identify this microcosmic dichotomy as "the elemental structure of Western society" whose lineage he traces to the Judeo-Christian creation story. In the story of Adam and Eve, there is a battle between good and evil that can only end in the triumph of one over the other. This narrative inevitability creates a hierarchical relationship in a story that values competition and domination (23). According to the internal logic of this worldview, "If we believe one story to be sacred, we must see the other as secular" (King 25), making the relationship Genesis has with other creation stories domineering and exclusionary in character. To demonstrate the danger of this worldview, King juxtaposes the Judeo-Christian creation story with a version of the Turtle Island creation story shared by several Indigenous American tribes about the woman who fell from the sky. In this story, the woman whom he names Charm, with her twins, and the earth's animals co-create the world known as Turtle Island. In this creation story, cooperation between species is valued, rather than competition. King explains that he prefers creation stories because "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). The Turtle Island story values diversity, cooperation, and balance, and therein lies the tension between Indigenous peoples and settler-colonial cultures.

King's analysis of creation stories shows how the narratives valued by societies transmit inherent worldviews that hold power over the lives of those subjected to them. The values taught through the story of Genesis can be found in ostensibly secular institutions like education. The anarchist scholar Erik Taje calls school an obedience factory, and shows "how the developments of capitalism and the modern state dictated the production of children so that they came out of the school system as obedient workers and docile citizens" (175). Obedience is achieved through the exercise of institutional power over individuals, which Taje compares to both a military academy and a penal system. In such systems, individuals are judged by an authority figure, humiliated, and compared to one another through hierarchical evaluations wherein "knowledge is transferred in a top-down fashion" (Taje 174). The state-sanctioned education described in Taje's analysis parallels the story of Genesis in its pedagogical approach and hierarchical value system, but its purpose is to create laborers resigned to their economic subordination. Capitalism nimbly appropriates the social values taught by Genesis for its own means so that competition, hierarchical authority, and obedience are transposed from the deity-human relationship to that of the manager-worker. Considering that the state-sanctioned institution of education is a tool of both capitalism and colonialism for Indigenous peoples, King's narrative intervention is invaluable for those seeking to decolonize the roots of settler-colonial pedagogy.

In response to the story of Genesis, King asks a series of rhetorical questions to disrupt the most insidious lessons of the Judeo-Christian metanarrative:

What if the creation story in Genesis had featured a flawed deity who was understanding and sympathetic rather than autocratic and rigid? Someone who...was willing to accept a little help with the more difficult decisions?/ What if the animals had decided on their own names? What if Adam and Eve had simply been admonished for their foolishness?/ I

love you, God could have said, but I'm not happy with your behavior. Let's talk this over. Try to do better next time./What kind of world might we have created with that kind of story? (27-28).

The content of these questions challenge the universal authority and pedagogical approach of the deity in Genesis. Their function is to intervene in a worldview that normalizes domination/submission in relationships. King's questions allude to a worldview that values communication in the pursuit of healthy, cooperative relationships by dismantling hierarchies between gods, humans, and animals. They devalue individualism in favor of communal cooperation by forefronting mutual respect. These questions intervene to enact change that liberates readers from the oppressive values underlying this subjugation narrative.

King's collection of essays is itself a narrative intervention that calls on readers to engage storytelling as an act of worldmaking over which they wield power. At the end of each chapter, which contain a web of story and theory, King invites his audience to remake their worlds according to the lessons he puts forth in the stories he shares: "Take it. It's yours. Do with it what you will. Tell it to your children. Turn it into a play. Forget it. But don't say in the years to come that you would have lived your life differently if only you had heard this story./You've heard it now" (151). The repetition of this closing statement in every chapter challenges the reader to take responsibility for worldmaking, to grow as a result of encountering King's narratives, rather than remain immobile in our current conditions. This is a rhetorical strategy that utilizes storytelling as pedagogy and Indigenous educators continually find ways to adapt it to the classroom setting.

Indigenous peoples have used storytelling to teach long before they ever entered the settler-colonial classroom. The presence of the story establishes the space as a learning

environment and the content of the story contains the lesson, but the transmission of the lesson requires an adept storyteller and an engaged audience. The audience, according to Greg Sarris, must recognize the narrative as a form of dialogue in which the “reader...cannot be separated from the history of their reading, of all that makes for their encounter with and response to that which they read” (5). Therefore the context in which the story is conveyed can determine the lesson one receives as long as the reader recognizes that the narrative behind their own subjectivity is in dialogue with the story/narrative they encounter. In the introduction to *Keeping Slug Woman Alive*, Sarris explains that his collection “tells stories about relationships...to create a document representing exchanges that open the world people share with each other” (6). Understanding storytelling as a practice of our interrelations in the world propels King’s attempts to implicate the audience of his narratives. By positioning his narrative in the context of the present and using the second person pronoun (“You’ve heard it now”), King invites his reader to make changes in the present, rather than express regret “in the years to come.”

In many ways, storytelling praxis is an exercise in empathy. Sarris reflects on the lessons he learned from his elder, Mabel McKay because “in understanding another person and culture you must simultaneously understand yourself” to propel the process aimed at an ever-widening understanding of both oneself and others (6). Not only does storytelling pedagogy require that one recognize their own subjectivity in relation to that of others, but they must also recognize their place in an interconnected complex of subjectivities. One’s encounter with any particular narrative has the potential to form connections across time and space, akin to Silko’s Laguna Pueblo web of language and literature (Silko 159). Thus, the more we understand about our place in the world — or the place of our world amongst many worlds — the more effective we can be about our intentions within it as social justice educators and knowledge producers.

In a multifaceted form of decolonial praxis, Sarris applies his storytelling pedagogy to three different classroom settings in order to intervene in the settler-colonial assumptions students unknowingly carry with them. On the first day of his American Indian Literature course with predominantly middle-class, white students, Sarris shares a Kashaya Pomo coyote story, which he records. At their next meeting he asks the students to recount the story and compares their retellings with his recorded version. Sarris foregrounds his analysis of the activity by explaining that “their stories tell them more about themselves than about the story or about the speaker and culture from which the story comes” (149). Their versions, according to Sarris’ analysis, consistently omit contextual information and the cultural specificity of the story within Kashaya generic classifications, the story’s origin, and rules associated with its telling. Instead their versions focus on Coyote as a main character and plot details, except for those details that do not fit their expectations of “Indianness,” like references to Christianity (151). From a Kashaya Pomo perspective, the prominence of the verb thematizes the action in the story, not the subject, revealing to students how cultural bias influences interpretation and how critical discourse is situated in specific cultural and historical contexts (Sarris 152).

In this first classroom example, the norms associated with the settler-colonial institution of education are revealed to Euroamerican students in ways they may never have experienced by reading texts that only affirm their own values and assumptions (Sarris 157). By juxtaposing their version of the Kashaya Pomo coyote story with Sarris’ version, the disparity between the collective worldview represented in the students’ interpretation and that of the Kashaya Pomo becomes the site of a reflexive class discussion. Students have the opportunity to examine their own position in the settler-colonial institution of education and critically analyze their assumptions about their place in the world amongst many worlds. The flip side of this revelation,

however, is deeply troubling for students who have been historically marginalized within the settler-colonial institution of education. Since they are not equipped with a Euroamerican worldview and its adjacent knowledge base, they are at a systemic disadvantage when required to participate in culturally-based norms of critical thought (Sarris 153-54). According to Sarris, his storytelling exercise risks validating power relationships for historically marginalized students if it does not engage the life experience of the students, or enable students to analyze their experiences and assumptions (155). “Telling the story of a story of power relations” must elicit critical reflection from students about the split between life experience and classroom activities if there is any chance that it will lead to educational justice (Sarris 156). Sarris shows this in his analysis of the second classroom context in which he applies storytelling pedagogy.

In a summer writing course exclusively for Cree students, many of whom have dropped out of school at some point because they struggled to relate to it, Sarris analyzes the chasm between their life experiences and school as both systemic and self-protective (158). While all of his students are able to recall their experiences with alienation in the classroom, their analysis of these experiences is impersonal and detached until Sarris asks them to analyze the experience of another Native student. This Native student is not part of his class, but the subject of a story told by a student who is present. In the story, the Native girl is sitting in the corner coloring while the rest of the class works on computers. When Sarris’ student asks the teacher why she is isolated from the rest of the class, the teacher dismisses the Native girl as “more creative,” versus critical (159). Sarris uses this Native girl as a stand-in for his own students to analyze their experiences in the classroom. He asks his students to “tell her story” and they immediately agree that she will dropout. As they take turns filling in the details that lead her from the moment she is put in the corner to the time she drops out, Sarris realizes that his students are empathetically recounting

their own experiences of alienation in the classroom. Through this storytelling exercise, his students are able to see how they have personally been made to feel inadequate by internalizing settler-colonial narratives about Indians. From that point forward, Sarris witnesses his students using “the power of personal knowledge in the classroom” to critically analyze their own experiences with institutionalized violence (160). This type of critical reflection is necessary for students to navigate the reality that their relationship to the institution of education has been historically dictated by genocidal policies.

Sarris’ work reveals the failure of the settler-colonial education system to address the cultural needs of Indigenous students — or any students who do not share the Euroamerican worldview of the institution — and presents a point of critical contention for Indigenous educators. When educators who share the Euroamerican worldview of these institutions fail to address the needs of their non-white students, they simultaneously fail to recognize their own cultural contexts as an impediment to Indigenous students’ success. As a contributor to the edited collection, *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*, Chi’Xapkaid’s essay, “Decolonizing Through Storytelling” details several strategies educators might employ to better meet the needs of their Indigenous students. At the very least, Chi’Xapkaid argues that “critical and caring reflection will help teachers show genuine respect for cultural teachings that relate to autonomy, authority, diversity, and joy in learning” (130). As a baseline strategy, this advice encourages educators to develop self-awareness regarding the privileges they bring into the classroom so that they may more effectively decenter their own experiences and develop empathy for their students that is necessary for trusting and transformative knowledge sharing.

The role of reflection for both students and educators is one that I will explore as a key to decolonial praxis. In this particular example, Chi’Xapkaid recalls how critical reflection about

his purpose as an Indigenous faculty member in higher education enabled him to withstand questioning from his colleagues who doubted the validity of his presence. In particular, Chi'Xapkaid recalls being criticized for his ability to effectively study Indians and his choice to publish in Native-focused journals, rather than the top-tier journals that privilege Euroamerican issues and worldviews. In an essay that is part pedagogical methodology and part personal memoir, Chi'Xapkaid reminds the reader that his professional journey is inextricable from his personal one. Taking on roles with increasing responsibility within his tribal community requires a resilience against colonialism that Chi'Xapkaid draws upon when encountering obstacles in academia. Despite the source of the challenge — be it state fish and game agents preventing tribal member's from exercising their fishing rights or the refusal of his colleagues to acknowledge his contributions — Chi'Xapkaid relies on his uncle's lesson that failing to remember one's ancestors, freedom, and destiny, is a failure to remember oneself and become subject to another's narrative. This lesson is repeatedly interspersed throughout Chi'Xapkaid's personal narrative in the italicized line: “All the while, I kept singing and dancing, and learning more from my ancestors who left the stories behind for us to hear, and trying to remember all that I could” (130). It is his connection to storytelling that Chi'Xapkaid reflects upon for the fortitude needed to resist academic standards that privilege Euroamerican theories and methodologies. His access to ancestral knowledge reminds him that he is telling their story, and it is his own story of freedom, destiny, and identity.

While it is Chi'Xapkaid's understanding as an academic insider that Indigenous peoples' success in academia “is not at the highest priority level of those who fund, govern, administer, and teach in America's finest universities” (129), this is an oversimplification of the insidious reality of gatekeeping. In her essay “Academic Gatekeepers,” Devon Abbott Mihesuah analyzes



the ways in which gatekeeping is a calculated effort on the part of professors, writers, and publishers to maintain the status quo of Euroamerican authority about Indigenous peoples. The oppression of Indigenous scholars who threaten the manifestation of colonialism in academic institutions takes many forms, but ultimately the ostensibly remote efforts of gatekeepers contribute to maintaining a colonial system that obstructs the success of Indigenous students and discourages Indigenous-centered scholarship (Miheuah 33). In this way, the historical relationship that Indigenous peoples have with the settler-colonial education system continues in new forms, but with the same purpose of oppressing Indigenous worldviews and denying Indigenous peoples' intellectual sovereignty.

In a 2004 study conducted by Pavel and Reyner and referenced by Chi'Xapkaid, they describe the history of “missionary, military, and political ill-treatment that was intended either to exterminate the Indians or wipe clear their minds of anything to do with their ancestral heritage” (130). Missionary, military, and political institutions had a direct influence on the way that educational systems function in their relationships to Indigenous peoples. When Native peoples in the United States chose to continue educating their children at home, as they had done for countless generations, the voluntary option of sending them to public or missionary schools became mandatory. Canada followed suit, and amongst the Maori in Australia, children disappeared by these institutions are known as the stolen generations. In these schools students were removed from their tribal communities for extended periods of time, stripped of any cultural markers, forbidden to speak their languages or practice their tribal religions with the intention of erasing their Indigenous identities. Students were subjected to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse and many died of medical neglect, malnutrition, and exposure. The residential boarding schools are known to be modeled after military training facilities with

rigid schedules and harsh punishments. As much as these settler colonial nations would like to downplay the intergenerational trauma of these institutions, the living presence of residential school survivors reminds us all that this is a contemporary issue as much as it is historical. These schools sought to fulfill the motto put forth by Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian School in 1879: “Kill the Indian, Save the Man.” This six word motto is also a genocidal narrative that has wrought destruction in countless tribal lives, but Indigenous writers, storytellers, and educators never cease to contest this destruction through narrative interventions in the settler-colonial educational systems.

While many have written about the physical, sexual, and psychological abuses that took place under the guise of education, perhaps none are more canonically recognized than Zitkala-Sa. Zitkala-Sa is known for her autobiographical collection of essays in *The School Days of an Indian Girl* detailing her experience within heavily regimented boarding schools. However, her personal narrative is always carefully crafted to demonstrate that she excelled in spite of the institution, rather than because of it. After she left the Indian boarding school, Zitkala-Sa later used her educational privilege by touring the US delivering lectures aimed at educating Euroamericans about the humanity of Indigenous peoples and encouraging them to take action against the injustices perpetuated by their government. While Zitkala-Sa is one of the most widely recognized boarding school survivors this act of resistance continues today. What I hope to bring forth in this chapter is a demonstration that the authority assumed by settler-colonial sites of knowledge production is effectively offset by Indigenous peoples’ continued resistance through storytelling. In the analysis that follows, I will demonstrate how storytelling is a strategy that Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators might rely on in pursuit of their vision for a decolonized world.

The most common form of colonial praxis in which Indigenous educators intervene is the settler-colonial metanarrative. A metanarrative is a story that is granted universal authority. The metanarrative assumes universality through a reductive oversimplification of the world where only one *right* story exists. But only those who subscribe to an epistemology that endorses metanarratives benefit from granting such authority. Thus the metanarrative is inherently flawed in its claim to universality. This, however, only complicates how those who benefit from claims to universal authority develop and maintain self-affirming systems, such as academia, and, alternately, how those who do not benefit must continually envision ways to dismantle such systems. If we are all made of stories, we must ask where is narrative authority over Indigenous peoples located in regard to the sites of knowledge production?

In “Representation via Ethnography: Mapping the Maya Image in a Guatemalan Primary-School Social-Studies Textbook,” trained anthropologist and former primary school teacher, Victor Montejo, analyzes the “fossilized” image of Guatemalan Maya that pervades primary school curricula in Guatemala. The misrepresentation of the Maya as being part of a “timeless past without connection to the living people of today” serves the tourism industry in Guatemala, while simultaneously reiterating the racist and classist settler colonial agenda of social domination. The chapter begins with Montejo historicizing Maya misrepresentation by close reading the work of “Early ‘Authorities’ on the Maya.” He puts authorities in quotes since they were primarily self-appointed European missionaries and colonists. Most prominent among them was the Spanish Bishop, Diego de Landa, who attempted to rewrite Maya history in *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán* in 1560 after burning down the library of Maya codices containing Maya history, intellectual achievements, and religious rituals because Landa considered texts written in the hieroglyphic system to be the teachings of the devil (40). Montejo explains that as a

missionary, Landa saw the presence of the devil everywhere and represented the Maya people with no reasonable control over themselves, yet Landa's positionality is rarely questioned by contemporary ethnographers who continue to cite his work, granting it overwhelming authority (40-41). Landa's extant misrepresentation of the Maya is especially useful to "the dominant class... [who consider Maya culture] a 'degenerate' culture that must be assimilated or destroyed" and continuing Landa's legacy of ethnocide in the contemporary era (41).

In addition to missionaries like Landa, the other so-called authorities on the Maya are nineteenth-century travelers. Early twentieth-century scholars, according to Montejo, relied heavily on the travel accounts of Stephens and Catherwood, who only consulted ladino politicians and missionaries in their *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and the Yucatán* published in 1841 (41). By failing to consult any Maya people, Stephens and Catherwood conveyed to Europeans and Euroamericans a representation of "the Maya as savages and fierce people whose land should be invaded by army troops, even if the price was bloodshed" (Montejo 42). Scholars of the Maya in the early days of anthropology used the work of these missionaries and travelers as "authorities" in their efforts to "salvage whatever was possible of this 'decaying' Maya civilization" (42). According to Montejo, "the stereotype of the Indians, created and reproduced since the conquest, was perpetuated in the work of scholars who insisted on the greatness of the past but showed disappointment of the present Maya" (42). Montejo's historicization of this misrepresentation calls into question the methodology by which knowledge is produced by anthropologists who continue to rely on sources with a vested interest in Maya ethnocide and subjugation. Furthermore, Montejo directly confronts the interests of those anthropologists who depend on the generosity of their elite, non-Maya hosts to complete their fieldwork since these scholars "were reluctant to make any political statements

against...injustices because they considered these men their hosts” (42). Assumptions that research produces apolitical truths continue to have political consequences for contemporary Maya when elite landowners use dehumanizing misrepresentations of them as savages to justify the exploitation of their labor (43).

Montejo prefaces his close-reading of the third grade social studies textbook, *Studios Sociales, 3er Grado* by Elsy de Cortés, explaining that Guatemalan primary education is “inadequate and culturally inappropriate” for contemporary Maya living in rural communities because it subjects them to “textbooks that emphasize the elite ideology....dispossessing contemporary Maya from most facets of the national culture” (51). To demonstrate the agenda of indoctrination found in textbooks, Montejo relies on Althusser’s concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) in which the educational system is the vehicle by which myths and misrepresentations are reproduced to maintain the power of the nation’s elite (Montejo 51-52). In his analysis of four images depicting the Maya in Guatemalan history and society, Montejo finds the Maya confined to an “exotic and distant” past where their great civilization collapsed and disappeared (52-53). Contemporary Maya communities are implicitly dispossessed of their ancestral legacy with no place in the present or future of Guatemala, or the world.

The first page of the textbook conveys the settler-colonial metanarrative with a collage depicting a muddled rewriting of Western Civilization that includes dinosaurs, the bust of King Tut, a Greco-Roman coin, George Washington, Adolf Hitler, and an astronaut, among other non-Maya figures. There is no clearer evidence that metanarratives are myths than this depiction of Western Civilization that appropriates historical symbolism from at least three distinct civilization to validate its singular superiority. Not only does this historical sequence call into question the parameters for defining Western Civilization, but as Montejo observes, including

the Sun and the Moon but omitting the Maya implies that the Maya are inferior others lacking significant contributions to the world (53). I'll add that the inclusion of the Sun and Moon gives the impression that the cosmos are somehow part of an exclusively Western legacy, but this choice is consistent with the erratic appropriation of symbols composing the myth of *the West*.

The exclusion of Maya cultures from the textbook collage can be read as a “historical” gap with elitist ideological intentions according to Montejo. He argues that the collage consciously valorizes Western science since astronauts and spacecraft are included as climactic achievements of “Western Civilization” (54). Yet, Western science is also used to authenticate the anthropological study of Maya histories and cultures that Montejo dispels in the first half of his chapter due to the use of disputable sources and methods. Montejo’s study unveils the circular logic underlying the myth of Western superiority and upholding social stratification in Guatemala. The settler-colonial worldview pervades the construction of the social studies textbook according to the assumption that the field of anthropology is a valid source of information with infallible means of knowledge production. By approaching the self-affirming assumptions underlying the visual narrative in the collage on the grounds of what it fails to depict, Montejo analyzes the exclusion of Maya representation in the historical timeline of civilization. Not only does this narrative gap demonstrate the limitations of the metanarrative to teach an accurate account of history, but considering Guatemala’s population is 60% Maya, the metanarrative leaves most students with a distorted understanding of their place in the world (38).

The remainder of Montejo’s chapter contains a critical analysis of the conquest narrative in Guatemala. It includes three historical illustrations depicting the conquest: two by Spanish illustrators reprinted in Cortés’ textbook and one from an unnamed ethnohistory by Indigenous

allies of the Spanish invader, Pedro de Alvarado. While the analysis focuses on the written narratives that glorify the invasion and the invaders at the expense of contemporary Maya and their ancestors, the existence of an Indigenous-authored account serves as a narrative intervention. The myth of the Spanish invasion of Guatemala credits the Spaniards alone for defeating the Maya with their superior combat skills and more technologically advanced weapons. However, Maya ethnohistorical accounts such as *The Annals of Cakchiquels*, in addition to those by Indigenous allies to the Spanish show that the Spaniards were assisted by diseases and other Indigenous peoples (Montejo 55-56). These Indigenous accounts are not part of the metanarrative of settler-colonial superiority, but Montejo's inclusion of them in his analysis serves as a narrative intervention in the historical myth that justifies contemporary oppression of Maya peoples by the elite class.

In his reading, Montejo demonstrates how the rhetoric surrounding the conquest in the textbook's metanarrative subtly transmits the settler-colonial agenda of Maya subjugation. In the historical account offered, when the "Indian chief" Tecún Umán is killed by Alvarado, "*our beautiful quetzal also fell at his feet, signifying that with the death of the chief of the Indians the freedom of his race would also die*" (Cortés qtd. in Montejo 56; emphasis added by Montejo). Not only does Montejo demonstrate how the textbook conveys the inevitability of a hierarchical society in which the Maya are destined for subjugation, but the symbol of the quetzal is also appropriated by the settler-colonial nation-state with the pronoun "our." The analysis goes on to interrogate aspects of the metanarrative that imply the Maya are naturally inferior or deserving of oppression, such as the use of phrases like "Indian traitor" that reinforce stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as deceitful and in need of the disciplinary systems of European civilizations. Montejo also examines the way in which Cortés displaces the responsibility for two K'iche'

rulers' execution from Alvarado to the victims themselves for "opposing the will of the conquerers," rather than recognizing that the Maya were defending themselves against invasion (57).

I have only discussed a selection of Montejo's study, which is extensive considering it comprises just one chapter in *Maya Intellectual Renaissance*. Each example Montejo decodes from Cortés' third grade textbook reveals the underlying political agenda to indoctrinate children according to the interest of the settler-colonial nation-state and its ruling elite. For Maya children, this indoctrination is an act of ethnocide that encourages assimilation in an effort to further deny their ancestral rights to land and resources, but it is also a justification for their oppression through the reiteration of dehumanizing stereotypes that are validated by the work of anthropologists. In the few places where Maya peoples are mentioned in the textbook, Montejo points out that it is always in regard to the ancient Maya and the loss of their great civilization. When it comes to knowledge production about the Maya, the "focus of attention was the past, as if the modern Maya were somehow completely severed from their ancient roots and heritage" (42). There is no recognition of a living Maya culture except when the metanarrative reiterates stereotypes that are applicable to the generic "indios" of today (60). This generalization about the "indios" is a form of erasure that Montejo contests by reminding the reader that there are 31 distinct Mayan linguistic communities and in Guatemala children learn Spanish in school, but they retain their Mayan language in their home communities (45). He considers the persistence of the Mayan languages a form of resistance to a settler-colonial project of assimilation and ethnocide (44).

Montejo offers a Maya reading of these anthropological and primary school texts demonstrating how most scholars conduct decolonial narrative interventions. His chapter utilizes



a familiar structure in academic writing: beginning by introducing the state of the field; summarizing how his work is positioned within the field; contextualizing the questions his analysis will answer within a particular ideological framework; historicizing the problem his analysis will address; offering a close reading analysis of a primary text; concluding with a summary of the issues his analysis addresses; and then suggesting what work is still needed within the field of anthropology, and by extension, primary education in contemporary Guatemala. Montejo's analysis intervenes on the misrepresentation of the Maya by telling a different story; one that challenges the meta narrative by first acknowledging it exists and then using anthropological methodologies and literary analysis to dissect it. It is a lovely utilization of a disciplinary field's own standards of academic rigor to demonstrate the invalidity a meta narrative until it no longer has a supportable claim to universality within the very field that purports it.

Other Indigenous American academics, however, have employed a more multifaceted approach to structure their narrative interventions. In *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*, Deborah Miranda blurs the boundaries of storytelling and academic research to demonstrate how history curriculums are embedded with political agendas that reinforce settler colonialism. In her multigenre text, Miranda begins with the statement, "California is a story. California is many stories" (xi), inviting a place-based reading of her book, which moves across 200-plus years, but is firmly located in the geography now known as the state of California. While I'll examine multiple examples from *Bad Indians* in other chapters, I want to emphasize these narratives are part of a storied landscape that includes written and oral testimonies, poetry, essays, government documents, BIA forms, ethnographer's field notes, photographs, newspaper articles, the diaries of Franciscan priests, and samples of educational materials for the Mission Unit

Project. My analysis examines how *Bad Indians* offers a social justice oriented account of California's mission history in the form of a story about the complex set of relationships that continue to affect Indigenous Californians. Without a metanarrative, the multigenre structure of this text demonstrates that the amalgamation of narratives that define California is a more just representation of history than the metanarrative required of students completing their fourth grade mission projects.

The focus of my analysis in this chapter is on two examples from Miranda's text that intervene in the metanarrative in California's primary school Mission Unit. As Miranda explains, the Mission Unit not only justifies settler colonialism but continues to perpetuate it by continually forcing students to internalize the "Mission Mythology" as an accurate account of history. In the introduction, Miranda explains that it is

Part of California's history curriculum, the unit is entrenched in the educational system and impossible to avoid, a powerfully authoritative indoctrination in Mission Mythology to which fourth graders have little if any resistance. Intense pressure is put upon students (and their parents) to create a "Mission Project" that glorifies the era and glosses over both Spanish and Mexican exploitation of Indians, as well as American enslavement of those same Indians during American rule. In other words, the Mission Unit is all too often a lesson in imperialism, racism, and Manifest Destiny rather than actually educational or a jumping off point for critical thinking or accurate history (xvii).

This lengthy quote is actually a concise representation of the complex issues in school curriculums that are in desperate need of decolonization. The Mission Unit is a statewide history requirement that dictates students regurgitate the "Mission Mythology" in the form of a diorama with text. Evidence that the "Mission Mythology" cannot be altered is found in the diorama kits sold for this exact assignment. While many teachers discourage the use of packaged Mission kits, constructing a Mission diorama from scratch does not change the narrative that the kits are

designed to tell. When Miranda uses the the phrase “powerfully authoritative indoctrination” she raises the issue explored previously by Montejo with regard to the meta narrative in anthropological study. Because the Mission Unit is a statewide requirement, it is granted authority by the settler-colonial state government to justify its existence as a state by erasing the violence of its becoming. Fourth graders are introduced to this violent history of imperialism that began with Spanish, followed by Mexican, and later American invaders, but the violence is omitted from the meta narrative. As Miranda points out, fourth graders are discouraged from critically thinking about this historical narrative and the reason for this is undeniably because it would threaten the very foundations of California statehood.

In the section titled, “Post-Colonial Thought Experiment,” Miranda contextualizes the tone-deaf obscurity of the Mission Unit Project requirement by comparing it to other systems of slavery and genocide. To demonstrate the absurd lack of awareness about the violence that Indigenous peoples in the California Mission system experienced, this section juxtaposes three sample project assignments, which include: 1. Carmel Mission Project, 2. Birmingham Plantation Project, and 3. Dachau Concentration Camp Project. For each of the three sample projects Miranda offers an assignment and worksheet with nearly identical instructions and questions. Under the title “1. Carmel Mission Project,” the letter to fourth grade students and their parents is a standard representation of the assignment sheet distributed across the state. It introduces the assignment as a research project covering one of the 21 California missions and explains that the project consists of a report and the creative construction of the mission researched by the student (186). The worksheet asks a series of ten questions to guide the student through their research report. Most of the questions have only one correct answer, such as the name of the mission, year it was built, name of its founder, location, products grown or

manufactured there, and special features of the mission. While such questions might appear apolitical, when they are repeated in the Birmingham Plantation Project and the Dachau Concentration Camp Project worksheets the harrowing gravity of the Mission Project becomes undeniable.

Questions about the dates of establishment, location, founders, and products elicit answers that are loaded with historical shame. Most readers are educated enough about the history of slavery in The South and the genocide of the Jewish Holocaust in Nazi Germany to feel discomfort by even hypothetically attempting to answer these basic questions. To ask about dates of establishment in regard to a plantation or concentration camp evokes a historical context that most people in the US and global community would be happy to leave in the past. Questions about founders would mean honoring the legacy of slave-owning families or Nazis, and might unintentionally identify contemporary white supremacists and neo-Nazis. To find out which products are produced at each location would entail recognizing that national and global economies depend on these historical atrocities. At the very least, even those who did not directly purchase plantation or concentration camp products certainly benefitted from the stability that wealth from these slave-made products injected into the economy. Upon reflection, seemingly apolitical history questions in the context of the Mission Project take on an ambiguously disturbing meaning once applied to the plantation or concentration camp systems. However, this section appears near the end of *Bad Indians* and if a reader attempted to answer the more subjective questions on the Carmel Mission Project worksheet before turning to the plantation or concentration camp parts of the “Post-Colonial Thought Experiment,” it would not be so easy to evade discomfort having read the preceding parts of Miranda’s narrative intervention in the Mission Mythology.

Throughout the course of Miranda's text we learn that the Missions occupy a complex and at times, intentionally ambiguous historical meta narrative filled with gaps and erasures. Three of the questions on the worksheet ask for more open-ended answers that allude to some of these erasures and subsequent misrepresentations of California's Indigenous peoples. I've identified the more subjective, but — for an attentive reader of *Bad Indians* — still distressing questions as follows: “6. Which tribes lived at this mission?”, “9. How is the mission used today?”, and “10. Are there any special facts or unusual stories about this mission?” (187). For example, to answer the sixth question accurately would require serious scholarship into the local history of the mission since the Indians enslaved at each mission were renamed after the mission in an attempt to erase their tribal identities.

Even an adept researcher might still come up short trying to identify each diverse tribe that was taken from their land and imprisoned within the mission. The “California Missions Resource Center” lists the Costanoan people as the original tribe but also notes that “Costanoan” is the name given by the Spanish invaders for a linguistic group with at least eight different languages ([www.missionscalifornia.com](http://www.missionscalifornia.com)). The website explains that the existence of eight different languages is indicative of eight different tribal identities or “tribelets,” however a close reader will find that this particular webpage also mentions that the Costanoan people lived in approximately 50 different sovereign nations ([www.missionscalifornia.com](http://www.missionscalifornia.com)). A student trying to accurately answer the question about which tribes lived at the mission will have to make an educated guess of anywhere between eight and 50, in addition to the Esselen. While the Carmel Mission is one of seven established in the Costanoan linguistic territory, the Esselen who lived south of this territory were later removed from their lands and imprisoned there. Gaps in the historical record about how these sovereign tribes identified themselves before the Spanish

imposed the Costanoan linguistic label on them are hard to fill. If a reader is not immediately troubled by this question the point that these systems intentionally enacted the erasure of specific tribal communities is driven home in the parts that follow. Ethnocide is undeniable when the plantation project worksheet asks, “6. From which countries or tribes were African slaves taken to live at this plantation?” and in the concentration camp project worksheet it reads, “6. Which type of ‘undesirables’ lived around the camp? (Sephardic or Ashkenazic Jews, nonreligious Jews, traditional Jews, Hasidic Jews, Jewish professionals, gypsies, homosexuals)” (189 -191).

Evidence of systemic cultural genocide is effectively compounded by comparing the mission to plantations and concentration camps where millions of peoples were intentionally disappeared.

The eighth question forces the reader to acknowledge the contemporary context of this violent history when it asks “9. How is the mission used today?”. There are several answers to this question. According to the Carmel Mission Basilica website it is possible for one to attend mass, book a wedding, or take a tour, which includes the courtyards, Basilica, Indian Cemetery, and Museum ([carmelmission.org](http://carmelmission.org)). The “Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo is *the* biggest attraction” for tourism in California, according to Miranda, and in many of the surrounding neighborhoods “a bastardized Mission style is actually required by cities or neighborhood associations ... [contributing to] the cultural storytelling that drains the missions of their brutal and bloody pasts for popular consumption” (xvii). Learning that one can tour the Indian cemetery after acknowledging the ethnocide of the Costanoan and Esselen peoples raises questions about the contemporary ethics surrounding reparations and the struggles for federal recognition that many Californian tribes face.

This brief, six page section of *Bad Indians* effectively intervenes on several settler-colonial metanarratives surrounding the “Mission Mythology” and the Mission Unit Project. The

juxtaposition of the Mission Project with two other fictional projects aimed at glorifying systemic slavery and genocide functions to disrupt the misconceptions of missionary apologists who maintain the savior narrative of missionization. Since this section appears near the end of the text, when the tenth question asks, “10. Are there any special facts or unusual stories about this mission/plantation/concentration camp?” the reader is already equipped with stories of murder by the military, removal of Indigenous peoples from lands stolen by ranchers, enslavement by Franciscan priests and alcaldes, rape at the hands of clergy, the spread of syphilis and measles/small pox, and the use of “discipline” that essentially amounts to torture.

In the broader historical context, the stories Miranda compiled from scouring textual and oral archives to write *Bad Indians* show that these narratives of missionary violence are not unusual. In addition, missionization and claims of Christian superiority were used to defend the enslavement of African peoples in the plantation system and justify the genocide of Jewish peoples and other “undesirables” in Nazi Germany. Using juxtaposition to demonstrate the parallels and intersections between these oppressive systems only raises parallel questions about how to seek accountability for these atrocities and from whom in our shared present. The point Miranda makes by comparing these systems of violence is that education curriculums are in dire need of reform if most readers do not recognize missionization in California as systemic slavery and ethnocide but they easily identify such aspects with regard to plantations and concentration camps.

*Bad Indians* clearly articulates the necessity for curriculum reform of the Mission Unit Project, which only perpetuates the “Mission Mythology” at the expense of Indigenous Californians. By discouraging critical thinking and ethical research methodologies this curriculum requirement does a blatant disservice to California’s Indigenous peoples and the

injustices they have survived. To intervene in this narrative injustice Miranda constructs her own Mission Project based on her findings through rigorous archival research — the type of research that would be rewarded if it did not directly challenge settler colonialism in the State of California. In the section titled “My Mission Glossary (excerpts from a very late fourth grade project),” Miranda stakes a claim to “this rite of passage,” explaining that since she was living in Oregon during her fourth grade year where students are required to conduct an Oregon Trail Project — with its own problematic narrative — she never had the opportunity to do a Mission Project “Til now” (6). Her project demonstrates how reforming the Mission Unit to teach ethical research methodologies would result in an entirely different type of project than those currently required of fourth graders.

The section begins with an illustration of a mission captioned “Deby’s mission” and includes Miranda’s fourth grade school photo. Since there is no diorama component to her project, the illustration stands in for this portion of the assignment while the narrative that follows serves as the written report. However, several images appear throughout the glossary, constructing something that resembles a three dimensional narrative with varying narrative perspectives. The images are derived from archival and personal collections, some are local to the missions, but others are transnationally sourced, and collectively they are transtemporal.

The glossary entry titled, “Adobe Bricks” for example, begins with an image credited to Zephyrin Engelhardt, a Catholic priest and Franciscan historian. In the early twentieth century Engelhardt published extensively on mission history. The title of the image is cited as “Padre Directing Mission Indians to Build” (209). The text that follows is written as a recipe in which Indians are objectified as ingredients: “Recipe: Gather your Indians from the mission” (7). The use of the second person, possessive “your” seems to be addressing the padres and their



paternalistic relationship to the Indians living at the mission. The narrative voice asserts authority, as if it is written from experience, but the experience is that of one directing the intense labor required to make adobe bricks for the mission. It is clear from the description that the missions were built by the Indigenous peoples enslaved there; that mission building requires strength to haul the raw materials without livestock, mix the ingredients with their feet, cut down trees to make the forms, and eventually lift the sixty pound bricks up scaffolding to construct the mission (7-8). The entry sums up the process by explaining that “adobe is cheap — the ingredients free for the taking — but you will certainly go through a lot of Indians. More lazy creatures on earth we have never seen” (8).

This passage is infused with sarcasm and satirically crafted to imitate the tone often found in mission history metanarratives. The assertion that all raw materials (ingredients) are free is based on early invaders’ claims that the Americas were *terra nullius*, available for exploitation because the Indigenous peoples were viewed as just a source of labor when they weren’t barriers to “progress.” Miranda is careful to account for the valuable labor that Indians contributed to building the mission, noting that “Indian women make some baskets good as a bucket” (7) and “Few nails to be had, but they’re [Indians] clever with rope and vine once you get the idea across” (8) while parodying the condescending tone of superiority found amongst colonizers. To close the passage by noting the laziness of Indians is ironic considering the Franciscans were enslaving people to build their missions for them, but the use of the word “creatures” reiterates the dehumanizing sentiment that justifies brutality and an indifference to lives considered disposable labor.

The next entry in the glossary, however, takes on a different narrative voice; one that imagines the Indigenous peoples’ impression of the invaders. The passage titled “Bells” includes

a photo of Miranda's grandfather, Tom Miranda, standing near the bells at Mission San Miguel. Again Miranda uses juxtaposition to humanize the experiences of Indigenous Californians who in the previous passage are described as objects. This historical experience is undeniably personal and real people suffered under the oppression of missionization. The narrative voice Miranda utilizes in this passage describes the bells as oppressive and terrifying. They are imported and bring with them a rigid conception of time that is imposed through violence. The narrative voice is a collective one using the pronoun "we" throughout, "Soldiers brought them from the ships....The voice of the bell is the voice of the padres. We try, but we cannot always obey" (9). The relationship between the missionaries and the military is affirmed as a joint colonial effort and bells serve as a symbol of their shared interest in oppressing Indigenous peoples. The bells also function to mediate that oppression by signaling the rigid schedule according to which the enslaved Mission Indians must work. Similar to the military schedule that the boarding schools were modeled after, the narrator describes "Bells at dawn...Bells ordering us to prayer... direct us to breakfast... tell us to scatter to our work" until eventually, "Bells give us permission to sleep" (9). If the bell is the voice of the padres, that voice is backed up with violence as "alcaldes...with cudgels and long canes" are present to ensure the padres orders are obeyed.

This temporal arrangement to brutally extract labor from the Indigenous peoples is compared to a time when "the bells hung silent" so that sardines could be gathered. The passage shifts from describing days of tortuous drudgery directed by the bells to relishing the sardine harvest days filled with pleasure and generosity that "never would have happened, we thought, if the bells still spoke" (9). In this passage the loving relationships between the people are described as they share the bounty of the harvest in the absence of the bells, but this is abruptly

cut short when, “Next day, we woke to the bells” (10). Near the close of this passage, Miranda includes the iconic illustration of the El Camino Real Mission Bell guide post. This image divides the happy descriptions of the harvest from the daily drudgery that resumed once the harvest had been collected. It serves as both a metaphorical and literal severance from happiness by the rigid control signified in the image of the bells that today remain romanticized in the “Mission Mythology.” There is hope at the end of this passage with the repetition of the line, “The voice of the bell is the voice of the padres. We try, but we cannot always obey” (10). Acts of disobedience are acts of autonomy and the next five pages of this section describe the torturous forms of discipline leveled against “Bad Indians.”

The narrative voice again shifts in the mission project glossary passage describing “Discipline” in *Bad Indians*. It takes on the authoritative and condescending tone of the padres, who “[like] good fathers everywhere,” justify the use of flogging with cat-o’-nine tails, beatings with cudgels and canes, and the crippling use of cormas on Indigenous peoples as necessary “Due to their animal-like natures” (10-15). An image in this passage is taken from the seventeenth century letter written by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala to the King of Spain in which the Peruvian Indian depicts various abuses against the Indigenous peoples in his plea for a merciful intervention. Another is a sixteenth century image of flogging from the *Notebooks of Tonayuca* by a Mexican Indian and a third from the eighteenth century appears to describe the corma and its use on California Indians (11-12). While other illustrations of these disciplinary devices are included in Miranda’s glossary, the three archival finds mentioned here indicate that such abuse is a widespread colonial practice throughout the Americas and across multiple eras. By including a disproportionately extensive entry on settler colonial forms of discipline, Miranda demonstrates how the use of violence to “[tame] wild Indians” (11) is not necessarily reserved

for saving souls, but a systematic practice to force Indigenous subjugation in various settler colonial contexts. The line that opens this passage by describing “their animal-like natures” demonstrates the extent to which the invasion of the Americas relies on denying the humanity and violently stripping the autonomy of Indigenous peoples with the use of brute force.

Within the “Mission Mythology” this narrative of violence is replaced with the savior narrative that claims the padres did not know any better and had the best of intentions (14). A fourth grade mission project is likely to represent a history sanitized of this brutality, but Miranda’s mission glossary forefronts the violence of missionization because it is central to the process of colonization in California. The glossary entries that follow “Discipline” include “Mission,” “Neofito (Neophyte),” and “Padre,” each of which is approximately one page in length but together detail the complex relational structure that comprises mission space. There is a biting sarcasm underlying each of these entries, but the shifts in tone construct a narrative trajectory that portrays the mental process of internalizing the colonial metanarrative using education as a conduit. In the “Mission” glossary entry, religious conversion is referred to as “a radical kind of brainwashing, more euphemistically called reeducation” (16). The irony inherent in this entry and the entry that follows, is that together they perform several norms of institutionalized knowledge production to further demonstrate how the settler colonial agenda pervades educational institutions. Narrative tone is again crucial to this process, but so is source citation and etymology until the knowledge considered valuable by self-determined academic standards has been internalized by those that the metanarrative oppresses.

The first line defining the “Mission” glossary entry characterizes it as a “Massive Conversion Factory centered around a furnace constructed of flesh, bones, blood, grief, and pristine land and watersheds, and dependent on a continuing fresh supply of human beings,

specifically Indian...” (16). The directness of this opening line consolidates the message from previous entries that religious conversion was not a peaceful endeavor but a violently exploitative process. While previous glossary entries personalize missionization through the imagined lens of the padres or the Indigenous peoples, this one offers the semblance of objective distance that academic texts employ to appear credible and unbiased. The matter-of-fact tone is detached, performing encyclopedic rhetoric by describing the mission, padres, and neofitos who lived and died there in the third person. By adopting this tone of scientific objectivism, Miranda demonstrates how the self-prescribed norms of academic discourse imbue subjective experiences with universal authority. Simply writing in the third person removes the subject from the subjective experience along with the systemically granted privileges that inform that particular experience. However, the experience remains subjective despite attempts to universalize it and erase the very privilege of writing.

Miranda continues to reveal how internally granting authority to a narrative because it adheres to institutionalized norms is a dubiously incestuous practice when she references her own glossary entries to substantiate her description of the mission. The practice of citing sources is a valuable ethical standard of research writing, which Miranda performs in two parenthetical references: “Run by a well-meaning European religious order (see PADRE)...a mission was meant to suck in Indigenous peoples (see NEOFITO)...” (16). While it is common practice for an encyclopedia to reference terms and concepts covered within its collection, Miranda is offering a broader critique of the ways in which academic institutions validate information about Indigenous Peoples by citing sources that are not recognized as authorities by the Indigenous Peoples being researched.

The entry following “Mission,” is “Neofito (Neophyte),” strategically forcing the reader to engage the glossary’s definition regardless of whether they chose to follow the internal reference from “Mission.” “Neofito (Neophyte)” is composed in the style of a dictionary definition with five numbered definitions, ordered from most to least common usage. The first definition begins in the third person, shifts to the second person, and ends in the first person with a question rather than the definitive statement one would expect from a reference source. The shifts in pronouns mark shifts in social power and corresponding claims to authority as they progress from ostensibly more objective to subjective. The varied use of pronouns coupled with the content of the first entry further critique the fallacy of academic writing standards that using the third person produces objective analysis without bias. As the definition shifts to a more subjective tone, the authority of the narrative that Indians are “subhuman, animal-like, . . . judged to be desperately in need of Spanish religion and discipline. . . . Like very young children” is increasingly called into question until there is a total shift in perspective (17). The pronouns shift from “they” to “she” to the first person “we,” until the most widely accepted narrative about Indigenous peoples intersects with the systemic oppression wrought by settler colonial institutions, all represented through educational curriculums and resources. When Miranda explains that “the *neofita*, who, even should she live to be one hundred years old and have children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, was never legally an adult and so could not leave the mission without written permission. Nor could she own land. Officially emancipated in 1936 by Mexico, declared citizens of the United States in 1924, are we grown up yet?” (17). In a few short lines the power and authority of transnational religious, legal, social, and academic institutions over Indigenous peoples are directly questioned. The presence of a question rather than a statement reveals the questioner at the end of the first definition to be in a position of less

institutional power than that of the third person narrator who opens the passage. Only those in positions of power have the privilege of objectivity; for the rest of us, oppression is personal.

There is a clear challenge to the authoritative narrative throughout the “Neofito (Neophyte)” entry, but the voices challenging settler colonial power structures are disproportionately represented. In the second numbered definition, the text appears in italics, which Miranda uses throughout the book to indicate materials directly drawn from archival records. While the passage describes the neofitos as “savages...without either agriculture or arts,” it ends with the oblivious admission that “their pagan...superstitions are as numerous as they are ridiculous and *are difficult to understand*” (17; emphasis mine). Evidence that the self-proclaimed intellectual authorities on Indigenous Peoples are actually far from knowledgeable is inherent in the settler colonial institution’s own source material making their ignorance impossible to deny. While there is no presence of an Indigenous voice in the second definition, Miranda places this entry immediately after the first definition where Indigenous sovereignty in a transnational settler colonial context is directly questioned. The second definition is shadowed with doubt even before the unwitting admission of ignorance. A critical reader has sufficient evidence to doubt the validity of the meta narrative based solely on the contradictions Miranda finds within the archival source material valued by settler colonial educational institutions.

The third most common definition of a neofito according to Miranda’s glossary, begins with the oxymoronic statement that they are “Indigenous human beings who were loved to death by the Franciscan fathers” and ends with an italicized passage with more inherently illogical contradictions (18). In the italicized portion of the passage, the archival source material details the “*heroic degree*” of the neophyte’s obedience, explaining, “*When the missionary desires to punish them all that is necessary is to order them to prepare themselves and they receive the*

*stokes*” (18). Once again, praise for their possession of obedience does not appear to be considered within the settler colonial system of institutionalized violence and genocide (18). While the Franciscan priests see their use of discipline as an act of paternal love, Indigenous peoples enslaved in the missions see it as a threat to their survival wherein they will even submit to physical abuses if it means they will not be outright murdered. Miranda’s earlier point that Indigenous subjugation is entirely dependent on the relentless use of violence is reinforced by yet another oblivious display of hypocrisy by a missionary apologist.

The third definition ends with the claim, “*The other virtues they do not know,*” working in conjunction with the fourth numbered definition of a neofito that is simply a list of slurs leveled against Indigenous Californians: “*Bestias. Lazy. Meek. Submissive. Humble. Timid. Docile. Obedient. Superstitious. Stupid. Ignorant. Children.*” (18). Among the insults that appear repeatedly throughout the settler colonial metanarrative’s characterization of Indigenous Californians, meek and humble are actually considered virtues. Not only does the fourth definition reinforce the excessive prevalence of contradiction pervading the settler colonial meta narrative, it also reinforces the necessity of dehumanizing Indigenous Californians (“*Bestias* [Beasts]”) in order to justify missionary enslavement and paternalistic violence (“*Children*”) to deny them individual autonomy and tribal sovereignty.

The fifth and final definition of neofito is another list, but this one a harrowing collection of nine names. This list is placed at the end of the “*Neofito* (Neophyte)” entry because it represents the most specific, but least common usage of the term. The fifth definition ends with an incisive explanation: “*My ancestors*” (18). Miranda’s subjective experience ends the entry, and the list of human synonyms for neofito, dispelling any notion of objective knowledge production within educational materials and curriculums. The presence of Miranda’s voice at the



end of the entry, intervening in the metanarrative behind California's "Mission Unit" offers a glimmer of hope. Miranda's voice is accompanied by an illustration from the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley depicting five Indian women and captioned "Inhabitants of California" (18). The subliminal message is clear in their skeptical facial expressions, replete with side-eye glares and furrowed brows that can only be interpreted as the scowls of the disobedient, "Bad Indians." The fact that an intervening voice exists at all is a testament to Indigenous Peoples' will to survive and Miranda's placement of this image credits Indigenous women for the collective survival of Indigenous Californians. Despite the violent indoctrination efforts of settler colonial educational institutions, Miranda is insisting that she is one of many Indigenous women resisting reeducation.

Furthermore, the "Inhabitants of California" image faces an illustration of two weary Franciscan missionaries. The women look powerful compared to the image of the missionaries. Three of the five women are looking to the right, giving the impression that their glares are directed at the padres represented in the entry on the next page. The "Mission Glossary" section of *Bad Indians* ends with the "Padre" entry in the form of an essay describing the term. The epigraph, a quote from Zephyrin Englehardt, describes the padre as the guide and protector of the Indians (19). The passage that follows tells a different story. It distills the message of the missionaries with biting sarcasm, veiled in conciliatory praise:

[The padre] taught us to sing (our own songs were ugly), he taught us to speak (our own languages were nonsensical), he made us wear clothes (our bodies were shameful), he gave us wheat and the plow (our seeds and acorns were fit only for animals)./Yes, that padre, he was everything to us Indians. At the giving end of a whip, he taught us

to...make adobe walls for our own prisons, build the church, the *monjerio*, storerooms —  
promised it all to us if we would just grow up, pray hard enough, forget enough. (19)

Using the first person “us,” the passage demonstrates how indoctrination manifests as the internalization of the settler colonial metanarrative by those it seeks to oppress. The sarcastic tone reveals the absurdity of internalizing this narrative that only benefits the colonizers in Spain, Rome, Mexico, and later US Americans seeking gold and land. The padre has only guided Indigenous Californians to submit to abuse and he fails to protect them from starvation, murder, homelessness, disease, and slavery. Yet, as the “Mission Unit” dictates, Indians are expected to be grateful for the gift of Christianity (20). At the end of this passage representing the internalization of the colonial metanarrative, there is an image of an acorn that takes up a third of the page. A staple food of Indigenous Californians, it sits like a wrecking ball, smashing all that colonial bullshit once and for all (20).

The structure of Miranda’s narrative intervention blurs the boundaries of critical and creative work by strategically relying on institutionally defined standards of rigorous academic research to reveal the settler colonial agenda behind the “Mission Unit” curriculum. In this way, Miranda’s approach overlaps with Montejo’s, whose critical analysis unsettles the foundations of the metanarrative. However, the product of Miranda’s archival and familial research diverges from Montejo’s by inundating the reader with a mosaic of narratives about mission history to unsettle the very idea of a metanarrative. Both scholars demonstrate how settler colonial educational institutions are narrative battlegrounds where the minds of children are often manipulated at the expense of Indigenous Peoples. While Miranda and Montejo do the invaluable work of confronting the particular metanarratives that pervade education curriculums in California and Guatemala respectively, other Indigenous scholars have chosen to forefront the

complex set of relationships that define Indigenous narrative space without scrutinizing a particular metanarrative.

Since metanarratives that describe how Indigenous peoples fit into the world tend to generalize in a way that gets replicated in disparate contexts, decolonial narrative interventions value tribally specific accounts of Indigenous experiences to counteract the dehumanization of generalizations. However, academic standards for writing history often dictate that historians synthesize their multifaceted sources into a metanarrative that inherently excludes conflicting accounts of historical events by establishing a singular experience as universal timeline of events. In the preface of Patty Loew's second edition to her book *Indian Nations of Wisconsin*, she describes the challenges she faced while writing a "history book," which carried with it certain expectations that the book I delivered would 'look' like a history book, that it would include dates and documented 'facts' arranged chronologically," explaining that "Native people tend to organize their histories thematically, with stories unfolding in a circular fashion. Time is relative and sometimes incidental" (xvii). When Indigenous histories are written according to the expectations of non-Indigenous peoples, they are not actually Indigenous histories. The narratives most often considered *fact* are those that reinforce the power structures in place and may not represent the worldviews of Indigenous peoples or their interests; so it is not written for Indigenous peoples and it is not about them either. Yet, Loew's challenges while writing a history of Wisconsin tribes are about content as much as they are about the ways in which that content is organized temporally.

Much like Miranda's retelling of Mission history, Loew draws from a mosaic of sources, including missionary accounts, traders' journals, government documents, as well as, speeches delivered by chiefs during treaty negotiations, origin stories, songs, legends, cave paintings, and

Native newspapers, among others (xvi). Since Native history is often told from the perspective of non-Indigenous settler colonial sources, constructing an ethical account of history requires Loew to present a narrative that includes Native voices and perspectives even when historical accounts conflict. The conflict of narratives parallels the experience of conflict in the relationships between Indigenous nations, and between Indigenous nations and non-Indigenous peoples (xvi). By choosing to focus on Indigenous peoples relationships to each other, as well as, their relationships to settler colonial society, Loew's history book works against the implicit invalidation that metanarratives level against marginalized peoples' experiences, while also decentering the metanarrative, and the settler-Indigenous binary.

While the first two chapters, entitled "Early History" and "European Arrivals," are written in the metanarrative style one might come to expect from a history textbook, no particular social group's perspective is privileged over another. The remaining eight of the ten chapters in her 222-page text are historical accounts from the perspective of specific tribal communities in Wisconsin, including: Menominee, Ho-Chunk, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Oneida, Stockbridge-Munsee Community (Mohican), Brothertown Indian Nation, and Urban Indians. Although there is overlap between the histories told in each chapter when Native nations experience the same events from their particular historical contexts, this overlap attests to the reality that Indigenous peoples do not — and have never — existed in a depoliticized vacuum. They have long standing relationships with other Indigenous peoples and their agency at specific historical moments contribute to the complex set of relationships that make up the world in which we live.

Beyond the macro-structure of Loew's history textbook, the most radical decolonial strategies she employs are located in the details of her pluralistic narrative. For example, in

“Early History,” Lowe recounts a history of Indigenous Peoples’ presence in Wisconsin that is largely devoid of European influence. For those accustomed to reading settler colonial histories, this subtle exclusion emphasizes that Indigenous Peoples existed on this hemisphere long before Europeans arrived and they documented their histories according to the values of their specific worldviews. This chapter sets the tone of the text by relying almost exclusively on Indigenous forms of historical documentation, first in their physical forms as rock art, picture writing, wampum, and effigy mounds, followed by oral histories to substantiate the physical narratives.

The first historical event noted in Loew’s text is a pictographic rendition of an ancient Ho-Chunk hero known as Red Horn in the Gottschall Cave in Iowa County, Wisconsin. This composite serves as the jumping off point from which the history of inter-tribal relations in Wisconsin unfolds. The caption accompanying a drawing of the pictograph speculates that “The story may relate to the arrival of the Mississippian Culture to the area,” and while this story is imprinted on the physical environment, we learn later that the Mississippian migrants are long vanished (1). This pictograph documents their extant influence on the region because it is a reference to their contemporary place in the oral history and culture of Wisconsin tribes. Loew is careful to choose language that honors Indigenous writing as she describes how “the artist — a historian, really — began to record a remarkable story” after carefully preparing the paints and sanding the walls of the cave into an appropriate canvas (1). Her historical account emphasizes that it was only with the help of Ho-Chunk elders familiar with the epic of Red Horn that archeologists were able to decipher the pictographic composite. On the first page of her history book, Loew attests to the durability of oral histories in which “time is relative and incidental,” rather than central as portrayed in most history books (11). Loew reveals Indigenous histories as transtemporal, since this story from the pre-Columbian Ho-Chunk past exists in conversation

with contemporary tribal members who know the oral story and can impart that knowledge to archaeologist in our present era.

In addition to the pictographic story, pottery shards of Effigy Mound Builders, and unusual soils associated with Mississippians were found in the Gottschall Cave characterizing this particular location as a trans-Indigenous space. These elements create their own chronology of events, placing the cave at the intersection of various cultures and cultural developments, such as historical record keeping, visual artistry, the mathematical precision of Effigy Mound Builders, and the agricultural and religious influences brought through the extensive trade networks and agriculture-based economy of the Mississippians (1). This site is one of more than one hundred in Wisconsin, according to Loew, creating a map of Indigenous presence on the landbase that exists transtemporally since the physical evidence “suggest that rather than being separate peoples, later cultures evolved from and intersected with earlier ones” (1). The soil has been traced back to Mississippian migrants whose nation was based in the city of Cahokia, near present day St. Louis. This revelation broadens the intertribal connections of Great Lakes tribes to include those within the Mississippian trade network, which “extended from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes” (7). Each of the elements found in the cave communicate a rich narrative of inter-tribal relationships and it is from this physical site that Loew weaves her pre-Columbian history of tribal relations in Wisconsin.

“Early History” relies on oral stories and songs to detail the relationships between Indigenous Peoples, and the land, water, plants, and animals that construct Wisconsin as an Indigenous space. While anthropologists estimate that humans have been in the Great Lakes region for “at least twelve thousand years,” the origin stories at the heart of this chapter place Indigenous nations in Wisconsin since “the beginning of time” (Loew 3). Out of respect for tribal

histories, Loew loosely dates oral stories according to the geological conditions described within them. For example, tribal stories about water covering the earth, like “Winniboozho and the Great Flood” (Ojibwe) or the story of Sky Woman (Oneida) refer to the end of the Ice Age (3). Similarly, stories about the young woman who married “the leader of the corn nation” mark the introduction of corn to the region along with its agricultural sisters: tobacco, pumpkin, beans, and squash (5). In fact, Loew only includes one specific date from the Gregorian calendar in this chapter and she does so to demonstrate the profound accuracy with which oral stories document history *if* time is a relevant detail.

After describing tribes’ internal social organizations and governing structures, Loew introduces confederacies to address intertribal treaties and alliances. The Oneida, who immigrated from New York to Wisconsin in the 1820s, are a part of the Six Nation Confederacy, which is one of the most well known confederacies. According to New York Oneida oral tradition, “the league began during the month ‘when the corn was ripe and the grass was knee high’ (August) and when the ‘sun went dark during the day’ (a solar eclipse)” (11). As Lowe explains, “on the basis of this oral history, mnemonics, mathematics, and astronomical evidence,” researchers were able to conclude that the Confederacy was formed on August 31, 1142,” yet “Wisconsin Oneida do not accept any founding dates, other than ‘a long time ago,’” believing the Confederacy was founded on a much earlier date according to their own oral stories (11). While a discrepancy exists between the two Oneida tribes, they agree that they are part of a long-standing diplomatic relationships with the Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca, and later, the Tuscarora. The larger point Loew makes throughout the text, but especially in “Early History,” is that there is room for historians to honor Indigenous worldviews and interrelationships, if they practice “research that combines oral history, mnemonics, and physical

evidence...to [reconstruct] the past” (11). Research that accounts for the complex aspects of our collective experiences are more accurate reflections of our interrelationships, which is why when narrative discrepancies arise, Loew embraces them.

One such discrepancy first appears in the Menominee chapter and describes the way in which New York tribes — the Oneida, Mohican, Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown — came to occupy tribal territories in Wisconsin. The undisputed parts of the narrative entail the westward encroachment of American settlers and land developers after the American Revolution that resulted in land theft and treaty violations for the New York tribes. This situation led some in the Haudenosaunee territory to seek out lands for purchase from the Menominee and Ho-Chunk nations west of Lake Michigan. The circumstances surrounding the land negotiations and the details of the agreement remain a point of contention that complicates the historical record. However, Loew frames her historical retelling by explicating that “There are conflicting accounts of the events surrounding the negotiations between the Menominee and the New York Indians” and in the chapters that follow she honors the histories of each nation despite the conflicting narratives (25).

According to the Menominee, several factors compromise the integrity of the land negotiations with the New York Indians. The key discrepancy, is that the Menominee were agreeing to share their land with the New York Indians, while the New York Indians considered the agreement to be a land cession. The lack of a Menominee translator at the negotiations could be the source of this misunderstanding, but it only compounds the Menominee’s perception that the New York Indians’ exploited their systemic advantages during the negotiations. “From the Menominee perspective,” Loew explains, “the New York Indians, some of whom had been educated in white schools, used their sophisticated understanding of property issues to unfair



advantage” (25). Without dismissing the Menominee account of events, Loew writes from the Oneida perspective that the Menominee agreed to the land cession, but “later complained that they misunderstood the terms of the treaty, [maintaining] that they agreed only to allow the New York Indians to share the land as joint occupants” (125-27). While the point of conflict between the Menominee and Oneida accounts of the negotiations are consistent, there does not appear to be any speculation on the part of the Oneida regarding the source of the misunderstanding, which is why any detailed speculation on the part of the Menominee is not included in the Oneida chapter.

The Menominee and Oneida were not the only tribes involved in the New York Indians’ migration to Wisconsin further complicating any attempt at a metanarrative about the circumstances that led to the New York Indians’ arrival in the midwest. In the Menominee chapter, Loew recounts how the substitute translator during the initial negotiations did not actually speak Menominee and accidentally invited the Ho-Chunk. Since the Ho-Chunk withdrew from the negotiations, their relationships with the New York Indians in this regard are not discussed in the Ho-Chunk chapter. The specifics of the treaty negotiations are also omitted from the Stockbridge-Munsee Community of Mohican Indians chapter since they were not directly involved with the Menominee or Ho-Chunk, but came to Wisconsin through their alliance with the Oneida.

In the Mohican chapter their entry into this contentious land agreement begins in New York “When the Oneida...invited them to live in their Nation, [and] the Mohican accepted” (140). Known as the “Many Trails People,” various groups of Mohican lived among the Oneida in “New Stockbridge,” later inviting a band of Delaware Indians from New Jersey to join them before two groups of Mohican left to live among the Munsee Delaware in Indiana. When the

Mohican arrived in Indiana, however, their Delaware friends and relatives were preparing to be forcibly removed further west into Missouri, prompting the Mohican of Stockbridge, the Munsee, and the Brothertown to migrate to the Wisconsin lands acquired by the Oneida (Loew 140). A complicated series of displacements by American settlers forced the Stockbridge-Munsee community, among others, into east-central Wisconsin tribal lands. However, this was not their final stop. As Loew reports, “Controversy over the land sale...led to new treaty negotiations, and in 1834 the Mohican and Brothertown Indians moved again to new lands along the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago” (140-41). Shortly after, the Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830 and “about 70 of the 217 Mohican, along with 100 of the 132 Munsee Delaware” decided to move to Indian Territory where “many died along the way,” some assimilated into other tribes in Oklahoma, and “Others eventually returned to Wisconsin” (141).

The Mohican migration to Wisconsin is far from direct, but the route taken by the “Many Trails People” attests to the expansive intertribal relationships that define their journey. One such relationship involves the Eeyamquittoowauconnuck or Brothertown Indian Nation, which Loew describes as “an amalgamated tribe descended from various Algonquian-speaking peoples of southern New England” with distinctly Christian roots (149). The New England tribes were especially affected by the political upheaval that accompanied the Euroamerican invasion forcing them to build alliances with other Indian nations and settlers that eventually led them to join the Mohican on Oneida territory and later in Wisconsin when the New York Indians migrated. Despite protests about the details of the land negotiation from the Menomonee and Ho-Chunk, “federal negotiators coerced the Menominee into a treaty that ceded a portion of their lands for ‘the benefit of the New York Indians’” (151-52). While the Mohican and Brothertown Indians both migrated to Lake Winnebago, the Brothertown were the first to accept citizenship and

allotment of their lands. By doing so, the federal government no longer recognized the Brothertown as a sovereign nation, stripping them of all treaty granted rights, and making them the only federally unrecognized tribe in Wisconsin (Loew 153). As a federally unrecognized tribe, the Brothertown Indians face “unique challenges to its community” due to their ruptured relationship with the US government as a sovereign nation.

While Loew provides a comprehensive history of each Wisconsin Nation, including a chapter on Urban Indians, this analysis focuses on a single event affecting multiple tribes to highlight how Loew balances each nation’s historical perspective while disregarding conventions that warrant any type of metanarrative. Metanarratives in general are not only insidiously inaccurate representations of our interrelationships, but unnecessary and unethical. The structure of Loew’s book is an effort to accurately represent the longstanding intertribal and tribal-settler interrelationships that shape Wisconsin. By offering a polyvocal account of the land negotiations that led to the New York Indians’ migration to Wisconsin, no single experience is prioritized, but rather added to the narrative web surrounding this event in this particular place.

The structure of Loew’s text forefronts decolonial praxis in a way that parallels the lessons Greg Sarris’ received about storytelling from his elder, Mabel McKay. In his reflections, Sarris explains that the plethora of stories McKay shared served as reminders that he “wasn’t alone in the world...that there were other people, other stories” (12). Through his exposure to other peoples’ stories, Sarris develops a worldview that reinforces his sense of interconnectedness, rather than detached solipsism. With a more complex understanding of the interrelated narratives of which he is a part, Sarris admits that this realization forced him to consider his own limits and possibilities. The shape of his world shifts in accordance with Massey’s second proposition regarding the characterization of space “as the sphere in which

distinct trajectories coexist....If space is indeed the product of interrelations, then it must be predicated upon the existence of plurality” (9). McKay’s stories function as a pedagogical tool that communicate a distinct worldview while shaping Sarris’ perception of his place in the world that demands critical self-reflection. The stories that McKay shares with Sarris create an Indigenous space in the way that Loew’s interrelated histories about Wisconsin’s Indian Nations reinforce it as an Indigenous territory.

The storytelling pedagogy demonstrated by both Loew and McKay via Sarris relies on complex narrative matrices to illustrate the interrelationships that define our shared realities. Since metanarratives impose inaccurately narrow constraints on our worldviews they oversimplify our realities according to a universalist truth that inherently narrates a static existence. If we believe our worlds to be static then marginalized peoples seem unquestionably and inescapably oppressed. Internalizing this narrative misleads many into believing that it is impossible to be an agent of change in the world. In order to recognize our agency we must first understand our place, our roles and relationships, our “limits and possibilities,” as does Sarris. A key takeaway from the work of Loew and McKay is that storytelling as a decolonial praxis is not possible unless it incites critical self-awareness of one’s place among their relations. In Massey’s third proposition of space, one’s place could be described as the axis of existence from which they are able to affect the trajectories of simultaneous “stories-so-far” that comprise their narrative matrix (Massey 9). Of utmost importance for decolonial storytelling praxis is the emphasis on our dynamic interpersonal practices, rather than our static positionalities.

While McKay’s stories are communicated orally to Sarris he is able to translate his experience of encountering them to text by overtly analyzing the humanizing potential of storytelling praxis for the reader. Loew’s approach of adapting storytelling praxis to print is less

explicit, yet still undeniable and effective. Some writers, like Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird, the co-editors of *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook*, have found a middle ground between Sarris/McKay and Loew. *For Indigenous Eyes Only* is a collection of essays by various activists on a multitude of colonial issues affecting Indigenous Peoples that is structured like a textbook. Each chapter comes complete with activities that encourage critical engagement with, and the practical application of, each chapter's lessons. In the opening chapter, the co-editors explicate their decolonial praxis by contextualizing it within Indigenous North America:

The current institutions and systems are designed to maintain the privilege of the colonizer and the subjugation of the colonized, and to produce generations of people who will never question their position within this relationship. Thus, no handbook exists to teach our people how to begin to challenge this oppressive relationship in our daily lives. Until now. (1)

In their introductory explanation, the co-editors purport that the settler colonial worlds that Indigenous Peoples navigate are systemically constructed to maintain oppressive relationships and those relationships must be questioned in order to develop strategies that evoke change. However, they recognize that strategies for decolonization are not taught in a settler colonial context and thus frame the necessity for a “workbook” such as theirs.

By categorizing *For Indigenous Eyes Only* as a workbook, Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird implicate the reader in the ongoing process of decolonization in various contexts, , among them are sports, diets, language, and governance. While each chapter addresses these broadly defined realms, they do so from the experiential perspectives of their various authors. The activities included in each chapter foster self-reflection regarding the reader's practical application of the

chapter's lesson in their daily lives. By encouraging readers to reflect on their roles and responsibilities in the decolonization of the worlds they occupy, the text invites the reader to engage the information from their own storied context.

For example, in the previously mentioned chapter titled "Decolonizing Through Storytelling," Chi'Xapkaid examines the specific intersection of education and storytelling as a strategy for decolonization because it maintains cultural distinctiveness, which reinforces claims to sovereignty. As the impetus of my project has attempted to explicate, settler colonial governments use education as a weapon against Indigenous Peoples and epistemologies. This institutional relationship is an abuse of power that continues in the form of academic gatekeeping, which seeks to maintain the authority of the Euroamerican institution at the expense of Indigenous knowledge, even when Indigenous ways of knowing are the focus of study. Facing an ethnocidal agenda, Chi'XapKaid relies on lessons learned through storytelling to intervene in academia's institutionalized obstacles to his success, explaining

...storytellers distributed all knowledge orally. It was through their living breath that the ancient tales of their ancestors were passed on and remembered. The stories taught the young people how to learn from the environment and their life experiences. This learning style promoted the same analytical, cognitive, and retentive skills that are necessary to succeed in the contemporary educational system (132).

Storytelling pedagogy is multifunctional, encouraging strong analytical skills and retention, in addition to reinforcing Indigenous knowledge. Throughout the "Personal Narrative" portion of his essay, Chi'XapKaid draws strength to weather the institutional challenges he faces in academia from studying singing, dancing, and his ancestors' stories in the Skokomish Nation.

The personal narrative in Chi'XapKaid's essay illustrates how Indigenous students failing to remember the stories and embedded lessons of one's ancestors can leave them vulnerable to the psychological violence perpetuated by educational institutions (Chi'XapKaid 132). To intervene in this systemic problem, Chi'XapKaid suggests one strategy toward decolonization is "to remember the ancestral teachings and master the art of storytelling" (132). Unfortunately, colonization has ensured that many stories have been forgotten and it is on this premise that Chi'XapKaid encourages us to tell our own stories, even offering storytelling techniques such as facial expressions, eye contact, pace and repetition to effectively convey important information (133).

Since *For Indigenous Eyes Only* is a workbook, the end of Chi'XapKaid's chapter offers activities that guide the creation of one's own stories for decolonization. In the first of two parts, two columns are labeled "Experience" and "Theme," respectively. He explains that "love and companionship are vital to the health of our people" so the example he offers for the first activity under the "Experience" column is "positive bedtime rituals" and under the "Theme" column is "love of a parent" (134). With these two purposes established, the second part of the activity guides the construction of the story by asking generative questions to inspire the writing process, such as, "Who will your characters be?" (135). To develop the plot, the worksheet asks questions to help segment the plot so that the story unfolds in a way that demonstrates multiple types of love and companionship, such as self-love, recognizing the self-love of others, healthy romantic relationships, and "the beauty of being in a loving relationship over time, and what that generally brings to the the family and community" (135-36). In his example, Chi'XapKaid encourages the reader to teach self-love and love for our communities, rather than the self-hate that benefits colonialism through the assimilation and subsequent erasure of Indigeneity.

The storytelling strategies that Chi'XapKaid details are not specific to his community in the Skokomish Nation and are useful for any colonized or marginalized people in the process of decolonization. In fact he describes decolonization through storytelling as “a journey where we join together the past, present, and future all at the same moment....An experience invoked by breathing the words of our ancestors to teach us today what we need to do to survive into tomorrow” (137). This characterization of storytelling compresses time and space by creating relationships between events and individuals through narrative so that all time exists at once, rendering space dynamic. While settler-colonial institutions are telling stories through their glorifying narratives of conquest, it is ever more important to arm ourselves with stories of survival and liberation. An approach to storytelling as a pedagogical tool for decolonization has guided the Zapatistas in their ongoing efforts to achieve liberation, making it both a trans-Indigenous and transnational strategy.

In “La Historia de las Preguntas/The Story of Questions,” told by Subcomandante Marcos and translated by David Romo from Viejo Antonio’s Indigenous Chiapaneco Spanish, Simon Ortiz’s conception of Indian literary space is realized as a site of resistance where “The continued use of the oral tradition today is evidence that the resistance is ongoing” (122). “The Story of Questions” is embedded in an continuous web of oral narratives situated trans-temporally between time immemorial where Viejo Antonio locates the birth of Zapata and 1994 when Marcos shares Viejo Antonio’s story in a communiqué to the Mexican people. However, the story begins in 1984 when Marcos encounters Viejo Antonio in the mountains of the Mexican southeast and continues today as I write this into the present for a future reader.

While training new members of the EZLN to survive in the Maya-Mexican locale, Marcos encounters Viejo Antonio who opens their first conversation by sharing with Marcos the



narrative that the guerrilla army is just a band of thieves but he invites Marcos to provide his own narrative about the Zapatistas. When Marcos offers a historical account “about the times of Zapata and Villa and the revolution and the land and the injustice and the hunger and ignorance, and the sickness, and the repression and everything,” Viejo Antonio offers to tell him “the real story of this so-called Zapata,” challenging Marcos’s worldview with a counter-narrative (13-14). While Marcos traces the genealogy of the EZLN to the historical figure of Zapata, Viejo Antonio locates the birth of Zapata “Many stories ago” among the first gods, Ik’al and Votán (17). Through storytelling Viejo Antonio connects the Zapatistas to the historical figure of Zapata with a longer history of resistance.

According to the oral story, Ik’al and Votán practice Maya truth-seeking by questioning their relationship to one another and their position in the world around them. Ik’al and Votán are a dual deity, one is light and one is dark, but “the two were only one,” connected at the back and as long as they considered themselves opposites, they would not move except in circles: “When one was turning himself around, the other one would show himself” (19). They lament their sad lives of immobility, complaining that night/day never passes respectively, and ask one another what can be done. The act of critically questioning how they might remedy the dissatisfaction they feel begins their journey to find happiness through cooperation. While their movement starts out slow Viejo Antonio explains that “now no one remembers who started walking first because at the time they were so happy just to be moving...” (29). They discover the answer to their question of how to move from their place of dissatisfaction is “Together but separately and in agreement,” emphasizing a commitment to Maya values of cooperation, autonomy, and consensus based government (32). These values pervade the Zapatista manifesto excerpted in the introductory chapter, “where all steps may walk,” but moving together is not the end of the story.

The next question is where to go, but Ik'al and Votán realize the answer must be sought out and they decide that “only by walking the long road were they going to know where the road took them. If they remained where they were, they were never going to know where the long road leads” (36). When the question of how they will walk such a long road emerges, they agree that Ik'al will walk at night and Votán will walk during the day, each carrying the other and moving as one (41). Viejo Antonio ends the story with the explanation

This is how the true men and women learned that questions are for walking, not for just standing around and doing nothing. And since then, when true men and women want to walk, they ask questions. When they want to arrive, they take leave. And when they want to leave, they say hello. They are never still. (42)

His explanation is as literary as the story itself, substantiating Chi'XapKaid's assertion that decolonization is a journey in which storytelling teaches the analytical skills necessary for navigation. Through critically questioning the status quo, Indigenous storytellers inside and outside of academia seek practices that strengthen Indigenous communities by intervening in settler-colonial metanarratives.

However, this is not the end of the story because it is embedded in Marcos' story about meeting Viejo Antonio and how his storied teachings guide the Zapatistas to this day. When Viejo Antonio finishes “The Story of Questions,” Marcos asks about Zapata to which he replies, “You've already learned that to know and to walk, you first have to ask,” further reinforcing Zapatista Indigenous space at the intersection of this Maya story and storytelling pedagogy (45). According to Viejo Antonio, “The one they call Zapata...is the Ik'al and the Votán who came here while they were on their long walk and so they wouldn't scare the good people, they became one...and gave themselves the name of Zapata...” (46). By fusing the identities of Ik'al

and Votán in the singular, historical figure of Zapata, Viejo Antonio Indigenizes the historical legacy of Zapata by including it in a specifically Maya-Mexican narrative genealogy based in the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. The same mountains from which each Zapatista communique is dispatched to the global community.

The reflexive movement of cooperative questioning and answering in the pursuit of decolonial knowledge parallels the behavior of the caracol/snail, a prevalent symbol in Zapatista art because it moves slowly, taking time to recoil inward to reflect and then outward to act in an infinite spiral that is non-linear, non-hierarchical, and thoughtfully dynamic. Caracol philosophy is invoked by the governing bodies serving the Zapatista's autonomous municipalities known as the Councils of Good Government, and also called "Caracoles." As a result, symbolic and literal caracoles are featured in Zapatista art demonstrating clear connections between the worldviews expressed in oral narratives, like "The Story of Questions" and the way the Zapatista manifestos narrate their vision for a global community.

In La Sexta, the Zapatistas announced the launch of "La Otra Campaña/The Other Campaign," a national campaign for anti-neoliberal solidarity in support of finding another way of doing politics that is cooperative and consensus based with respect for autonomy. With La Otra Campaña, the Zapatistas promise to stand in global solidarity with humanity against neoliberalism, while they also travel around Mexico "to exchange with mutual respect, experiences, histories, ideas, dreams," i.e. stories, that will shape the future of global community politics around a Maya-Mexican worldview (La Sexta). In "The Story of Questions," as long as Ik'al and Votán consider themselves opposites they would not cooperate to seek knowledge about how to move from their mutual static misery. Like the dual deity, recognizing our global interconnectedness is crucial for this cooperative and consensus based form of government to

exist and the Zapatistas invite members of the global community to “resist and rebel against injustices all over the world,” proposing that we agree to move in a direction that brings liberation for all.

The Zapatista story excerpted above is an act of resistance and it realizes the trans-Indigenous significance of storytelling as a world making practice shared amongst Indigenous peoples. According to Simon Ortiz, using the languages of the colonizers to transmit, and more importantly, create cultural knowledge is “a celebration of the human spirit and the Indian struggle for liberation” (120). As this chapter has argued, Indigenous writers have proposed many storytelling strategies for indigenizing curriculums and pedagogies in settler colonial contexts in an effort to take responsibility for worldmaking. In the last line of the Zapatista manifesto, the decolonial significance of storytelling as a trans-Indigenous value and practice is neatly summarized:

We will always live. Only those who give up their history are consigned to oblivion.

We are here. We do not surrender. Zapata is alive, and in spite of everything, the struggle continues.

From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast. (III)

## *Chapter Two — Disrupting Authority: Academic Tourism and the Guise of Accuracy*

The more we understand about our place in the world — or the place of our world amongst many worlds — the more effective we can be about our intentions within it as social justice educators and knowledge producers. While the previous chapter demonstrates various strategies employed by Indigenous writers and educators for intervening on the settler colonial metanarratives that pervade curricular requirements, textbooks, and pedagogies, this chapter will examine the problematic practices and exploitative research methodologies used to produce the source materials that inform the educational materials examined in Chapter One and popular tourist exhibits in Chapter Three. In this chapter, I argue that early ethnographic research methodologies and the archives that are built from such work continue to depend on the colonial myth of the vanishing Indian, despite the invaluable presence of Indigenous guides to intervene and inform researchers. Since decolonization requires literal changes in relationships to and on Indigenous lands, the core of this analysis examines three literary landscapes and the ways in which Indigenous writers, Leslie Marmon Silko, Deborah Miranda, and Blake Hausman, demonstrate decolonial strategies for intervening in exploitative practices of knowledge production for research, archival, and commercial purposes, while simultaneously defining and disrupting academic tourism.

In the context of the Indigenous Americas, anthropology developed as a field of study when ethnographers undertook the task of preserving what they deemed valuable in Indigenous cultures because extinction was perceived as inevitable within the settler's progressivist temporality. Yet, the exploitation of Indigenous knowledges has a long history that precedes the establishment of anthropology. Emerging during the Enlightenment era and coinciding with European imperialism's exploitation of resources on a global scale, so-called explorers were

actually prospectors, surveying the world to determine the most efficient ways to commodify lands and labor. The commodification of space is a dissection of the complex interrelations therein; it involves extracting place-based knowledges, exploiting intertribal trade relationships, and stealing land to repackaging its disembodied parts for global circulation within a profit-driven value system. As Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley explain in the introduction to their edited collection, *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment*,

European Enlightenment knowledge, natural history, conservation policy, and the language of nature... are derived from a long history of the colonial exploitation of nature, as well as the assimilation of natural epistemologies from all over the globe. As such this in turn diversifies our understandings of the genealogy of European knowledge as it expanded, adapted, borrowed, and outright stole from distant cultural and material contexts. (12)

With self-anointed authority, imperialist knowledge producers reorganized the world's resources into a homogenizing universalist system, producing little beyond interrelated institutions of exploitation. In a system that values momentary excess and profit over moderation and sustainability, Enlightenment knowledge is built from the same transient relationships that continue to influence settler colonial research methodologies, their extant archives, and the Eurocentric pedagogies that are practiced today. The contexts and peoples from which imperialists have appropriated knowledge are erased in the metanarrative, thus asserting the necessity for narrative interventions in these interrelated sites of knowledge production.

According to DeLoughrey and Handley the attempt to contain and control the world's resources led Carolus Linneaus to develop his binomial plant taxonomies in the eighteenth century, weaponizing the Latin language by developing "a hierarchy of species backed by an

emergent Enlightenment science” (10). Renaming natural resources in Latin created a universalist language with which to define difference in a way that is both hierarchical and homogenizing (DeLoughrey & Handley 10-11). As a result, DeLoughrey and Handley observe, “these new taxonomies of flora and fauna instituted a hierarchy of human species through this episteme of difference, contributing to biologically determinist discourses of race, gender, and nature...[which] also led to the colonial classification of Indigenous peoples as fauna rather than as human beings” (12). Since language develops from the sustained interrelationship of a peoples with their environments, renaming is a violent attempt to control and disrupt Indigenous Peoples’ relationships to their natural resources through the objectification of both. If Indigenous Peoples are objectified within settler systems, then they are stripped of their right to own land or exercise agency over the resources that sustain them. Settler society’s simultaneous exploitation of Indigenous Peoples and their resources required parallel strategies to disrupt the relationships that construct Indigenous space. The boarding school system transplanted and renamed Indigenous children, cut them off from their communities, forbade them from using their languages or practicing their cultures all in an effort to “kill the Indian and save the man” as Richard Pratt so infamously stated upon opening the first Indian boarding school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

These are the research methodologies and pedagogical practices upon which Leslie Marmon Silko’s novel *Gardens in the Dunes* intervenes. The narrative follows Indigo as she travels Europe with two academics, collecting plant knowledge and seeds, yet never relinquishing her Sand Lizard worldview. Grandma Fleet is the primary mode through which the Sand Lizard epistemology is communicated as they collectively tended the gardens sequestered in the sand dunes. Among the agricultural lessons she imparts to the sisters, Indigo’s entire

narrative trajectory is motivated by her memory that “Grandma Fleet always advised the girls to collect as many new seeds as they could carry home” because every plant had a purpose (Silko 83-84). The familial relationships that tie Indigo to her home in the sand dunes — where she resides with her Grandma Fleet, her mother, Sister Salt, and the water serpent guarding the fresh spring — also ground Indigo in a place-based context that enables her to appreciate the positionalities of others and the landscapes that sustain them in various contexts. While the novel documents how Euroamerican invasion suppresses Indigenous worldmaking by disrupting and distorting place-based relationships in the U.S. Southwest, it also demonstrates how ethical and sustainable relationship practices can be applied in innumerable contexts.

Indigo and Edward represent two types of travelers: Indigo immerses herself in the worlds of the diverse seeds she collects to better understand their properties while Edward, the professional botanist, neglects the cultural context surrounding his samples, in favor of the value such specimens can afford him on the black market. Edward’s collection of seeds for commercial consumption as a method of study calls into question the accuracy of academic claims that rely on decontextualized approaches, while replicating the tourist practice of sampling and consuming the other. This exploitative practice of knowledge production depends on the politics of the market, and shares the worldview of capitalist consumption, particularly among the wealthy who display their imperialist power through carefully curated gardens.

As a dominant member of settler society, Edward is oblivious to the privilege of his social positioning, while Indigo’s social position is forced to the forefront of her awareness as settler power dynamics encroach on every aspect of her life. Railroad expansion to the US Southwest increased the transient presence of traders, miners, and tourists with their shared desire to exploit the land and the landscape; accompanied by the government officials and



military forces that attacked the religious followers of Wovoka. When Indigo's mother is forced to flee with the dancers — an allusion to the intertribal Ghost Dance movement of 1890 —, the sisters are left in Grandma Fleet's care until her unexpected death. Orphaned without their mother or grandmother, Indigo and Sister Salt decide to leave the safety of the sand dunes hoping to find the whereabouts of Wovoka and his followers from a Mormon ally of Grandma Fleet. The girls arrive to find the ally's house on fire (assumably because Mormons are also a persecuted religious community), and without a refuge outside of the sand dunes, the sisters are captured by police and shipped to different boarding schools. Indigo's experience of settler society is a series of encounters with ethnocidal institutions, and the boarding school is among them. During her escape from the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, Indigo is discovered hiding in the gardens of newly weds, Hattie and Edward. When Hattie promises to reunite Indigo with her mother and sister upon returning from their summer travels, Indigo decides it is best to accompany them until a better opportunity to escape presents itself.

On their travels, Indigo, Hattie, and Edward exhibit individualized ways of relating to the new knowledge they encounter, which results in very different experiences of the gardens as sites of knowledge production. Edward is the most underdeveloped main character, but he is also the most normative. While Edward embodies the metanarrative of Enlightenment science, the trajectory of the novel interrogates several aspects of the inherent power dynamics that shape settler institutions of knowledge production along the lines of race, gender, and class. For example, before Hattie married Edward, she was an academic studying heresy in early church history, particularly the Gnostic Gospels for its equitable portrayal of the feminine spiritual principle (Silko 100). Since her thesis topic had not been previously researched by male academics it was considered “too minor to merit much scholarly attention” by her committee of

patriarchal gatekeepers (101). Hattie's thesis was rejected because it threatened the male-authored texts considered "reliable authorities" on the topic of heresies, effectively casting doubt on the credibility of her rare sources and dismissing her as a scholarly authority (101). The patriarchal and paternalistic organization of the university effectively prevented her from accessing the central site of knowledge production in settler society. When she marries Edward to escape her past life as a scholar she expresses views of his garden as her new homemaking project. However, "to Edward the garden *was* a research laboratory," and her travels with him only bring Hattie closer to the discriminatory institution of knowledge production from which she seeks reprieve (73).

Edward is an archetype of the "Ivory Tower" academic whose white, cis-het, upper-class male privilege enables his dogmatic delusion that intellectual objectivity is possible and Enlightenment science is the only universal truth. This hierarchical positioning of Enlightenment science is the epitome of the "knowledge-supremacy" upon which settler universities operate. According to Whetung and Wakefield, "knowledge-supremacy" is a position that "dis-embeds knowledge that is rooted outside of the academy to bring it into the academy by validating some aspects of it as 'research'" (148). This intellectual appropriation erases the infinite contexts in which knowledge is created and centers the settler institution as the sole authority on how knowledge is produced and the standards by which it is valued. By labeling Indigenous knowledge as 'research,' it becomes a static object under the paternalistic control of the settler institution, rather than valued as part of an entire epistemology with its own intellectual trajectory.

As a botanist in the settler intellectual tradition, Edward positions himself as an omniscient authority and godlike figure with a lifelong ambition "to discover a new plant species

that would bear his name” (Silko 78). In an obvious tribute to the creator of the binomial Latin system, Carolus Linneaus, Edward’s pet monkey is named “Linneaus” and he is trained to retrieve plant specimens from the highest trees in the jungles of Central and South America. In a garden context, Edward performs an allegorical secular retelling of the Christian creation story in which the most evolved species — according to patriarchal, white supremacist ideology — rules the world and all its creatures by naming them. These are the ideological foundations from which Edward approaches his research in the wake of the “the eighteenth-century European mania for plant collecting” that increased demand for new plant taxonomies from the so-called New World (DeLoughrey and Handley 10). Edward’s investment in his ideological assumption of superiority and sense of exceptionalism lead him into black market smuggling excursions that eventually cost him his life. Not only is appropriating Indigenous knowledge and renaming it within the settler site of knowledge production a form of colonial violence against Indigenous peoples, the objectification of life is institutionalized in a way that perpetuates colonialism in academia today.

As Lisa Lowe reminds us, academia is a liberal humanist institution that through its discourses and practices continues the violence of defining who is human according to a Eurocentric taxonomy that has excluded historically subjugated populations (208). Despite recent interventions in colonial metanarratives by Indigenous scholars, tribal worldviews are still marginalized and frequently misrepresented within settler institutions of knowledge production. This disciplinary ghettoization embraces the vanishing Indian myth when settler academics neglect that Indigenous peoples are part of living, contemporaneous cultures with rich histories and dynamic futures of knowledge production and intellectual exchange, rather than simply new subfields in academia. As a result, the trajectories of Indigenous knowledges are either denied, or more often, singularized by settler scholars further reinforcing the power dynamics that affect

every aspect of Indigenous peoples' lives within the settler nation state. When Lowe encourages us "to imagine a more complicated set of stories about the emergence of the now," she is asking us to rethink the relationships that settler researchers have to historically marginalized peoples and change the trajectories of our fields by intervening in academia's metanarratives (208). Implementing institutional changes requires a critique of the intersection between academic research methodologies and tourist practices, both of which emerge from the imperialist expansion of Eurocentric Enlightenment thought and are modeled through Edward's archetypal characterization.

Rather than attempting to learn about the Sand Lizard people by forming a personal connection with Indigo, Edward turns to his own library to study desert Indians and is "intrigued with the notion that the child might be the last remnant of a tribe now extinct, perhaps a tribe never before studied by anthropologists" (Silko 111). Edward's refusal to establish a personal relationship with Indigo, and instead engage her from the institutionalized distance of ethnographic research narratives, parallels the distance afforded by the tourist bubble that enables travelers to safely encounter the other without the risk of recognizing their complicity in exploitation and ethnocide. Not only does Edward practice academic tourism through his extractive research methodologies as a botanist, but he relies on the tourist methodologies of other academics to gain knowledge about Indigo and avoid recognizing their mutual humanity or the parity of their intellectual traditions.

Academic tourism has been defined as the tourism that scholars engage in while traveling for conferences, research, study abroad, and other institutionalized gatherings. It has been defended by some social scientists as a more sustainable form of tourism economically, environmentally, and culturally (Rodriguez, Martinez-Roget, Pawlowska 96-97). However, John

Urry has written extensively about the culture of tourism and expanded this definition of academic tourism to include the unethical conflation of tourism with institutionalized research methodologies. In his co-edited collection with Chris Rojek, they express concern with “unpacking the orientations that people bring with them when they engage in tourist activity” (2). In the introduction they ask the question: “Where does tourism end and so-called field work begin?,” but an answer is evasive, leading them to explain,

This lack of clear distinction results from the immensely varied ways in which we now know tourists ‘sense’ the external world. Some of these senses involve the deployment of skills which parallel those used by the academic researcher. Semiotic skill is the most significant here, involving an ability to move forwards and backwards between diverse texts, film, photographs, landscape, townscape, and models, so as to ‘decode’ information. (9)

In Rojek and Urry’s analysis of the indistinguishable practices between fieldwork and tourism they reveal the unethical relational dynamics of both. The failure to engage with the peoples and locations under study without the institutionalized distance offered by systemic power is also a failure to establish interrelationships in which information and knowledge can be shared on the foundational value of mutual respect. Thus, this chapter argues that a knowledgeable guide is imperative for intervening in the self-assumed authority of both academics and tourists who would otherwise rely on their own limited powers of observation. Without a guide to intervene in academic tourist methodologies, such studies produce archives of source materials that reinforce settler colonial myth making and disparate power dynamics. Without a guide to intervene in tourist orientations, the carefully crafted landscapes surrounding tourists sites would reinforce the naturalization of genocide, displacement, resource extraction, economic exploitation, and

settler land ownership. In the analyses that follows, the Indigenous guides flip the script on the local informant motif by strategically intervening in exploitative orientations in narrative space.

In *Gardens*, Silko's narrative exposes settler education for its exploitative purpose and oppressive practices. The novel's trajectory is an intervention in the settler metanarrative, but Silko also channels her Indigenous worldview through Indigo who has been educated by Grandma Fleet. Throughout the novel, Indigo models ethical epistemological practices set against Edward's — and to a lesser extent, Hattie's — exploitative fieldwork methodologies. As Indigo, Hattie, and Edward travel they are hosted by family and friends wishing to share their elaborate gardens with them. While the novel represents the garden landscape as laboratory, socialite party venue, cultural repository, and visual mythology, their hosts serve as guides to the local landscape and its archive of knowledge. By sharing their gardens, the guides also share their Indigenous worldviews and land ethics. N. Scott Momaday argues, that it is through one's land ethic that Indigenous Peoples know themselves, because it is the relationship to a particular land base that defines a place-based Indigenous identity (Monday 87).

From the Sand Lizard People's gardens in the Arizona sand dunes, to Edward's Riverside, California greenhouse and garden laboratory, the novel then moves to Oyster Bay, New York, where Edward's sister Susan holds an elaborate garden ball for East Coast society, including Hattie's parents. It was during Susan's Masque of the Blue Garden the previous summer where Edward and Hattie met. On their visit with Indigo, the newly weds find Susan in the process of redesigning the Blue Garden for this year's ball because "Susan did not want her guests to see the same plants as the year before" (161). Edward recognizes his sister's renovations of the Italian-style garden as part of a "fickle garden fashion" in English landscape-styles, but still laments the loss of the mature trees and hedges in "the Renaissance-style gardens

planted when the house was built” (190; 161). Susan’s gardens have gone through several transformations, yet none of them honor the natural landscape of Oyster Bay. While Edward criticizes Susan’s renovation by calling it a “demolition,” the settler siblings are both a part of the consumer driven plant collecting mania of the era. As a botanist, Edward is a collector and producer for the very same market in which Susan is a wasteful consumer. They each maintain their imperialist worldview, but from gendered positionalities among the ruling class. Edward practices extractive research methodologies like the resource stealing colonists who came before him, and Susan continues the practice of past colonists who exhibit their wealth through the diversity of plants, animals, and peoples appropriated from around the world for their manicured landscape facades.

In preparation for the Masque of the Blue Garden and their travels through Europe, Hattie takes Indigo into her father’s private library to study botany and the histories of various European garden traditions. When they grow “tired of looking at flower pictures in books” they go into the garden where Indigo can apply the lessons of her study to the literal field (Silko 178-79). Hattie’s pedagogical approach is interdisciplinary and multimodal, offering Indigo lessons on the cultural foundations behind garden architecture, rather than teaching exclusively garden history or botany. Like Edward, the first authoritative source she turns to is the library archive where knowledge can be easily located, extracted, and decontextualized. Unlike Edward, Hattie’s research methodology incorporates multiple disciplinary lenses through which to understand the subject of study, rather than strictly through the hard sciences. In contrast, Indigo’s approach to knowledge locates the primary authority with the landscape. When Indigo encounters tribal people on the East Coast, she asks them “Where are your gardens?” and is fascinated to learn how they harvest their sustenance from the ocean since their land has been

stolen (169). Since Indigenous research methodologies privilege ethical relationships, a study of the landscape begins with the life sustaining relationships to the land and water. While Hattie's attempts to educate Indigo about European garden styles do not prepare either of them for the Indigenous gardens they encounter in England or Italy, Indigo's research methodologies are compatible with the storytelling pedagogies of their European guides.

The travel party sets sail from the garden-styles of new money American socialites across the Atlantic to visit Hattie's Aunt Bronwyn in Bath, before their visit to the *professora's* gardens in Lucca, and finally, Edward's expedition in Corsica. Both Aunt Bronwyn and her friend the *professora*, Laura, share the knowledge located in their local landscapes through storytelling. Consequently, their stories narrate a complex worldview not available in the authoritative texts located in Hattie's family library. Aunt Bronwyn was born in the United States, but she married in England and lives on the estate she inherited from her English grandfather. Her knowledge of the land is intimate and ancestral. The stories she shares are historical interventions in the official narratives that continue to draw wealthy tourists "to gamble and take the waters of the healing spring" (Silko 232). As they travel the English landscape, Aunt Bronwyn guides them through the geopolitical history of Bath, beginning with the source of its wealth from the African Slave Trade by explaining that "No great English port city was without its slave market" (Silko 231). While she identifies the Indigenous landscape by the remnants of its Celtic architecture, she also points out where evidence of Roman, Norman, Tudor, and Elizabethan periods of occupation are extant, offering the English Isles a historical complexity that dispels myths of a monolithic British culture.

In Kieth Basso's ethnographic study, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, his observations about Western Apache narrative worldmaking are also applicable to Aunt Bronwyn's storied landscape



tour in *Gardens*. According to Basso, narrative worldmaking constructs a history of “what happened here” so that sharing stories not only manifests the complex history of interrelationships in a particular place, but it allows for revisions in shared histories to create other relational possibilities for spacemaking (6). Basso goes on to explain that the storyteller’s, i.e. “the place-maker’s main objective is to speak the past into being, to summon it with words and give it dramatic form, to *produce* experience by forging ancestral worlds in which others can participate and readily lose themselves” (32). If a storyteller can elicit investment in the storied landscape from listeners they are also able to share the worldview from which their land ethic is based. “Knowledge of places is... closely linked to knowledge of the self, to grasping one’s position in the larger scheme of things” explains Basso, so that one’s narration of a place is also a narration of their positionality in relationship to that place (34). Thus, Aunt Bronwyn’s historical understanding of the English landscape also reflects her identity as a displaced Indigenous European, who has emigrated from the Americas and “gone native,” casting doubt on the validity of an American identity by rhetorically questioning “Whatever an American is” (Silko 242). Through her understanding of the landscape, Aunt Bronwyn is able to understand herself as a person with ancestry from this place, a Celtic worldview, and a transnational experience as an American citizen who has returned to her motherland in England.

As Aunt Bronwyn guides her guests through the landscape, she demonstrates Basso’s claim that “world-building is never entirely simple...place-making involves multiple acts of remembering and imagining which inform each other in complex ways” (Basso 5). For example, each quadrant of Aunt Bronwyn’s interior garden tells a story about geopolitical relationships to the land, beginning with the north quadrant, planted with “indigenous English plants — kales, dandelions, pinks, periwinkles, daisies” and “little white flowering violets” (Silko 243). The east

quadrant grew plants introduced by the Romans and Normans: “grapevines, cabbages, eggplants, chickpeas, and cucumbers” and the south quadrant grew plants from the English colonies in the Americas, Africa, and Asia (243). Aunt Bronwyn credits American Indian agriculture because it “gave the world so many vegetables, fruits, and flowers — corn tomatoes, potatoes, chilies, peanuts, coffee, chocolate, pineapple, bananas, and of course, tobacco” (244). While her use of the word “gave” sanitizes the history of colonial extraction, it also reveals the obliviousness of consumers about the conditions that produce their food. Nonetheless, the organization of Aunt Bronwyn’s gardens *imagine* England’s relationships to a broader global context that *remembers* the diverse and direct influences on its agriculture and landscape.

While Indigo collects seeds along with stories of their origin from Aunt Bronwyn’s gardens, she is particularly fascinated with the stories about the stone and water gardens through which Aunt Bronwyn communicates her Indigenous worldview. Every feature she points out on their tour of the landscape is accompanied by lessons about how to care for the natural springs, stone gardens, and their protective spirits according to the complex history surrounding her Celtic land ethic. Pointing out the site of old town Bath, Aunt Bronwyn explains that

The Romans built over the old Celtic settlement near three thermal springs, sacred to the ancient Celtic god Sulis.... [And] always wary of offending powerful local deities, prudently named their town Aquae Sulis....they built a temple with a great pool over the springs, dedicated to Sulis and to Minerva as well. (Silko 234)

Aunt Bronwyn’s stories are pagan interventions in the British metanarrative of a singular garden tradition, and homogenous genealogy. The stories she shares about the protective water creatures, hot spring deities, walking stones, and garden fairies are excluded from the metanarratives Hattie and Indigo studied prior to their arrival. Yet, despite the persecution of

Celts and Druids by Christian converts, Aunt Bronwyn insists that “the old customs persisted — dairy keepers spilled a bit of milk for the fairies, morning and night... People still bowed to the standing stones at cross roads and threw coins into springs and lakes,” continuing the practice of ancient care-taking relationships and the worldviews from which they come (261).

During their visit to the stone circles of Stanton Drew, Aunt Bronwyn’s Indigenous worldview is encroached upon by the self-proclaimed authority of Enlightenment scientific thought, and the frivolous commotion of summer sightseers. In an effort to avoid the “archaeology students, who eagerly followed their professor with measuring rods and notebooks in hand,” Aunt Bronwyn first takes Hattie and Indigo to the church in the burial cove made entirely of stone (Silko 265). When they are able to access the circular stones, Aunt Bronwyn shares the story that the stones were once members of a wedding party who danced through Saturday night and were turned to stone for sinning on the sabbath. However, before Aunt Bronwyn can explain that the circles and spirals incised in the stone are the “eyes of the original Mother, the Mother of God, the Mother of Jesus,” a buggy full of sightseers arrives, prompting their hasty departure (Silko 265). Equally annoyed by the students and the summer tourists, Aunt Bronwyn explains that the best time to visit the stone garden is in autumn or winter.

Aunt Bronwyn’s knowledge of Stanton Drew tells a story about the landscape that recognizes the personhood of the stones, yet this type of knowledge is not of value to the students taking measurements, or the tourists consuming views of the landscape. Neither student nor tourist is invested in a caregiving relationship with the stones, and the self-serving interests of both groups come at the expense of Indigenous worldviews and resources. As Madeline Whetung and Sarah Wakefield explain in “Colonial Conventions,” exploitative research practices are about power and disembeddedness,

it's about people being in a situation where they go and study others, and once they are in that situation, they do things that they would never do if they had responsibilities to an intimate immediate community. And that impetus to acquire knowledge . . . is the exact same impetus for colonizing, which is to just look outward and grab a bunch of stuff from other places and try to make it legible to yourself, without necessarily having to be a part of it. (150)

The *situation* in Whetung's and Wakefield's description is an institutionalized relationship of exploitation between the researcher and the research subject that does not require community accountability. In fact, the academy dismisses any authority but its own, which positions the archaeology professor as a figure worthy of followers, while Aunt Bronwyn is labeled eccentric and merely tolerated. Hattie always expresses affection toward her aunt, but she does not value the knowledge of her stories as anything more than entertainment. As they are leaving Stanton Drew, Hattie is "embarrassed that she felt nothing from the boulders and curious to know what the measurements of the archaeologist might reveal" (Silko 266). Hattie is enmeshed in settler institutions of knowledge production and perceives the trip as "a wonderful opportunity for gardening ideas," rather than a guided introduction to a feminine worldview that validates the female principle energy in her thesis project (240).

While Hattie relies on the academy and its archives to be the ultimate authority on knowledge, Aunt Bronwyn only consults institutionalized archives to better understand the landscape with which she lives in intimate and immediate community. For example, she uses the local archives to trace the origin of an old stone Norman baptistry on her estate, and her studies with the elders of the Antiquity Rescue Committee introduced her to the power of trees, stones, and toads. While protecting the toads on their migrations, Aunt Bronwyn learns the history of

Bath from the elder members' stories, however, "it wasn't until she began to study the artifacts of the old Europeans that she discovered carved and ceramic figures of toads were worshiped as incarnations of the primordial Mother" (Silko 241-42). Aunt Bronwyn's studies draw from multiple sources of knowledge to remember and imagine her place on the landscape. Her worldview positions her among Indigenous knowledge advocates that utilize institutionalized sources of knowledge when it serves their interests. Aunt Bronwyn praises Hattie for her "defiance of the thesis committee," exclaiming, "That was the old family spirit!" but Hattie is still invested in the academy as the ultimate authority for validation. It is not until Aunt Bronwyn shares an article explaining that the Coptic scrolls have been authenticated by the British Museum that Hattie feels her work is vindicated, even while she is reluctant about returning to the academy.

The stories embedded in Aunt Bronwyn's garden landscape and that of her friend Laura, in Lucca, honor cultures that celebrate the Goddess in its various forms. Laura, the *professora*, is a collector of Old European artifacts. Rather than confine her artifacts to "burial in a museum," Laura displays them in her gardens until winter at which time they are carefully packed away for the season (Silko 294). The *professora* offers Indigo, Hattie, and Edward a guided tour through her multiple gardens, explaining the origins, meaning, and installation of each artifact, creating a storied landscape with a pre-Roman history and worldview. The tour of the Rain Garden is among the most memorable because it is also a black garden full of gladiolus. When Edward speculates that black must symbolize night and death, Laura corrects him, explaining that "To the Old Europeans, black was the color of fertility and birth, the color of the Great Mother. Thus, the black birds belong to her as well as the waterbirds—cranes, herons, storks, and geese" (296). Throughout the black rain garden are symbols of the Great Goddess in anatomical sculptures of

vaginas and breasts, and depictions of various animal species nurturing their offspring. While Laura, Hattie, and Indigo recognize the garden as a storied landscape that naturalizes human reproduction, Edward is offended by the prominence of breasts and other reproductive organs throughout the garden tour. The *professora* even explains the connection between raindrops and breast milk in Old European iconography, but Edward is uncomfortable with stories that fail to celebrate his male supremacy or the knowledge supremacy of Enlightenment science. His misogynistic worldview even leads him to speculate that there must be a connection between Laura's "absent husband and the exposure of the artifacts," as if a woman exercising autonomy over her own property is a punishable affront to masculinity and the men in her life (293).

While Edward questions Laura's authority as a scholar because he falsely believes she "risked rare archeological artifacts simply to decorate a garden," Hattie shows interest in Laura's stories to understand the ancient cultural influence on the aesthetics of the garden design (293). Hattie's adaptability to the local culture — although limited to her interest in garden fashion trends — stands in contrast to Edward's puritan rigidity while in the black rain garden, but also when he objects to the Italian custom of serving wine to children at dinner, especially American Indian children (291). When he recounts his adventures to others, Edward "[portrays] himself humourously, as the innocent tourist, hell-bent on disaster. The tourist identity was the disguise he adopted to confuse the customs officers," however, his behaviors traveling as a tourist and as a scholar are similar in their expressed desire for a protective tourist bubble in which to preserve their privilege to appropriate and export from the local community at will (Silko 79). Edward's failure to engage Laura's stories and the epistemological worldview guiding her care of the artifacts and gardens is another example of knowledge supremacy in which he dismisses Indigenous forms of caregiving.

Hattie and Indigo listen enthusiastically to Laura's stories, but Edward has no interest in "listening to fairy tales all afternoon!" because he is only interested to seeing Laura's *gladiolus primulinus* hybrids, a subject in which he prides himself as an authority (300). Although he "knew all about the process" he is still surprised at the varieties of hybrid colors Laura had developed (303). Hattie and Indigo are fascinated with Laura's descriptions, but Hattie's interest is limited to consuming knowledge about garden styles. As a humanities scholar, Hattie engages the cultural context from which the garden style is derived, but her consumption of knowledge is also extractive. In contrast, Indigo, Aunt Bronwyn, and Laura share a storytelling pedagogy based on relationships of mutual respect that enable the reciprocal exchange of knowledge. Indigo engages the Indigenous epistemologies she encounters in Europe because she recognizes the landscape as an archive of knowledge about the interrelationships that best sustain the seeds and corms in her care. When Laura and Indigo exchange snake stories about the protective powers of snakes, Edward silently objects since "[t]he child was from a culture of snake worshipers and there was no sense in confusing her with the impression that old Europeans were no better than red Indians or black Africans who prayed to snakes" (302). Edward's dismissal of Laura's snake stories is an unethical, but strategic omission of Indigenous knowledge from the metanarrative that maintains Eurocentric knowledge supremacy. His denial that "old Europeans *were no better*" than everyone else perpetuates the metanarrative underlying the social hierarchies from which he benefits most. By refusing to engage the storied landscapes he encounters, Edward attempts to protect his privileged status within an academic tourist bubble of self-assumed authority at the expense of genuine intellectual engagement and ethical knowledge production.

The presence of guides is crucial for intervening in the individual orientations that Indigo, Hattie, and Edward bring with them to the gardens they visit, otherwise geopolitical metanarratives would erase Indigenous presence from the landscape. By conveying the Indigenous epistemologies archived in the landscape through storytelling pedagogies, their guides communicate a worldview that recognizes the complex interrelationships with the landscape that sustain life and acknowledge the land's agency. The garden fashion trends like Susan's Blue Garden are superficial derivatives of European garden traditions that lack depth of purpose. For example, Laura's Rain Garden is not black for purely aesthetic reasons, rather it is black because it was designed to reflect the Indigenous pre-Roman worldview that honors the feminine principle spirit of the Great Goddess. Garden style trends are far from benign pastimes of wealthy socialites, but a form of violent historical erasure made fashionable by intersecting imperialist systems of exploitation.

Through the framework of postcolonial ecocriticism Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley argue that "the environment stands as a nonhuman witness to the violent process of colonialism" to the extent that "the process of conservation and sustainability [become] all the more ontologically powerful, because a gesture of destruction against land and sea, then simultaneously becomes an act of violence against collective memory" (8). As postcolonial ecocritics, DeLoughrey and Handley analyze the interdependencies between cultural health and ecological health. Since they reveal the simultaneous destruction of Indigenous knowledges through the destruction of landscapes that serve as Indigenous repositories for knowledge, it only follows that restoring environmental health is a necessary act in the process of decolonization. In her vision for decolonial justice in Minnesota, Waziyatawin suggests decolonization requires



more than the return of Indigenous lands, but the return of those lands in the same pristine state in which they were stolen.

In Indigenous studies, scholars like Tiya Miles and Elizabeth Kryder-Reid examine how some landscapes undergo deeply political transformations to create what Deborah Miranda calls “visual mythology” (xvii). In *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage*, settler scholar of anthropology and museum studies, Kryder-Reid excavates the historical foundations of the Franciscan mission gardens in California. In the preface, she explains, “A critical history of the mission landscapes requires understanding them both as Indigenous landscapes and as powerful ideological naturalizations of western conquest and asserted racial superiority” (xi). She reveals how framing mission landscapes as gardens — rather than plantations or ranches — erases the enslaved labor of dispossessed Indigenous Californians; simultaneously projecting an image of the Franciscans as peace-loving, prayerful gardeners, rather than brutal, slaveholding colonizers. The “visual and discursive conventions in the touristic landscape” repurpose agricultural tools — originally used for laundry and tanning — as garden ornaments, and water reservoirs become fountains and ponds that contribute to “the aestheticization of labor” (179; 201). Kryder-Reid considers mission landscapes “handmaidens of amnesia” because the “subtle and peculiar power of the spaces is not so much that they resist critique but that they embrace and neutralize it” at the expense of contemporary Indigenous stakeholders (228). Upon examining guidebooks, marketing materials, maps, virtual tours, travelogues, and tourists’ photographs, Kryder-Reid agrees with Mary-Catherine Garden that the missions are *heritagescapes* crafted from complex historical contexts by directing the gaze and movements of visitors in a multisensory experience that is “palatable within a settler colonial discourse” (183; 194).

Through her analysis of various mission restorations, Kryder-Reid demonstrates how the utilitarian structures of the Spanish mission ruins are slowly transformed to reflect paternalistic, white supremacist “politics of memory” that bypass Indigenous and Mexican cultivators to place the ornamental garden legacy of California directly into the hands of Anglo-American heirs. She describes California mission landscapes as the material evidence, i.e. the visual mythology, mobilized to serve the shared “political objectives and ideologies of the Anglo elite” through Church, state, and national discourses (177). The ‘invention’ of the mission garden is the architectural site upon which the old world charm of the mission mythology is enacted as part of Mediterranean and Iberian horticultural heritages (71;74; 83; 93). For example, the postcolonial narrative subsumes Indigenous caretaking practices into the western garden tradition, positioning the missions as sites where “two cultures become one” (Kryder-Reid 204). The performance of social relations on the mission landscape continue to represent colonial politics in which the “parallel between the domestication of plants and the ‘civilization’ of the Indian” reinforces white supremacy even while some contemporary mission maintenance involves collaboration with local tribes and use of tribal knowledge (204; 209).

According to Kryder-Reid, “[exploring] the role of landscape in the everyday brings a humanist perspective to colonialism’s broader theatre of national and ideological agendas” (70). In addition to architecturally reinforcing hierarchical power relationships along racial, gendered, religious, and cultural vectors, mission landscapes are also sites of Indigenous resistance where physical evidence suggests the co-existence of Indigenous and colonial subsistence practices and social activities (Kryder-Reid 61). Creative impressions on the mission walls suggest ongoing tensions over space, including a pictorial celebration of deer hunting; a painting of the deity Tobet; and a depiction of the Archangel Rafael with the face of a Chumash leader and

iconographic elements of a religious authority (Kryder-Reid 61). Kryder-Reid suggests that “empowering and including the memories of all people opens up the possibilities for creative and dynamic ways to critique and rewrite the dominant narrative of the mission past” (245).

However, the primary obstacle to this critical dialogue lies with the missions themselves, while the labor of creating cross-cultural understanding often falls on marginalized peoples to intervene in the harmful metanarrative.

If history has proven missionization ethnocidal, then consciously curated Indigenous-centered narratives of survival and resistance must dominate these historical sites until the decolonial narrative is at the forefront of California’s collective memory. Decolonial narratives must denounce Franciscan authority, rather than entertain any notion of parity. Instead of inviting equal perspectives, decolonizing mission landscapes requires a historical narrative that represents the contemporary effects of Franciscan missionization, not their romanticized intentions or the peaceful idealism of a “humanist approach to history that seeks to transcend divisions” as Kryder-Reid suggests (242). Decolonization requires a radical revisioning of one’s relationships to places, peoples, and worldviews to reclaim Indigenous epistemologies and the landscapes in which they are embedded. Recognizing the environment as a repository for memory is crucial for remembering the history of colonial violence. Yet despite the physical destruction and the curated reconstruction of landscapes to corroborate narratives that naturalize colonialism, Indigenous peoples insist on remembering.

As a scholar and storyteller, Miranda has accepted the responsibility of intervening in the harmful metanarrative of California’s mission history. In the previous chapter, I examine how *Bad Indians* intervenes in the pedagogical and historical metanarrative of California’s Mission Unit. In this chapter, I examine Miranda and other guerrilla storytellers as guides to the

Indigenous Californian landscape and its archive of knowledge. Of utmost importance for accessing Indigenous knowledge is a land ethic that recognizes the Land's agency. According to Sandra Styres, the difference between "land" and "Land" is the linguistic recognition of Land's agency in relationship to Indigenous peoples since "Land refers to the ways we honor and respect her as a sentient and conscious being" (Styres 27). Since "[a]ncient knowledges are (re)membered experiences that form deeply intimate and spiritual expressions of our connections to Land," Styres argues that "storying through remembered and recognized knowledges are one of the ways that oral traditions may serve to disrupt dominant Western conceptualizations and retellings of the tangled history of colonial relations" (26-28). Transmitting knowledge through stories of relationships with the landscape is how Indigo is able to connect with Indigenous guides around the world, and it is how Miranda is able to intervene in settler archives of knowledge by relying on Indigenous storytelling epistemologies. As long as the Indigenous landscape exists, so do the stories, and so do the people.

The affirmation "California is a story. California is many stories" opens Deborah Miranda's *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir* in which Miranda pries California — both the story and the geography — from the hands of Franciscan Missionaries and their settler colonial successors (xi). Of the many stories that make up the geography now known as the State of California, narratives about water remain prevalent. This analysis pivots upon the voice of the Rio Carmelo, whose agency is channeled through Miranda and the Indigenous women she relies on for their long standing relationships with the land and water. It embraces Waziyatawin's assertion that "complete decolonization is a necessary end goal in a peaceful and just society" and it requires us to "*rethink our ways of being and interacting in this world to create a sustainable, healthy, and peaceful co-existence with one another and with the natural world*" (*What Does Justice*

*Look Like?* 13; emphasis mine). In my analysis of this multigenre text, I examine how *Bad Indians intervenes* in the archival plethora of narratives used to justify settler colonial land claims in order to “[overturn] the institutions, systems, and ideologies of colonialism that continue to affect every aspect of Indigenous life” (Waziyatawin 13). In short, I argue that *Bad Indians* uses the archive — built out of exploitative settler colonial research methodologies — against itself in an effort to restore Indigenous rights to the Rio Carmelo.

As a tribal memoir, *Bad Indians* is polyvocal and functions as a “tribalography.” According to Choctaw scholar LeAnne Howe’s definition of tribalography as a “rhetorical space” in which “Native people created narratives that were histories and stories with the power to transform” (118). Howe explains that stories bind cultures together around shared attitudes, and thus storytelling, regardless of genre, “are a performance of those beliefs, a living theater” (121;123). *Bad Indians* contains a mosaic of voices from disparate sources that form a storied landscape composed of written and oral testimonies, poetry, essays, government documents, BIA forms, ethnographer's field notes, photographs, family stories, newspaper articles, and the diaries of imperialist explorers and Franciscan priests. These sources comprise the archive upon which Miranda draws to construct a tribal memoir that performs the decolonization of the Rio Carmelo. In the introduction, Miranda states that her purpose for writing *Bad Indians* is “to create a space where voices can speak after long and often violently imposed silence” (xx). While the sources above contain the voices of those who impose oppressive silence and those who were oppressed by that silence, Miranda juxtaposes them to demonstrate the broader discursive entanglements behind settler colonialism that demand restitution. In many instances, the narratives of settler colonialists need only be present since they proudly declare their own commitments to injustice. Yet it is Miranda’s attuned archival research that has excavated the voices of the “Bad Indians”

resisting settler colonialism and seeking justice through the return of their ancestral lands. By writing a tribalogy that challenges the official story, Miranda changes the script of settler colonialism in California mission history for future generations.

*Bad Indians* intervenes in the metanarrative of the Mission Mythology that purports California was not only made, but made better – in the words of settler scholar, Charles Franklin Carter – with the “peaceful conquest by the strong yet gentle rule of the Church” (35). But it also reveals that California and Indigenous Californians were made more exploitable through intersecting forms of violence that pivot upon missionization and its physical control of Indigenous Peoples and landscapes. According to Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, “The missions were intended to be self-sufficient plantations sustained by the labor of the neophytes,” which required access to “extensive water systems...for irrigating gardens, washing laundry, and tanning hides” (7; 35). By establishing permanent institutional structures near waterways the missions limited access to the waters and surrounding homelands that Indigenous Californians depended on as they reaped the resources that were seasonally available. Especially affected were the skilled fishermen of coastal tribes “whose sophisticated watercraft and tools allowed them to harvest even the deep-sea mammals, as well as other oceanic, anadromous, and riverine fish species” (Kryder-Reid 35). By appropriating resources around major waterways, the missionaries forced Indigenous peoples into a dependent relationship with their institutions for sustenance. The following pages will examine multiple narrative interventions that rely on longstanding interdependent tribal relationships with the Rio Carmelo to recreate Indigenous space in both geopolitical and ideological domains.

In *What Does Justice Look Like?*, Waziyatawin suggests various ways to decolonize the geography of Minnesota that are broadly applicable. One such strategy is truth-telling, so that the

violences wrought by colonization (genocide, displacement, exploitation, enslavement, and ethnocide, etc.) can be adequately redressed. Honest narratives about the history of colonization that continue to affect Indigenous-settler interrelations in the present are necessary because “if settler society denies the injustices of the past and present, then the impetus to maintain the status quo is strong; there is no recognized need for change” (Waziyatawin 83). Unfortunately, *Bad Indians* reveals that the State of California’s fourth grade curriculum requirements discourage the kind of truth-telling that would recognize the need for decolonization.

The narrative underpinning settler colonialism in California is the story of missionization since it is the legacy from which all other settler societies trace their presence. In what he refers to as both a “guide-book” and a “[brief]...early history of California,” settler scholar, Charles Franklin Carter’s *The Missions of Nueva California* follows the settler colonial practice of subsuming Indigenous presence into the landscape by beginning his historical narrative with the “Catholic *régime*” (xiii). Carter’s narrative credits the Church for bringing civilization to “a country of Indians, who, ...were amongst the lowest of all the aborigines,” and reinforces the settler colonial mythos that history in the Americas begins with the European discovery and domestication of Indians (Carter 35). While Carter posits missionization as the beginning of history in California, Miranda refers to this period in history as “The End of the World” for Indigenous Californians (Miranda 1). Carter’s text — written for “the tourist” and “all lovers of these historic spots” like himself — epitomizes the precise settler colonial metanarrative that constitutes the “Mission Mythology” in which Miranda’s memoir *intervenes* (Carter xiii; Miranda xvi-xvii).

Despite being published in 1900, the metanarrative of missionization in *Missions of Nueva California* continues to thrive in the present day. More than 100 years after Carter published his

history book for tourists, Miranda visits the Mission San Carlos Barromeo de Carmelo on her family's ancestral land, just twenty miles from the Rio Carmelo, to find massive amounts of "project paraphernalia...for fourth graders and tourists to view while imagining the same rote story" (xviii). Miranda describes feeling "unprepared for the gift shops well stocked with CDs of pre-researched Mission Projects, xeroxed pamphlets of mission terms, facts, and history (one for each mission), coloring books, packaged models of missions ('[easily] assembled in 10 minutes!')," disturbingly complemented by the Carmel Mission website's "4<sup>th</sup> Grade Corner" where daily life at the missions is "blissfully described" (xviii). While teachers discourage the use of pre-packaged Mission Project materials, their ready availability is tempting for students and parents visiting the missions for research purposes. However, these materials give rise to questions about the training students receive in ethical research methodologies and the skills they are expected to acquire for critically questioning sources. The missions undoubtedly benefit from the Mission Unit curriculum, monetarily and ideologically, which makes the abundance of "Project Paraphernalia" insidiously opportunistic. While tourist sites should strive to offer accurate and ethical narratives about places and peoples, their ideological purposes are at odds with those of the researcher. Yet, the missions provide the same self-glorifying narratives as authoritative primary sources for both fourth grade Mission Projects and tourist consumption.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> This is not surprising since the Catholic Church maintains the savior narrative of missionization. In 2015, amidst protests from California Indians and allies, including Miranda herself, proclaiming: "Serra Ain't No Saint!," Pope Francis canonized Junipero Serra, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Spanish Franciscan who oversaw the founding of the twenty-one Alta California missions, inflicting devastation on Indigenous Californians and engendered the Native apocalypse (<https://badndns.blogspot.com/2015/09/canonization-fodder-california-indians.html>; <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/serra-the-saint-why-not/>). Francis justified his decision by claiming "Junípero sought to defend the dignity of the native community, to protect it from those who had mistreated and abused it," conveniently forgetting that Franciscans were an essential part of the colonizing project sanctioned by the Spanish Crown (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/24/pope-francis-makes-spanish-missionary-junipero-serra-a-saint-amid-protests>).



Juxtaposing Carter's and Miranda's texts demonstrates that the institutional conflation of education and tourism is not new, but it should be deeply troubling. The tourist industry's practices — or methodologies in the context of the academy — of knowledge consumption and knowledge production have their roots in ethnographic research.<sup>3</sup> Geography and anthropology are specifically cited by Rojek and Urry as disciplines with methodologies that closely parallel tourist practices since they both rely on visual data collection and travel to conduct research (9). Research methodologies are practices that Indigenous scholars like Devon Mihesuah, Waziyatawin, and Smith have interrogated for decades because non-Indigenous researchers lack “empirical knowledge...in areas such as tribal religions, kinship, social mores, and oral stories” that might enable them to more accurately interpret the peoples and places they study (Mihesuah 14).<sup>4</sup> Semiotic skills alone are simply not enough.

Ethical research methodologies require non-Indigenous researchers to understand their social positions as outsiders with limited authority over tribally specific worldviews. As Mihesuah explains, “scholars can only strive for accuracy by scrutinizing all viable written data, by incorporating the accounts and interpretations of the participants and descendants of the participants — both Indian and non-Indian — into their analysis, and by holding their pro- or anti-Indian biases in check” (5). While Mihesuah is specifically sharing her “conscientious ethnohistorian's standpoint,” her assessment parallels the concerns expressed by Rojek and Urry who study tourists by “unpacking the orientations that people bring with them when they engage

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<sup>3</sup> I have chosen not to include the Catholic Church in this study. My focus on education and tourism as sites of knowledge production, follows the presumption behind *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* that “the academy is worth Indigenizing because something productive will happen as a consequence” (5). The Catholic Church does not fall under the scope of this project given their insistence on maintaining the Mission Mythology at the expense of social justice.

<sup>4</sup> Devon Mihesuah's edited collection, *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, from which this quote is drawn, is one of many texts that offers insightful critique of the fraught and often exploitative relationships between Indigenous Peoples and academics.

in tourist activity and also with tracing some of the mythologies of escape involved when people go touring or dream of touring” (Miheuah 5; Rojek and Urry 2). Both scholars and tourists tend to assume that their ostensibly objective perspectives are valid, failing to recognize how their own biases are informed by mythologies upholding the power dynamics of settler colonial institutions that intersect against the mission backdrop.

The myths are so pervasive that some researchers and tourists struggle to accept evidence that contradicts their expectations. Miranda recounts a visit to Mission Dolores where she meets a mother and daughter who are working on a mission project by “reading directly from the flyer given to tourists in the gift shop” (xviii). When the mother regurgitates the Mission Myth of “all those Indians and how they lived all that time ago,” Miranda announces herself as a living member of the Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation with ancestors listed in the mission’s Book of Baptisms, but omits that they are also listed in the Book of Deaths (xix). Miranda describes the mother as thrilled to meet her and learn about her work, but the daughter was “literally shocked into silence. Her face drained, her body went stiff, and she stared at me as if I had risen, an Indigenous skeleton clad in decrepit rags, from beneath the clay bricks of the courtyard” (xix). Despite being on her ancestral land, Miranda’s presence is unexpected for the mother and shocking for the daughter as neither ever imagined meeting a living Indigenous person while studying the history of Indigenous Peoples. The fourth grader, steeped in Mission Mythology struggles to reconcile the metanarrative about disappeared Indians with Miranda’s personal narrative of existence even as Miranda stands before her.

In this story, Miranda’s living presence intervenes in the Mission Mythology that denies the existence of any living Mission Indians and in effect, denies their claims to land. The fourth grader she meets epitomizes the process by which settler colonial metanarratives are

institutionally authorized and internalized. While studying missions at school the student is primed to recognize the signs and symbols of missionization: adobe walls, red clay roof tiles, original cemetery, and fully restored gardens. These details constitute what Miranda refers to as “visual mythology” to substantiate the “cultural storytelling that drains the missions of their brutal and bloody pasts for popular consumption” (xvii). The physical geography is an essential component for narrating the relationships that construct the space of a tourist site. As Philip Crang explains,

The production and consumption of tourism are fundamentally ‘geographical’ processes.

At their heart are constructions of and relationships with places and spaces...these places and spaces operate as settings for performances of both producers and consumers,

helping to establish the precise character of a tourism product and its performance. (143)

Crang’s essay, “Performing the Tourist Product,” explores the relationship between employees performing “culturally constructed characters” and the tourists they encounter (143). However, his analysis of tourist sites as settings upon which relationships to places are performed applies to Miranda’s interpretation of the pristine appearance projected by the missions.

Today, there is no evidence of Indigenous enslavement, rape of Indigenous women, starvation, or the brutal disciplinary measures taken by the padres to keep Indigenous Californians obedient and imprisoned. The only Indians to be found are in the cemetery, and the absence of an Indigenous narrative perspective performs the tourist product as a geography devoid of Indians. The tourists who move freely throughout the missions perform their sense of entitlement to the land on which they travel, further sustaining the Mission Mythology of Franciscan innocence in the colonial project.

However, it is through Miranda's own rigorous research that she finds photographs of women labeled "Belles": "A Digger Belle" and "The Three Belles of San Luis Rey" (44; 49).<sup>5</sup> The photographs are evidence that Indigenous Californians, specifically women, were forced to perform for tourists in order to survive. While they were not formally employed by the missions, their presence as Indians became a marketable tourist product. The three women referred to as the Belles of San Luis Rey — Tomasa, Rosaria, and Vaselia — were known to share stories and pose for photographs in exchange for money from tourists (Miranda 50). The image of them that Miranda uncovers is from an early 1900s postcard that was used to market the missions to tourists (48). As Miranda explains, "'belle,' with its connotations of civilization and domesticated females with the sole purpose of serving as objects for male enjoyment, seems to have been a widespread joke in California — sarcasm, irony, mean-spirited derision of Indian women" (47). She continues, "If a 'Mission Belle' is an icon of touristic pleasure, then to be a 'Mission Belle' is to also be marked as a commodity, female ([though] not human): marketable, a product of brief enjoyment" (49). Indian women became the "culturally constructed characters" of the Mission Mythology, simply by surviving. When the Missions were secularized, the Indians who were imprisoned there were left homeless, despite being on their ancestral lands. Many were sold into slavery, but these women entered a different type of servitude.

Not unlike the Indians who were paid to act in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show that Philip Deloria writes about in *Indians in Unexpected Places*, the "Mission Belles" were "caught in the curious mix of fiction, memory, realism, actuality, and expectation" (Deloria 53). In an effort to fend off starvation and having no land to return to, their resourcefulness was fully exploited within national mythos. Their abject poverty symbolized their inability to survive in modern

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<sup>5</sup> Miranda reports that the slur "Digger" was officially discontinued in 1922 when it was finally recognized for its offensiveness to Indigenous Californians, specifically the Miwok (51).

civilization, rather than the result of having their land stolen or destroyed by gold mining. They appeared to be fulfilling the promises of Manifest Destiny as the last remnants of the Mission Indians disappeared, rather than the survivors of social upheaval and genocide. Their presence became a symbol of their inevitable absence at the missions, lending authenticity to the experiences of tourists and contributing to the education-tourism conflation.

Those who visit the missions for research purposes practice a form of academic tourism, wherein the student assumes the tourist narrative is a credible source and consumes it wholesale (unless Miranda intervenes). Rojek and Urry define academic tourism as the travel academic work involves for conferences and other similar institutions where participants “may use their travel experiences as part of their supposedly authoritative academic data” (9-10). However, I expand upon this definition of academic tourism to refer to the voyeuristic research practices of scholars with no investment in the people, places, or political consequences that may result from their studies. One such researcher is Smithsonian ethnologist J.P. Harrington, who internalized the settler colonial myths about disappearing Indians and sought to collect language lessons and Coyote stories before it was too late (Miranda 28). No different from tourists who look for symbols of authenticity, Harrington’s fieldwork led him to seek out predetermined symbols of Indigenous cultures while the broader histories of Indigenous Peoples’ relationships to their homelands in California were conveniently neglected.

Yet, despite Harrington’s desire to record what he thought where the narratives of a dying culture, he unintentionally recorded narratives of genocide, sexual assault, land theft, neglect, and displacement. Rather than crediting Harrington for documenting injustice, Miranda credits his informant, Isabel Meadows, for her foresight since “this means that Isabel herself knew the power of story, and believed in our survival” (28). According to Miranda, “Isabel snuck in the

stories *she* wanted to salvage: her own private project, a memorial, and a charmstone of hope for future generations” (28). While Harrington’s fieldwork and the Smithsonian’s subsequent archive construct the metanarrative about Indigenous cultures and languages that he assumed were soon-to-be-disappeared, conversely, Meadows’ stories are narrative interventions in the metanarrative that detail the violent daily processes of settler colonialism intent on displacing and disappearing Indigenous Californians. Genocide and ethnocide are not apolitical acts of nature and Meadows’ stories make that clear: oppression is systemic. Harrington’s negligence of this fact can be attributed to the privilege that allowed him to assume scientific objectivity because he did not share the same political stakes as those he studied. But Meadows knew this, and Miranda relies on Meadows’ narrative interventions in Harrington’s archive to construct her own narrative intervention in the Mission Mythology. Its own tribalogy, Isabel’s archival contributions acknowledged injustices against ancestors that communicates a Native worldview for future generations forced to navigate settler colonial societies (Howe 124).

One story in particular, documents the transnational geopolitics of settler colonialism on Indigenous land claims that sit at the intersection of Spanish, Mexican, and US American imperialism. Meadows is Miranda’s relative by marriage, and her story recounts the expulsion of the Carmeleños from Rancho El Potrero, their land in the former pasture of the Carmel Mission given to them by the Padre when secularization took effect. Before Rancho El Potrero was Carmel Mission’s pasture, it was the site of an Indigenous village called Echilat, the village from which Miranda’s ancestors descended (Miranda 200). What makes this story transnational is its documentation of the transition from Mission (Spanish) to Mexican to US imperialism and the effect on Indigenous-held land titles in California after the 1848 ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Miranda uncovers Meadows’ story of government sanctioned theft, but also

retells it in a way that emphasizes its oral transmission to text. The combination of these relational elements constructs the Rio Carmelo as an Indigenous space regardless of who holds the deed to the land. While Miranda offers a creative retelling of Meadows' archival contribution, in the section titled "Ularia's Curse," she is actually retelling Ularia's story as it was shared by Meadows. The story bridge from Ularia to Meadows to Miranda is nonlinear, as well as, transnational.

In Meadows' story, she briefly mentions "*la maldición de la Ularia*" that took the life of Bradley Sargent, the US American who stole Rancho El Potrero, but she offers no further details of Ularia's curse (Miranda 200-201). Miranda uses Meadows' words ("Pero la maldición de la Ularia cayó en la familia de los Sarchens") as an epigraph and catalyst for her narrative, in addition to Meadows' historical narrative and Sargent's obituary. In "Ularia's Curse," when Estéfana and her family are being run off the land at Rancho El Potrero near the Rio Carmelo she presents the title to the land and is told, "Those signatures are no good anymore; Indians can't own land" (41). Despite written documentation from the Mexican Governor Alvarado confirming Estéfana's inherited claim to the land, Estéfana along with other displaced and disoriented Indians gather near the Rio Carmelo.

In Miranda's retelling, she begins the narrative by stating "Isabel says it was Ularia's curse that killed Sargent" and repeats the phrase "Isabel says" in almost all of the nine paragraphs that compose this section for a total of seven times (41-42). The repetition of "Isabel says" recenters oral narrative as a reliable historical record of Indigenous land claims that stand the test of time far better than the written documents issued by settler colonial governments (41). Miranda's retelling affirms Simon Ortiz's seminal essay in a California context when he explains that "the oral tradition has been the most reliable method by which Indian culture and

community integrity have been maintained” (9). The use of the phrase “Isabel says” to recall the existence of documents issued by the Mexican government reinforces the enduring dependability of oral history since it outlives the assumed permanence of a written land title. The oral story committed to Harrington’s field notes also locates Rancho El Potrero based on its geographical relationship to the Rio Carmelo.

The resilience of this oral history situated over the geography of the Rio Carmelo disrupts the colonial metanarratives about the area and reinforces the significance of human and nonhuman relationships to construct Indigenous space. Massey’s definition is inclusive of nonhuman-centric relationships and her conceptualization of space is validated by Indigenous theorists thinking from tribally specific contexts. The existence of “Ularia’s Curse” as an oral narrative in print form relies on the sustained interrelationship between Indigenous peoples and their landbases, like the Carmeleños’ interrelationship with the Rio Carmelo. Both Miranda and Meadows assert the agency of the Rio Carmelo in their narrative constructions of Indigenous space. In the following quote, Miranda articulates the incredibly loving reciprocal relationship that the women have with the river that sustains them:

And Ularia remembered: the river would be here long after she was gone. ‘Will you miss us, River?’ she wondered. ‘Will you miss our feet on your riverbed, our twined fishing nets combing your waters, our sacrifice of the first salmon every year?’/ Isabel says the river must have said yes, because where else would Ularia have gotten the idea?...The Americans say Ularia cursed the river. But Isabel says no; Ularia wouldn’t do that. Isabel says Ularia gave the river the idea to curse Sargent. But rivers tell time differently than people, and so it took ten years before the river finished what Ularia had begun. Ularia was long since dust on the day the river took Sargent, took his life from him like that, drank him down, and cleansed itself of his greed./ Isabel says wherever they are, she’s sure Ularia’s bones are laughing. (42)



The narrative begins with Estéfana's displacement to the Rio Carmelo by US encroachment, moves ten years forward to Sargent's death from falling into the river, and then returns to the point ten years in the past when Ularia cursed Sargent while sitting on the riverbank -- crisscrossing temporalities, and creating a story bridge around and *with* the river itself (41). The central role of the Rio Carmelo in this multilayered narrative intervention recognizes it, too, as an agent of change and an ally to the displaced women. The narrating agent of the following historical account uses a storytelling voice to describe the loving reciprocal relationships between the Carmeleños and the Rio Carmelo that runs through their land. Ularia details the reciprocity of her relationship to the river when she recalls the sacrifice of the first salmon and in turn, the river inspires and assists her curse on Sargent for some semblance of justice. When the Americans say Ularia cursed the river, Isabel knows this account is not congruent with the relationship between Ularia and the Carmelo. The reinforcement of this long standing relationship between Ularia and the Carmelo stands as a testament to the river as an Indigenous space, despite the narratives of land titles and justice systems that condone theft.

With this multilayered narrative intervention in academic tourism and its archival body, Isabel channels the voices of both Ularia and the Rio Carmelo. Miranda asks, "Is it ironic, or poetic, that the Carmel River, whose Indigenous people [Sargent] personally drove from its banks, had the final word?" (201). She answers her own question with musings that "perhaps the best word is *la maldición* ('the curse')....Perhaps it worked. It's a good story" (201). As a story, the narrative of "Ularia's Curse" is one of resistance against settler colonialism. This resistance pivots upon the tribal relationships that value a women-water alliance against destructive forces. When Miranda refers to herself as one of the story bridges connecting her to her ancestors, to their words and experiences, it is because her book reaches into the archives of settler colonial

institutions and connects her to other guerrilla storytellers, like Isabel (xx). “Through the vehicle of [Harrington’s] field note,” Miranda explains, “we are engaged in a very Indigenous practice: that of storytelling as education, as thought experiment, as community action to right a wrong, as resistance to representation as victim” (29). Despite being victimized by the systemic assault of intersecting settler colonial practices, the story does not end there, but demands justice no matter how long it takes. The story narrates relationships, but it also inspires sustained action by emphasizing the significance of “truth-telling” to validate Indigenous experiences, voices, and practices even in the face of perilous circumstances. As Silko explains in “Language and Literature from a Pueblo Indian Perspective,” “Keeping track of all the stories within the community gives us all a certain distance, a useful perspective, that brings incidents down to a level we can deal with. If others have done it before, it cannot be so terrible. If others have endured, so can we” (52). *Bad Indians* is a reminder that academia is inundated with stories and it is our responsibility as scholars to intervene in the metanarratives that have violated our humanity so that we can privilege the stories that envision social justice worldmaking.

In this project, I fully embrace Eve Tuck’s and K. Wayne Yang’s assertion that “[settler] colonization can be visually understood as the unbroken pace of invasion, and settler occupation, into Native lands....Decolonization, as a process, would repatriate land to Indigenous peoples” (25). In the final section, “To Make Story Again in the World,” Miranda dreams into existence a story map of Rancho El Portrero that rivals the maps drawn to obtain grants of government land from Spain, and later Mexico, during secularization. According to settler scholar Robert Becker, the maps were called *diseños* (designs) and were part of land title petitions submitted by settlers that described the land they wished to colonize (n.p.). *Diseños* were not drawn to scale, they relied on geological features, yet they were a fundamental part of defining the parameters of

specific land claims (Becker n.p.). Ironically, land titles were granted with several provisions that ostensibly protected Indigenous Peoples' rights while simultaneously displacing them from their lands. For example, the first provision requires that "a permanent dwelling [be] erected and inhabited," encouraging settlers to squat on the lands they wished to claim, while the third provision states that the "rights of previous inhabitants [Indians] be reserved and protected" (Becker n.p.). While these provisions were established by the Mexican government, U.S. settlers like Bradley Sargent disregarded land title provisions and simply occupied a property with armed guards until the Indigenous inhabitants and rightful landholders were forced off their own land (Miranda 200).

When Miranda learns that her family held a Spanish land grant that was honored by the Mexican government and later challenged by the United States government, she turns to archival research to find out more about these landowning relatives. In this final section of the book, we learn in a more typical historical timeline the backstory to "Ularia's Curse," including an image of a *diseño* depicting Rancho El Potrero. As Miranda explains, "the stories still exist, and testify that our connections to the land live, like underground rivers that never see the light of day, but run alive and singing nonetheless. The stories call us back" (203). Upon finding that the land is protected within a nature preserve, Miranda contacts a historian of the preserve and their communication inspires her to dream a storied map of her ancestral land.<sup>6</sup>

In the dream, Miranda approaches Rancho El Potrero with her sister, identifying landmarks described in stories about various relatives. Upon examining the mountain range

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<sup>6</sup> Through her archival research, Miranda was able to locate Rancho El Potrero, "the last Esselen-owned land in California" (203). It is currently protected within the Santa Lucia Nature Conservancy by wealthy homeowners in "a combination private, corporate-owned real estate holding and nature conservancy consisting of Bradley Sargent's former ranch, itself stolen from Indians" (203). Ironically or not, its preservation relies on economic gatekeeping that determines access to the space. One would have to be able to afford a "million-dollar (or more) home," because it is not open to the general public (204).

surrounding Rancho El Potrero, Miranda recognizing Pico Blanco as a significant landmark in stories about Estéfana. Among the rancho's ruins, Miranda is brought right to the banks of the Rio Carmelo (205). From the vantage point of the river, on a rocky island in the middle of the Rio Carmelo, Miranda follows ancestral symbols for grizzly bear carved in a large, light colored rock with a little cave in the center. In the dream, she recalls a saying that those who put their hand in the rock's cave will be granted a sacred power, and so she and her sister both do so (206). The dream intertwines the supernatural and the mundane, so that Miranda imagines sharing her sacred land with young people who are part of a training program while simultaneously expressing relief at having a place to return her ancestors' bones (207). Miranda's narrative map relies on the rich oral narratives that locate the Carmeleños from Rancho El Potrero along the banks of the Rio Carmelo. Since Miranda is able to imagine with tangible accuracy the parameters of her ancestral land, the tribal stories converge to reveal the river as an Indigenous epistemological archive that allows Miranda to map her homeland by imagining how the stories fit together on the physical landscape. Through the river as an epistemological reserve, Miranda demonstrates how the relational agency of spatially situated narratives have the potential to destabilize Euroamerican assumptions about what constitutes both an archive and land ownership.

Miranda's multi-genre text relies on both written and oral stories situated on and around the Rio Carmelo at Rancho El Potrero to substantiate her tribe's claim to their original land. By broadening the body of the archive, *Bad Indians* imagines social justice space making and demonstrates yet another strategy for intervening in academic research methodologies for the purpose of decolonization. By emphasizing the significance of place-based narratives I am committed to dismantling oppressive institutionalized discourses with geopolitical ramifications

by expanding the definition of an archive according to Indigenous epistemologies and using the knowledge located in land and water archives for decolonization. While the power of story persists, there are many stories to contend with on the way to decolonization. In this analysis, I only strive to offer perspective on the practical action that Miranda takes to disseminate the stories needed to change her part of the California landscape. Even though Miranda is not hopeful that Rancho El Potrero will be returned to her tribe, still she believes “there is a pathway open to me — to my tribe, our families — to return to a place which formed us” (204). Through changes to Miranda’s narrative landscape, she is able to envision future changes in her relationship to the physical landscape.

As a narrative guide, Miranda includes truth-telling among a guide’s responsibilities, especially in tourist contexts embedded with deeply contentious political discourses that have geopolitical ramifications. Methodologies for intervening in tourist-serving narratives are essential if we consider the tourist industry a significant site of knowledge production for the general public. Tourist sites that adopt authoritative, academic rhetoric about contemporary peoples and politics should be especially sensitive to power dynamics to effectively forefront social justice narratives. However, specific challenges arise when narrative interventions must take place within the tourist industry where business viability dictates the strategies necessary to mediate guest comfort and ensure profit. Philip J. Deloria interrogates the connection between narrative representations, exhibition, and the projections of authenticity that underlie both popular and academic discourses in *Indians in Unexpected Places*. It is on the grounds of representation that Deloria identifies the continuation of the Indian Wars “waged on the cultural front” because “political and legal struggles are tightly linked to the ideologies and images — the expectations — that non-Indians have built around Native people” (104). The expectations of

Indigenous peoples that non-Indians have are often aligned with dehumanizing Eurocentric worldviews that remove Indigenous peoples from contemporary landscapes, physically and ideologically. Deloria argues that “Indigenous futures” do not exist within the settler imaginary, as evidenced by films and performances that celebrate the Vanishing Indian trope and welcome settlers to inherit the Americas.

To intervene in the settler narrative of the Vanishing Indian, speculative fiction writers like Rebecca Roanhorse and Blake Hausman use the not-so-distant future to examine the virtual reality tourist landscape as a site of knowledge production about Indigenous peoples. Both Roanhorse’s short story, “Welcome to your Authentic Indian Experience™,” and Hausman’s novel, *Riding the Trail of Tears*, use Indigenous tour guides as the focal point of their narrative trajectories. Both tour guides are experts of their craft, which involve performing Indianness and storytelling. In each story, stereotypical Indianness is a form of erasure that also projects authenticity to uninformed tourists. However, Hausman’s characters intervene in the Vanishing Indian narrative to fight for their collective survival, while Roanhorse’s guide, Jesse Turnblatt, changes his surname to Trueblood and welcomes his own objectification for personal gain. The importance of protecting one’s stories for personal and communal liberation is valued in both texts, but Roanhorse offers this lesson as a cautionary tale, while Hausman imagines strategies for asserting self-narration for systemic change.

In Roanhorse’s short story, the digital landscape is generic, “You find yourself on a wide grassy plain, somewhere in the upper Midwest of a bygone era. Bison roam in the distance. A hawk soars overhead” (n.p.). The temporal setting is vague, but explicitly a part of the past, and despite the “half dozen Experiences” on the menu, Vision Quest is the most popular (Roanhorse

n.p.). The story is narrated in second person, and describes Jesse Trueblood's preparation for his performance,

You scroll through the Tourist's requirements.

Experience Type: Vision Quest.

Tribe: Plains Indian (nation nonspecific).

Favorite animal: Wolf.

These things are all familiar. Things you are good at faking. Things you get paid to pretend. (n.p.)

Jesse is aware of tourists expectations for a movie Indian experience and prepares by immersing himself in settler narratives about Indians. However, he is also aware that tourist expectations of authentic Indian expressions are narrowly limited when he struggles to personalize each experience "in case the Tourists ever compare notes" (n.p.). The reader only learns of one attempt by Jesse to intervene in settler representations of Indians wherein he designs a Crazy Horse Experience of Custer's last stand, which fails miserably. The experience is cancelled because tourists are not interested in a battle, "especially if the white guy loses," and Jesse is advised to stop taking risks and give the tourists what they want: an opportunity to "find themselves" (n.p.).

Ironically, the tourists at Sedona Sweats are only interested in finding versions of themselves that are recognizable within a Eurocentric metanarrative as historical victors, entitled to Indigenous lands, cultures, and bodies. Jesse's Crazy Horse Experience is the most historically accurate representation of Indigenous-settler relationships, yet the faux spirituality and misogynist Squaw Fantasy experiences generate the most profit. The second person "you" used by the narrating agent is reminiscent of Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place* and Claudia Rankine's

*Citizen*. Both Kincaid and Rankine implicate the reader in a call to action. In Kincaid's novella, the tourist attempts to *find themselves* in a nonthreatening way by consuming beautiful landscapes and being served by locals, while meeting new people who are tourists just like themselves. Kincaid's use of "you" forces the reader to see themselves in the unflattering light in which locals view tourists with the intent to reveal the historical injustices that have made tourism to Antigua possible.

While Kincaid's narrative is directed at changing how those in positions of privilege experience tourism in postcolonial and neocolonial landscapes, Rankine's "you" is directed at recipients of microaggressions, calling them to intervene in anti-Blackness on their own behalf and that of the Black community. In a 2015 interview at the L.A. Times Festival of Books, Rankine explains that the "you" is directed first at herself, a reminder to speak up, rather than participate in her own erasure. In Roanhorse's text, the "you" refers to Jesse, but his self-preservation strategies are challenging to identify with. When a co-worker complains that Squaw Fantasy is degrading, Jesse fears ridicule from his boss and defends it by defaulting to tourists' expectations. Jesse repeatedly chooses his individual comfort over that of the larger Native community and, in this case, he endorses a representation of Indigenous women as sexually available for settler consumption at a time when Indigenous women suffer the highest rates of sexual assault and there is an epidemic of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW) (n.p.).

Jesse admits that his ego is the source of his poor decisions throughout the story. Since he wants to be objectified and sexualized, Jesse dismisses the valid concerns about representation raised by his co-workers, even though he acknowledges that squaw is a slur. Jesse knows his performance is a "caricature of an Indian," yet he still claims to offer tourists the experience of



“something real” (n.p.). When a tourist who Jesse names White Wolf — foreshadowing an allusion to the “wolf in sheep’s clothing” cautionary tale of betrayal — begins to show interest in Jesse’s real life outside of the experience, Jesse is excited to have a captive audience and violates protocol by enthusiastically sharing stories with the tourist. By the end of the story, White Wolf has taken over Jesse’s life, he does his job performing Indianness better than Jesse, he defends his new co-workers, and he is present to support Jesse’s girlfriend when Jesse does not return home after being fired from Sedona Sweats. Jesse half-heartedly protests against White Wolf stealing his life, but the last line of the story is “You let go” and the reader is left with the harrowing sense of loss when one relinquishes their ability to narrate their own existence until they cease to exist within the Vanishing Indian metanarrative.

Tour guides are on the front lines of the (cultural) Indian Wars and both Roanhorse and Hausman depict the necessity of narrating socially ethical relationships for tourist consumption, even within a digital landscape. For tourists, guides are archives of knowledge connecting them to the information embedded in their surroundings. While both writers utilize virtual reality technology to locate their Indigenous characters in the present or near future, the design of the VR landscape is notably not contemporary and continues to exhibit Indigenous peoples as historical objects, rather than present day subjects. In Blake Hausman’s *Riding the Trail of Tears*, the virtual reality tour in which tourists experience the Cherokee removal becomes the site of these ideological Indian Wars. Several main characters are riding the Trail of Tears for educational purposes, among them are four UGA student-tourists visiting as part of an extra credit assignment for their Anthropology class, and a middle school teacher-tourist with her two daughters to determine if the tour would be an appropriate educational field trip for her students. Contrary to Jesse Trueblood’s performance, Tallulah Wilson, the primary tour guide, educated

cultural consultant, and resentful mascot of the “T’salagi Removal Exodus Point Park” aka TREPP, navigates the profit driven VR Cherokee Trail of Tears game experience, while gently mediating the misinformed preconceptions that tourists bring with them to the experience. Tallulah exhibits a fraught relationship to her performative role as a tour guide within this Disneyfied exploitation of state sanctioned violence. A primary source of her discomfort lies in the fact that she is forced to perform a role digitally set in the year 1838 with stock Indian characters that are later described as “professional victims” (Hausman 270). Both Hausman and Roanhorse offer stories that intersect with Deloria to reveal the narratives of containment that limit Indigenous peoples to particular places, temporalities, technologies, and performances.

In “Performing the Tourist Product,” Phillip Crang explains how thinking about “tourism and tourism-related employment as performances of commodified products, we can escape the logic of the advertisement to analyze how these commodity-signs are not simply imagined constructions but are *temporally and spatially constituted constellations of embodied social practices*” (emphasis added; 154). Two strategies of this negotiated experience involve “*moulding culture for tourism and tourists, and moulding tourism and tourists for culture*” (Craik 122). Within this context, I argue that the conflation of academic and tourist practices are unethically prevalent, yet the role of the tour guide — by calling into question methods of knowledge production that rely on popular misconceptions of Indians as indisputable fact — is a critical force of intervention in the “relatively old set of expectations” to which Indians are subjected (Deloria 20). However, no other evidence that customer satisfaction is valued above ethical representation is more prominent throughout Hausman’s text than the references to the Wise Old Medicine Man whom tourists meet at the end of the tour. Much like Jesse’s Vision Quest character, the stereotypical, pseudo spirituality of Old Medicine Man is programmed to

[ensure] customer satisfaction....Old Medicine tells you what you want to hear, what you think you need to hear. He uses your comments and questions to determine your beliefs. He then reaffirms your personal ideology by showering you with the kind of aboriginal spirituality that only dead people can exude....Even in death the Trail of Tears ride encourages the customer to be boss. (Hausman 57)

Tallulah's bitter recognition of this limited representation of Indigenous spiritual practice is evident when she addresses the power dynamics at work that favor comfortable fictions, rather than discomfoting truths. The Wise Old Medicine Man represents the tourist fantasy of their Indian heritage, it ensures customer satisfaction because it is programmed to reaffirm, rather than challenge tourist misconceptions of Indigeneity.

Despite Tallulah's criticism of Old Medicine Man, when her tour group is in need of hope after unexpectedly losing a tourist, Tallulah breaks into performance, defending her problematic actions as exceptional customer service because "if it's spirit they want, then damn it, it's spirit they'll get....she can wear the high priestess costume with the best of them" (87). Craig locates "[i]dentity politics are the very heart of tourism labour processes" in which tourism employees are both producers of the tourist product and "a part of that very product, producing themselves as part of their jobs" (Crang 152). Tallulah finds that negotiating her role as performer is a point of friction and she struggles to fulfill the role as the tour progresses.

Tallulah acknowledges that she "wrote the bulk of the tour guide phrasebook" and calls herself more of a "performance artist...Better yet, a history whore. The TREPP needed a mascot, and Tallulah needed the money" (27). Like Jesse, Tallulah knows her job is not an accurate representation of Indigeneity, but a product with monetary value for sustaining her livelihood. Unlike Jesse, Tallulah questions her own ethics throughout the novel, expressing concern that

she's sold-out since she is featured on all of the TREPP's promotional materials. Calling herself a performance artist values her knowledge and skill as a tour guide, but she feels more like a mascot, a caricature of herself in the standard tour guide apparel of a green work vest and water beetle communicator (41). Crang explains, that "[o]nce recruited, workers have to be 'directed' into their 'roles,'" where workplaces become "sets," employees wear "costumes," and staff must be coached "in the surface acting skills of communicational interactions" (141). In addition to her work uniform, Tallulah also wears her hair in braids and "likes to have tan skin [because]...It boosts the Indianness of her appearance" (Hausman 44; 16). Since tourism is predicated on "service encounters, ...moral dilemmas of honesty-dishonesty, trust-distrust, and the seen-unseen" are prominent concerns when performing authenticity as part of the tourist product (Crang 138).

Tallulah's interactions with tourists through predetermined social encounters would constitute "The 'frontstage' tourist contact work," while her internal objections to tourist expectations, criticisms of Indigenous representation, and interactions with the tech crew on the tour would constitute the "backstage" of Tallulah's performance (Crang 140). The image that she skillfully projects as a knowledgeable performance artist for this fantasy is what makes Tallulah such a good tour guide. In fact, Tallulah repeatedly comments that outside the TREPP Trail of Tears, she was a terrible liar, emphasizing that her professionalism hinges on her ability to convince tourists that their experience on the ride is authentic (Hausman 351). However, in "The Culture of Tourism" Jennifer Craik emphasizes that tourists are most comfortable when authenticity is compromised because

[t]here is a great deal of self-delusion involved in the pursuit of tourist pleasure. Although tourists think that they want authenticity, most want some degree of negotiated

experiences which provide a tourist ‘bubble’ (a safe controlled environment) out of which they can selectively step to ‘sample’ predictable forms of experiences. (Craik 115)

In Hausman’s novel, tourist satisfaction is guaranteed down to their most primal fantasies by enhancing their avatar’s primary and secondary sex organs. However, the digital landscape begins to exert its own agency when Little Little People exploit glitches in the tour’s programming, threatening the tourist bubble upon which Tallulah and her tourists depend. Once the program begins to malfunction, Tallulah painfully realizes that “her trusty old dialogue wasn’t as useful as she hoped” (125). Beyond the physical symbols of comfortable authenticity, tourist enjoyment also depends on psychological comfort, which is a particular challenge on an ethnocidal-themed tour.

At the beginning of Tour Group 5709, Tallulah remains neutral and emotionally detached when correcting misinformed tourists. While she recounts the discovery of gold in 1540 by Hernando De Soto and in 1828 by American settlers, she patiently explains that Dahlenega translates to “yellow” in Cherokee and poses “the uncomfortable question of whether a traveler can actually discover something that is already common knowledge for the people who actually live in that area” (Hausman 65). This rhetorical strategy gently alleviates the discomfort her tourists might experience at being wrong, while she intervenes in settler knowledge supremacy to challenge the metanarrative myths that tourists regurgitate. When another tourist parrots a slightly off topic rant against greed and mining, Tallulah dismisses his comment, but she “[eyes] him reassurance [because] It’s never a good idea to alienate a tourist, especially when the ride is just about to start. An alienated tourist is a tourist who doesn’t tip” (Hausman 67). Tallulah’s performance of Indianness has a quantifiable value and at the end of the orientation, she mentally self-evaluates, noting how “it fostered some healthy dialogue, it softened some initial

fears....Most importantly, Tallulah was able to coax at least one laugh from everyone, a critical factor in earning their early trust” (68). Even though Tallulah critically challenges settler metanarratives, she does so in a way that finesses tourists confidence in her as a knowledgeable and accessible guide. Trust in her ability to lead lubricates tourists acceptance of Tallulah’s narrative interventions throughout the tour.

As the tour progresses in unexpected ways, however, Tallulah’s professional facade begins to crack, revealing aspects of her backstage personae. While Tallulah prides herself on offering tourists an enriching educational experience, she is unable to help them as the digital landscape of the tour undergoes reprogramming by the Little Little People. According to the narrator, the Little Little People are spirits that manifest themselves in human forms and enable the stock characters in the Cherokee Trail of Tears VR game to intervene in their digital programming during Tallulah’s final TREPP tour. As the Little Little person who opens the novel explains, he must narrate the last day his digital consciousness was attached to Tallulah’s organic form because “[w]hen you get cut from the oral narrative, you get cut for good” (Hausman 6). While Tallulah’s narrative interventions are designed to correct tourist miseducation about the Cherokee, the Little Little People intervene to correct the misrepresentations within the tourist landscape of the game, including Tallulah’s performance.

Immediately upon stepping into the digital landscape of the game, Irma Rosenberg, goes missing from the tour group’s view and Tallulah manages to appear calm while she frantically troubleshoots with the tech crew monitoring the program. As the tour progresses, we learn that Tallulah is not the only one intervening in harmful settler metanarratives and the technical malfunctions throughout the tour are the result of Little Little People and Misfit characters intervening in the VR game’s narrative loops for their own survival and liberation. The Misfits

are digital manifestations of the Little Little People's spiritual consciousness in the digital landscape of the game. The Misfits are the characters in the VR game that have broken with the narratives underlying their programming and lead the uprising to save the stock Cherokee characters from suffering on the Trail of Tears during Tour Group 5709.

This change in the metanarrative of the tour challenges Tallulah's gentle improvisational skills. For comparison, when the group first addresses appropriation and naming in regard to Jeep's use of the name Cherokee, Tallulah offers a neutral, noncommittal response that also reveals the dehumanizing effect of misappropriating names. However, appropriation and naming again arises after Misfit characters have intervened in the violent narrative of the tour's program and a UGA student-tourist decides to name himself after the Great Spirit while socializing with young Misfits. Compared to her unemotional response to the rote discussion of the Jeep Cherokee, when confronted with an original act of appropriation for which she has no script, Tallulah impulsively calls the tourist's actions "ridiculous" (Hausman 298). As the tensions build around the now unpredictable experience of the virtual reality tour, Tallulah's interventions in her tourists' misconceptions become more direct and unfiltered.

After she confronts the UGA student-tourist for appropriating the name of a deity, Tallulah notices his physical discomfort at her slipping frontstage personae. Initially, she justifies any awkwardness that results from her narrative interventions as "teachable moments," but as the narrative trajectory of the tour veers further off script, Tallulah defends her bluntness as necessary because "the truth hurts" (Hausman 130; 95). Tallulah's frustration can be explained by Crang's observation that "those who have to work at producing feelings —...emotional labourers — find their performances and their emotions being devalued by consumers" (153). Considering the group had a previous lesson on appropriation and naming, Tallulah's frustration

at the student-tourist is understandable as the stressful new circumstances wear on her ability to diplomatically manage the tourists in her care. When she “does the math....” and realizes that “Tour Group 5709 is easily her worst performance ever,” she is forced to reflect on the ethics of her role as a tour guide (248).

Even before Irma Rosenberg slips through the Misfits’ reprogramming and fails to appear in the game system with the other tourists, Tallulah expresses doubt about her role in the digital landscape of the game. When they meet Irma again among the deprogrammed Misfit Indians, Tallulah is forced to rely on Irma since she has no knowledge about the Misfits prior to Tour Group 5709. The Little Little People and their manifestations as Misfits are the paragon of Indians in unexpected places, temporalities, and landscapes, both digital and organic, forcing Tallulah to wonder “how she can be so essential and so useless at the same time” (Hausman 297). As Tallulah observes that “her performance is quickly becoming a parody of itself” she begins to wonder “why her instructions [to tourists] have taken such a superficial turn... Why does she care about her survival percentages anyways?” (Hausman 222; 254). As a guide, Tallulah is highly valued and well-compensated for her pedagogical approach while disseminating historical knowledge to misinformed tourists. She illustrates the essential role of educated and social justice oriented tour guides for dismantling oppressive institutionalized discourses. However, she does so in the profit driven structure of the tourist industry in which she performs a superficial representation of herself. Hausman’s novel opens up critical dialogue about the ways in which tour guides can intervene to disentangle tourist narratives from academic narratives while limiting their own intellectual and emotional labor within an inherently exploitative system.



Throughout the text, deprogramming is analogous to decolonization as the Misfits reclaim control of the landscape and their own narratives of self-determination by critically questioning their violent fate in the VR game. The direct action form of programmatic intervention undertaken by the Misfits changes the digital landscape in a way that challenges Tallulah's relationship to it. Tallulah knows her "involvement is tokenistic and that [her] concerns are overridden by industry agendas" (Craik 134). At the end of the novel, Tallulah refuses to participate in her own exploitation by cutting off all her hair in a defiant act that strips her of her most authentic costume accessory since "TREPP promotional literature accentuates her hair. Indian hair. The most Indian of her features" (Hausman 360). While Hausman reveals the importance of having an educated social justice tour guide, the breakdown of the VR game system reveals that true liberation will come when narratives envision structural change to oppressive systems. Changes in the tour's metanarrative force Tallulah to reevaluate the narrative she practices within the tour and when she realizes she has the power to change how she participates, she quits her job at the TREPP. The digital landscapes used by both Roanhorse and Hausman are embedded with information via "visual mythology" that conveys the settler worldview upon which guides perform relationships to tourists that parallel the practices of explorer-guide, researcher-informant, and settler-Indigenous power dynamics. While Roanhorse's story demonstrates the dangers of self-serving individualism, Hausman's Misfits recognize the necessity of collective action to change how relationships are narrated and performed within the digital landscape of the tour and beyond.

In the context of the US Southeast, historian Tiya Miles relies on the settler archive to piece together a social justice narrative about the carefully crafted narrative landscape of the Chief Vann House Cherokee plantation and heritage site in Georgia. The Vann House is

mentioned briefly in Hausman's novel when Tallulah describes the Trail of Tears journey through the Georgia landscape to Tour Group 5709. One of the UGA student-tourists recalls visiting the Chief Vann House as a kid, but the discussion is interrupted by another tourists, and fails to address the complicated history of Cherokee slaveowners (Hausman 250). Similar to the physical California mission landscapes that both Miranda and Kryder-Reid visit in their respective analyses, in *The House on Diamond Hill*, Miles interrogates the nostalgic narrative surrounding the museum heritage site where the

Vann House is therefore a typical *and* atypical plantation home, combining elements of antebellum southern nostalgia and American Indian historical enchantment that capture deep and different aspects of the American popular imagination. Tourists at the Vann House can participate in the imagined, combined reenactment of southern antebellum and Native American life.... The Vann House is a statewide icon, representative of Georgia's glorified past in terms of both antebellum southern culture and American Indian history.

(14)

Like Tallulah's fictionalized truth-telling interventions in the Cherokee landscape, Miles' research has already corrected historical inaccuracies shared by scholars and tourist about the plantation's history and the people who once lived there. As a "novice to southern plantation home tours" during her first visit to the Vann House in 1998, Miles recalls being "shocked by the omission of [B]lack history, especially at a site where school children from surrounding towns and cities ... regularly visited to hear their region's past" (201). As a scholar, Miles acknowledges she has an ethical responsibility to "the disregarded slaves of the past and impressionable children of the present" to make the results of her study "available for public access and engagement" (201). Her research into the lives of enslaved Africans on the Vann

Plantation is an intervention in the metanarratives of the state of Georgia that models truth-telling about the complex intersection of Cherokee-Black-settler relationships of the past and for the future.

According to Miles, the landscape is among the first preservation projects of the state-run Georgia Historical Commission with local community organizers that began in the 1950s and “[continues] to inspire both community devotion and historical fantasy” (187). In the conclusion of her monograph, Miles questions how her scholarly intervention in the Vann House narrative can elicit change by asking “Can core narrative be revised to reflect a multiracial past and thereby foster a more democratic future? And will it take a virtual social tsunami to push a path toward change as has been the case at other historic sites?” (192). While Miles notes that enormous efforts have already been made to integrate Black historical presence into the tourist narrative of the Chief Vann House, “it remains to be seen what will become of [it]” (192; 196). Specifically, she questions how the landscape will be narrated to reduce the historical marginalization of enslaved peoples: “Will they allow [Black] slaves to have a presence not only in the segregated space of the cabin but also in the master narrative told by tour guides in the big house?” (Miles 195). As I have explored throughout this chapter, the value of informed and social justice oriented tour guides to unlock the knowledge embedded in tourists landscapes is undeniable in Miles analysis, as well. While she recognizes the limitations of her narrative intervention to change the institutionalized ways in which visitors relate to the Chief Vann House, Miles is hopeful that collective effort in the interest of truth-telling can turn the heritage tourist site into “a local and national memorial, a place of suffering for enslaved African Americans *and* their Cherokee captors” (197). With a coordinated communal intervention into the practices of tourism at the Chief Vann House it is possible to change contemporary

relationships to the landscape so that “we might then approach this place in the spirit of clear-eyed mourning, sensitive thoughtfulness, and quiet commemoration of a human will that endures” (197). Our histories are painfully intertwined, but our collective efforts have the potential to heal our present and future relationships by changing institutionalized practices at tourist sites to reflect ethical sites of knowledge production for the general public.

As this chapter demonstrates, archival collections are reminiscent of the complicated and contentious relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settler institutions of knowledge production. While my analysis expands the parameters of the archive to include the knowledge embedded in landscapes and made accessible by the figure of the guide, utilizing that knowledge in the interest of social justice and decolonization requires institutionalized practices for truth-telling. The writers in this chapter demonstrate that both narrative and spatial interventions are necessary to change disciplinary research methodologies and tourist practices in the various archival contexts.

*Chapter Three — Exhibitionary Expectations: Museumization and Temporal Imprisonment*

Previous chapters have demonstrated that settler colonialism is reinforced through the interrelational practices at the intersection of several institutions of knowledge production, including cartography, pedagogy, the academy, and tourism. As Tiya A. Miles observes in her study of the Chief Vann House, changing present and future relationships requires our collective effort to intervene in settler metanarratives that perpetuate the systemic dehumanization of Indigenous and formerly enslaved African peoples. Many narrative trajectories intersect in the complex history of this plantation landscape and heritage house. Miles believes by

[w]orking together — as students of history; lovers of old, magnificent buildings; southerners, northerners, westerns, foreigners, Cherokees, [B]lacks, and whites — we can unwrap this grand old home’s glittering facade, open wide its multistoried windows and doors, and allow the memories and meanings of all who dwelled there to flow through our understanding like a cleansing breeze.” (197)

We all have a role to play in our collective stories and we must share the responsibility of working for structural change by utilizing the systemic privileges granted by our respective social positions. A holistic reflection of the arguments in the preceding pages will illuminate how pedagogical practices inform the narrative strategies of tour guides; settler research practices parallel the extractive practices of tourists; and the knowledge extracted by researchers informs curricular content and tourist narratives. The material culture — the artifacts — appropriated by researchers and traded among collectors are trophies of imperialist warfare hoarded in library archives and exhibited in museums. This chapter will examine strategies for intervening in institutions with broad audiences and widely accepted authority, specifically museums and heritage tours as popular sites of knowledge production.

In chapter one, my analysis of Victor Montejo's work examines academic discourse as a strategy for intervening in the self-appointed authority of missionaries and travelers as credible sources on the Maya despite Maya efforts to challenge sources that enforce settler colonial interests. I had the privilege of studying under Professor Montejo who is Jakaltek Maya from Guatemala. He practices storytelling pedagogy and he shared a story about the historical complexity of Indigenous peoples' relationships to archival collections and settler sites of knowledge production. As his student, his oral story has become part of my story; his narrative interventions inspire my interventions, both of which utilize language in the pursuit of truth and justice.

Upon his first visit to the Newberry Library in Chicago, Montejo traveled with a delegation of Maya leaders to see the only written version of their sacred text, the Popul Vuh. Very few books survived the massive library burnings carried out by Spanish missionaries and only three codices are verified to exist. The three Maya codices are named after the museums where they are imprisoned — Madrid, Dresden, and Paris —, with an unverified fourth text currently held in Mexico City. While the Popul Vuh and Chalam Balam are rare and sacred texts because of their content, it is important to note that they are not codices. The codices are written in a complex hieroglyphic system and constructed in a folding accordion style that can be stretched open for communal engagement with the text. The Popul Vuh was commissioned by a missionary after the invasion, it is written in parallel columns of Spanish and phonetic Quiché Maya, and it is bound in the European individualist style that we are most familiar with today. The Popul Vuh was housed among the Dominican Order's documents in the University de San Carlos Library in Guatemala until it was stolen and passed between private traders before being donated as part of the Edward A. Ayer collection to the Newberry Library in Chicago in 1897.

Even though it is not a codex, the Popul Vuh is a sacred text recounting the creation story of the Maya. While sharing his story, Montejo laughed as he described the Maya delegation's attempt to smudge in the carefully controlled environment of the library while waiting for their text to be prepared for display. He chalked-up their faux pas to cultural differences because "We're Indians, we thought we could make a fire anywhere." When they finally saw the text, Montejo described having an inexplicable urge to reclaim it. Unexpectedly, he announced to the Newberry staff that the delegation was there to bring their ancient book home. While the request was not outright denied, all parties ultimately agreed that the book would be safest at the Newberry Library until there was political stability in Guatemala. While the Popul Vuh is considered a valuable possession worthy of preservation in the Newberry archives, the circumstances of the text's creation at the request of missionaries, its capitalist-driven journey to the Newberry, and the transnational colonial politics that keep it in the settler archive are all fraught with violence that continues to threaten Maya lives today.

Montejo's relationship to the text is academic, cultural, and deeply spiritual, hence the delegation's attempt to smudge before the viewing. Yet, the political climate of both academia and settler society in the Americas place ownership of the text with the Newberry Library. In Montejo's oral story he intervenes in the settler colonial narrative of ownership and shifts the Newberry's role to guardianship. His story reminds me that academia is inundated with stories, and it is our responsibility as scholars to privilege the stories that envision social justice worldmaking in every aspect of our lives. Montejo's narrative intervention envisions a future in which the sacred text of the Maya is returned to them, but government stability in Guatemala is actively repressed ever since the US-backed military coup in 1954. Montejo's story is just one

example of the complicated set of intersecting narratives about the emergence of the now that compress historical trajectories within the present.

Other Indigenous writers have addressed the role of archival collections in settler colonialism. Most prominent among them is Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*, a novel featuring a long lost codex that has been protected at all costs by Silko's characters. In *Yellow Woman and the Beauty of Spirit*, Silko explains how *Almanac* was inspired by her research about the sacred codices named after the cities where they are stored: Madrid, Dresden, and Paris, and a fourth, unauthenticated book, the Grolier Codex in Mexico City. In the novel, a fourth codex has survived the library burning of the Spanish missionaries and Silko's characters have it and continue to add to the 500+ year historical narrative of Indigenous resistance in the Americas. The ancient book is to be protected by any means necessary and any characters in the past or the present of the novel that threaten the safety of the codex are severely punished. A threat to the people's stories is a threat to the survival of the people.

Some of the Indigenous characters in *Almanac* are involved in the illegal trade of artifacts while providing tour bus services, further demonstrating the intersection of colonial violence, looting, and the culture of tourism. Silko offers similar critical commentary on illegal trade in *Gardens* (chapter two) when Edward purchases several Celtic artifacts from an excavation site, one of which is a tin mask. Throughout the novel, the tin mask projects an ominous power in Edward's hands, and it is implied that his possession of it is the cause of his personal injury and eventual downfall. In *Ceremony*, Silko describes the painful impulse of elders as they reach out for their long-lost katsina dolls/ancestors only to hit their hands repeatedly against the protective glass of the museum display case after being sold to the museum by thieves [(##)].



The theft and unethical display of sacred objects is described as a symptom of colonial disease in Chrystos' poem, "Today Was A Bad Day Like TB." The narrating agent conveys the bitterness of injustice at settlers' self-assumed authority and lack of respect for Indigenous cultures. Chrystos writes

thinking about the medicine bundle I saw opened up in a glass case

with a small white card beside it

naming the rich whites who say they

"own" it

Maybe they have an old Indian grandma back in time

to excuse themselves (Chrystos 462).

Her biting sarcasm conveys her disgust at the systemic violence against Indian peoples and cultures coupled with settler claims to innocence as they perpetuate these exploitative systems by appropriating Indigenous ancestry. In *Custer Died for Our Sins*, Vine Deloria, Jr. explains that settler claims to a distant Indian princess grandmother is not only a laughable cliché that Indians encounter throughout their lives, but a troubling attempt by settlers to claim both American Indigeneity and noble lineage (3-4). Furthermore, appropriating Indigenous ancestry in the context of the Vanishing Indian metanarrative is also a settler attempt to appropriate Indigenous cultures, resources, and futures within the colonial blood quantum system. It is not a coincidence this verse from Chrystos' poem alludes to a museum setting since museum practices of exhibiting Indigenous cultures and peoples originated as a form of colonial control.

The wonder cabinet — also known as the cabinet of curiosities and the curio cabinet — is the personal precursor to world fair exhibits and national museum collections. In "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs," Carol Breckenridge traces several

transformations of imperialist collecting practices that reinforce ideological and political control over colonized peoples through marketable scientific discourse. Breckenridge identifies the wonder cabinet as the first iteration of collecting as a form of imperialist discourse, explaining how “[w]onder had long been the sensation provoked by the sight of select and unrelated objects randomly collected from around the world and placed in glass cabinets” (199). Most of the artifacts were “objects taken as booty” by individual colonial officials “in order to reminisce — to tour their own pasts, and to permit it to be toured by others who view the collection” (Breckenridge 199; 210). While a kitschy derivative of the wonder cabinet curator is the tourist who collects souvenirs to remember their travels, both iterations of this practice rely on displaying objects to represent cultures wherein the collector is at the center of the narrative. Through the framework of a self-referential narrative that “[reduces] cultures to their objects,” colonists (and tourists) celebrate their self-appointed positions of authority over other people based on the selectiveness of their collections (Breckenridge 202; 210). On the market, rare items that aroused the most *wonder* were judged to be of higher value among agents, correspondents, and dealers compelling them to develop an esoteric discourse to maximize profit from consumers overcome with a sense of wonder (Breckenridge 199-200).

While the wonder cabinet engaged *the gaze*, Breckenridge characterizes it as “non-analytic, non-judgmental, and undiscerning” compared to the ways of looking later evoked at world fairs and institutionalized in museums (197). As the collector’s market grew it adopted scientific discourse to convey wonder and authority over objects, cultures, and peoples, shaping the gaze according to Linnean taxonomies and disciplinary classifications. According to Breckenridge, “[o]bjects on display do *not* provide their own narrative. Displayed objects must be textualized, and therefore, require verbal and written explication in the form of signs, guides, and catalogues”

(205). The simultaneous emergence of world fairs, museums, and department stores were the primary forces behind institutionalizing discourse to shape the gaze for consumers of both objects and ideologies. Breckenridge continues, “As world fairs progressed, such explication became embedded in the discursive languages of history, ethnography, archeology, and eventually art. These emergent forms of knowledge and colonial rule were dialectically tied”

(205). Researchers with access to the cultural objects of colonized peoples often doubled as dealers, trading objects at high prices using exoticizing scientific discourse, and world fairs were the sites at which empires displayed their dominance over cultures that were literally objectified.

According to Neil Harris in *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America*, the “fair’s educational work was universally recognized,” expanding it beyond a market activity among merchants “to present large selections of the world’s art and artifacts, arranged according to specific principles of classification and designed both for aesthetic pleasure and edification” while preserving “the hierarchical approach to classification” (58-60). The spatial arrangement of world fair exhibits contributed to disciplining the Eurocentric colonial gaze for the masses of fair going tourists, further enforcing the conflation of tourist practices and knowledge production, especially at the 1904 Saint Louis fair where “Natives were brought to stage re-enactments of their everyday lives,” transforming people into commodities for ideological consumption in “the Hall of Anthropology” (Breckenridge 212). The flow of traffic through rigidly compartmentalized classifications of peoples and cultures was replicated in museums where “fair buildings that were designed for permanence usually became museums” (Harris 60). However, according to Harris, museums had yet to develop exhibits with effective influence on the public (63). His examination of this shortcoming hinges on the lack of aesthetic consideration in both fair and museum displays

where objects were crowded together according to age and nationality, rather than organized to forefront their aesthetic value and social importance (65; 75). Particularly in regard to art, Harris credits the rise of department stores for challenging the stifling museum atmosphere that limited influence on public knowledge and tastes (72-73).

Although department stores are largely irrelevant today, several of the display techniques developed during the height of their influence are now extant as museum practices. By prioritizing the interests of the consumer, department stores designed displays around “fantasies of luxury” (Harris 64). According to Harris,

The thrust of the merchandising revolution within the stores was to lighten the interiors, to be more selective in displaying objects, to lessen clutter and dramatize blank spaces and lighting, to surround the shopper with a sense of adventure, and to underline this by the continual display of new objects. (72)

Elegantly curated displays in the museum context invite the general public to participate in the same Eurocentric consumerist discourse that dominated world fairs and the wonder cabinets of colonial collectors. By engaging the gaze in the performance of discovery, museum narratives are curated through text, spatial arrangement, and dynamically designed experiences that center the museum tourist. Museums gift shops also incorporate the commodity fetish that dominated world fair and department store spectacles by enabling visitors to experience instant gratification upon purchasing reproductions of museum artifacts as souvenirs at the end of their tour (Harris 80). Not only does the commodification of the museum experience serve as a reminder of the tourist’s visit, but the souvenir is an object packaged with a consumable narrative containing the ideological underpinnings that endow museums with authority as keepers of treasures and truths.

The evolution of contemporary museum practices have incrementally disciplined the secular public gaze to accept a Eurocentric worldview in which science is considered the highest truth. In *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, Carol Duncan examines how such truths are curated through the spatial organization of museums, which she describes as “a stage setting that prompts visitors to enact a performance of some kind” (4). How one deploys the gaze as they move through museum spaces is often determined by their relationships to the exhibits. Throughout her monograph, Duncan utilizes anthropological discourse to reveal how disciplinary knowledge production is organized hierarchically according to a Eurocentric worldview. As a Euroamerican scholar, she explains that “like other cultures, we, too, build sites that publicly represent beliefs about the order of the world, its past and present, and the individual’s place within it” (Duncan 8). Strategically deploying anthropological discourse to assert her study as an autoethnography also calls into question institutionalized assumptions of static, universalists truths. Her use of the terms *ritual* and *artifact* to describe museum practices effectively destabilize academic assumptions of universal objectivity in the museum context. As she explains,

the art/artifact distinction marks the divide between the disciplines of anthropology on the one hand and art history and criticism on the other...built on the assumption that only works of art are philosophically and spiritually rich enough to merit isolated aesthetic contemplation, while ‘artifacts,’ as products of presumably less evolved societies, lack such richness. It follows...that while art belongs in the more contemplative space of an art museum, artifacts are best seen in anthropological, ethnographic, or natural history collections where they may be studied as scientific specimens. (5)

In Duncan’s coded observation, the difference between how one is invited to look at art as opposed to an artifact depends on whether or not it was produced in a European cultural context,

i.e. whether or not it was made by a white person. As institutions, museums are not only complicit, but actually formative sites for reinforcing asymmetrical power relationships in which socially and politically marginalized peoples are stripped of their agency and relegated to a natural, and therefore, passive existence. This power over ideological discourse — particularly in regard to peoples and cultures represented as objects and artifacts — is precisely the grounds upon which the two primary texts in the following analysis intervene.

The first of which is an excerpt from Gordon Henry's *The Light People*, set in a settler court hearing around the misappropriation of an amputated leg by the Minnesota Natural History Museum. The second text is Gerald Vizenor's screenplay "Harold of Orange," which follows Harold and the tricksters of liberty as they stage an urban heritage tour that stops at a university library where human remains are on full display. Both Henry's *The Light People* and Vizenor's "Harold of Orange" intervene in the unethical assertion of academic discourse in museum narratives surrounding the settler appropriation and exhibition of Indigenous remains as artifacts. As Duncan asserts, "to control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths....What we see and do not see in art museums — and on what terms and by whose authority we do or do not see it — is closely linked to larger questions about who constitutes the community and who defines identity" (9). In her discussion of Vizenor's theory of identity, Kimberly M. Blaeser explains that "The destiny of the American Indian rests with language. The Indian will survive or will 'vanish' through the merits of language: survive through tribal oral tradition, or be made to vanish through popular, scientific, literary, and political rhetoric" (39). *The Light People* and "Harold of Orange" each confront the legal, political, and academic struggles with museum representations. The analysis of each text in this chapter will examine the strategies modeled by Henry and Vizenor to survive the "word

wars” whose “victims...seem to have been captured as ‘Indians’....Like specimens preserved in amber, they become objects, artifacts” (Blaeser 41). By representing Indigenous peoples as natural history artifacts, museums appropriate indigenous cultures as common heritage and strip contemporary Indigenous peoples of sovereignty by perpetuating the natural and inevitable extinction underlying the Vanishing Indian narrative.

Blaeser’s analysis in *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition* is an invaluable resource for my critical comparison of the decolonial writing strategies at work in both Henry’s and Vizenor’s texts. While her monograph is the first book-length study of a single Indigenous writer, several of the strategies she examines for subverting ideological containment in Vizenor’s work are distinctly Ojibwe and applicable to Henry’s text, as well. The structure of my analysis is guided by three interconnected writing strategies that Blaeser roots within Ojibwe oral tradition yet crafted to withstand multifaceted settler colonial contexts, including that they: 1) gesture beyond the text to demand dynamic reader participation for constructing the narrative; 2) infuse the shared generic purposes between haiku and dream songs that use imagery to elicit sudden shifts in the reader’s perspective toward transcendence; 3) and utilize the power of variegated trickster identities to transform and liberate through the comedic subversion of oppressive boundaries. These decolonial writing strategies function as narrative interventions in the inherent power dynamics underlying academic tourism and its systemic intersections with legal, political, museum, and popular discourses.

In *The Light People*, the extractive research methodologies examined in chapter two serve as the catalyst for the satirical legal battle that ensues. This complexly layered polyvocal text functions as a tribalography according to LeAnne Howe’s definition of such because it is an Indigenous narrative that perpetually transforms the reader’s worldview (118). At the center of

this battle for narrative authority is the amputated leg of Moses Four Bears, which appears briefly in “Oshawa’s Uncle’s Story” wherein Oshawa’s uncle, Oshawanung, at sixteen is called upon to bury the leg during a snow storm. After witnessing Moses and his relatives dress the leg for burial and walking a few miles to the cemetery, Oshawanung discovers the earth is too frozen to bury the leg and decides to stow it in the frozen branches of a tree near the riverbank until it is safe to return. Unfortunately, the leg is not seen again until Oshawanung is described as an old man and he is summoned to contend with the deluge of authoritative narratives to determine the rightful owner of the leg.

The chapter, “Requiem For A Leg” opens seventy-three pages later in the third person when Oshawa becomes curious about “the authentic leg preserved in dry ice” and decides to visit “the natural history museum” as a student participating in a cultural exchange project “between a large university and a small reservation village” (120). He immediately recognizes the leg from his uncle Oshawanung’s story and time warps reality as Oshawa finds himself “caught in the curious mix of fiction, memory, realism, actuality, and expectation” forcing both the reader and Oshawa to locate themselves in a disorienting museum scene (Henry 120; Deloria 53).

What seems to have vanished forever often reappears at the strangest moments: sometimes among dioramas of stuffed buffalo, stalked by synthetic, spear-wielding hunters covered with actual wolf skins, sometimes among fictional river villages among imaginative reconstructions of mound builders, catalogued in curio stasis, as if the vanished were never meant to exist in a moment beyond the fictional situation, but were instead left to struggle with another simulated reconstruction, as invisible victims of the interpretation of artifacts. (Henry 120)

The narrating agent makes only a vague allusion to the artifact that Oshawa finds unexpectedly inauthentic, yet indistinguishable from the rest of the museum exhibit. As Breckenridge observes “objects undergo a metamorphosis when they are collected. Everyday things are transformed (by



the arranger's synchrony of categorization and placement into the *spectacle of the ocular*" (196). In this opening passage, the reader joins Oshawa as he wades through the clash of narrative simulations that construct the museum spectacle.

Curating museum exhibits involves several ideological and aesthetic influences. In natural history museums the general emphasis of design is preserving what scientific knowledge remains of the past according to Eurocentric taxonomic classifications. Unfortunately, as Pauline Wakeham examines in *Taxidermic Signs: Reconstructing Aboriginality*, the prevalence of preservation projects directed at Indigenous Peoples inscribes exhibits with the settler colonial myth of the Vanishing Indian. Wakeham's study covers preservation projects beyond the collection of Indigenous remains and artifacts in museum settings to include photography, film, and DNA mining as mediated iterations of taxidermy. However, the museum practice of "displaying indigenous materials alongside taxidermic specimens, all collapsed under the rubric of 'natural history'" relies on the taxonomies of hierarchical scientific categorizations to naturalize genocide (44; 84). As Wakeham explains,

The semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, play to and prey upon the dense and diverse field of sensory and affective codes to construct the aboriginal other as a racialized and fetishized figure of extinction, a lost body that may elicit a variety of responses including curiosity, excitement, and nostalgia. (27)

As Wakeham observes "the semiotics of taxidermy...[racialize] the native other via recourse to tropes of animality" that arose "as part of the culture of travel at the crux of the imperial enterprise, spurred by the 'discovery' of foreign lands and exotic species" (44; 41).

Unfortunately, the imperial performance of discovering the exotic other has not be eradicated

from museum discursive practices, which is why museums continue to be sites of intervention for Indigenous writers.

The plaque on the wall next to the amputated leg and the white card next to the medicine bundle in Chrystos' poem tell stories that validate colonial interests. While the white card narrates ownership over the bundle in Chrystos' poem, erasing settler theft and validating cultural appropriation, the plaque next to Moses's amputated leg narrates a settler temporality that relegates the Ojibway present to a voiceless past. Rather than illuminating the origins of the leg, the plaque creates more mystery by attempting to narrate the leg into a distant past that does not exist. The plaque reads: "An Ojibway leg, circa 1880-1940. Though it is not known why the leg was left like this, some scholars believe burying a leg in full ceremonial legging was a common practice in the reservation period" (120-21). Settler ignorance about the leg is mediated by locating it within living memory — 1940 — while dislocating it from the Indigenous people who remember it. The use of the past tense "was" to contextualize the ceremonial dressing within the "reservation period" is a rhetorical attempt to further mythologize the origins of the leg since reservations still exist. Scholars are cited as authorities for knowing literally nothing about the leg, except what is already common knowledge about burial practices among living Indigenous Peoples. The museum narrative about the leg effectively dis-embeds Indigenous knowledge from Indigenous contexts by vanishing Indigenous Peoples in an act of settler knowledge supremacy. According to Whetung and Wakefield's definition of knowledge supremacy, Indigenous knowledge is only valued if it can be passed off as research over which settlers maintain authority (148).

The court proceedings to repatriate the amputated leg consume almost forty pages of Henry's text and include opening arguments, witness testimonies, closing arguments, and the

judge's order in a deluge of contesting narratives to determine who has authority over Moses's leg. The most egregious testimony is that of the anthropologist responsible for selling the leg to the museum at a low price "with the understanding that [he] would be given full-credit for the discovery of the leg in all museum literature for time immemorial" (Henry 155). By choosing to stage conferral of authority over Moses's leg within the settler judicial system, Henry affirms Vizenor's theory of discursive Indian identity, which — like Deloria in *Indians in Unexpected Places* — identifies that the continuation of the Indian Wars are "waged on the cultural front," wherein "political and legal struggles are tightly linked to the ideologies and images — the expectations — that non-Indians have built around Native people" (Deloria 104). Were it not for the anthropologist's projection of the Vanishing Indian myth, he would never have assumed that the leg must be "from an Indian of the past...of a time prior to the lives of the people in the community" (Henry 155-56). His desire to "preserve it...as a unique artifact" for his own professional gain only produces more misinformation and mythology (Henry 152). As a practitioner of salvage ethnography, the anthropologists ensures that the "native other ... is denied historical agency, paradoxically placed outside of time and yet locked within the confines of a hegemonic homogeneous notion of Eurocentric temporality" (Wakeham 18). As Wakeham explains, salvage ethnography worked to overwrite colonial violence, distancing settlers from culpability for the damages of colonization, while simultaneously "[casting] Euro-North American conservationists and anthropologists as culture heroes selflessly devoted to the aid of moribund others" (21). Henry's text however, intervenes in the exploitation of so-called rescue projects by exposing the unethical research practices of the anthropologist during the interrogation of his testimony.

During the anthropologist's testimony, the reader learns that the authenticity of the museum narrative about the leg hinges on the self-proclaimed authority of an ethnographic researcher whose relationship to the Ojibwe People on the Fineday Reservation parallels that of a tourist: transient, extractive, and laden with Eurocentric projections. After only two weeks of living in a wigwam on the river that he built himself, the then graduate student of anthropology, claims to have "made a significant discovery" (Henry 151). Chris Rojek and John Urry define academic tourism as the travel academic work involves for conferences and other similar institutions where participants "may use their travel experiences as part of their supposedly authoritative academic data" (9-10). However, I expand upon this definition of academic tourism to refer to the voyeuristic research practices of scholars with no investment in the peoples, places, or political consequences that may result from their studies. Henry's narrative, however, demands accountability. The anthropologist's tale is scrutinized during cross-examination, and his extractive research methods are questioned by the Four Bears lawyer who recognizes his careerist motives by offering the observation that "Only a few days before, you were going to write a whole book on what you thought the people would tell you. I bet you saw an opportunity in the leg, a chance to capture something unique, a one-of-a-kind find that would forever connect your name with an authentic artifact" (156). While the anthropologist expresses offense at the accusation, he testifies that his dissertation advisor and the museum curator were "ecstatic" at the discovery and took it upon themselves to imagine its appropriate cultural context without consulting anyone from the Fineday community.

While the absurdity of the anthropologists testimony is amusing, it is not far-off from representing actual settler research practices, as discussed previously (Chapter Two). In "There Are Indians in the Museum of Natural History," Danielle LaVaque-Manty observes that "there

aren't any other kinds of people. On display, that is..." and claims that the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) "has substantively changed the legal relationship between Indians and anthropologists when it comes to the possession and display of native bones and grave goods" (71; 87). In her analysis, LaVaque-Manty examines "'the anthropologist' as trope" in film, music, and literature to help "clarify some of the issues involved in political battles surrounding the passage and subsequent negotiation of NAGPRA, as well as similar conflicts occurring between Indigenous peoples and anthropological and museum establishments throughout the world" (87). Globally, formerly colonized Peoples have begun asking for the return of their artifacts from colonial museums. In the United States, NAGPRA was enacted in 1990 to address the restitution of Indigenous remains and artifacts to their tribal descendants. As with any legislation, however, its effectiveness depends on enforcement within the justice system especially since settler scholars have fought NAGPRA as anti-science by claiming it impedes academic freedom.

In Wakeham's analysis of two case studies involving legal battles over Indigenous remains — Kennewick Man and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi — she demonstrates "how the repatriation of Aboriginal cultural belongings and ancestral remains have been framed by hegemonic discourses as evidence of postcolonial reconciliation" while simultaneously "reinstating the authority of a dominant institution to dictate the terms by which a Native nation should interact with its own cultural belongings" (165). NAGPRA, therefore, has been circumvented by legal technicalities that continue to perpetuate the dominance of Eurocentric epistemes and asymmetrical power dynamics "under the semblance of liberal tolerance and inclusion" (169). While Wakeham analyzes science "as a diverse field of cultural practices inflected by politics and ideology, rather than an impartial method for discovering unmediated knowledge," she cites the ways in which

DNA-taxidermy and genetic tests have already been used to displace Indigenous Peoples in Asia and Eastern Europe (175; 189). This precedent raises concerns for Indigenous Peoples in Canada and the United States who are threatened with displacement by settlers who insist that the Bering Strait theory is more factual than it is theoretical. The legal limits of NAGPRA are a direct result of scientific genetic mapping in these two legal disputes over remains that maintain colonial power and “race”-thinking (Wakeham 191). Ultimately, Wakeham claims that despite the projected promises of NAGPRA, “colonial redress has not yet begun to be adequately implemented” (208). She situates her study among “anticolonial intellectual and political projects of articulation” so that meaningful forms of reparations and restitution might be achieved, rather than the farcical performance of justice in an ostensibly liberal democratic society (209).

In Henry’s museum scene rather than being vanished into a fictional past, Indigenous peoples are left to struggle with representations of themselves “as invisible victims of the interpretation of artifacts” (Henry 120). The assumption of fact is more dangerous than the admission of fiction as Oshawa finds himself locked in an authoritative temporal narrative that consigns his living culture to “curio stasis.” *The Light People* utilizes multiple genres to gesture beyond itself and allude to its broader purpose as a tribally centered narrative intervention in the intersecting institutions that deny the Indigenous present and future, while circumventing the past to maintain colonial power. The narrative structure of the *The Light People* epitomizes Howe's observation that stories bind cultures together around shared attitudes, and thus storytelling, regardless of genre, “are a performance of those beliefs, a living theater” (121;123). The museum as a living theater, for example, invites tourists to participate in maintaining the myth of discovery. The exhibits narrate a linear temporality by constructing scenes from a mix of authentic and counterfeit props upon which settler beliefs can be preformed with authority by

both knowledge producers and consumers. According to David Stirrup, “[generic] conventions by necessity dictate particular boundaries and patterns by which individual texts can be understood” (154). Henry's strategic juxtaposition of narrative genres provokes a meta-awareness from the reader about the museum's performance of authority.

The museum metanarrative is so powerful that challenging its authority is grounds for a legal battle within the settler justice system. While the opening lines of this chapter tell the reader *how* to interpret the museum scene as an institutionalized performance of settler knowledge supremacy, the settler court proceedings in the pages that follow are written as a screenplay to parody how settler knowledge production affects every aspect of Indigenous life, including access to justice. As Wakeham observes, “power is not centralized or consolidated in a single locus; rather, dominant networks are shaped by contingent alliances linking a variety of institutions and agents” (36). Thus, Henry’s satirical court battle to determine the identity of, and rights to the leg, is a narrative intervention in settler knowledge supremacy at the crux of academic tourism and the performance of justice. The living theater demonstrates the absurdity of the intersecting hegemonic discourses settlers project onto Indigenous Peoples, while simultaneously putting forth an accessible vision for achieving justice that is both rational and ethical.

*The Light People* and Vizenor’s “Harold of Orange” each confront the legal, political, and academic struggles with museum representations at the intersection of museum and tourist discourses. In both content and craft, each text envisions strategies for Indigenous survival in the ideological struggle over Indianness that Vizenor calls the word wars. By extension, Blaeser argues, if Indianness is a simulation of Indian identity, then an effective strategy for writing Indigenous characters that survive the word wars is to ensure that they *perform* survival, rather

than extinction (56-57). My comparative analysis between these texts hinges upon their decolonial strategies of intervening in tourist narratives at sites of knowledge production, while also relying on the dialogic structure of each text to address the multifaceted functions of colonial power when several settler institutions intersect. While *The Light People* is considered a novel, the selection I examine alongside Vizenor's "Harold of Orange," is written as a screenplay, offering a critical parody of performative Indianness for the purpose of survival by strategically subverting the authority of interrelated institutional forces contingent on academic practices of knowledge production.

In the opening scene of Gerald Vizenor's "Harold of Orange," Buffy Sainte-Marie sings the "Trickster Song" that frames this thirty-minute short film. The song sets the tone for the narrative that unfolds and defines the impending story as a trickster narrative. If the viewer is unfamiliar with Vizenor's work or trickster discourse, then the song serves to prepare them to *expect the unexpected* as Sainte-Marie sings, "Trickster change how everything seem" (Vizenor 54). "Harold of Orange" is set in various locations in the state of Minnesota and follows Harold Sinseer and his band of tricksters, the Warriors of Orange, as they embark on a day-long trip with the Bily Foundation's board of directors. Under the pretense of presenting an oral proposal for a foundation grant to cultivate pinch coffee beans for the revolution, the Warriors of Orange take the foundation board of directors on a farcical Urban Indian heritage tour of Minneapolis in an elaborate act of misdirection. The Warriors' old yellow school bus serves as a tour bus for the Urban Indian heritage tour that stops at a fry bread cart for a faux naming ceremony, a university anthropology department, and a baseball diamond, all while the foundation directors are described as uncomfortable to be seated next to the warriors (66). Although tourism is only mentioned briefly in relation to reservations tours, "Harold of Orange" perpetually alludes to



tourism through its inversion of touristic tropes that deny the foundation directors the comfort of a tourist bubble or academic objective distance.

Despite the rhetoric of adventure and novelty that surround the promotion of tourism, the conditions of touristic consumption practices are often highly controlled and predictable.

According to Jennifer Craik,

there is a great deal of self-delusion involved in the pursuit of tourist pleasure. Although tourists think that they want authenticity, most want some degree of negotiated experiences which provide a tourist 'bubble' (a safe, controlled environment) out of which they can selectively step to 'sample' predictable forms of experiences. (115)

For those who frequent resorts or embark on bus tours that bubble is a prepackaged space. Bus tours serve the slightly more adventurous tourists, yet the bubble can take the form of the vehicle itself, providing a transient boundary between the tourist and *the natives* to limit any discomfort the traveler might encounter during their experience. Along Vizenor's trickster-led tour, however, he upsets the comfortable expectations of the tourist experience by seating the tourist among the natives and forcing them to negotiate their interrelationships throughout the film. The day-long excursion driving the plot of the film is an Indigenous-led tour of Minneapolis that invites the board of directors to partake in an Indigenous experience of the city. As tricksters, the Warriors of Orange strategically manipulate the predictability of tourism by intervening in the Bily Foundation board of directors's expectations, stereotypes, projections, and privileges, offering more of an anti-tour. The board of directors are flooded with hyper-simulations of Indianness that evade the extractive consumption of authentic symbols that define tourism throughout this project.

The late Louis Owens has written extensively about Vizenor's trickster narratives, claiming that his work liberates Indigenous Peoples from confining representations through discourse: "The principal targets of [Vizenor's] writing are the signs of "Indian" and "mixedblood," with their predetermined and well-worn paths between signifier and signified. Vizenor's aim is to free the play between these two elements, to liberate 'Indianness' in all its manifestations" (86). According to Owens, "trickster shows by inversion — negative example — the necessity for humanity to control and order our world" (86). The taxonomies of scientific discourse and the knowledge produced from them have the potential to become shrouded in doubt by trickster inversions. The inversion of settler knowledge supremacy is persistent throughout the film, while Vizenor simultaneously inverts the "control and order" of tourist experiences that board member, Kingsley, might expect when he expresses interest in a reservation tour (72 & 82). The oral presentation immediately takes the foundation directors out of their comfortable boardroom setting, leading them through artifact resistant and faux ceremonial demonstrations of Indianness at every stop along the way. The density of inversions in "Harold of Orange" preclude any attempts I might make to address them fully, since that is the very quality and purpose of trickster narratives. However, by focusing on the inversions of touristic tropes, I hope to demonstrate the interventions in settler colonialism that rely on the confinement, control, and consumption of symbolic Indianness.

The bus itself is an important symbol of my anti-tour analysis. In the passage quoted earlier, Craik presents the tourist bubble as a key element of an enjoyable tourist experience. The tourist bubble can manifest anywhere since ultimately it is a political border and no more imaginary than the territorial borders of nation states. The geopolitical borders demarcating tourist sites and experiences are usually material indications of the political relationships that

dictate the dynamics of tourist-native interactions. Tourist sites are often the clearest manifestations of segregation and Stephanie Black depicts this from the vantage point of a Jamaican tour bus in the 2001 documentary, "Life & Debt." The voiceover narration in the film is an adaptation of Jamaica Kincaid's biting narrative about the broader historical and political contexts surrounding tourism in her home island of Antigua. The near seamlessness with which Kincaid's narrative is adapted to Jamaica in Black's film attests to the forces of globalization that keep former colonies under the rule of foreign institutions through the mechanism of debt with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. In a series of carefully crafted montages, interspersed with interviews, and news footage, Black's documentary provides an anti-tour that shows how the tourist market displaced all other economic development on the island since declaring independence from the crown.

In his discussion of political borders, Etienne Balibar explains that his use of the term *global apartheid* is intentional to indicate that political borders are "being put in place after the disappearance of the old colonial and postcolonial apartheid" (Balibar). According to Balibar, "*borders have changed place. Whereas traditionally....they should be at the edge of the territory, marking the point where it ends, it seems that borders and the institutional practices corresponding to them have been transported into the middle of political space*" (Balibar). Early in the film, the narrator states "If you come to Jamaica as a tourist, this is what you will see. If you come by airplane, you will certainly land in Montego Bay and certainly not in Kingston" (Black 4:10). This geopolitical distinction between the tourist's Jamaica and the rest of Jamaica sets up the anti-tour narrative structure that contrasts with the tour bus guides narratives and tourist resort scenes throughout the film. The narrator goes on to detail the privileges of traveling as a tourist, specifically regarding the ignorance tourists maintain to the conditions that make

Jamaica easily accessible to those from the Global North. A few of these privileges include: the ease of entry, devaluation of the Jamaican currency, and a visual landscape in Montego Bay that shields tourists from evidence of the abject poverty and civil unrest that affect Jamaicans across the island. Black depicts these political borders of global apartheid first through the discriminatory practices within the airport, then from within the transient space of the the tourist bubble as the viewer embarks on a bus tour with tourists headed to their resort destinations.

As the tour guide in Black's film welcomes tourists, scenes of fast food advertisements line the road on which they travel. The anti-tour guide and narrator explains that the road is known as the Queen's Highway but "we do not have a queen anymore," while images of McDonald's golden arches passing by the bus window imply that the new rulers are multinational corporations (8:45). The first site the guide points out is the Sandal's Jamaica resort, followed by McDonald's, Baskin Robbins, and images of Taco Bell and Burger King. Clips of Black's interview with former Prime Minister Michael Manley explain the economic exploitation that led to multinational corporate invasion of Jamaica while the tour bus continues down the Queen's Highway. The tour guide points out a banana plantation while the anti-tour guide and narrator points out a deteriorating school house appearing immediately after the plantation (13:13). The anti-tour guide emphasizes the deteriorating social infrastructure that is conveniently neglected by the tour guide for the comfort of the tourists on the bus, but we learn what is also neglected is the fact that there are no nearby hospitals along the dangerous highway but knowing that "no new hospitals have been built in Jamaica should not concern you; you're on your holiday" (14:00).

The bus tour ends at a resort where scenes of luxurious beauty flood the screen while the anti-tour guide narrator continues to point out the more disturbing, but neglected sights. She

explains that there is no sewage system in Jamaica and waste is released into the very sea that the tourist has come to enjoy (17:18). It is big, the anti-tour guide explains, but “the Atlantic Ocean is even bigger — it would amaze you to know the number of African Slaves this ocean has swallowed up” (17:30). Within the resort, the anti-tour guide narrator points out that the delicious buffet food is imported from Miami, explaining “there is a world of something in this, but I can’t get into that right now” (17:35). The first segment of the film’s anti-tour ends with scenes of dancing tourists, juxtaposed with employees unloading imported food to reiterate the economic segregation that separates the tourist from the native along divisions of labor within the tourist industry’s power structure. The next thirty minutes of the film takes the viewer outside of the tourist resort where Black shows the calculated destruction of the agricultural industry, including the banana farmers whose prices are undercut by US owned Dole, Chiquita, and Del Monte — companies that rely on enslaved banana farmers in Latin America. News footage of a Chiquita banana plantation show the conditions under which such cheap bananas are grown as striking Honoduran workers are literally forced back to work at gunpoint (43:00). From the declining Jamaican banana plantation we are transported back to the tourist resort. In this scene, a charismatic guide helps tourists into a zebra painted jeep. His charming demeanor is contextualized by labor conditions on the island that force Jamaicans to perform hospitality for lack of other viable economic opportunities (45:33).

As the tour guide points out the growing site of “the best coffee in the world, Blue Mountain Coffee,” scenes of poverty surround the jeep tour’s protective bubble. The anti-tour narrator explains the transient and exoticizing relationships that surround the tour vehicle, segregating the tourists from the natives,

You decide to venture from the sanctity of your tropical compound. You see natives. You marvel at the things they can do with their hair, the things they fashion out of cheap twine

or ordinary cloth, squatting on the side of the road, hanging out with all the time in the world, you might look at them and think, 'they're so relaxed, so laid back, they're never in a hurry.'

Every native of every place is a potential tourist, and every tourist is a native of somewhere. Every native would like to find a way out, every native would like a rest, every native would like a tour, but some natives, most natives in the world cannot go anywhere. They're too poor to escape the realities of their lives, and they're too poor to live properly in the place where they live, which is the very place that you, the tourist, want to go. So when the natives see you, the tourist, they envy you. They envy your own ability to leave your own banality and boredom. They envy your ability to turn their own banality and boredom into a source of pleasure for yourself. (Black 48:57)

The jeep tour ends with a scene of the resort gates being closed, with the viewer on the outside of the gate, protecting the drunken tourists on the inside. As Balibar observes, "the *socially discriminatory function* of borders.... is to segregate" (Balibar). This mobile tour not only contextualizes tourist-native relationships as largely shaped by global historical and economic forces, but also visually reinforces how the privilege of the gaze is a white supremacist construct. The faux safari jeep lends the impression of being amongst wild animals, not impoverished peoples. The anti-tour guide humanizes native Jamaicans, and effectively demonstrates the dehumanization that is prominent in tourist practices. While the charismatic tour guide comforts the adventuring tourists because he is subject to the pressures of economic discomfort, the anti-tour guide narrator properly locates that discomfort with the tourist, whose privileges are part of a historical inheritance that protect them through economic segregation regardless of where they travel.

In the closing scenes of the film, a bus comes to escort tourists safely from the resort to the airport at the end of their holiday while scenes of civil unrest unfold. As the tourist industry

expands so does the demand for private security guards and caskets for the unprotected local victims of violent crimes (1:13:40). Private security guards walk the beaches to protect tourists in the resorts from economically desperate Jamaicans, who could make them easy targets. Scenes of civil unrest form the backdrop as “Free Zone” garment industry workers strike and riots erupt over increased gas prices and taxes while mostly white tourists board a plane and fly away. The parallels between foreign visitors and foreign companies are undeniable since both form transient and exploitative relationships to Jamaica and take no responsibility for building infrastructure or investing in the economic independence of Jamaicans (50:00 to 1:12:16). Although Balibar’s claim that political borders are replacing colonial borders is applicable to postcolonial nations in a global market context, this progression narrative does entirely apply to the borders that surround Indigenous Peoples in contemporary settler colonialism. While the reservation system demonstrates a longer-than-postcolonial history of political border shifts and internal systems of exclusion, the reservation legacy attests to the coexistence of both colonial territorial borders and political borders within territories, not the replacement of one with the other.

For Indigenous peoples, segregation is a primary strategy of colonialism deployed with the implementation of Indian reservations and nation state borders, historically ensured “by military conquest and colonial surveillance” (Deloria 51). In *Indians in Unexpected Places*, Phil Deloria traces the transition from expectations that Indians are violent and vanishing to the twentieth century expectation that Indians have been adequately pacified (50). Deloria identifies the connections between expectation, containment, and violence when he discusses the rhetoric of containment: “*Outbreak, rebellion, uprising* — such words revealed a fear of Indian people escaping the spatial, economic, political, social, and military restrictions placed on them by the reservation regime” (21). While he acknowledges the trend away from large scale physical

violence against those who leave the confines of the reservation, the emergence of the reservation tour reiterates assumptions of Indigenous containment and segregation.

As Deloria explains, Indian pacification became the most commonly held expectation at the turn of the twentieth century and introduced its own problematic assumptions: “Indians might not vanish, but they would become *invisible*, as the very characteristic that had once defined them — the potential for violence — was eradicated. Even if they didn’t melt away...they would either melt into American society or sit quietly in the marginal distance” (50). While Deloria recounts how the expectation of Indian pacification was most noticeably disrupted during the 1973 Wounded Knee takeover, the idea of the reservation tour as it appears in “Harold of Orange,” reiterates assumptions of Indigenous pacification wherein Indians are only visible when they are confined to designated spaces and performances. Tourism in relation to Indigenous Peoples reaffirms the “colonial dream of fixity, control, visibility, productivity, and, most important, docility” (Deloria 27). In “Harold of Orange,” the bus offers space for the anti-tour by resisting expectations of Indian fixity and control by becoming a means of mobility for the Warriors of Orange and the board or directors, while also functioning as a site of desegregation.

On Vizenor’s anti-tour bus, Balibar’s political borders shift both within and outside of the vehicle. While Balibar discusses how political borders shift along specific economic divisions, on the Warriors of Orange bus asymmetrical economic relationships exist and provide the premise of the anti-tour/presentation to the Bily Foundations. According to Chris Rojek and John Urry, “tourist practices do not simply entail the purchase of specific goods and services, but involve the consumption of signs. Tourists are semioticians. Indeed it is sometimes claimed that the sign or marker is constitutive of the sight which, in a sense, cannot be ‘seen’ without the marker” (4). No longer does Indian mobility indicate violence; rather mobility has the potential



to reinforce expectations of invisibility when Native people are not recognized outside of designated territories or stereotypical representations. In “Harold of Orange,” the goods being offered come in the form of a trickster narrative (the presentation pitch), but the challenge in the film is to *sell* the board of directors on inverted signs and symbols of *Indianness* that they might not be able to recognize immediately, or at all. In the physical space of the Warriors of Orange bus this struggle over the production and consumption of inverted signs takes place through discourse that illuminates ideological assumptions and upsets colonial expectations. Political borders are both physical and representational in the context of the anti-tour bus. The bus space enables the Warriors of Orange are able to intervene in rote narratives about Indians because the board members are literally a captive audience.

On three different occasions over the course of the anti-tour, a board member evokes a symbol of *Indianness* derived from Enlightenment science in conversation with individual Warriors of Orange. “Such dialogues,” according to Robert Silberman, “provide pointed lessons about the conventional ‘wisdom’ (I.e., stupidity) about Indians” (9). Common theories and widely accepted narratives are presented by members of the board, attempting to demonstrate their knowledge but the interactions evoke discomfort over their inability to *know* the Warriors of Orange through settler methodologies of knowledge production. On each occasion, the limitations of tourist practices are revealed when the board members’ ideological assumptions about Indigenous Peoples must be corrected by the Warriors of Orange. In tourist contexts, tourists travel comfortably through places and cultures interpreting them according to their own underlying assumptions. The protective bubble provided by the tourist’s mode of travel, degree of wealth, or other discriminating privileges are maintained as they engage predictable forms of encounter with local peoples. The tourist-native relationship is inverted

within the Warriors of Orange bus, and the board of directors can no longer rely on their assumptions and expectations to understand those they are traveling with through the city.

When various members of the board assume that the Warriors of Orange share their ideological investments in scientific authority, the resulting conversations reveal colonial assumptions while challenging notions of scientific authority. In the first exchange of this sort, Andrew asks New Crows if he agrees that the Bering Strait migration theory is “the most credible” of Indigenous American origin theories (66). Instead of challenging Andrew’s theory, New Crows challenges the assumptions inherent in the theory itself. When New Crows asks Andrew, “Which way across the Bering Strait, *then?*” he interrogates Andrew’s uncritical assumption that Indigenous Peoples of the Americas originated in Asia and traveled east, as opposed to originating in the Americas and traveling west. New Crows’ version of the Bering Strait theory accounts for Indigenous creation stories, while revealing the settler colonial desire to use science to displace Indigenous Peoples. In response, Andrew assumes knowledge supremacist rhetoric to discount creation stories by citing a lack of evidence for New Crows’ claim. New Crows replies by positing the story of Jesus as similarly lacking in evidence by facetiously stating that “Jesus Christ was an American Indian...” (66). In this conversation and the two that follow, the narratives that the Euroamerican characters purport as authoritative are destabilized by challenging any claims to credibility.

Such conversations demonstrate how settler practices of knowledge production has been a technology of colonial surveillance and control based on one’s ability to *see* the other and assume authoritative knowledge (Rojek & Urry 6). At a later point during the bus ride, Ted cites an article in *National Geographic Magazine* and asks Son Bear how many Indians there were when Columbus discovered the New World to which he replies “none” (68). Son Bear goes on to

explain that “Columbus never discovered anything, and when he never did he invented us as Indians,” forcing Ted restate his question (68). Son Bear thwarts Ted’s empirical power-grab when he challenges the basis of the metanarrative by questioning the identity of its principal actors, Columbus and “Indians.” When Ted rephrases his question to ask, “How many tribal people were there here then, ah, before Columbus invented Indians?,” he is thwarted once again by Son Bear’s response, which includes a precise figure (49,723,196) and expands the geography to include Mexico, further intervening in the credibility of the discovery narrative (68). Board members’ attempts to know Indigenous Peoples through familiar symbols, rote colonial narratives, and settler methodologies of knowledge production are continually presented and subjected to ideological grappling. In a third conversation, Andrew asks Harold for evidence that his pinch beans will survive the winter (71). When Andrew asks to meet “the live shrubs” he further reveals his ideological disposition that empirical evidence is more credible than stories about pinch bean shrubs. Harold’s response explicitly defends the oral tradition and “a handful of beans” as evidence enough, explaining that it all “depends on how you see the oral tradition” (71). In *Border Crossings: Thomas King’s Cultural Inversions*, the authors explain that

First nations identities are created through the process of storytelling, a process that brings otherwise displaced and fragmented individuals and communities together. Stories create a sense of belonging and facilitate the exchange of ideas. But these narratives also become spaces of debate and potential subversion spaces to claim and refashion knowledge to reflect a past, present, and future otherwise elided by the dominance of national borders and the long standing colonial rhetoric, in which Natives — and their stories — have been marginalized. (11)

In the conversations above, we witness a clash of stories between settler colonial metanarratives and oral storytelling traditions. When Harold states that “We are wild word hunters, tricksters on the run...,” he asserts that the oral tradition will prevail as a dynamic adaptable discourse (67). In

Andrew's request to see the pinch bean shrubs rather than hear stories about them, he conflates seeing and knowing that posits exhibiting evidence as the source of all knowledge and power.

Exhibition is inextricable from imperialism. It is a testament to the success of the colonial project as it is mediated through travel and control of others via contained evidence. Coco Fusco explains that exhibition reinforces an imperialist ideology because "the original body, or the physical visual presence of the cultural Other, must be fetishized, silenced, subjugated, or otherwise controlled to be 'appreciated'" in order to suppress the threat of difference to Eurocentric presumptions of superiority (45). In each conversation, Ted and Andrew ask questions based on ideological assumptions of colonial superiority and fail to receive the answers they expect. On this anti-tour, one's worldview is not protected in a tourist bubble by hospitable natives working within the tourist industry. As self-described tricksters, Harold and the Warriors of Orange "[mediate] between supposed contradictory forces or elements by retaining aspects of both, or by revealing them to be co-existing parts of one whole, interconnected, often indistinguishable elements of one" (139). In the context of the anti-tour structure, the tricksters reveal how the effectiveness of the anti-tour depends on tourist practices because they invert comfortable expectations. The tour and the anti-tour are co-dependent, co-existing parts of one interconnected whole. On the anti-tour, the tensions accompanying intercultural relationship building are "shrewd little exercises, and they show Vizenor teaching us to speak more carefully, and think more carefully, especially about inherited notions" (Silberman 9-10).

The conversations on the bus intervene in settler colonial discourse through genuine dialogue, but the stops along the anti-tour physically invert consumable signs making them an inherent element of the trickster narrative. When the group visits the Anthropology Department artifact exhibit, Harold stands on top of a glass artifact case and prophesizes animatedly about the

vanishing “white people” (72). This inversion is multifaceted: for one, Fusco’s claim from the quote above that “the physical visual presence of the cultural Other, must be fetishized, silenced, subjugated, or otherwise controlled to be 'appreciated,'” is inverted by Harold standing on top of the glass case, rather than lying dead inside of it, confined within the Vanishing Indian metanarrative (Fusco 45). Exhibition is pervasive because, according to Fusco, exhibitionary “displays were living expressions of colonial fantasies and helped to forge a special place in the European and Euro-American imagination for nonwhite peoples and their cultures” (44). At the site of a museum exhibit, the expected place for Indigenous Peoples is in the past: dead, encased, and silenced. Moreover, Harold is not silent, but enthusiastic as he inverts the vanishing race narrative claiming that “white people will soon disappear...” (72). His refusal to be silenced is reaffirmed when he criticizes constructions of Indigenous Peoples as silent and stoic, exclaiming that “The cultures that anthropologists invent never complain about anything” (75). Harold’s energetic speech and perpetual performativity leads some board members to call into question the *seriousness* of his presentation at the anthropology department and on other occasions throughout the film (75).

At the beginning of the presentation, just prior to departure, Kingsley compares the board member’s participation in this traveling presentation as “a removal, as it were, from the carpets...Where we will experience something serious and ceremonial” (64). Kingsley’s announcement demonstrates the tourist expectations that inform his interactions with the Indigenous characters. He can only describe Indigenous behavior and motivations in stoical terms as “serious” and “ceremonial” while travel for Indigenous Peoples must be placed in the devastating context of removal (64). The brutality of removal is lost on the other board members as they express concerns over distance and time, inverting the historical relationships around

removal in which settlers forcibly drove Indigenous Peoples from their lands to distant locations without preparing them for the conditions of the journey ahead. As the presentation unfolds, Kingsley's projection that the tour will be serious and ceremonial is complicated by the parking lot naming ceremony, the softball game, and the visit to the anthropology department. Each of these stops serve to illuminate the assumed understandings of *seriousness*, or in a tourist context, *authenticity*, but they do so by inversion.

The site at which one might most expect to encounter seriousness is at the naming ceremony. Cultural tourists are known to trivialize this ceremony by requesting or self-bestowing an "Indian name" in a practice that appropriates a static conception Indianness. The anti-tour naming ceremony is facetious and intentionally tactless to demonstrate the absurdity of a non-Native person desiring an "authentic Indian name" with any *seriousness*. However, Vizenor inverts the perversity of granting an Indian name to someone outside of a Native community by constructing the type of naming ceremony that only a non-Native could take part in — a fake one. The naming ceremony in the screenplay satirizes the spectacle of consuming Indianness by appropriating symbols of Indigenous spiritual practices. Ironies prevail when Harold uses a cigar box with a cigar store Indian on the label to assign an "urban dream name" to a few of the board members (69). The names are arbitrarily selected from a box of Monopoly property cards and the inversion of an authentic naming ceremony confronts tourist assumptions about Indigenous spiritual practices: the ceremony takes place in an urban parking lot, not in a natural landscape or obvious sacred site; the names are drawn from a game that represents Euroamericans as capitalist land-grabbers; and the feast is frybread from a parking lot food cart that the board members do not find particularly appetizing compared to their fantasies of the First Thanksgiving (68-70).

The sacredness of performing a naming ceremony or constructing an exhibit of human remains is made obvious by inverting the solemnity of each when the naming ceremony is satirized and the human remains are literally stomped upon. At the naming ceremony, Kingsley questions if Harold is serious, to which Harold replies, “Who could be serious about anything in a parking lot at a shopping center . . . Use your imagination” (69). Harold’s response combined with the spectacle of a naming ceremony demonstrates the lack of sincerity accompanying any ceremony for someone who is not apart of the community from which the ceremony originates. By satirizing a recognizable symbol of Indigenous spirituality, Vizenor inverts assumptions about what constitutes a ceremony and how some practices are gravely serious despite comic deliveries.

The final stop on the anti-tour is the softball diamond. Inversions abound once again as the game brings levity to the injustices perpetuated by colonial ideologies. The softball game itself becomes a type of ceremony and by the end it appears the board of directors have finally arrived on the trickster playing field even if they still struggle to navigate the plethora of tribal stories. In contrast to the touristic consumption of spectacle, the board members participate in the game and finally let go of the foundation game of respectability. The inversion of “Anglo” and “Indian” team names enables them to participate in the satirical recapitulation of anti-settler rhetoric, since the board members wear the “Indian” shirts and the Warriors of Orange are on the “Anglo” team. The mutual performance of stereotypical otherness exorcises the cultural projections that prevent genuine relationships to form between the board members and the Warriors of Orange, “which achieves a community of individuals on relatively equal status,” effectively “leveling the hierarchy” (Blaeser 154). The only board member still expressing anti-Indigenous stereotypes at

the end of the screenplay is Ted, while the rest of the board members appear uncomfortable by his aggressive ignorance.

Back in the boardroom, Ted begins to ask a question that he hopes will not offend anyone because ultimately, as Harold guesses, it is a racist question. The Warriors of Orange begin guessing what Ted's question might be, drawing from a plethora of static representations that are all too familiar: "Would you like to meet a beautiful tribal woman?," "How about a hunting guide?," "Sweat lodge ceremonies...Purification?," "A shaman, an herbal healing then?," "Leather and beadwork" (79-80). When Plumero guesses that Ted's question is about alcoholism, the purpose of the trickster narrative appears complete. In contrast to the static and stereotypical expectations projected on Indigenous peoples, Ted demonstrates that anti-Indigenous stereotypes are narrowly predictable. Ted is duped by his own assumptions of knowledge supremacy, but in the end it serves to benefit the Warriors of Orange. Harold manipulates Ted's racist assumptions by claiming that "Pinch Beans are the perfect booze blocker," effectively securing Ted's vote on their foundation grant proposal (81). The anti-tour concludes on the Watteau Point Reservation in northern Minnesota exactly where it began with promises for a trickster revolution. Through trickster inversions, the satirical anti-tour proves to be a more effective strategy of knowledge production than tourism to educational sites. At the end of the screenplay, the board of directors have experienced a radical shift in perspective, a transcendence of their worldview by engaging the Warriors of Orange's artful storytelling.

According to Blaeser, "through the engagement with trickster consciousness, a reader should experience liberation and healing" because the traditional role of the trickster is the "trickster-transformer" (163; 137). While Blaeser writes specifically about Vizenor's



Anishinaabeg trickster narratives, her analysis is applicable to Henry who writes from the same tradition. As Blaeser explains,

To embody tribal ideas of trickster in written form without relegating them to a static state, he centers his energy on inviting involvement, creating momentum, eliciting response — he centers his energy on breaking out of print....But the movement is not only from author to reader, from writing to reading. The intended movement is from author to reader to actor, from writing to reading to experience. The thread from Vizenor's prose intends to extend beyond print to life. As a wordmaker, Vizenor seeks to engender survival, and the key to survival is vitality, life, continuance.... He thus symbolically vivifies the Indian identity, picturing it in an endless process of transformation, engage in a trickster dynamic. (162-63)

Both Henry and Vizenor envision the restoration of balance and Indigenous liberation. The hierarchy between the white foundation board of directors and the reservation Indians is leveled at the end of the anti-tour, while justice is realized at the end of the court hearing over Moses Four Bear's amputated leg. In "The New 'Frontier' of Native American Literature: Dis-Arming History with Tribal Humor," Blaeser explains that the "aim is to liberate the reader from the so-called facts of history and to allow them to imagine for themselves the what-ifs of story" (167). Humor is an essential element of trickster narratives and when Vizenor and Henry use satire in conjunction with the form of a screenplay, dynamic performativity of Indianness is enacted on the page, stage, and screen to explore a multitude of "what-ifs" for the purpose of survival and social justice worldmaking.

This chapter relies on Henry and Vizenor to demonstrate strategies for demanding accountability from intersecting settler institutions that perpetuate Indigenous exploitation at the sites of knowledge production, specifically, the museum and the tour. These fictional circumstances envision the broad possibilities for structural change in settler colonial institutions

of knowledge production. Henry and Vizenor both critique the dehumanizing exhibition of Indigenous peoples and cultures. Henry demonstrates how metanarrative claims of authenticity and accuracy in museum discourse hinge on the rise of anthropology and the exhibition of artifacts as circulating symbols celebrating imperialism and institutionalized Eurocentrism. Harold of Orange upsets the hierarchies built into tourist practices by serving as the anti-tour guide that undercuts institutionalized progressivist metanarratives about Indigenous Peoples. Relying on Blaeser, this chapter examines the trickster figure's strategies to reestablish an egalitarian narrative space. The intention behind my analytical emphasis on the trickster figure is to present a pivotal model for upsetting colonial metanarratives in museums, as well as those found at the intersections of academia and tourism.

The cross-genre narrative strategy employed by Vizenor and Henry is an Ojibwe-specific narrative intervention in generic classifications. According to David Stirrup in "Narrative Community, Community Narrative: (Anti-) Academic Discourse in Gordon Henry Jr.'s *The Light People*,"

Generic conventions by necessity dictate particular boundaries and patterns by which individual texts can be understood. It is needless to say that genre is an imposition, a set of parameters designed to help us understand a particular work of art, film, or literature, and so on while not necessarily (except in the most general terms) being a set of rules and regulations to be adhered to. (154)

While I consider Henry and Vizenor to be more critical of academia's knowledge supremacy than academic discourse per se, Stirrup's observations complicate how genre functions in both writers bodies of work. Vizenor and Henry appear to break with conventional literary genres, but in actuality, they both strategically adhere to trickster narrative strategies by resisting generic

confinement throughout their texts. Breaking with narrative confinement in every genre and discursive context is an inevitable form of resistance, “For only if Anishinaabeg refuse to accept and be determined by the romantic linear history which ends with the tragic death or museumization of Indian people, can they continue to imagine their place in the story of ongoing life” (Blaeser 172).

*Chapter Four — Transformative Hubs: Self-Representation in Indigenous Narrative Spaces*

Decolonial worldmaking is about healing. As the last few chapters have made clear, exploitative settler methodologies, anti-Indigenous rhetoric, and intersecting institutionalized oppression shape the sites of knowledge production in the settler colonial context of the Americas. However, these practices and institutions are not static and Indigenous interventions in pedagogies, methodologies, and metanarratives resist settler colonial epistemes by imagining decolonial Indigenous futures and implementing practices for social justice worldmaking. In this chapter, I embrace Kimberly M. Blaeser’s characterization of the trickster-transformer and examine how Indigenous worldviews about the interrelationships that shape space “[break] out of print” as local actors in trans-Indigenous contexts engender experiences that reshape Indigenous-settler relationships in the present and for lifetimes yet to be realized (162-63). In Milwaukee, Wisconsin I received my formal training as a knowledge producer. This localized experience of Indigenous worldmaking is situated in the most segregated city of the United States, whose name in Anishinabemowin translates to “Gathering Place By the Water.” The efforts of Indigenous Wisconsinites to remember and realize Milwaukee’s namesake is vast and unrelenting. I cannot and will not claim to be an expert about efforts to Indigenize and decolonize Milwaukee and the state of Wisconsin. I will, however, examine two physical sites of knowledge production — the Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) and the Indian Community School of Milwaukee (ICS) — for the interventions Indigenous Peoples have made to create spaces that bring healing to their communities.

My point of entry for the ethnographic study of Indigenous spacemaking in Milwaukee, Wisconsin begins at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee (UWM). Situated just a couple miles from the shore of Michigami (Lake Michigan), I navigated this Urban Indigenous

landscape under the guidance of Professor Kimberly M. Blaeser. After our first meeting, Professor Blaeser gave me an Indigenous Studies tour of the campus, introducing me to the staff in American Indian Student Services, and showing me the location of the newly established Electa Quinney Institute for American Indian Education (EQI), which projected austerity upon my arrival that Fall 2010. I took a class with Professor Blaeser in Spring 2011 where I learned that EQI was established through a gift from the Indian Community School. Its name honors the first female public school teacher in the territory that would later become the state of Wisconsin (Loew 141). Electa Quinney was Stockbridge-Mohican who migrated with her community from New York to Wisconsin in the 1820s and began teaching both Indigenous American and Euroamerican children in a one-room schoolhouse opened and funded by her tribe in 1828 (Electa Quinney Institute; Loew 142).

During that semester in Professor Blaeser's class, I also learned about the relationship between the American Indian Studies Program (AIS) at UWM and the Newberry Consortium for American Indian Studies (NCAIS) sponsored by the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at The Newberry Library in Chicago. Then a Professor of History and Chair of AIS, Cary Miller was the faculty liaison to NCAIS, which includes almost twenty member institutions who select a graduate student of Indigenous Studies from their respective institutions to participate in the annual seminar at the Newberry every summer. I had the privilege of participating in the summer of 2011 and connected with graduate students and faculty members in my field that continue to form the academic community of which I am a part. The director of the McNickle Center at the time of my visit, Dr. Scott Stevens, met with each student to discuss their research interests and offer guidance to the Newberry's vast collections. Those whose work was related to the study of ancient Indigenous texts were invited to a small

group viewing of the Popul Vuh, which I had studied in translation under Professor Victor Montejo at the University of California — Davis. My participation in the NCAIS summer seminar, not only established professional and personal relationships in my field of study, but whetted my interests in archival research, settler sites of knowledge production, colonial collecting, and on-the-ground Indigenous interventions in these exploitative practices. My participation in this program also qualified me for a short-term research fellowship and I was able to return to the Newberry in the Summer of 2017 to study with the assistance of the new director of the McNickle Center, Dr. Patricia Morroquin-Norby, and the current director of the Newberry Library's Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography, Dr. James R. Akerman.<sup>7</sup> The introduction of my dissertation is the result of the archival research I conducted on cartographic representations of trans-Indigenous geographies during my 2017 visit.

In 2012, following severe cuts to the Wisconsin public education system by the Walker Administration, Professor Blaeser founded the Milwaukee Native American Literary Cooperative (MNALC) explaining that “our budgets got smaller, so our community got bigger.” MNALC was composed of organizers from UWM, ICS, Marquette University, Milwaukee Area Technical College, and Woodland Pattern. The first event MNALC organized was the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Returning the Gift Writers Gathering (RTG). The gathering took place in several locations around Milwaukee including UWM, Indian Summer Festival, ICS, Marquette University, and Woodland Pattern Book Center. MNALC’s membership has changed shape, but its member institutions continue to bring valuable programming to Milwaukee. It was during RTG 2012 that I first met Dr. Margaret Noodin, who would later become the director of EQI and professor at UWM. Professor Noodin has transformed the once austere EQI offices into a

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<sup>7</sup> In April 2019, Dr. Patricia Morroquin-Norby accepted a position as Senior Executive/Assistant Director at the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in New York.

welcoming community space for Indigenous students, faculty, staff, allies, and guests. Laughter, drumming, singing, and Anishinaabemowin can regularly be heard spilling from this vibrant learning space. I have met many amazing students and faculty members, I have been fed delicious foods, I have been gifted medicines, found institutional support, received travel funding, participated in organizational strategizing, and have had the privilege of being welcomed into this community time and time again. Professor Noodin is also my liaison to the Indian Community School that serves the Milwaukee metropolitan region in Franklin, Wisconsin.

When I began teaching “Intro to American Indian Literature,” a course cross-listed with American Indian Studies and the English Department at UWM, Professor Noodin made sure I had access to Dr. Patty Loew’s seminal history book *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal*, which formed the foundation of my course subtitled, “History, Literature, & Sovereignty of Wisconsin Tribes.” I learned that the course I was teaching had an activist history of intervention in the Wisconsin public education curriculum from 4<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> grade. The course fulfilled requirements of Act 31, a statewide mandate that requires School of Education students and those seeking a Wisconsin teaching license to study and teach the status of Wisconsin’s Indigenous peoples as sovereign nations with long standing historical relationships to both the state and the nation-state. Act 31 is a statute that went into effect in 1991 as a response to the violent protests by Euroamerican settlers who harassed, intimidated, and vandalized the property of Ojibwe peoples while they exercised their treaty protected rights to hunt, fish, and gather off-reservation in Northern Wisconsin during the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s. This statewide statute is a groundbreaking Indigenous-led intervention in public

education that contributes toward Indigenizing knowledge production and healing through education in the State of Wisconsin.

While teaching this class over the course of three semesters, I continued to organize as a member of MNALC bringing Indigenous writers, artists, and scholars to Milwaukee and the surrounding community. Events were often hosted at UWM, Marquette University, ICS, and Woodland Pattern Book Center, and I required students in my classes to attend at least one event during the semester and write an analysis that situated it within our course content. I ordered course texts through Woodland Pattern Book Center, because it is an independent, nonprofit organization with one of the largest Indigenous literature collections among indie bookstores in the United States. Woodland Pattern also regularly hosts Indigenous-centered programming, and their staff has worked to co-sponsor events with MNALC that continues to bring national, international, and global Indigenous voices to Milwaukee. As a guest in the midwest for the last nine years, my experience of this urban Indigenous landscape has been rich but limited. To establish oneself as an expert within an Indigenous cosmovision in Wisconsin would require one to live here for generations, forming intergenerational relationships to this land, the human and nonhuman peoples, and the waters through its many, many seasons. Since the spaces in which I have established relationships are all institutionalized sites of knowledge production, this is the urban, trans-Indigenous landscape on which I am positioning my analysis of MPM and ICS.

The Milwaukee Public Museum is Wisconsin's Natural History Museum, founded in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, but originally chartered in 1882 ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). MPM is located in downtown Milwaukee and it features four floors of exhibits, a planetarium, and a theatre. My analysis of this site is limited to representations of Indigenous Peoples within the broader discourse of the museum space. Most of the Indigenous North American exhibits are located on the second floor,



and I pay particular attention to the exhibit, “A Tribute to Survival,” for its attempt at Indigenizing MPM as a site of knowledge production. However, problems with representations of Indigenous Peoples persist throughout the museum, complicating the intervention efforts that went into developing this particular exhibit, so I will briefly discuss representations of Indigenous Peoples in other parts of the museum, as well.

I visited MPM for the first time in the summer of 2018 when I began research for composing this fieldwork chapter. As guests approach the main entrance of the museum they will inevitably pass a cast-iron sculpture of what appears to be an Indian with a mohawk, wearing a loin cloth, and holding a bow of the bow and arrow variety. His arms are open and he is looking up at a small flock of four geese. Since the sculpture is affixed high above on the outer wall to the right of the entrance, it is unclear whether the Indian’s bent knees suggest he is kneeling, or he is mid-jump. This is the first representation of Indianness that visitors to the museum will encounter and it appears before one even enters the building. Not only does this sculpture of stereotypical Indian stasis communicate an “ethos of pastness” to borrow Pauline Wakeham’s phrasing, but it does so in a way that reinforces the power dynamics of knowledge supremacy (Wakeham 42). As Wakeham explains, the “affective and corporeal responses of visitors are never just ‘innate’ or ‘pure’ but always already mediated by power” (69). By forcing visitors to look up at this visual preface to the internal museum discourse, guests are primed to expect that the settler colonial metanarrative about Indigenous peoples will dominate the information exhibited inside.

While Wakeham’s analysis specifically examines representations of Indians in close proximity to taxidermic specimens, several of the same semiotic functions are at work in this sculpture. As others have argued,

the inclusion of aboriginal objects in a natural history museum categorizes indigenous groups as part of the history of ‘nature’ rather than that of ‘culture.’ Such taxonomization reinscribes the conflation of the semiotic figures of ‘aboriginally’ and ‘animality’ while reinforcing the concomitant racist ideology that categorizes native peoples as lesser species in the colonial hierarchies of anthropocentric white supremacy. (Wakeham 78)

Furthermore, the naturalized proximity of animals and Indians not only “carries the badges of colonial stereotypes of primitivism and savagery,” but both “appear frozen in a primitive past that is yet marked as anachronistic and uncivilized in contrast to the present of the museum visitor (Wakeham 78; 82). As Wakeham observes, this is a “longstanding discursive strategy ... that has and continues to be instrumental in legitimating the governmental subjugation of Native peoples and their territory” (44). Thus, MPM not only perpetuates but forefronts the settler colonial metanarrative for both visitors approaching the museum and passersby.

Once visitors enter the building they will find only two exhibits on the ground floor. The first celebrates the green roof, solar wall, and courtyard for stormwater collection to highlight the ecofriendly initiatives taken by the museum. The second exhibit is the Hebior Mammoth, excavated in the 1990s and named after the Kenosha farmer who found the skeleton on the land he occupied ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). While the museum website claims the Hebior Mammoth as a significant archaeological discovery because “there are visible butchering marks apparent on some of the bones” proving human existence in southeast Wisconsin existed 1,000 years earlier than scientists previously believed, the museum narrative does not position these early Wisconsin inhabitants in relationship to contemporary Indigenous Peoples who date their presence in the region to time immemorial ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). In fact, exhibits on the second floor go to great lengths to distance contemporary Indigenous Peoples from the region’s earliest known inhabitants.

However, this ethnographic study is following the trajectory of the museum narrative, so it is important to note that the ground floor exhibits can be viewed without purchasing an admission ticket. Thus far, the museum has presented itself as a Eurocentric, but environmentally conscious site of knowledge production.

Once an admission ticket is purchased, able-bodied visitors may ascend the Grand Staircase to the first floor exhibits. At the end of the staircase, in the center of the floor space is a tribute to the wonder cabinet as the precursor of the modern museum titled “A Sense of Wonder.” The caption accompanying this exhibit explains that during the Victorian era “A museum visit was a vivid way of experiencing the exotic.” No critical analysis addresses the rhetoric of Eurocentrism that defines some cultures as exotic based on their relative positions to Europeans. In the next paragraph, however, the narrative emphasizes that MPM staff members are guided by “current research questions, not the lure of the extraordinary,” to imply that theirs is a logical approach to collecting and preserving the world’s knowledge, while they continue the ostensibly benevolent practice of colonial extraction. More information about the “Sense of Wonder” exhibit is available on the MPM website, which states: “This area of MPM is designed to suggest a late-Victorian museum exhibition. At that time, museums of natural history often emphasized collections of the beautiful, the rare, and the unusual, but generally without context” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). In the museum, the exhibit includes no further context for the random assortment of items it features, crammed together according to the cluttered style of a wonder cabinet to uncritically reinforce the colonial power dynamics of museological knowledge production. According to Wakeham, ““meta-museums,”” like the “Sense of Wonder” exhibit, “could self-consciously renarrativize their installations in ways that would reveal the knowledge/power mechanisms operative in the display of natural history,” yet choose instead “historical amnesia

with regard to the institution's deleterious implications for colonizing Native territory and...overwrite the violence and aggression at the heart of sentimentality" (65; 81).

Surrounding the Grand Stairway is the "Exploring Life on Earth" exhibit, wherein colonization is depoliticized as a natural part of evolution. In one diorama depicting the Silurian seas, the heading reads, "Colonization of the Land..." and the text that follows discusses the evolutionary adaptation of sea life to land dwelling. These newly evolved land creatures are referred to as "the earliest land colonizers," contributing to the Enlightenment metanarrative that informed the Vanishing Indian myth and erased colonial culpability in genocide. By positioning scientists as preservationists in this initial exhibit, the museum lays the groundwork for "staging the death of the Indian as a species that was marked for inevitable extinction...[naturalizing] colonial violence against Aboriginal peoples while perpetuating fascination with and nostalgia for this supposed loss" (Wakeham 84). Other first floor exhibits focus on natural history, Eurocentric representations of historic Milwaukee, and living specimens in the "Bugs Alive!" and "Puelicher Butterfly Wing" exhibits, but the narrative thread of Indigenous representation is more explicit on the second floor.

The second floor exhibits feature an abundance of Indigenous representations and the most explicit ideological dissonance in the museum metanarrative. According to the museum website,

The Second Floor exhibits take you on a journey through North America, intertwining natural environments and Native American cultures. Habitats range from the Wisconsin Woodlands to the Northeast forests and Florida mangroves, to Southwest deserts and the Northwest coast. Native American cultures, both contemporary and past, are featured

among these habitats, subtly making the connection between people and their environment. ([Mpm.edu](http://Mpm.edu))

By collapsing Indigenous cultures under the rubric of natural history with terms like “habitats,” MPM continues the “troubling proximity between, and conflation of, the semiotic fixtures of ‘animals’ and ‘aboriginals,’” which Wakeham claims is “colonialism’s longstanding discursive strategy of radicalizing the native other via recourse to tropes of animality” (44). Stereotypes of the Indigenous other as a closer relative to animals in the natural environment than humans and Eurocentric definitions of civilization “aid and abet the state and its apparatuses in continuing a political economy of exploitation” (Wakeham 44). These native-animal representations perpetuate exploitations of both Indigenous Peoples and the environment by imposing a colonial gaze in which the MPM visitor is positioned as a distant observer of nature, rather than recognizing themselves as an active participant in the interrelated ecosystem that forms our shared environment.

The MPM website lists four permanent exhibits on the second floor: “A Tribute to Survival,” “Native Games,” “North America,” and “Wisconsin Woodlands.” The latter two exhibits perpetuate many of the pervasive problems that prevent the decolonization of natural history museums, while the former two exhibits attempt to intervene in these oppressive discourses with limited effectiveness. The following pages will briefly examine each of these four exhibits, but the focal point of this analysis is the centerpiece of the “Tribute to Survival” exhibit, which features a life-size powwow scene representing Wisconsin’s seven tribes titled, “Indian Country” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). This exhibit took “hundreds of hours” of work as a collaborative effort between local Indigenous community members and MPM ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). However, as Amy Lonetree asserts in *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal*

*Museums*, “Developing community-collaborative exhibitions demands more than just being well versed in the scholarly literature on respective topics or on the latest in exhibition practices. It is about building trust, developing relationships, communicating, sharing authority, and being humble” (164). While it is not my intention to disparage the extensive work that went into the “Indian Country” exhibition, my examination of the narratives in the surrounding exhibits and the broader metanarrative of MPM illuminate how attempts at sharing authority are still situated within asymmetrical power dynamics that privilege Eurocentric knowledge supremacy.

In the introduction of Lonetree’s monograph she presents four styles in which ethnographic collections were displayed and the need for a fifth to be developed according to the late Michael Ames (30-31). The first style is the cabinets of curiosities, which I have already discussed elsewhere, followed by: “the natural history approach,” “contextualism,” “formalist,” and the fifth, “insider’s point of view” (Lonetree 31-32). The exhibits present at MPM are designed primarily according to “the natural history approach” and “contextualism,” except for the “Indian Country” powwow centerpiece which represents the “insider’s point of view” technique. As Lonetree explains, the natural history approach

is linked to the development of the fields of anthropology, and it ushered in the professionalization of museum staff. The displays presented material culture as ‘specimens’ and Native people as ‘parts of nature like the flora and fauna, and therefore their arts and crafts were to be classified and presented according to similarity of form, evolutionary state of development, or geographical origin. (31)

As a natural history museum, the narrative trajectory of MPM’s exhibits are dominated by the natural history approach, while the style of most exhibit displays incorporate contextualism, which “[place] objects in a simulated environment of a particular culture or time period”

(Lonetree 31). The “North America” and “Wisconsin Woodlands” exhibitions represent these two styles, first with “North America” approaching Indigenous Peoples from a broad regional perspective, which excludes Mexico from the continent, followed by a Wisconsin specific exploration of Indigenous cultures in the “Wisconsin Woodlands” exhibit.

Unfortunately, “North America” begins with a panel of the Bering Strait theory, which does not represent Indigenous worldviews. MPM attempts to mitigate these conflicting narratives by including an epigraph that explicates the shared premise of Indigenous worldviews before presenting the settler colonial theory. The epigraph is a quote by George Amour (Ojibwe) from 1993 wherein he states, “No matter which creation story you look to, you will find they all say we were put here. Whether we came from the sky or from the earth, we were placed here by the Creator.” There is no further explication of Indigenous worldviews or creation stories and the epigraph takes up, roughly ten percent of the entire panel. The majority of the panel is a large, borderless map of North American, Central America, the Northwestern part of South America, and the Caribbean Islands. The only text on the map highlights the areas relevant to the Bering Strait Theory of migration with arrows sweeping from the upper left in “Siberia,” through an intact icy blue region labeled “Beringia,” and down into “North America.” The explanatory text takes up approximately one sixth of the panel, including the epigraph, but six times more narrative space is allocated to explaining the Bering Strait Theory. While the body of the text explicitly acknowledges disagreements among anthropologists regarding whether “the first people, known today as Indians” arrived 12,500 years ago or much earlier, authority over the narrative is still located with the anthropologists, rather than Indigenous creation stories. The conflict of narratives presented by the juxtaposition of the epigraph with the cartographic representation and the body of text is only implicitly acknowledged by claiming that “Beringia

was so big...those who lived there as hunters and foragers would not have known they were moving from one place to another over such a long period of time.” Ironically, the last paragraph of the text attributes the assumed inaccuracies of Indigenous creation stories to poor navigation, while the first paragraph uses the label “Indian,” a gross colonial misnomer based on European explorers’ geographical disorientation.

The rhetorical contradictions in this single panel illustrate how MPM serves as a “site of selective memory” while asserting Eurocentric authority over knowledge production (Wakeham 44). A strategy deployed by museum professionals for presenting sensitive and controversial topics is to “present a range of perspective and leave it to visitors to weight the value of each” (Lonetree 163). However, as Lonetree observes, “[instead] of privileging Native voices otherwise not heard, [the multivocal approach] potentially buries them in a hodgepodge of conflicting views, marginalizing and minimizing the wisdom embodied in native origin stories” (162). The panel described above utilizes the multivocal approach to present the controversy surrounding the Bering Strait Theory and in doing so, fails to avoid the pitfalls Lonetree identifies with such a strategy. While the quote presenting an Indigenous worldview is positioned as an epigraph, the function of an epigraph is to frame the body of the text that follows. However, the epigraph in this panel only vaguely alludes to a conflict of narratives when one examines its relationships to the body of the text and the cartographic depiction that serve to overwhelm the validity of creation stories. As Lonetree observes, “tribal origin stories have not been privileged, and if they are mentioned, museums present them as quaint myths of primitive peoples. They are not taken seriously or treated as having profound and real meaning” (163). Unfortunately, the drawbacks of the multivocal approach pervade MPM and despite efforts to present Indigenous voices they remain marginalized.



The rest of the “North America” exhibit is styled according to the “natural history approach” with “contextualism” display techniques. It covers several geographical regions and the Indigenous cultures that assumably evolved there. It is important to note that MPM organizes Indigenous Peoples according to geographical groups with cultural similarities, rather than by their self-identified tribal nations. The geographical regions include: the US Southwest, the West Coast, the Rocky Mountains and Great Basin, the US Southeast, and the Northwest Coast. The only time a specific tribal nation is named is if it is well known for the region, or if the collection of artifacts associated with the tribe were gathered by a specific anthropologist. For example, there is an angled side-panel featuring Chief Joseph and describing the Nez Perce War in the “The Rocky Mountains and The Great Basin” display. The side-panel is small and more difficult to read compared to the front facing description of the geological features of the region. The tribally specific information is literally in the margins of the display while taxidermic animals and plant matter are centrally located. In the Southwestern region, the Navajo are specifically identified, which I assume is because they are the largest tribe in the United States. However, the Hopi are also named because the first curator of anthropology at MPM, Samuel Barrett, collected over 3,000 items from them in 1911. Rather than identifying the specific artisans and craftspeople who made the items, Barrett is honored as a “visionary” for using motion picture cameras to record his expeditions, which later served in the creation of “innovative exhibits” containing murals and replicas of plants that gained national attention for their educational value.

To its credit, the Samuel Barrett display does address the Vanishing Indian stereotype. On a note card titled “Museum Collecting Frenzy and the Myth of the Vanishing Indians,” the museum narrative contextualizes Barrett’s expeditions as part of a broader anthropological trend in “a new area of research.” It characterizes collecting as the work of concerned “anthropologists

like Barrett” and positions MPM as a cutting edge institution in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that was “focused on collecting EVERYTHING they could to record the existence of native peoples at a certain time and place.” Ironically, this notecard is surrounded by black and white photos of nameless Indigenous peoples, whose images were collected in an act of ostensibly colonial beneficence, but not their identities, worldviews, or contributions to MPM’s collections.

The regional displays in the “North America” exhibition are accompanied by a linear timeline of Indigenous evolutionary eras, continuing the early anthropological desire to contain Indigenous Peoples and cultures within temporal and spatial colonial matrices. The evolutionary eras of “prehistoric indians” include: “Hunters and Gatherers: Archaic Cultures - 8000 to 1000 B.C.,” “Mound Builders: Woodland Culture - 1000 B.C. to 700 A.D.,” and “Village Dwellers and Temple Builders: Mississippian Culture - 700 to 1700 A.D.” The parallel narratives tracing geographical regions and evolutionary eras appear to accurately locate Indigenous Peoples in space and time with scientific authority. However, upon closer inspection, narrative gaps remain in the museum timeline. For example, the Archaic era is dated from 8k - 1k B.C. marking the presence of the earliest “prehistoric indians” in North America and corroborating the Bering Strait Theory timeline that dates human arrival in North America at least 12,500 years ago, or approximately 10k B.C. In the “Wisconsin Woodlands” exhibition, however, the “Cultural Periods in Wisconsin” display includes a timeline with “Paleo-Indians” that extends to 13k B.C. Yet, the same display implies that because “we do not know the names of the American Indian groups of Wisconsin’s distant past” we cannot confirm [nor deny] that “the American Indians of Wisconsin’s past [are] related to the American Indians who live here today.” However, if one recalls the phrasing of the Bering Strait Theory panel discussed earlier: “the first people” of the Americas are “known today as Indians.” This minute narrative dissonance between MPM

exhibits reveals that the museum's scientific authority is not as stable, detached, or accurate as it might initially appear. The museum metanarrative continues to protect the museum's interests as a settler colonial institution situated on Indigenous lands. Here, Wakeham's observation of the Banff Park Museum is an applicable analysis of MPM because as it "attempts to contain and to trivialize the concept of aboriginally...the native objects displayed therein constitute a point of rupture, a return of the museums's repressed relation to colonial violence and its representational and material exploitation of indigeneity" (81).

The "Wisconsin Woodlands" exhibition contains many of the same strategies, and drawbacks as the "North America" exhibition. While "North America" attempts to offer a natural history of Indigenous cultures in broad spatial and temporal strokes, "Wisconsin Woodlands" attempts to offer a detailed, regionally specific representation of the Indigenous cultures in Wisconsin. In several large display cases, plant replicas and Indigenous artifacts are organized according to Wisconsin's seasonal uses. For example, the "Autumn" panel features instruments for collecting wild rice, "Summer" includes fishing and farming tools, and "Spring" displays devices for maple sap collecting. "Winter" contains three separate panel displays with artifacts separated according to three categories of winter specific activities: ice fishing, hunting, and recreation. The artifacts across seasons are all attributed to "Wisconsin Woodland Indians," which "effectively deploys these items as synecdoches of a spectacularized and homogenized native other" (Wakeham 78). The seasonal displays do not include any "contextualism" techniques to simulate natural environments like many found in the "North America" exhibit. Rather, this exhibit appears designed with "formalist" elements that highlight craftsmanship and "portray the pieces as fine art" (Lonetree 31).

Along with display techniques, labeling terminology can be ideologically revealing and troubling in parts of MPM's "Wisconsin Woodlands" exhibition. For example, the "Wisconsin Prairie Plants" display includes detailed replicas of various wildflowers and prairie plants "taxonomized according to quite specific nomenclature, [while] the native materials are classified via the totalizing rubric of the 'Indian'" (Wakeham 78). In one particularly glaring example of this homogenizing colonial discourse, artifacts are organized and labeled as simply "Indian" or "Pioneer." In a display case titled, "The Woodlands" (pictured below), no further information is provided about the specific items on display, which also includes multicolored leaves to simulate an autumn woodland environment. However, the relationships constructed by the mere suggestion of juxtaposing these items into reductive dichotomous categories makes a troubling statement about Indigenous-Settler relationships.

The caption for this display reads, "The forest shaped the life of woodland Indians and early pioneers," and goes on to list several natural resources that the ecosystem provides for human survival. In addition to assuming that these two homogenous groups actually identified as "Indians" and "Pioneers," juxtaposing these categories in a single display implies that they co-existed with equal subject positions, equal experiences of the environment, and equal rights to land. The relationships that colonists and Indigenous Peoples have to the land are very different, since Indigenous Peoples subsisted in the woodlands ecosystem since time immemorial, while the so-called pioneers had recently arrived intending to maximize exploitation of the natural environment for profit. While there are only five items that appear to be categorized as "Pioneer" compared to the multitudes of Indigenous items throughout the museum, in this particular display, the ratio appears to be 2:1. The intentions guiding the design choices here are unclear,

but it is clear that minimal effort was put toward intervening in oversimplified stereotypical representations that sentimentalize early Indigenous-settler contact relationships.



Image: Author photo of MPM “Wisconsin Woodlands” exhibit display case.

The use of display cases made of sturdy wood and thick glass creates another type of relationship dynamic that suggests the visitor of the present is far removed from Indigenous Peoples, both temporally and culturally. According to Wakeham,

By sealing away these native objects behind thick glass, the display suggest the fragility of the materials within, positioning the ‘artifacts’ (and by extension, ‘Indians’ themselves) as relics of the past, so close to the point of erosion that they must be hermetically preserved to prevent further decay....the confinement and containment of these objects within glass and wood cabinets constructs these materials as simultaneously fragile and powerful, resonant with mysterious ability to transcend the quotidian uses for which they were originally intended and to spark curiosity and fetishistic enthrallment...seeking to spectacularize so-called primitive otherness as a way of sentimentalizing and fetishizing lost native authenticity (Wakeham 80).

While the “Native Games” exhibition continues the practice of sealing away Indigenous materials, it does so in a much more contemporary style compared to the “North America” and “Wisconsin Woodlands” exhibits on the same floor. The protective glass cases are sleek and uncluttered (pictured below). There are no heavy wooden frames present like the other display cases and there are no simulations of a natural setting within the cases. This is the closest example I found of the “formalist” display technique at MPM. The displays in this exhibit are aesthetically arranged and the items appear to be carefully curated. The lacrosse stick mounted on the wall has not only broken with the confines of the glass display case, but it is angled to suggest movement and active liveness.

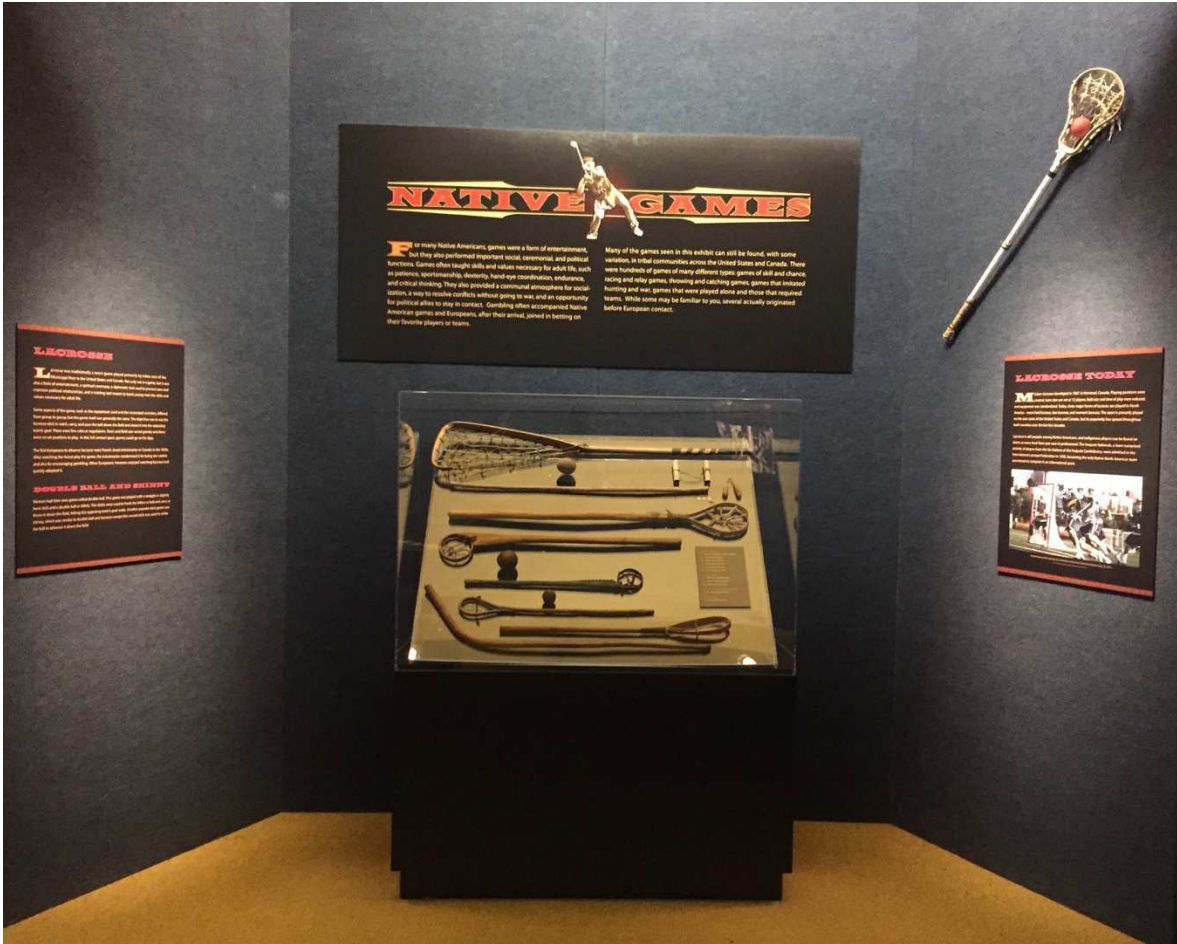


Image: Author photo of MPM “Native Games” exhibit.

While there is no clear indication that the “Native Games” exhibition is among the collaborative projects at MPM, it does contain elements that indicate recent changes to the museum’s approach of exhibiting Indigenous cultures. Citing Ruth Phillips, Amy Lonetree explains that there are two general models for collaborative projects: the multivocal model and the community-based model (36). A significant point of convergence between these two exhibition models “is the desire to move away from object-based presentations that focus on the functions and uses of objects according to ethnographic categories. Instead, the exhibits make stronger connections to the relationships that pieces have to contemporary communities” (Lonetree 37). In the “Native Games” exhibition, MPM presents the cultural context for specific games within Indigenous social and communal relationship practices. While it is still a

generalized description, the MPM website explains that “For many Native Americans, games were a form of entertainment, but they also served important social, ceremonial, and political purposes,” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). In the exhibition, games of chance include those associated with gambling like dice or guessing games, while games of skill are more athletic feats like lacrosse, archery, and racing. A small display also includes games adapted from European traditions, like cards, dominoes, and cribbage. However, the exhibition differs from the “natural history” display approach by emphasizing the role of games in contemporary communities, rather than presenting fetishistic objects from Indigenous communities of the past.

The only truly collaborative MPM exhibition, however, is “A Tribute to Survival,” and its centerpiece display, *Indian Country*. The “Tribute to Survival” exhibition falls clearly under the multivocal exhibit model, which “allows for multiple perspectives... the voices of curators, scholars, and Indigenous people are all present in the interpretive space and offer their own interpretations on the significance of the pieces and themes presented from their respective disciplinary and personal backgrounds” (Lonetree 36). A community-based approach, on the other hand, would mean that “The community is given final authority in all decisions related to the exhibition, from the themes and objects that will be featured to the design of the actual exhibition. The tribal perspective has primacy in interpretations in this model, and exhibition text is typically in the first person” (Lonetree 37). While local Indigenous communities were involved in the creation of “A Tribute to Survival,” it is unclear whether they had final authority over the museum staff facilitating the project. The actual exhibition includes a plaque acknowledging its sponsors and there are several Indigenous organizations among them — like ICS and Omni Bingo of Wisconsin, Inc. — , but no specific consultants are listed.





Image: MPM “Indian Country” diorama from MPM website.

On the MPM website, the “local American Indian community” is credited with making “the powwow outfits and drum used in the exhibit,” and a short film is featured in which community members explain what the exhibit means to them as the life casts are being made from their bodies, but there is little information as to how the project was conceptualized or how authority was shared throughout the design process ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). The museum website links to a memorial page dedicated to the late Nancy Oestreich Lurie, Ph.D., who served as the North American Indian curator and department head of Anthropology at the Milwaukee Public Museum from 1972-93 and oversaw the development of “A Tribute to Survival” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). The website also links to “MPM’s Indian Country Wisconsin” project website, which is a resource for teachers who must meet the requirements of Wisconsin Educational Act 31.

Several community members are interviewed in the four minute film, “The Making of A Tribute to Survival,” but the website does not use an Indigenous first person perspective to describe the display. For example, according to the website description the display “features a

contemporary powwow grand entry scene with 37 life-sized figures dressed in colorful dance attire” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). While this is not incorrect, the “colorful dance attire” would be more accurately described as regalia to communicate the cultural significance of pieces chosen for the exhibit. The music is described under the homogenizing rubric of “American Indian music,” rather than its more specific descriptor as “powwow music,” which would invite opportunities to present the intertribal history of powwows with trans-Indigenous cultural influences. The “[other] segments present the history of American Indian and non-Indian relations” with “[subjects] such as "The First Americans," "Outnumbered and Outarmed," and "Federal Policies and Indian Strategies” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). Conceptually, these display titles recenter settler discourse in the exhibit’s overall narrative that is supposed to feature “aspects of contemporary American Indian life,” but in actuality, only features those aspects that are relevant to settlers ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)).

Throughout the short film, the narrator uses the passive voice to explain that Indigenous Peoples “struggle to maintain ... their cultural identities” without actually naming the settler colonial forces against which Indigenous Peoples continue to struggle. The film frames the project as an important contribution to Indigenous cultural survival, without acknowledging the role that natural history museums, colonial collecting, and the rise of anthropology has in contemporary struggles against ethnocide. The MPM staff led the project, but affirms that they worked closely with the Indian Community to include their perspectives in the exhibit. As an unnamed tribal elder explains in the film, the exhibit “might be a new bridge of communication between the dominant society and us....Educate the kids and when they get older maybe they’ll lose some of that prejudice and discrimination that they were raised with. Those things are important” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). According to Lonetree, “The possibility of decolonizing and indigenizing museums lies in transforming these sites of colonial harm into sites of healing, and restoring

community well-being,” which could explain the shadow of doubt behind the elder’s use of the qualifier “might” in her statement (166). Perhaps she foresaw the limitations of MPM’s project for righting the wrongs of colonialism, but still hoped the exhibit would do important educational work. In addition to education to counter racism and discrimination, other interviewees discuss the significance of dance and community they find at powwows, and the intergenerational connections they have witnessed, but the exhibit is not organized around these subjects that are explicitly important to the Indigenous Peoples consulted by MPM staff.

As Lonetree explains, it is “a great irony that places inextricably linked to the colonization process are also the sites where the difficult aspects of our history can and must be most clearly and forcefully told” (26). As a natural history museum, MPM is definitely breaking with exhibit traditions by providing visitors with several means of engagement to access the knowledge presented in “A Tribute to Survival.” The *Indian Country* powwow display also attempts to represent Indigenous cultures as vibrant and dynamic by building an exhibit “[liberated] from the confines of the encased diorama” (Wakeham 70). Unfortunately, the dancers in the grand entry scene are posed on a turntable that is supposed to move them around the drum, but the turntable has been broken for sometime now, and they stand ironically “frozen in time.” While the broken display represents a breakdown of MPM’s attempt to create a contemporary representation of living Indigenous cultures, the fact that it has remained broken for years only further aligns the “Tribute to Survival” exhibition with the problematic aspects in the broader museum discourse.

Since my focus in this chapter is to examine local sites of knowledge production about Indigenous interrelationships, I have chosen not to discuss the third floor exhibits at MPM. While there are several misrepresentations of Indigenous Peoples from every continent, it is

troubling that MPM continues to affirm the settler colonial nation-state borders in the Americas and the adjacent exoticization of tourist travel. One brief example of this is the “South and Middle America” exhibition where Eurocentric tourist discourse is deployed in a way reminiscent of colonial collectors who wish to gaze on disappearing rarities. The MPM website invites visitors to “Travel at your own pace as you stroll through the markets of Guatemala, to see how the Maya Indian villagers of the southern highlands visited the market for staple items....A moment — the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century — is frozen in time; the women are depicted in traditional clothing rarely seen in present times due to the influence of the modern world on the Indians’ culture” ([mpm.edu](http://mpm.edu)). Aside from the use of the past tense to describe Maya women of Guatemala, the museum makes no effort to dispel the “frozen in time” representation of Indigenous Peoples when they are not from the English-speaking parts of the Americas, i.e. the United States and Canada. Having visited Professor Montejo in his hometown of Jakaltenango, Guatemala, I witnessed firsthand how commonplace traditional attire still is, and that was in 2008, not the 1950s. The narrative presumes that traditional clothing is vanishing and Maya People are from a time in the past, when in reality, this is far from true. MPM also misses the opportunity to discuss the significant Mesoamerican agricultural contributions to the world. The fact that most foods from the region, such as corn, beans, squash, tomatoes, potatoes, and peppers, were carefully cultivated for thousands of years before European colonizers exported them through the global market is completely dismissed from the narrative that insists on describing contemporary Maya People as quaint, rather than recognizing their past and present ingenuity.



Image: Author photo of MPM Guatemalan Maya market diorama.

While “A Tribute to Survival” is an important intervention in “the American master narrative that depends on our erasure and silence,” Lonetree argues that the “time for exhibits that merely state ‘we are still here’ through an emphasis on our contemporary survival is past” (167). She asserts that “decolonizing must include narratives that allow for truth telling and for a critical analysis of colonialism and its ongoing effects” (Lonetree 167). Unfortunately, MPM’s broader discourse throughout the museum as I have briefly discussed fails to critically analyze colonialism and its ongoing effects for Indigenous Peoples across the Americas. The museum metanarrative is a lot for one permanent exhibition to contend with even though these interventions in settler sites of knowledge production are necessary. Nonetheless, MPM is due for an update, which will require a truly collaborative and community-led redesign to properly decolonize and Indigenize MPM and the Wisconsin education system.

The shortcomings of the Wisconsin education system are also the exact motivations behind the founding of the Indian Community School of Milwaukee in 1970. According to Susan Applegate Krouse, the three founding Oneida mothers, Marge Funmaker, Darlene Funmaker Neconish, and Marj Stevens, “[frustrated] with problems in the Milwaukee Public Schools, . . . simply decided to teach their children themselves, combining academics with pride in their own Indian cultures” (534-35). The primary goal of the school is “to restore American Indian dignity and pride in Indian youth through cultural education, social activities and through channeling the natural talents of Indian youth toward making contributions to their community” (qtd in Krouse 535). From its humble beginnings in the living room of one of the founding mothers, ICS is now located on a 200-acre wooded site in Franklin, Wisconsin. ICS is an urban community serving institution with buses that transport Pre-K through 8<sup>th</sup> grade students from metropolitan Milwaukee approximately 10 miles to the Franklin campus. The school site includes 114 indoor classrooms, Boardwalk outdoor classrooms, a remodeled science wing, gymnasium, large dining hall, library, Drum room, indoor green space/Gathering of Nations, community meeting rooms, administrative offices, outdoor gathering places, wooded and earths paths, a traditional teaching lodge, and sports fields ([ics-edu.org](http://ics-edu.org)).

As Krouse observes in “What Came Out of the Takeovers: Women’s Activism and the Indian Community School of Milwaukee,” “Women’s activism, while less visible, has been crucial to sustaining Indian communities, particularly in urban areas, and to maintaining the momentum begun in the heady days of the 1960s and 1970s” (533). At the height of American Indian Movement (AIM) activism, the 1971 takeover of the U.S. Coast Guard Station in Milwaukee provided the first permanent home for ICS. “The school’s presence gave the takeover a legitimacy it would not otherwise have enjoyed” according to Krouse, but ties with AIM



became strained and the “men who had been involved with the takeover...went on to other, more dramatic, activists activities” (536-37). The women however retained the site as the school continued to grow, eventually carrying it through a series of complicated land transactions, financial struggles, and structural changes until ICS arrived at its current permanent home.



Image: Aerial view of ICS landscape from ICS website.

As Krouse points out, ICS initially benefited from the actions of AIM, but it was women who ran the school, acquired its non-profit status, and facilitated the complicated land transactions that eventually established the school in its current location (543). It was another “group of women who formed a new school board and negotiated precedent-setting agreements to obtain trust status and secure the future of the school” (Krouse 543-44). Under the guidance of these urban Indian women, the Forest Country Potawatomi subsidized ICS for twenty years as part of its gaming compact with the state of Wisconsin, enabling ICS leadership to build a \$350 million endowment (Loew 112). In 2003, three years before the Franklin campus opened its doors, Krouse speculated that

Other Indian women will lead the school to its new location. [ICS] survived and prospered under the guidance of urban Indian women. Its founders, its board, its

directors, its teachers, its staff, and its volunteers have all been largely women. They remained focused on their goal of providing a school that would serve their children and their community, perhaps the most successful outcome of all of the takeovers of the Red Power movement. (544)

Other Indigenous women have indeed continued to fulfill the vision of the three founding mothers and Indigenous praxis is built into the architectural design of the school. ICS is open to all Native students and provides tuition-free education to almost 370 students from fifteen different tribes ([ics-edu.org](http://ics-edu.org); Loew 113).

While the history of ICS is important for understanding the vision that guides its present and future praxis as a site of decolonial knowledge production, the historical details are not the focus of my analysis. To recount this history would entail restating much of what Krouse's article has already covered. The significance of ICS history for the analysis that follows is that it is truly a "community-based" project in which tribal perspectives have primacy — it is "a 'we' effort instead of an individual one" and this intertribal vision guides the ways in which relationships to knowledge are narrated within its structure and landscape (Lonetree 36; 129). Decolonial worldmaking is built into every aspect of the school and interrelationships between the eleven eastern woodland Wisconsin tribes, the larger Indigenous American community, and the natural environment create a Wisconsin specific trans-Indigenous cosmovision. Sharing knowledge of "cultural ways must now be introduced in new ways" to address the changes in Indigenous communities as a result of colonial violence that has destroyed sources of knowledge, traumatized generations with boarding school programs, and interrupted Indigenous ways of transmitting knowledge between generations (Lonetree 153). As Lonetree observes, "sites of oppression have the potential to transform into sites of revitalization and autonomy" and ICS



practices this challenging and transformative work everyday by making students keepers of knowledge that they can share with their families and communities (166).

ICS is “a site of knowledge making and remembering” (to borrow Lonetree’s description of a decolonial museum) and every effort was made to ensure the design of the school reflected its vision. The architect, Antoine Predock, was hired along with Onieda Professor of Architecture and Urban Planning at UW-Milwaukee, Chris T. Cornelius, to draw up design plans that were culturally relevant to Wisconsin tribal communities. The building blends with the landscape in which it is nestled and uses “natural wood, copper, stone and glass ...to open and connect learning spaces to the natural environment” ([ics-edu.org](http://ics-edu.org)). The architects met regularly with alumni, board members, community members, and tribal representatives “to inform and guide the architectural design process” ([ics-edu.org](http://ics-edu.org)). Tribal involvement is crucial because, as Lonetree observes, self-representation is significantly linked to self-determination and cultural sovereignty (40). ICS is one of the few places where each tribal nation in Wisconsin has space to tell their stories, share their worldviews, their languages, and position themselves within a broader trans-Indigenous cosmovision.

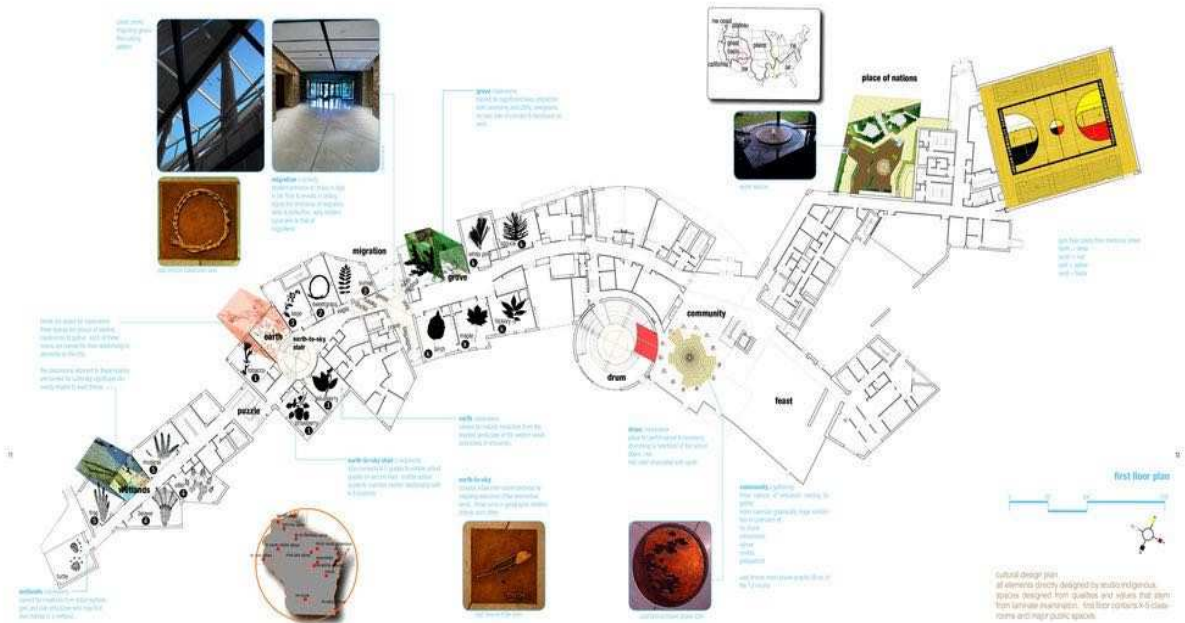


Image: ICS first floor plan with design features by Cornelius from studio:indigenous website.

Upon entering the building (and being cleared by security), visitors encounter “the heart of the school” which is labeled *community* in the design plans on Chris T. Cornelius’ website “studio:indigenous.” In a short YouTube film titled, “Indian Community School of Milwaukee.” Cornelius explains many of the design features of the school building and how they conceptually represent Indigenous interrelationships in Wisconsin. *Community* is a large space where members of the local community can come together around the school’s largest fireplace because fire is a signifier of gathering and community meeting. *Community* is adjacent to the dining area, *feast*, where students eat everyday and *drum*, the auditorium and theater space. I took a tour of the school with Professor Margaret Noodin in February 2018 and as we filed around the dining space where students line up to receive daily meals we passed a tribute to the three founding Onieda mothers. In a co-authored article Noodin explains that “There are many ways to measure lifetimes. The most common means of categorization might be levels of physical and mental maturity but, lived experience also adds dimension to a person’s perspective” (Zimmerman et.al.

12). The conceptualization of time she expresses here can be interpreted in many ways, and there are many rites of passage built into the school itself, but the experience of passing this narrative everyday, accompanied by a photo of the three founding mothers has the power to instill intergenerational connectivity and hope for future generations. The students witness the legacy of their founding mothers on a daily basis and this broader community perspective encourages current students to internalize this legacy of leadership, resilience, and ingenuity that grew from their own urban Milwaukee forebears wherein they are positioned as the bridge to the future.

As he narrates, Cornelius emphasizes that connectivity is built into the school, particularly in this centralized entry space where the fireplace, theatre, and large glass windows connect the inside and the outside as interrelated parts of the same landscape. This connection between tribal nations and their cosmovisions is also built into the moon calendar design on the floor of *community*. According to Cornelius, the moon calendar is an amalgamation of moon phases transposed from the calendars of the five major cultural groups: Menomonee, Ojibwe, Oneida, Potawatomi, and Ho-Chunk. A color coded screengrab of the moon calendar design is pictured below. The actual calendar is the same marble color as the rest of the floor, but the film uses color coding to highlight the parameters of each cultural groups' moon calendar in relation to the other four calendars. According to Cornelius, commonalities between moons are further from the center of the circular design while culturally specific moon phases are closer to the center, which explains the fragmented appearance of the design. Thirteen brass plaques form a circle around the calendar depicting the total moon phases in the communal calendar. Since *community* is a gathering space, the representation of intersecting cultural cosmovisions offers a welcoming thematic tie to the intended function of the space that is specific to Wisconsin's Indigenous cultural communities.



Image: Author screenshot of ICS composite moon calendar design by Cornelius.

*Community* is also where the largest tree columns are located. The tree columns can be found offering structural support throughout the school and even rise directly through the ground level ceiling and emerge from the first level floor to the roof of the school (a second floor view of the tree columns is pictured below). The Menominee Nation is known for developing “one of the most beautiful and healthiest forests on earth” (Loew 43). It is so healthy that it is visible from space and “satellites use the forest edges to focus their cameras” (Loew 43). The Menominee Forest is a testament to Indigenous science and sustainability, or traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). The Menominee blessed, harvested, and transported the trunks to ICS. Cornelius notes that Native craftsman stripped the bark and cut them to fit around the

structural columns of the building. The trees are a gift from the Menominee Nation to ICS and a reminder that Indigenous knowledge is grounded in the laboratories of the local landscape.



Image: ICS second floor Menominee Forest tree columns from studio:indigenous website.

The drum is the heartbeat of the community and the *drum* theatre space is designed with this conceptual representation in mind. It is located at the center of the school and bench rows are tiered and arranged in a circular shape so that the center stage is visible from any position. The *Drum* is also acoustically designed to carry sound throughout the large theater space. Cornelius points out that the circular design of the room acknowledges the four cardinal directions and the sliding door entrance is painted red because they are south facing doors. The large western windows open up a connective view to the natural landscape and the ceiling is designed to emulate the sky, creating a microcosm within the *drum* gathering space that represents a broader trans-Indigenous cosmovision that connects celestial bodies with life on Earth.

The same design emulating the sky in *drum* is also on the ceiling around which the earth-to-sky staircase wraps. The staircase separates the elementary grades from the middle school grades sixth through eighth. As Cornelius narrates the filmed tour, he explains that this staircase represents a physical rite of passage to the second level where students also gain a broader perspective of the landscape as they mature and assumably gain a broader perspective in life. The cosmovision represented throughout the architecture of the school is also embedded in the organization of classrooms. The ground level classrooms in the area labeled *earth* in the design plans above are named after cultural herbs and medicines, while the *wetlands* area classrooms are named after wetlands animals from the region. Plaques containing the silhouettes of the plants and animal tracks of the classrooms that carry their names mark the floor in front of each classroom door so that students learn to identify cultural significant plants and animal tracks. The same system is used in the design of the upper level classrooms, except they are named after celestial bodies and airborne animals and feature silhouettes that are recognizable from earth.

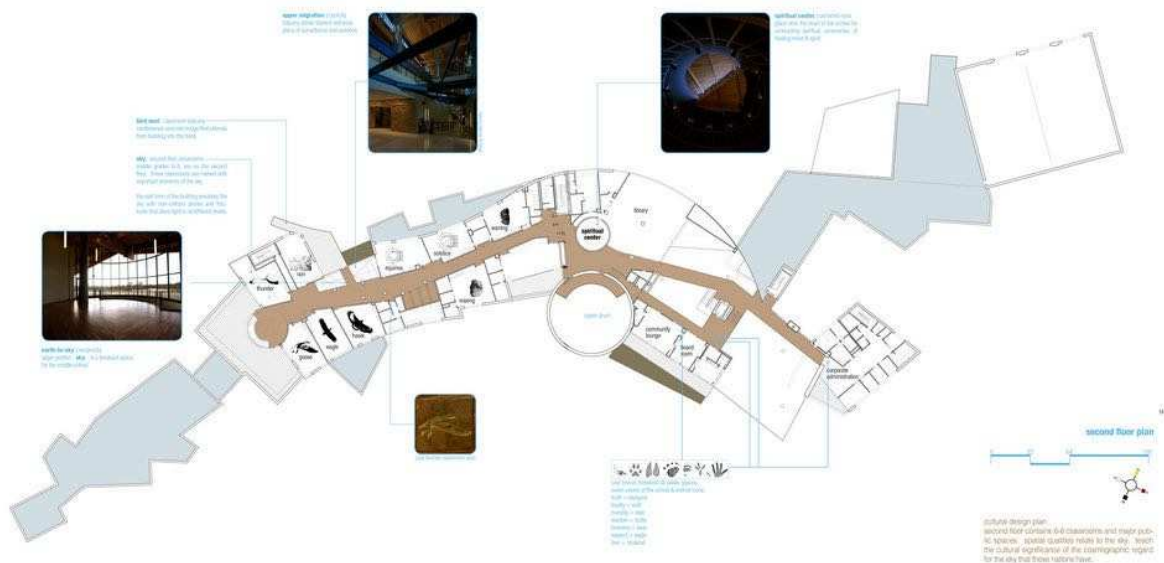


Image: ICS second floor plan with design features by Cornelius from studio:indigenous website.

At the base of the earth-to-sky staircase Cornelius placed another representation of intertribal relationships in Wisconsin. A circular map is embedded into the design of the marble floor where the center represents ICS and bronze cast plaques represent the homelands of each tribal nation and their proportional geographical relationships to the school and other tribes in Wisconsin. This map is the most literal representation of ICS as a cultural hub. According to Renya Ramirez, a “hub offers a mechanism to support Native notions of culture, community, identity, and belonging away from tribal land bases” (1). Quoting Northern California activist, Laverne Roberts, Ramirez explains that “like a hub on a wheel...urban Indians occupy the center, connected to their tribal communities by social networks represented by the wheel’s spokes....Thus, travel...can be a purposeful, exciting way to transmit culture, create community, and maintain identity” (2). Ramirez’s concept of Native hubs can be geographical or virtual and it can extend well beyond settler colonial nation-state borders. The defining characteristic is a space to which Indigenous Peoples travel to connect with cultural identity and community belonging, as Ramirez describes. ICS functions as a hub for the urban Indian community of Milwaukee, with land bases across the state of Wisconsin and beyond. Cornelius’ map is a powerful representation of ICS and the intertribal connections it fosters away from, but in relationship to, tribal landbases.

Another design element that is shared between the upper and lower levels of ICS is *migration* which is designed to represent the migration patterns of regional bird species (pictured below). In the lower level design plans, the migration patterns are embedded into the marble floor, but in the upper level design plans the exact same migration patterns are part of floor level beams hovering directly above the lower level floor patterns. From the upper level one could overlook the migration beams, as well as the migration patterns embedded in the marble floor.





Image: ICS flight migration patterns by Cornelius from studio:indigenous website.

Cornelius features sketches of this design on his personal website, *studio:indigenous* (image below includes a school bus). Since *migration* is also the student's entrance, conceptually, students traveling to ICS are also migrating. While it is theoretically intriguing to physically situate students among other traveling beings within the ICS landscape, Professor Noodin informed me that aligning the school with migration patterns and designing it with large glass windows has resulted in regular casualties. ICS staff are exploring solutions to this problem, but as Professor Noodin observed, perhaps ancestral knowledge might have conceived of such a design for hunting purposes, but not for the daily practice of peaceful coexistence.



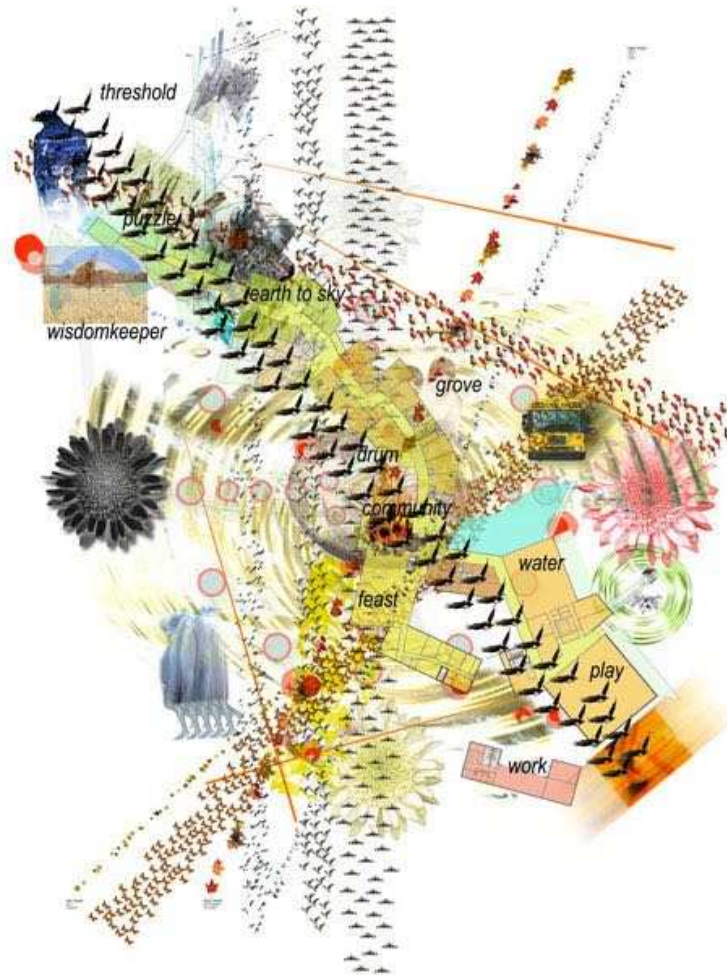


Image: ICS conceptual design migration patterns by Cornelius from studio:indigenous website.

Once on the upper level, light streams in from the roof. In the film narration, Cornelius explains that the roof planes are inspired by cloud formations because fracture direct sunlight, but also allow it to pass into the interior space. The upper level also includes the library and spiritual center, which are adjacent spaces. As Cornelius explains, this design choice reiterates the connections between mind, body, and spirit that is shared between Indigenous worldviews and integrated into ICS praxis. The library is also connected to the cultural center, creating a fluidity between the library as a repository of knowledge and the cultural center as an action space for the production of cultural knowledge. Interconnected spaces offer a dynamic experience of the school that invites movement and relationships building. During my tour with

Professor Noodin, two small groups of students passed each other in the hall and exchanged greetings in each others' Indigenous language. The regular use of Indigenous languages is also an interrelational practice of positioning oneself within the surrounding community. Students acknowledge each others' tribal identities and maintain good relationships by connecting through the respectful recognition of linguistic traditions and impart mutual value to the knowledges contained within them.

Part of being in good relationship involves acknowledging one's positionality in every interaction. Not only does this practice affirm dynamic interrelationships, but it also recognizes when there are asymmetrical power dynamics between peoples and enables active intervention in power structures that do not serve communal interests, ethical behaviors, or social justice worldmaking. To my mind the gem of ICS — which itself is a treasure — is the *place of nations*. This space serves as a gathering place, crafts space, and map of interrelated tribal nations within the geography of the U.S. The geographical features of the Northeast, Southeast, Great Plains, Mississippi River, Four Corners, Southwest, Great Plateau, California, and Northwest are all regionally represented by Indigenous plants. It is a large gathering space, but as Cornelius points out in his narration, each of the regions forms a more intimate seating area that can accommodate different sized groups. Some of the furniture is designed by Cornelius to represent the Four Corners area by emulating the mesas and mountains that define the region. The copper lined stream of water represents the Mississippi River that passes along the western border of Wisconsin. During my visit, a canoe was sitting in the stream of water, which Professor Noodin explained was a student project. Her brief investigation revealed leaks in the canoe and she commented that this project would need more work. Unfortunately, it is difficult to capture the entirety of the *place of nations* in one image. If an embodied experience of the

space is not possible, the film that Cornelius narrates is available for free on YouTube and glimpses of the *place of nations* appear from 8:25 to 10:19. Entering the *place of nations* teaches one to acknowledge their positionality in relation to tribal nations across the U.S.

Since my visit to ICS took place in the middle of winter we were not able to observe the outdoor gathering places and teaching lodge. While I plan to return to ICS in the future, I have relied on a co-authored essay to better understand how decolonial pedagogy is practiced on the land. The essay provides a narrow introduction to landscape pedagogy at ICS through an immersion walk, but it is written from four different participant perspectives. In this pedagogical approach, knowledge is not static or hegemonic, but always contextualized within relationship; interpretations are fluid because the landscape is a fluid space (Zimmerman, et al., 10).

Professor Noodin elaborates on this dynamic, relationship centered praxis by explaining

The aim of immersion walks is to help everyone see themselves as a student in conversation with the living landscape. Plants, trees, animals, winds and the earth itself are continually teaching us how to move from one day to the next. The walk in *giganawendaamin akiing omaa*, ‘the space here where we care for the earth,’ combined the views and experiences of students at all levels engaged in conversations with the environment and one another. As someone who knew all the humans on the walk that day, I was continually trying to connect conversations: across generations, across genders, across levels of fluency, across human and non-human spaces resonant with stories and lessons. (Zimmerman, et al., 11-12)

The guide to the landscape tour is Mike Zimmerman, an Ojibwe language teacher at ICS. In the essay titled, “Indigenous Conceptual Cartographies in Linguistic Landscape Pedagogy: Vibrant Modalities Across Semiotic Domains,” Zimmerman, et al. offers a definition of vibrant modalities, explaining that it is a semiotic relationship to the landscape and a pathway “to access the vitality of language, landscape, and cosmological relationships in the service of language,

cultural, and spiritual learning” (Zimmerman, et al., 1). As participants interact on the walk they share their observations and contribute to the Indigenous practice of localized communal knowledge production (Zimmerman, et al., 15; 27). Immersion walks are multimodal, and “the teacher is not just a language teacher, but also a teacher of culture, science, and the relation between humans and the natural environment” that provides language instruction that is cosmologically grounded (Zimmerman, et al. 17; 29).

In “The Ixil University and the Decolonization of Knowledge” Giovanni Batz observes that institutions like ICS and the Ixil University in Guatemala, “challenges us through their example to reexamine our purpose as an educational system and our role as researchers and educators....They are recreating and reimagining what knowledge should look like and what purposes they should serve” (114). Education has long been a colonial tool of assimilation, and both Zimmerman, et al. and Batz recognize how Indigenous educational spaces can be tools of decolonial resistance to oppression in settler society. “They are not opposed to Western education,” Batz explains, “instead they are open to all forms of knowledge. It is the Western system that was designed under an extractivist, colonial logic that marginalizes, appropriates, destroys, and attempts to delegitimize all other knowledge” (105). Thus, Indigenous sites of knowledge production can draw on multiple knowledges in the service of their own community well being.

Ixil University was founded for many of the same reasons as ICS. There was a recognizable “need to strengthen, recover, heal, and restore a sense of dignity of being Ixil and campesino, as well as their history” (Batz 109). Since the university provides mobile, community organized classes, the decentralization of the institution also decentralized power by locating it in the knowledge of local landscapes (Batz 110). Assignments are meant to enhance

interrelationships since they require “the assistance of community leaders with knowledge relevant to the topic, such as ancestral authorities, spiritual guides, and family members” (110). The thesis projects that students complete must be community-based and provide solutions to community problems in collaboration with community leaders (Batz 111). Both Ixil University and ICS are working against epistemic violence, and both inspire the creations of other community sites of knowledge production. The knowledge shared is relevant the lived reality of Indigenous students and imparts them with the strategies necessary to affirm their presence as Indigenous Peoples that are forced to contend with meta narratives that insist on their vanishing.

*Epilogue — Indigenous Cosmovisions: Worldmaking Practices for Collective Futures*

This project began with the Zapatista articulation of decolonial worldmaking from the mid-1990's. As 21 December 2012 approached, marking the end of the Maya calendric cycle (referred to as the 13<sup>th</sup> b'ak'tun), settler society capitalized on mythologizing Indigenous knowledge as no more than the mystical superstitions of a vanishing culture soon to be doomed into irrelevancy. While I would never claim an authoritative understanding of the Maya calendar or cosmovision, it is clear that settler society has no interest in ethically engaging or responsibly representing Maya temporality. The most egregious evidence of the misappropriation of Indigenous knowledge within the settler metanarrative might be found in the 2009 box office film "2012," which features apocalyptic natural disasters of Biblical proportions. Not only does this popular narrative bastardize Maya temporality and distort contemporary Indigenous knowledge, but it also fails to imagine solutions for survival outside of Eurocentric worldviews. At the end of the film, only the rich and their cultural treasures are saved from catastrophic flooding when nine arks (reminiscent of Noah's Ark) are constructed with a ticket price of one billion euros per person. This film perpetuates the savior narrative of Christianity, albeit tainted by capitalism, while further dramatizing settler colonial myth making about Vanishing Indians. There are no contemporary representations of Maya in the film and the 13<sup>th</sup> b'ak'tun is referred to as the "2012 Phenomenon" and tied to the scholarship of a psuedoarcheologist. The late Charles Hapgood's polar shifts theory is presented by a conspiracy theorist, further marginalizing and discrediting Maya knowledge by association.

At the time, the film contributed to a temporal anxiety that I encountered while presenting my M.A. project at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) Conference in June 2012 at the Mohegan Sun Casino and Resort in Connecticut.

Audience members asked how my analysis of Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* might address the apocalyptic narrative that had been tied to the end of the Maya calendric cycle. While memes circulated on social media passing off the Aztec calendar as Maya and announcing the impending "end of the world as we know it," it is understandable that academics were among those grappling with the deluge of narratives. My only response was based on Silko's portrayal of Indigenous temporalities in which the "end of the world as we know it" does not exclusively refer to the destruction of our ecosystems, but also, destructive settler worldviews. Many marginalized peoples want to see the current global economic system burn to the ground, but a film-worthy apocalypse would be too quick and easy to create significant ideological change. Silko's characters know that humans cannot destroy the Earth, only our ecosystems and ourselves in the process because the Earth will continue existing with or without us. The slow catastrophic collapse that we are currently experiencing — known as the sixth mass extinction, or the anthropocene extinction — is now widely recognized as the result of intersecting systems of exploitation. As more and more sectors of society are forced to seek sustainable ways of existing, they are finding that Indigenous knowledges have the answers for our collective survival and the solutions require significant changes to how we practice interrelationships.

The day on which the calendar cycle ended, Zapatistas from communities across Chiapas marched silently and peacefully in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Ocosingo, Altamirano, Las Margaritas, and Palenque — the same cities where the uprising took place in 1994. Journalists reported more than 40K Zapatistas stepped onto temporary platforms with raised fists and their faces covered before returning to the mountains (Russo; Oikonomakis). As Tim Russo observed, without a word their silent march shouted ¡YA BASTA!, welcoming the new Maya era that they

have been building toward for the last twenty (plus) years. Later that day, they released a brief communique that announced Zapatista presence in the newly emerging world:

December 21, 2012/ 21 DE DICIEMBRE DEL 2012

To Whom It May Concern:/ A QUIÉN CORRESPONDA:

Did you listen?/ ¿ESCUCHARON?

It is the sound of your world crumbling./ Es el sonido de su mundo derrumbándose.

It is the sound of our world resurging./ Es el del nuestro resurgiendo.

The day that was day, was night./ El día que fue el día, era noche.

And night shall be the day that will be day./ Y noche será el día que será el día.

Democracy!/ ¡DEMOCRACIA!

Liberty!/ ¡LIBERTAD!

Justice!/ ¡JUSTICIA!

From the Mountains of Southeastern Mexico./ Desde las montañas del Sureste Mexicano.

For the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee – General Command of the

EZLN/ Por el Comité Clandestino Revolucionario Indígena-Comandancia General del  
EZLN

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos,/ Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos.

Mexico, December 2012/ México, Diciembre del 2012.

Like previous communiqués, the Zapatistas share their visions for another world with rich poetic imagery. For those whose imaginations are limited by Eurocentric worldviews, it might be difficult to imagine “the end of the world as we know it” to be anything other than total destruction. At times the oppressive systems in which we live seem static, permanent, and all consuming, making change seem impossible, and another world inconceivable. As I have argued in previous chapters, art — specifically literature — holds the power to transform our perspectives so that we might transcend our preconceived limitations. In the statement above, the meaning of “world” stretches beyond the literal and physical shape of the Earth and alludes to an ideological space, a worldview, in which we will be forced to exist differently. Many Indigenous



Americans consider the European invasion the end of the world, so to proclaim a resurgence recalls stories that restore hope and promise healing.

By positioning themselves geographically and geopolitically in each address to the global community, the EZLN communiqués consistently declare an interrelational consciousness by signing every declaration, “Desde las montañas del Sureste Mexicano”/“From the mountains of the Mexican Southeast.” The prominent position granted *las montañas* is not a stylistic coincidence, but an assertion of Indigenous space according to the Zapatista’s ideological and relational intimacy. Beginning with their position in the Zapatista landbase emphasizes their relationship with the ecology of the land itself, the salutation then expands Indigenous space by positioning the Zapatistas directionally (southeastern) within a geopolitical relationship with the nation state of Mexico. By grounding their manifestos in the mountains of Southeastern Mexico the Zapatistas implicitly allude to other narratives archived in this particular landscape through which to locate historical and ideological knowledge. Each communiqué centers the Zapatista world while looking outward at how they are located in networks of storied relationships that reach into national, trans-Indigenous, transnational, and global narrative webs.

Including ecological features as a locator of Zapatista identity asserts a subjectivity grounded in a longstanding relationship to a particular place. In his seminal text, the late anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla observes ecological niches as “the permanent framework for the cultural configuration of Mexico,” specifically Mesoamerican culture, which extends beyond Mexico’s settler colonial national borders (Batalla 42). Batalla explains that the diversity of ecological niches and their respective natural resources lends itself, but does not determine, the development of diverse cultural identities. The landbase provides a framework because “the natural world acquires significance and is transformed into a resource for human

beings only through culture, and culture has varied in the course of history” (Batalla 42). The landbase, according to Batalla, serves as a figurative and literal cultural repository for Mesoamerican people, and historical changes may be located in the narratives attached to particular places. Batalla’s analysis is specific to Mesoamerica, but it is applicable to other Indigenous contexts.

In March 2018, the Milwaukee Native American Literary Cooperative hosted poet, Sherwin Bitsui. During Bitsui’s craft talk at UWM he presented a map of the Diné landscape, which also depicted the Navajo cosmovision. It was not a two-dimensional representation of Dinétah like the maps I examine in the introduction because it included the cosmos above the land, and the other worlds below this one from which the Diné emerged. On the land, geological features mark Dinétah, which is situated between four sacred mountains labeled with directional orientations. A hogan is at the center of the map, and appears to connect across time and space with a star-shaped tunnel cutting through the underworlds from the Navajo creation story. Medicinal plants are also on the surface of the earth, while significant cultural symbols float overhead. The map appears three dimensional, like the shape of a snow globe as if Dinétah is floating in the universe isolated and insular. However, the Navajo have ancient relationships to other tribes in the region, meaning this image asserts only a Diné world and worldview. This map tells a Navajo specific story about where they emerged from, where they live now, and what relationships sustain their survival in this particular place.

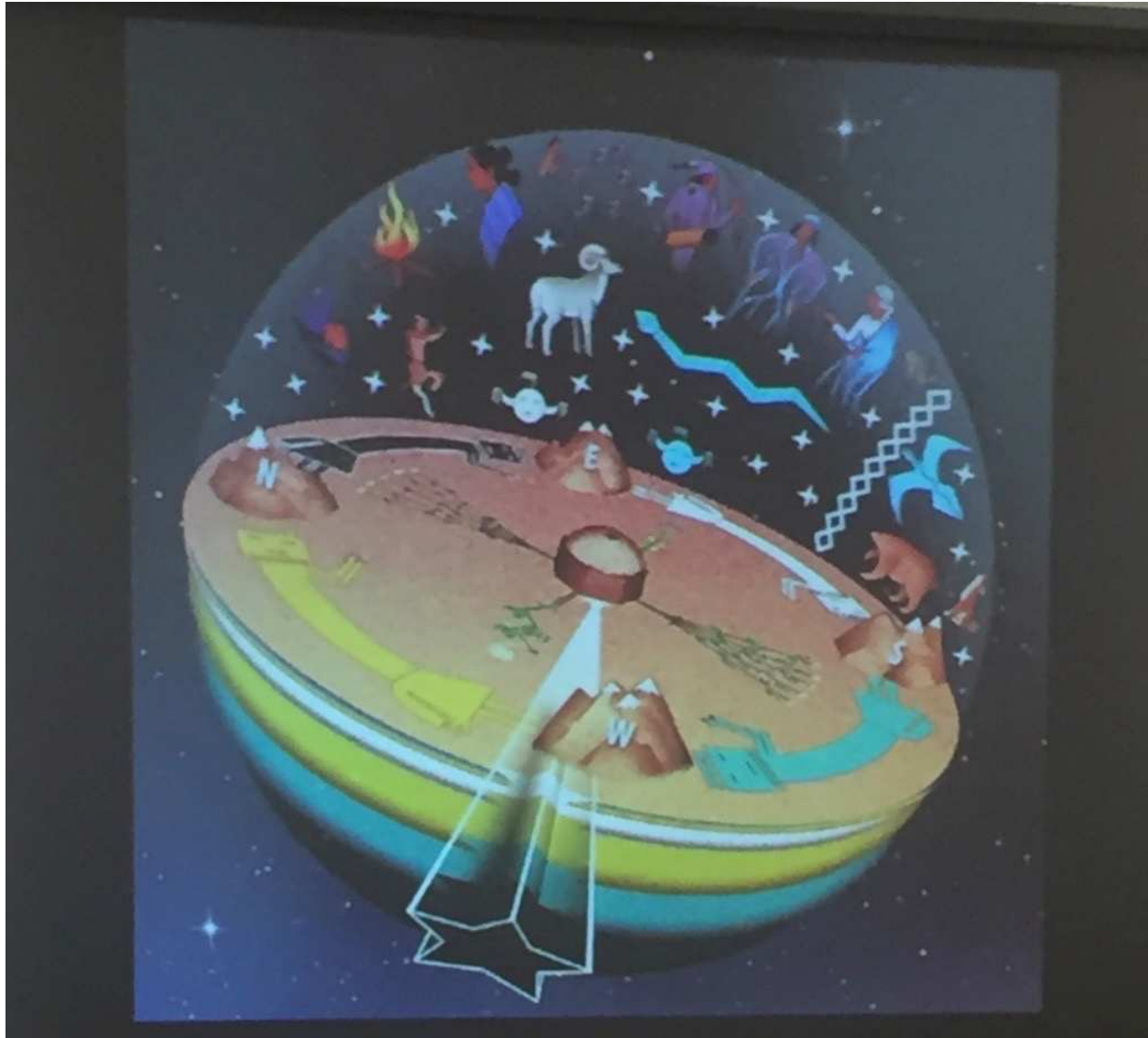


Image: “*Dinétah*,” Presented by Sherwin Bitsui, UWM, 28 March 2018.

The map of Dinétah is akin to Silko’s explanation in “Language and Literature From a Pueblo Indian Perspective,” that Pueblo “stories cannot be separated from their geographical locations” (165), reinforcing the significance of ecological features observed by Batalla. The Pueblo perspective of language “embraces the whole of creation and the whole of history and time” (159), drawing clear connections between narrative and worldmaking in the Pueblo creation story, “an all-inclusive story of how life began...[that] even includes prophesy” (160). I will not claim to know the source of prophesies, but it is not difficult to imagine that one could

predict how their ecosystem might be disrupted in disastrous ways after living in relationship to a specific landscape since time immemorial. “None of us lives apart from the land entirely...we must live according to the principle of a land ethic,” Momaday asserts, because “The alternative is that we shall not live at all” (85-87). The land supports the survival of a people because the stories tell the people how to be in ethical relationship with the land — their land ethic — for their own cultural continuity and physical survival. Thus, the experience of navigating specific ecosystems has produced valuable knowledge about how to practice sustainable interrelationships. Unfortunately, it has taken the anthropocene extinction for Enlightenment science to finally catch up to Indigenous knowledge, so we can only hope that Indigenous practices determine our collective course of action if we are to share a future at all.

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- Taje, Erik. "Destroy the School and Create a Free School: Digging Up the Roots of Dominant/Submissive Complexes and Planting the Seeds of Cooperative Social Interaction." *The Radicalization of Pedagogy: Anarchism, Geography, and the Spirit of Revolt*. Eds. Simon Springer, Marcelo Lopes de Souza, and Richard J. White. London: Rowman and Littlefield International Ltd., 2016: 171-192.

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- Wheat, Carl I. *1540-1861 Mapping the Transmississippi West: Volume Three: From the Mexican War to the Boundary Surveys 1846-1854*. San Francisco: The Institute of Historical Cartography, 1959.
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- Zimmerman Jr., Michael, Margaret Noodin, Patricia Mayes, Bernard C Perley. "Indigenous Conceptual Cartographies in Linguistic Landscape Pedagogy Vibrant Modalities Across Semiotic Domains." 2019. *Microsoft Word* file.
- Zitkala-Sa. "The School Days of an Indian Girl." *American Indian Stories, Legends, and Other Writings*. Penguin Classics, 2003.

Curriculum Vitae  
**Shanae Aurora Martinez**

**EDUCATION**

**University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Department of English**

**Ph.D.**, Literature and Cultural Theory, 2019 (expected)

Dissertation: "Guides and Guidance: Subverting Tourist Narratives in Trans-Indigenous Time and Space"

Committee: Kumkum Sangari (chair), Kimberly M. Blaeser, José Lanter, J. Lane Hall, Inés Hernández-Ávila

**Women's and Gender Studies Certificate**

**M.A.**, Literary Studies, 2012

Thesis: "The Grandmother Epistemic in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*"

Committee: Michael D. Wilson (chair), Kumkum Sangari, José Lanter

**University of California, Davis, 2008**

**B.A.**, Department of English, General Emphasis

**B.A.**, Department of Sociology, Social Service Emphasis

**Minor**, Native American Studies Department

**ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS**

**Assistant Professor**, Department of English, Cal Poly, SLO, 2019

346 Ethnic American Literature

Subtitle(s): California Storytellers, Fall 2019 (2 sections)

**Graduate Teaching Assistant**, Department of English, UW-Milwaukee, 2010-2016

276 Introduction to American Indian Literature (crosslisted with American Indian Studies)

Subtitles: History, Literature, & Sovereignty of Wisconsin Tribes, Spring 2015 (1 section)

Transnational and Inter-Tribal Perspectives, Fall 2014 & Fall 2015 (2 sections)

215 Introduction to English Studies, Spring 2014 (1 section)

**English 102 Mentor**, First-Year Composition Program, Spring 2014

102 College Writing and Research, First-Year Composition Program, Spring 2012–Fall 2016 (10 sections)

101 Introduction to College Writing, First-Year Composition Program, Fall 2010–Fall 2011 (6 sections)

**PUBLICATIONS**

**Review Article**, *Savage Conversations* by LeAnne Howe. *The Georgia Review*, accepted.

**Journal Article**, "Intervening in the Archive: Women—Water Alliances, Narrative Agency, and Reconstructing Indigenous Space in Deborah Miranda's *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*."

*Water*, special issue of *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 30.3/4, Fall/Winter 2018, pp. 54-71.

**Review Article**, *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage* by Elizabeth Kryder-Reid. *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 30.3/4, Fall/Winter 2018, pp. 202-205.

**Review Article**, *full-metal indigiqueer* by Joshua Whitehead. *The Georgia Review* 72.2, Summer 2018, pp. 627-635.

**Review Article**, "Listening to the Good People," a review of *Weweni: Poems in Anishinaabemowin and English* by Margaret Noodin. *cream city review* 41.1, Spring 2017, pp. 123-125.

**Journal Article**, "Capitalism and Cannibalism in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*." *The McNair Scholars Journal of the University of California, Davis* IX, 2009, pp. 53-59.

## **PRESENTATIONS**

**Conference Panel Moderator & Co-organizer (Upcoming)**, "Community Weavers: Bridging Dynamic Localities at Woodland Pattern Book Center" ft. Kimberly M. Blaeser, Brenda Cardenas, Jenny Gropp, & Soham Patel, presented at the Association of Writers & Writing Programs (AWP) Conference, San Antonio, TX, March 4-7, 2020

**Conference Paper (upcoming)**, "The Feminist Epistemic in Leslie Marmon Silko's Decolonial Worldmaking Narratives" presented at National Women's Studies Association Conference, (NWSA), San Francisco, CA, November 14-17, 2019

**Conference Paper**, "Decolonizing Tourist Narratives in Virtual Landscapes" presented at Science Fiction Research Association Conference (SFRA), Honolulu, HI, June 21-24, 2019

**Conference Paper**, "*The Light People* and Gordon Henry's Worldmaking Interventions in Academic Tourism" presented at Native American Literature Symposium (NALS), Prior Lake, MN, March 7-9, 2019

**Conference Paper**, "Water Archives: Visionary Reserves for Decolonizing the Rio Carmelo in Deborah Miranda's *Bad Indians: A Tribal Memoir*" presented at National Women's Studies Association Conference (NWSA), Atlanta, GA, November 8-11, 2018

**Creative Nonfiction Reading**, "Fanny Packs" presented at United We Read: Student/Faculty Reading Series, Milwaukee, WI, May 3, 2018

**Conference Paper**, "Guides in the Virtual World: Intervening in Academic Tourism in Blake M. Hausman's *Riding the Trail of Tears*" presented at Native American Literature Symposium (NALS), Prior Lake, MN, March 22-24, 2018

**Conference Paper**, "Intervening Narratives of Indigenous Space: Women-Water Alliances in the Archive" presented at Newberry Center for American Indian Studies (NCAIS) Graduate Student Conference, Chicago, IL, August 4-5, 2017

**Conference Paper**, "Narrative Interventions in the Archive: Women's Water Alliances in Deborah Miranda's *Bad Indians*" presented at Native American Literature Symposium (NALS), Prior Lake, MN, March 2-4, 2017

**Roundtable**, "Teacher Identity and Ethos," New TA Orientation, First-Year Composition Program, Milwaukee, WI, August 31, 2016

- Conference Paper**, “Intervening in Academic Tourism: Indigenous Narrative Agency in Deborah Miranda’s *Bad Indians*” presented at the Center for 21st Century Studies (C21) Landbody Conference, Milwaukee, WI, May 5-7, 2016
- Conference Paper**, “Bad Latin Americans?: Negotiating Indigenous Narrative Spaces” presented at North Central Council of Latin Americanists (NCCLA) Conference, Waukesha, WI, September 24-26, 2015
- Conference Panel Co-organizer**, “*cream city review* Celebrates Returning the Gift: Native American Writers” reading ft. Kimberly Blaeser, Janet McAdams, Margaret Noodin, Laura Tohe, & b:william bearhart, presented at the Association of Writers & Writing Programs (AWP) Conference, Minneapolis, MN, April 8-11, 2015
- Conference Paper**, “The Grandmother Epistemic in Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead*” presented at Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) Conference, Uncasville, CT, June 3-6, 2012
- Conference Paper**, “Imagining Our Grandmothers, Imagining Ourselves in Ray A. Young Bear’s *Black Eagle Child* and Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead*” presented at the Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies Graduate Student (NCAIS) Conference, Chicago, IL, July 29-30, 2011
- Conference Paper**, “Negotiating Positionality in the Composition Classroom (A Practical Experiment)” presented at Emerging Compositions: 3rd Annual UWM Professional Development Conference in Composition, Milwaukee, WI, May 2011
- Conference Paper**, “Capitalism and Cannibalism in Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead*” presented at 15th Annual McNair Scholars Symposium, Berkeley, CA, August 9-12, 2007
- Conference Paper**, “Capitalism and Cannibalism in Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead*” presented at MALCS Summer Institute, Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN, August 2-4, 2007

### **AWARDS & HONORS**

- Fellowship**, Graduate Student Excellence Fellowship, Graduate School, UWM, 2019-2020
- Travel Award**, Conference Travel Grant, Science Fiction Research Association (SFRA), 2019
- Travel Award**, Travel Grant and Registration Scholarship, National Women’s Studies Association (NWSA) Conference, 2018
- Fellowship**, Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies (NCAIS) Graduate Student Fellowship, D’Arcy McNickle Center, The Newberry, 2017-2018
- Travel Award**, Graduate Student Members Travel Support Award, Association for the Study of American Indian Literatures (ASAIL), 2017
- Fellowship**, Advanced Opportunity Program Fellowship, Graduate School, UWM, 2016-2019
- Research Award**, Dr. Tomás Garrett-Rosas Research Award, Graduate School, UWM, 2016-2019
- Graduate Student Spotlight**, Graduate Stories: “Native American Novels Model Fairer Forms of Knowledge Production,” Department of English, UWM, 2016-Spring (Link: [https://www.uwm.edu/eng/graduate-stories/2016-spring/na-novels-model-fairer-forms-of-knowledge-production/](#))

<https://uwm.edu/english/graduate/graduate-stories/native-american-novels-model-fairer-forms-of-knowledge-production/>)

**Travel Award**, Graduate Student Travel Award, Department of English & The Graduate School, UWM, 2012

**Research Award**, Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies (NCAIS) Summer Institute Participant, D'Arcy McNickle Center, The Newberry, 2011

**Research Award**, Chancellor's Graduate Student Award, Graduate School, UWM, 2010-2011

**Travel Award**, UC Davis English Department International Education Travel Award, 2008

**Travel Award**, UC Davis STA Travel Award, 2007

**Fellowship**, McNair Scholars Program, UC Davis, 2006-2008

### **EDITORIAL SERVICE**

**Assistant Fiction Editor**, *cream city review*, Fall 2014-Spring 2018

**Editorial Assistant**, *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, August 2017-June 2019

**Peer Reviewer**, *Feral Feminisms*, April 2013-Present

**Managing Editor**, *cream city review*, Fall 2012-Spring 2014

### **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

**President**, AFL-CIO Local 3535, The Association of University of Wisconsin Professionals (TAUWP), UWM, July 2017-June 2018

**Graduate Student Program Assistant**, McNair Scholars Program, Graduate School, UWM, May-September 2017

**Vice President**, AFL-CIO Local 3535, The Association of University of Wisconsin Professionals (TAUWP), UWM, July 2016-June 2017

**GPC Student Representative**, Graduate Policy Committee, Department of English, UWM, Fall 2014-Spring 2016

**Assistant to Conference Directors**, "20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Returning the Gift: Native Writers Festival: A Gathering of Words at the Gathering of Waters," Milwaukee, WI, September 4-9, 2012

**Assistant to Conference Directors**, "Discursive Practices: The Formation of a Transnational Indigenous Poetics," Davis, CA, May 11-13, 2008

**Undergraduate Student Researcher**, Chicana/Latina Research Center, University of California, Davis, 2006-2008

### **COMMUNITY SERVICE**

**Poster Session Judge**, UWM UG Research Symposium, Milwaukee, WI, April 5, 2019

**Volunteer Staff**, Science Fiction Research Association (SFRA) Conference, Milwaukee, WI, July 1-4, 2018

**Bookfair Staff**, *cream city review*, Association of Writers and Writing Programs Conference and Bookfair, Tampa, FL, March 7-10, 2018

**Volunteer Staff**, Woodland Pattern Book Center, 37th Anniversary Gala, Milwaukee, WI, October 3, 2017

**Conversation Leader**, Milwaukee Film Festival, September 28-October 12, 2017

**Bookfair Staff**, *cream city review*, Association of Writers and Writing Programs Conference and Bookfair, Washington, D.C., February 8-11, 2017

**Recitation Participant**, “Frente al Balance, Mañana (Before the Scales, Tomorrow)” by René Otto Castillo, Poetry Recitation Challenge, Wisconsin Poet Laureate Commission & Milwaukee Native American Literary Cooperative (MNALC), Milwaukee, WI, November 30, 2016 (Link: <https://youtu.be/KUTIR-qIOj0>)

**Recitation Participant**, “Today Was a Bad Day Like TB” by Chrystos, Poetry Recitation Challenge, Wisconsin Poet Laureate Commission & Woodland Pattern Book Center, Milwaukee, WI, September 9-10, 2016 (Link: <https://youtu.be/8nqzQpiSfMo>)

**President**, *word warriors*, UWM Student Organization, Milwaukee Native American Literary Cooperative (MNALC), Fall 2015-Spring 2018

### **AFFILIATIONS**

**Member**, Association of Writers and Writing Programs (AWP), 2020-2021

**Member**, Science Fiction Research Association (SFRA), 2019-2020

**Member**, National Women’s Studies Association (NWSA), 2018-2020

**Member**, Association for the Study of American Indian Literatures (ASAIL), 2017-2019

**Member**, Milwaukee Native American Literary Cooperative (MNALC), 2012-2018

**Member**, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA), 2010-2012

**Member**, National Organization of Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social/Women Active in Letters and Social Change (MALCS), 2007-2010

**Member**, University of California, Davis Campus Chapter of MALCS, 2006-2008