Belonging: A feminist rhetorical analysis of themes that have come up during the early grassroots of Konomihu music reMatriation, 2019-2024

By

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Abstract

In 1926, my family's ancestor, Ellen Grant, née Brazille, recorded approximately 70 Konomihu-Shasta songs. These recordings, housed at the Library of Congress with copies at Cal Poly Humboldt and UCLA, feature a number of genres, including girls' puberty, doctors', and war dance songs, among others. This dissertation is born of my family's ongoing music reMatriation project in which we are reclaiming and community archiving these and other family materials. Specifically, several major themes emerged during the early grassroots of this project: tradition, diaspora, enrollment politics, and the sacred. Conducting a feminist analysis of rhetoric and ideologies surrounding these themes, I make arguments which respond to how these topics have manifested during the project from my standpoint as a Karuk person: 1) The label "tradition" can function to restrict what it can mean to be Karuk, 2) Every Karuk is necessarily *from* the Karuk Tribe, and so where someone "grew up" neither negates nor inherently reifies their Karukness, 3) I propose a change to the Karuk Tribe enrollment ordinance which presently creates a second class of Karuk citizens, and 4) I argue that academia needs to be more receptive to Indigenous paradigms, including of what constitutes "evidence", supported by the fact that the dead can sing.

Keywords:

Musicology, Konomihu, Authenticity, Enrollment, Diaspora, Hauntology, BigFoot

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dedicated to my mom and dad

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In Karuk we say “yôotva” to say “thank you.” It literally is translated as “thank you” and also means “hooray!” In fact, “hooray” is a warranted way to celebrate and thank those who have contributed to the making of this dissertation. Let’s celebrate us all, *we* did it. In addition, I am taught that an older way to say “thank you” is to consider what it is you’re actually saying to someone. One of my longtime language teachers whom I look up to and learn much from is Crystal Richardson – a PhD Candidate in Linguistics here at UC Davis. She says a formal way to say thank you is “yav iim tanêekyav” meaning “you’ve done good by me.”

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I hope this dissertation makes all of you proud to've been a part of it.

Perspectives, arguments, and opinions are my own and I take responsibility for any errors or misunderstandings within this work.

Introduction

Nanithvuuy uum Jason Hockaday. Naa Karuk'araar karu Athithufvunupma ni'aramsiprivtih. Naa avansa ("avansakunishvaan" hum "avansahiichva") karu gituǩuwahi xas kuma'ii nitapkuuputih pa'avansas, "pu'kanukrivutih asiktavansas." Nani'ákah uum Ken'ich, nani'átish uum Kenxárah, karu nani'atishpíyaanvaas uum Minnie.

My name is Jason Hockaday. I'm from the Karuk Tribe and Happy Camp is my family's village. I'm a man, or man-like. My Indian line is through my dad, "little Kenny", my Papa, "big Kenny", and my great Grandma Minnie Hockaday (née Grant), of the 5 Grant sisters of Happy Camp: Aggie, Lena, Ellen, Mona, and Minnie. Their momma Susie was an Alphus.

The Karuk Tribe is a sovereign Indigenous people of peeshkêesh (the Klamath River) in what is now known as northern California.[1] Our language, ararachúupha (the peoples' language), is theorized to be part of the Hokan language family, but this is contested.[2] Our tribal headquarters are athithúfvuunupma (Happy Camp), katíshraam (Yreka), and panámniik (Orleans), and there are many more villages which make up the Karuk Tribe today.

[1] I use the singular "people" rather than plural "peoples" because, although historically we were many sovereign villages, contemporarily we are one sovereign entity.
[2] Poser 1995

Figure 1. Katamiin, 2022

Positionality

In 2014, my Papa (grandfather), Kenneth L. Hockaday, had a glioblastoma (cancerous brain tumor), and I transferred colleges in order to be closer to him. However, he passed away a month before I was due to start at my new school, Southern Oregon University (SOU). During my Papa's illness, the late Karuk Master Language Speaker, Elder, and longtime council member Sonny Davis burnt iknish (Indian root) over my Papa, praying for him to go to Indian Heaven.

Figure 2. me & Papa, ~2011

After my Papa's passing, I knew I would not be able to complete my schooling if I was not able to feel close to him, which for me meant being involved with our Native community, and by extension I had some notion that there were family stories, Karuk or otherwise, which he knew that I never asked about. I therefore started asking relatives things I wished I'd asked him—sometimes these were identifiably about Karuk culture, and sometimes they had nothing to do with our Karukness at all.

My dad and everyone in our Karuk line before him grew up in our ancestral territories along the Klamath river in northern California. I am the first in my direct line since time immemorial to have grown up elsewhere. I grew up in southern California because of my dad's military service as a marine stationed at Camp Pendleton. My parents and I visited Happy Camp and Yreka several times a year as I was growing up, for weeks at a time, every summer and

winter break; and I lived with family in Yreka for two summers as a youth, during which my aunt took me to Karuk community language classes, tribal reunions, and the likes.

Because of my background in Karuk language, which was tied to my relationship to my Papa since my Karukness is through him, I entered a Native American Studies language class taught by *myaamia* linguist Wesley Leonard when I transferred to SOU. This was explicitly a choice I made in order to feel closer to my Papa after his passing, and I hoped it would help me stay in school. I admit that, having known quite a bit of Karuk from community language classes and from reading our dictionary, I had hoped the class would be easy for me. It was not "easy" and was instead rigorous the same way any class is expected to be. I learned a lot and made lifelong friends, and was inspired and comforted in ways that did help me center my relationship to my Papa and stay in school.

As SOU is just a forty-five minute drive north from Karuk Country, I also drove down for community language classes often, something I was stoked to be able to do more than my previous twice or thrice-a-year visits. I was happy to find the aforementioned Sonny at these classes. When he first saw me, he said, "You're Ken's grandson." He expressed condolences to me, welcomed me into his circle within the broader Karuk language community, and I was invited to join Karuk "Language Pods" where UC Berkeley linguists Line Mikkelsen and Andrew Garrett came to learn from and conduct research with Sonny and the community.

With this encouragement from so many people, I held an internship with the Tribe's language department in summer 2016. There I was mentored by fellow Karuks Susan Gehr (co-author of the Karuk Dictionary with Bill Bright) and Crystal Richardson (Master Language Speaker and Ph.D. Candidate in Linguistics at UC Davis). In 2017 I graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Anthropology and Certificate in Native American Studies from SOU. My senior

project was “Gender and Sexuality in Karuk Language Reclamation.” Having support from my community as an undergrad going through mourning meant everything to me, and even encouraged me to pursue grad school.

I continue to be very committed to language reclamation work and Two Spirit matters. I recently served on the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival – Young Leadership Development Conference Steering Committee, and shared my research into norCal Two Spirit terminologies and theory at Two Feathers’ Two Spirit Conference in Humboldt.

Xâatik & Critique: Overarching Methodologies

Xâatik

My Papa made an impression on everyone who knew him, and I especially remember how he taught people to stick up for themselves and for others, specifically telling people not to be embarrassed of who they are. Occasionally, when I would try to put his examples and wisdom to practice, it wouldn’t be received well, and I would ruminate. When this would happen, my Papa would say, “Let it go.”[3]

In saying this, I think he was telling me that I already did the important part. I voiced a need or concern, and now it’s out in the world, and the world will do with it what it will. To me, “letting it go” is a matrix requiring more than the goal of not taking others’ reactions personally. There are many parts, starting with developing both the courage and humility required to name an issue, and a willingness to accept the consequences and know that change might not happen immediately or in the way intended. The point is that change might never happen if the problem

[3] He said this in English. When I started learning Karuk, I wanted to know how to say it in our language, and learned it is xâatik, also translated as “so be it.”

were never named to begin with. This process will cause tension, and it is necessary to *let go* of the fear of being the cause of that tension and to not take reactions personally, because doing so will interfere with the ability to do what needs done next.

I aim for my contributions to the world to emphasize the agency of Indigenous peoples, today as well as in the past and future. I understand myself as having a responsibility to intervene in lateral oppression and believe this can be done as part of projects that re-embody Indigenous knowledges. Cultural reMatriation projects are one such project, and if employed as a means of intervention, can facilitate healthy relations among peoples who experience very different positionalities from each other within projects of decolonization. As I'll detail in chapter one on the keyword of "tradition", I use "reMatriation" to refer to the entirety of a project in which community members organize with attention to celebrating the reembodying of "immaterial" cultural heritage (e.g., songs, language). As argued for by Unangax̂ scholar Eve Tuck, where repatriation has focused on the return of material items to Indigenous communities, rematriation (proposed in addition to, not in opposition to, repatriation) often centers the return of immaterial belongings to Indigenous communities.[4] I capitalize the M in reMatriation mostly for the visual effect. I refer to the process in which community members (especially those who have been ruptured from what's dominantly deemed to be "traditional" culture) learn Indigenous "immaterial" knowledge as "reclamation." The project is reMatriation, the process is reclamation.

I come to these issues with humility and understanding that we, as Indigenous peoples, have had to do what we've had to do to survive. And we have survived and done those things. I expect our survivance[5] to include refusing the settler state the satisfaction that we will continue

[4] Tuck 2011.
[5] Vizenor 2009.

the project of colonization from within. This dissertation is me naming issues I see, based on lived experience in community. I go into it knowing I may have to "let go" of a lot of things in the aftermath.

Critique

In *Real Indians*, Eva Marie Garroutte (Cherokee Nation) argues for "radical Indigenism" and asserts that as a methodological and theoretical approach to research, radical Indigenism "respect(s) indigenous philosophies of knowledge… (and) accepts that tradition is fundamentally a *sacred* concept."[6] Included in these philosophies are "*spiritual* dimensions of inquiry," and Garroutte states that "This sacred knowledge is what makes us as Indian people most uniquely ourselves, and it rightly affects and is reflected in all that we do and discover."[7]

Although I gained much from Garroutte's approach to creating knowledge and understandings of "tradition" based on her critical engagement with the ways the concept of tradition emerged out of salvage ethnography and the ways it is dominantly used in Indigenous communities on the ground, my initial response to "radical Indigenism" was to employ an extremely Western interpretation of Garroutte's choice of wording. I reactively thought that "sacred" and "spiritual" meant strictly theist, and thus understood it to be exclusive of many Indigenous community members. I therefore felt it was essentialist, though I had previously been connecting to Garroutte's arguments quite strongly.

After grappling with what I felt were inconsistencies in "radical Indigenism" due to my interpretation of "sacred" and "spiritual," I called my Dad. I told him that I felt conflicted in

[6] Garroutte 2003, 137. Emphasis original.
[7] Garroutte 2003, 114. Emphasis original.

critiquing the text of someone who was an expert, and thought that there must be something I was missing on the topic—otherwise, why would I disagree with someone who wrote an entire book on the matter? The gist of my Dad's response was, 'You wouldn't critique it if it wasn't important. At least you care. And you care because it affects you, so you want to make it better.'

His response is part of what guides my engagement with academia, tribal affairs, and other spaces in which I find myself suspicious of things. I make critiques because I find value in what I am critiquing, and I hope to make positive change. Because the issues are important, and because contributing my voice to our representation adds density and possibility for our ways of being, knowing, and doing.

Context: Karuk Tribe & Grandma Ellen

My Family's Project

In 2018 I entered the Native American Studies Ph.D. program at UC Davis. As a community member who had previously conducted research into gender & sexuality in Karuk language reclamation, I intended to continue research into Karuk Two Spirit matters. However, that same year, family let me know our ancestor, Ellen Grant (who I will mostly refer to as "Grandma Ellen"), had song recordings housed in archives. Thus, grassroots organizing to reMatriate these recordings began.

In 2019 I began helping to reMatriate Grandma Ellen's song recordings, which contained Konomihu and Cherokee songs she sang which were recorded by ethnomusicologist Helen H. Roberts in 1926. Konomihu is a tribal identity of my family's ancestors from Forks of Salmon in NorthWest (NW) California, and is culturally very similar to, but with a few distinct differences from, the surrounding NW California tribal cultures. Notedly, my family has Cherokee and also

well-documented Abenaki ancestry from the Odanak reservation.[8] However, we are not Cherokee or Abenaki today– we are Karuk, perhaps reasonably *ethnically* Konomihu-Shasta, with a few Cherokee songs that my 3rd great-grandmother allowed Roberts to record. Grandma had learned these "Cherokee" songs from her maternal grandmother, who she says was Cherokee and had been captured during a war and traded into the Konomihu Indian community in Etna.[9]

Ellen is my 3rd great-grandma. Her mother was Queenie, my 4th great-grandma. I heard Queenie's name growing up, which is remarkable. She is so remembered, her memory so cared for, that her great-great-great-*great* grandchildren continue to know her name.

[8] Grant et al. 2017
[9] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 8

Figure 3. My 3rd great-Grandma, Ellen Grant (née Brazille). Image source: Mrs. Hugh Grant; Butter [Sic] Flat. 1921. Print. UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library[10]

[10] See https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf0w1007xq/?brand=oac4.

Figure 4. Photo of Queen Brazille (née Ruffey) in Peters, Josephine Grant, and Beverly Ortiz. 2010[11]

This reMatriation project is the context in which my research emerges. I am exploring themes that have come up in discussions during this project and cite interviews to support particular arguments.

Konomihu reclamation is important in its own right. Of course, there is knowledge that can be gleaned and built from the process of reclamation, itself. Based on my position as a Karuk person whose tribal relations are primarily within but extend beyond the Karuk Tribe, I think this project has the potential to help us as Indian people understand how tribal and colonial hegemonies impact the intergenerational transmission of Indigenous identities, especially as they

[11] See After the First Full Moon in April: A Sourcebook of Herbal Medicine from a California Indian Elder. Left Coast Press. Pg. 37

are transmitted through language, story, and music. One result of grassroots reclamation projects, where the community is made up of members from multiple different, but interconnected, communities, is that new relations will be built or restored where they existed prior to colonization. Such relations have been impacted by settler colonialism, which Patrick Wolfe describes as "a structure rather than an event," stating that "settler colonizers come to stay," which makes this form of colonialism have a unique "relationship" to genocide—i.e., it necessitates the "elimination of the Native" to make room for settlers.[12] In response to this fundamental analytic and argument that settler colonialism is a structure, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli) argues for uplifting structures of Indigeneity. Kauanui states that this approach is twofold: one, "Indigeneity itself is enduring," and two, settler colonialism "endures indigeneity, as it holds out against it."[13] This centering of Indigenous structures is a pillar of reclamation projects.

Tribal and colonial hegemonies

When I speak of tribal hegemonies, I am specifically speaking to those power structures wherein Indigenous peoples or communities exercise power over other Indigenous peoples or communities who have not obtained similar forms of privilege in hierarchal systems. One example of this is blood quantum (with its close ties to and implications for enrollment status) which was recorded by white census takers and used "to evaluate the 'competency' of the individual to manage the demands of private property ownership."[14] This decidedly patriarchal practice was imposed via colonial processes of racialization and written into census records,

[12] Wolfe 2006, 390
[13] Kauanui 2016
[14] Barker 2011, 88-89

which were later to be used and adopted by Indian nations as a means of determining belonging for purposes of citizenship in tribal nations, though blood quantum relies on pseudoscientific beliefs that culture and blood are connected.[15] Many tribes therefore have institutions that contribute to the disenfranchisement of family members who do not meet tribal ordinances of blood quantum requirements.[16] Such situations of lateral oppression, where people from a social community exert power, in this case of exclusion, over others who share that social identity, are important to my research interests as someone who must navigate those politics.

Another example wherein lateral oppression is sometimes executed is through claims to resources on the basis of federal recognition, particularly where such claims pointedly, purposefully, prevent "unrecognized" tribes from exercising sovereignty.[17] This is painfully ironic for many reasons. One being that requirements for federal recognition were created by colonial governments, and many of those requirements are that the Tribe maintains some aspect of themselves which the colonial government explicitly aimed to destroy. For instance, in the United States, the maintenance of "continuous community" is required for recognition despite the fact that the US government stole children from Indian communities (e.g., boarding schools, missions, forced external adoptions), imposed legislature that disrupted tribal relations, and moved separated families from reservation to reservation.[18] In Mexico, recognition is similarly based on aspects of Indigeneity specifically targeted for eradication by colonization. Cucapá peoples have had their fishing and land rights questioned by the Mexican government who interrogated the status of their language, aiming to show the language was "inauthentic" and,

[15] See: Barker 2011, 90; Garroutte 2003; TallBear 2013
[16] Barker 2011, 91
[17] Examples include Eastern Band of Cherokee vs. Lumbee Tribe (Kays 2021); see too Oklahoma's state-level arts and crafts act proposing to restrict "Indianness" to federally recognized tribes despite the federal law which includes state recognized Tribes (Press 2019).
[18] Garroutte 2003, 28-29

therefore, that the Cucapá community was not Indigenous and did not have the fishing and land rights they claimed.[19] It is odd that colonially recognized Tribes might privilege such recognition as a basis for rights and claims to authenticity, given that the power associated with that recognition is power that must be granted by the colonial government. Some Tribes refuse pursuing recognition on such grounds.[20]

These structures are a direct result of settler colonialism and this should not be read as "blaming" our own people. That noted, the structures can in fact reflect the very real understandings that many Indigenous peoples have about ourselves and are thus necessary to disassemble on the ground in our communities. I hypothesize that projects such as Konomihu music reMatriation have the potential to contribute to that grounded dismantlement.

One means of intervening in the above hegemonies is through holding our friends, colleagues, and families accountable. We can do so through turning to our "Original Instructions"[21] and Indigenous thinkers. Importantly, I follow in TallBear's assertion that "'indigenous thought' [does not] mean some static notion of indigenous 'traditional' knowledge, but rather engagement with the thinking that *living* indigenous people do today".[22] One example of such interventions includes Christine Ami's (Diné) condemnation of the Navajo Nation's president (Nez) and vice president (Lizer). Nez and Lizer encouraged Navajo Nation citizens to participate in COVID-19 vaccine trials and subsequently censored citizens who raised concerns about the research ethics behind the trials.[23] Ami explicitly notes that, "Remaining silent would make me complacent to the teachings I have been raised with and that I hope to instill in my

[19] Muelmann 2008, 35
[20] Garroutte 2003, 29
[21] For expansion on meaning of "original instructions" see Garroutte 2003; Maracle also shares interpretations of "original instructions" (Maracle 2015, 10)
[22] TallBear 2017, 193
[23] Ami 2020

children and my students."[24] Another example of a citizen disagreeing with their tribal nation is Cheewa James (Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma). In May 2019, James and her relatives received a letter from the Modoc Tribe that they were disenrolled on the basis that membership eligibility "shall consist of those Modoc Indians who are direct lineal descendants of those Modocs removed to Indian territory (now Oklahoma) in November 1873, and who did not return to Klamath, Oregon."[25] James' family's ancestors are among those who did return to Klamath.[26] James and fifteen family members, who were also impacted by the Tribe's decision, believe that their disenrollment was pursued by the Tribe *in direct response* to James' outspoken disagreement with the Tribe's official stance that the Lava Beds should not become a national monument, for which James is a seasonal park ranger.[27] Disagreeing with a Tribe's official stance on issues has risks.

Karuk Tribe: Historical Context

Indigenous peoples of northwestern and coastal areas of California experienced multiple waves of colonialism and imperialism. However, due to geographic diversity, destructive policies held particular consequences at different historical moment for northwestern California than those of the rest of California and the pacific northwest.

In saying that Northwest California Indian experiences were drastically different, I am not saying that we were "untouched" before the Gold Rush (~1848-1855).[28] However, it's to say that our experiences are not what is dominantly named in discussions of the colonization in

[24] Ami 2020
[25] Juillerat 2020
[26] Juillerat 2020
[27] Juillerat 2020
[28] Albers & Supahan 2013, 33

California, which often focus on missions in southern California. Fourth grade mission projects are curricular units where students learn all about the padres, the doctrine of manifest destiny, Spanish missionization in California, and are typically required to build a diorama of a mission.[29] A rightful critique of these widespread projects has been named, and they occur even in northern California despite missions not reaching Karuk Country.[30] Missions therefore make up the dominant discourse on California colonization. However, the two treaties (Treaty of Limits and Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) that had warring, on-the-ground impacts for much of southern California had few of those same impacts in northern California except with regard to where a California-Oregon boundary was drawn and enforced later.

The United States' impact, interactions, and relations with the Karuk Tribe, specifically, were "informal" until 1851, when Karuk peoples "met with Redick McKee US Senate delegation, and participated in treaties signed in Weitchpec, Somes Bar, and near the mouth of the Scott River."[31] This was during the Gold Rush, which the state took full advantage of in order to build the state's capital through a pioneer and "American Dream" mentality.[32] The genocide of California Indian people as a result of the forty-niners Gold Rush included, specifically in Karuk villages, the "taking infant Native children, swinging them around, and smashing their heads against trees or rocks; raping Native women and taking them as sex slaves; shooting Native peoples just to test out guns; killing Native parents and kidnapping the children; burning villages and food supplies; and sliding whole villages off the sides of mountains into the canyons."[33] Such

[29] Miranda 2013, xvii
[30] See Miranda 2013 for mission projects; with regards to the dominant narrative of California colonization, Norton 1979 expressed a similar sentiment, and a google search of "colonization in California" as of Sept. 2021 reveals that the first pages of results all center missionization—and any time Gold Rush is mentioned, it is in the context of a multicultural heritage, and Indigenous peoples experiences are noted in a sentence or two.
[31] Karuk Tribe 2020
[32] Bauer 2016, 23
[33] Risling Baldy 2018, 55

acts were not solely the acts of individuals or small groups, as the US militia made war plans to decimate entire villages.[34] After the Rush died down, the United States continued to exploit the area for the timber.[35] The Rush includes, in northern California, the development of lumber mills, agriculture, and commercial fishing, all of which Indian peoples resisted.[36]

During and following these atrocities of the Gold Rush, in 1850 California legislation implemented legal Acts which forced California Indians into indentured servitude—i.e., "unfree" (enslaved) labor. These were called the "Unfree California Indian Labor Laws" (or the 1850 Act for the Government and Protection of Indians) and applied to any Indian regardless of age or gender.[37] These acts provided "masters" (white settlers whom Indians were forced to labor for) the legal right to "bind" Indian minors and hold them as indentured servants, sometimes far beyond the age of 18.[38] Indians who were indentured as teenagers could be bound until they were twenty-five, and those who were indentured over age twenty could be bound for ten years.[39] Raheja states that, in the political context of this Act, "in 1853 the *Yreka (CA) Herald*, published an essay entreating the U.S. government to send funds and troops to 'enable the citizens of the north to carry on a war of extermination until the last redskin of these tribes has been killed'."[40] In addition, in 1855, my family's own ancestor, Frank Brazille, intervened "in an attempted massacre" of Karuk Indians.[41] Grant III et al. have compiled the notes from A.J. Bledsoe's *Indian Wars of the Northwest: A California Sketch 1885, p. 167*, which contains historical document that "Capt. Buzelle [Brazille] arrived [at Katamiin] with a company of volunteers just in time to

[34] Grant III et al. 2017
[35] Lenk 2012, 6
[36] Risling Baldy 2018, 66
[37] Madley 2017, 406
[38] Madley 2017, 406
[39] Madley 2017, 406
[40] Raheja 2010, 231
[41] Grant III et al. p. 173

prevent a general massacre of the peaceable Indians by the Klamath miners."[42] Grant III et al. consider that Brazille's actions may've been because he had "in mind that his own Abenaki people had suffered similar killing sprees in previous centuries by the European invaders of New England."[43]

California's logics for using enslaved California Indian labor followed the pre-existing economy of California under Spanish rule—particularly the economies of "cattle, grape, and grain" which were sustained by enslaved Indian workers "despite Mexico's having banned slavery in 1829."[44] Thus, when California became California under United States jurisdiction, the state chose to "maintain existing systems of Indian servitude without overtly legalizing slavery."[45] Those existing systems are laid bare in great detail in Andrés Reséndez' *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian enslavement in America.*[46] This is one clear example of how California as an imagined territory was realized and racialized through settler law. Following the drawing of CA borders, confinement for CA Indians was drawn through boundaries of reservations.

In 1864, reservations were established in northern California—particularly the Hoopa reservation, which included Indians who were instead from other Tribes.[47] Yurok and Karuk Indians were also on the Hoopa reservation at the time. Treaties were never ratified because the US government was invested in the Gold Rush and so wanted settlers to have access to Indian lands for mining.[48] The state of CA would come to sue the United States for not ratifying treaties made with CA Indian Tribes, and these law suits "came to a head during the Great Depression"

[42] Grant III et al. p. 173
[43] Grant III et al. p. 174
[44] Madley 2017, 145
[45] Madley 2017, 145
[46] Reséndez 2016
[47] Brann 2002, 753
[48] Brann 2002, 754

(1929-1941).[49] William J. Bauer (Wailacki and Concow of the Round Valley Indian Tribes) shows in *California Through Native Eyes* the impact that such law suits have on various Elders today through his interviews to reclaim California history.[50] There are also literatures detailing Indian histories that become locally popular and valued.

A stable literature in Karuk Country and surrounding areas is *In the Land of the Grasshopper Song* by Mabel Reed and Mary Ellicott Arnold (schoolmarms sent by the BIA). The novel details one of the first overt attempts to assimilate Karuk peoples, after our run-ins with gold miners who 'killed our men, stole women and children, set fire to villages, made mining claims on our land, and documented none of this while leaving the "scars".'[51] Reed and Arnold's participation in colonization was not that of the miners (i.e., murderous)—they were there to assimilate, Christianize, and implement and run schools in the mountains; they document Karuk Country as a rocky place where few colonizers had the means to travel to during 1908.

Assimilation for Karuks came later than it did for those in southern California via missions, or in the Bay Area with both Russian and Spanish missionization—however, genocide was well underway. Late assimilation is in large part due to the mountains secluding us off, as Reed and Arnold note in their documentation. Though, even their accounts acknowledge there was some non-Native presence in the area, largely due to miners.[52]

Karuk people were also sent to assimilatory boarding schools. It was in the mid-1900s, just after Reed and Arnold's time in our mountains, that my own family went to Sherman Indian Boarding School in Riverside, CA (previously Perris Indian School). All of my (great) Grandma Minnie's siblings went there except for her, because she was "too young to go with them." My

[49] Bauer 2016, 6
[50] Bauer 2016
[51] Risling Baldy 2018, 55
[52] Arnold & Reed 2011

cousin tells me that one of Grandma Minnie's sisters, Auntie Ellen, was sent to a boarding school other than Sherman, and that she "wasn't treated as well" there, which implies that Sherman, overall, treated our family well. Another of Grandma Minnie's sisters, Aunt Lena, used her education at Sherman to propel her career into nursing school and became a flight nurse with the Army Air Force. My Aunt Mona (another of Grandma Minnie's sisters) stated she felt that Sherman was "a good thing", but shared that she knew of students who didn't like Sherman at all, who tried to run away, and who called it a prison, which shows the diversity of experiences with the school.[53]

Sherman Indian School is still up and running, and I visit the school cemetery when I visit, typically during Summer and Winter breaks. While there, I pay respects to my Auntie Mamie who passed away at the school and is rested at the school cemetery. Though her specific grave is unmarked, there is a larger headstone with all of the names the school was able to identify of those who passed and are buried there. That Auntie Mamie passed there is relevant because it was during the typhoid fever outbreak at the school. Jean Ann Keller's text, *Empty Beds: Indian Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922* offers a broad overview of health at Sherman Indian School, the ways the school officials viewed health and implemented best practices at the time, and corresponded with families regarding the health of their children. In Keller's dissertation, *Student Health at Sherman Institute, 1902-1922*, my Aunt Mamie is identified as "Klamath," rather than Karuk.[54] This sort of identification was common at the time, as distinct realizations of Tribes were yet to be dominantly articulated separately from the river—as I've earlier indicated the importance of the Klamath River to who we are as a People. In

[53] Meinert 2023
[54] See Keller 2001, 208

seeing Sherman Indian photos of my other relatives, they, too, were sometimes identified as belonging to a Tribe other than Karuk but which are connected by the Klamath.

There was diversity in experience at and personal feelings towards Sherman, where for some it was traumatic, but for others it provided opportunity for much-aspired careers. This diversity is represented in the literature on Sherman, as well. For instance, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* by Kevin Whalen details the stories of young Native men at Sherman who were placed into the southern California industrial workforce and how the conditions of such work were harsh.[55] Diana Bahr shows the agency of Native Sherman students by reviewing the ways they made intertribal connections in *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity since 1892*.[56]

In addition, Sherman was primely located for those with theatrical inclinations. Michelle Raheja, in *Reservation Reelism: redfacing, visual sovereignty, and representations of Native Americans in film*, outlines how "Several Native actors used Sherman as a place to live while performing on set or as a dormitory to house their children when they relocated to Hollywood."[57] Raheja notes the connection between Hollywood and California Indians at the time, stating "The demographics of the Hollywood Indian community reflect the racist attitudes towards Indigenous Californians during much of the twentieth century, many of whom were considered too dark to play Native American roles except as extras and whose Spanish surnames led them to be cast as Mexican characters instead."[58] My great aunt Mona mentions there was a lot of skin color variation at Sherman (specifically, she said, "It seemed to me they had more white at Sher- ,

[55] Whalen 2018
[56] Bahr 2014
[57] Raheja 2010, 29
[58] Raheja 2010, 27

white looking kids at Sherman. Didn't have much Indian in them"). So there was phenotypic diversity as well as surname diversity impacting Hollywood's view of *the Indian*. In conversation with Raheja's points this is interesting, because aunt Mona goes on to depict how she remembers the Hollywood agents coming to Sherman to find Indian actors for their films: "A lot of the actors came there looking for a good Indian, one that looked – they thought looked like an Indian."[59] Raheja details the career of Suni War Cloud (Joseph "Suni" Vance Chorre), and states that he, his brothers, and his sister attended Sherman.[60] Chorre was "perhaps the most well-known California Indian from the early cinema period [and] landed roles in films such as DeMille's *Union Pacific* (1939), and Michael Curtiz's *Jim Thorpe – All American* (1951)."[61]

In the 1950s, the United States instituted the Policy of Termination and Relocation with regards to Indigenous peoples, affecting California Indian tribal recognition, and so our right to be heard and in conversation as a People/Nation (i.e., "government-to-government") was violated.[62] In 1979, federal recognition was reinstated for the Karuk Tribe.[63] Federal recognition as a concept, however, is a paternalistic relationship. It is the colonial government saying, in effect, that Indigenous peoples are only a People/Nation if we are legible to the colonial gaze as such, and that recognition is therefore based on wholly colonial ontologies of what makes a Nation.[64] These histories impacted Indigenous identities and relations in northern CA, which were further meddled through the Settlement Act of 1988 which "force(d) organization according to U.S. standards upon the Indians despite the fact that the Yuroks had consistently argued against formal organization."[65] In essence, this Act separated the Hoopa reservation into two

[59] Meinert 2023
[60] Raheja 2010, 29
[61] Raheja 2010, 29
[62] Karuk Tribe 2020
[63] Karuk Tribe 2020
[64] See Motenegro 2019
[65] Brann 2002

reservations: Hoopa and Yurok. There were, of course, Indians from other communities and villages along the River now identified as Hoopa and/or Yurok. This act forced northern CA Indians to choose one identity and community, and be confined and bordered to one place, despite networks along the river being vital to familial, political, spiritual, and cultural life, and it disenfranchised Indians who could "not meet the requirements for membership in one of those two (Hoopa or Yurok) tribes."[66]

The Settlement Act of 1988 and its definitions of who "counted" as Indian, based on the colonially created pseudoscience of blood quantum, reverberates in tribal enrollment ordinances in the area today. Moreover we continue to fight colonial violence towards ourselves and our lands, resulting in wins like the Klamath dam removal and, as Kaitlin Reed (Yurok) has been investigating, the new "rush" to our area – the Green Rush, where marijuana is the new gold.[67]

Prominent Themes of Konomihu Music ReMatriation, 2019-2024

My family's project deals with *Konomihu* reMatriation. Why, then, have I been discussing Karuk matters? Despite the very complex politics detailed above, the answer to this is actually quite simple: I write from a Karuk centric narrative because I am Karuk and experience the politics of the Karuk Tribe but hold no political power therein, despite being enrolled (which I discuss in chapter III). There is no contemporary Konomihu Tribe as a named political or community unit. The people who descend from Grandma Ellen are, by and large, going to be enrolled Karuk. The Tribe considers Konomihu ancestry to be Karuk ancestry for purposes of calculating blood quantum for enrollment in the Karuk Tribe. The cultures, community relationships, and so on are

[66] Brann 2002, 759
[67] Reed 2023

that close and similar and intertwined historically. The affiliation for everyone involved in the Konomihu reMatriation project as of right now is Karuk. Therefore, while we're pursuing a "Konomihu" family project, we're contemporarily Karuk, and so I aim for my work to contribute to the Karuk Tribe on the whole.

I have served as a grassroots organizer for my family in reMatriating our ancestral Native music/language recordings for a good five years now. This has included making connections across archives that host Ellen's recordings, collaborating with stakeholders to create protocol for sharing & use of the recordings, organizing meetings between archivists and community, and conducting interviews to generate directions, goals, and context for the project.

My pursuit of graduate school was initially to explore Two Spirit matters as they related to mine and surrounding Tribes. When this project started, I did everything I could to hold onto my passion for Two Spirit matters. However, when I asked if anyone would be interested in sharing about gender/sexuality in interviews, there were crickets. This was initially disheartening for me—but I accept it was not my purpose at this particular time. Of course Two Spirit research, especially in support of contemporary needs, should happen for our area, and it will come when its time comes.

Approximately fifteen family members have been involved in the project. Everyone who agreed to be involved was aware that I was conducting academic research. I thus identified major themes that came up during our early meetings, but also which I've also observed in the Karuk and northern California Indian community at large. Such themes will necessarily impact our reMatriation project. I will therefore occasionally reference important points non-interviewees made during the project, but, as interactions were typically informal and based on observation from my lived experience as a member of the community, I maintain anonymity for non-

interview content. I created interview questions around the recurring themes I identified and conducted interviews with four people who are all Karuk Tribal Members, alphabetical by surname: Darrel Aubrey, Raná Bussard, Kenneth Hockaday, and Ramona "Mona" Meinert. Respectively my cousin, aunt, dad, and great aunt. In addition to the main interview, I also conducted two oral history interviews with my great aunt Mona.

I conducted interviews to provide context to our project and be able to represent more views from folks involved on-the-ground on the themes I would be exploring in this research. These key themes have guided my research and now correspond to the chapters of this dissertation – each chapter provides **a** Karuk, feminist rhetorical analysis of a keyword of sorts: tradition, diaspora, and "Member"/"Descendant".[68] The fourth chapter is special.

Chapter one on **tradition** investigates the ways things deemed "traditional" can be weaponized, turned into a currency of sorts, and how this is a result of colonization reinforced by salvage ethnographic pursuits. I show how the rhetoric of "tradition" can make Karuks feel they are not "Karuk enough" and that labeling people, specifically, as "traditional" or "not traditional" is essentially a deficit model (if one lacks "tradition", they have a deficit of Karukness).

Chapter two looks at the role of **place** in Indigenous identities, specifically considering the phenomenon of the question commonly asked to Native folks, "Did you grow up there?", where there is often a silent but implied "but" at the beginning: "(But) did you grow up there?" Herein I address the question of geographic identity and how it does and/or does not relate to a tribal person's legitimacy *as* a tribal person and their positionality or right to speak to tribal matters.

[68] I bold "a" to highlight the fact that this is one such Karuk feminist perspective, it is not to be read as a homogenized "the perspective", which does not exist since we are diverse.

Chapter three is in direct response to my own family member's call to action that she made as part of her platform when running as a candidate for tribal council. She was not elected but had proposed a change to our enrollment ordinance which required further research. That's where I come in. In chapter three, I investigate **enrollment politics**, identify why our current enrollment ordinance is harming Karuk people, and ask the questions to do with the politics of "recognition" more broadly (who is recognized by who, by what authority, and under what circumstances).

The fourth chapter is an anomaly only in the sense that I did not identify the theme from topics that naturally arose during this project. Rather, I chose a topic I was personally interested in and which there are Konomihu songs for, crafted interview questions around the topic, and allowed myself to geek out about something that really interested me on a personal level: Deathwork – specifically **hauntings**. This chapter intervenes on dominant academic employment of hauntological theory. In this chapter, I explore the fact that the dead can sing postmortem, and that the deceased (such as our ancestors) thus have a stake in Indigenous peoples' cultural projects, making such projects inherently sacred.

All four chapters are therefore themes relevant to Konomihu music reMatriation that have emerged between 2018-2024 when I held the position of a researcher.

Conclusion

This is all to say, it has come to my attention that I need to primarily write what will have the most impact for political and social activism in my community. I do this because I hope my research can be used to support change, but, if it does not, then I do it so that it is documented that these perspectives existed in Karuk Country at this time, so that those in the future who

share these feelings, struggles, and frustrations do not feel abandoned. This dissertation documents that there were people with these perspectives in Karuk Country at this time, thinking of future community members and trying to generate change for them. And it does not end here.

Chapter I: When BigFoot Played the Fiddle and I Sang *Jolene* at Ishi Pishi – *A Close Look at "Tradition"*

> The words of nos. [song recording numbers] a, b, and c are among the oldest K!onomíhu words. They were old when Mrs. Grant was a girl, and becoming meaningless even then.[69]
>
> h. Clapper song of the Cherokee. Mrs. Grant said the Cherokee had the clapper, but she thought her people (the k!onomíhu) did not.[70]
>
> There was no stringed instrument that Mrs. Grant can recall.[71]
>
> d. […] There were no k!onomíhu marriage songs.[72]

Introduction: What is the vision?

I connected with several cousins, including many of my Papa's [grandfather] first cousins, to kick off this Konomihu music project. In the process, I learned that some of my family has many other recordings, documents, and photographs of our family and other tribal and nontribal community families. Some are doing their own projects of digitizing much of that collection.

Several community members were enthusiastic about having younger generations involved in this project. One cousin expressed excitement that I "showed up when [I] did" and was interested in helping preserve the giant archive-of-sorts she'd worked on collecting and maintaining. My aunt Raná Bussard (née Hockaday) expressed a similar sentiment, stating:

> …I feel that we are excited and happy that someone younger with more knowledge [of technology] is taking the project on […] we were taught not in the internet /electronic world and a lot of that [electronics] brings forward more opportunities for projects like

[69] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 1
[70] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 9
[71] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 7
[72] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 14

> this to happen, and we're very excited and happy for future family/generations to have this to look at.[73]

So, there was interest in having folks with technological knowledge able to take on the project of archiving the recordings we have. The commonly expressed interest in having people with technological knowledge involved determined that the project would be one primarily of community archiving and digitization (especially of those materials which were primarily hosted on obsolete technologies) with an emphasis on community access.

When one family member and I talked, I shared what the family had been planning for Grandma Ellen's Konomihu recordings thus far (i.e., to create a secure online access portal with Mukurtu or Mukurtu-based Sipnuuk). This cousin wanted to know more about Mukurtu, and also directly asked me what my vision for the project was.

I, of course, had my own hopes for the project, and these hopes are valid being that I'm a direct descendant of Grandma Ellen and community member myself. However, being trained in Native American Studies and encouraged to use community based participatory research, the goal of the researcher is for research to be a collaborative process where everyone contributes to the vision, and I do value this approach even as I recognize my own interests. My cousin pressed me further on my answer (which was "oh, it's to be collaborative, not just my own vision"), so I openly shared my personal vision with her, hoping that the fact that I was not married to the idea and was open to other ideas would come through.

I said that I see a lot of Karuks drawn to revitalization. Not all Karuks learn what's deemed to be Karuk culture from birth. So my vision was revitalization, and I used the word "revitalization" because that's what's commonly used in the community.

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[73] Bussard 2022

My cousin shared, in response, that some of the recordings she has are from the 1970s, of my dad's generation, so there has been and is cultural continuity. I understood her response to be asking me where my vision of "revitalization" was coming from, since people already know songs. As I understood it, my cousin's response (stating that the songs are documented in the 70s) to my vision was an indirect (polite) critique of revitalization. Basically, there is no need for revitalization, because the songs are still "vital", as evidenced by the fact that people in the 70s, whom I personally know and who my dad grew up with, had been taught the songs without a break in their intergenerational continuity, and they still exist today.

I understood this response because Natives are constantly told we're disappearing and fighting against this, saying we're still here and have our cultures.

Given these points, I understood this question of my "vision" to then include "who is this project *for*?"

Social justice oriented academia mandates that research be for "the community."[74] Community based scholarship seeks to respond to "the critique of higher education as an elitist ivory tower where specialized knowledge is produced in isolation."[75] Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Māori iwi Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou) argues that "Indigenous community development needs to be informed by community-based research that respects and enhances community processes."[76] At the same time, Kohl-Arenas, Kal Alston, and Christina Preston state that "Institutions often claim to value community-engaged, collaborative, diverse, social change, and equity-based work in their missions yet internally organize around the norms and structures that

[74] A goal I don't disagree with in either theory or praxis, even if I have critiques about the ontological assumptions about who constitutes "community"; for sources on Indigenous community based research methods, I suggest scholarship like Tuhiwai Smith 2021; Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien 2017, and Walder & Andersen 2013
[75] Kohl-Arenas & Sanchez 2020, 101
[76] Tuhiwai Smith, 2021, 149

reward individualism, competition, prestige, assimilation, and the status quo."[77] And so in attempt to meet the institution's goals of diversity while "validating research undervalued in formal institutional rewards and recognition systems",[78] academics name methods such as Community Based Participatory Action Research, Community Engaged Research, and Public Scholarship. However, abundant critiques of researchers taking themselves into "community" to "help" or "empower" community members also exist. Kohl-Arenas and Sanchez note, for example, how such partnerships have been shown to foster the University's "neoliberal ideologies and policies that called for disinvestment in programs that promote public welfare and a reorganization of public institutions toward bottom-line business logics and volunteerism in place of social welfare."[79]

I would add to these critiques that "the community" can never be neatly defined.[80] There are several sub-communities within a Tribe, for instance, and this is true even in Tribes with the same heritage, which doesn't even touch on Tribes who are confederated or the result of several heritages coming together. It is thus easy for there to be gatekeeping with regard to if someone has truly done work they can call "community" based or not. Furthermore, "reflexivity" has created in academia an almost dogma of self-deprecation. I have heard colleagues say things like "they [the community] do not need you [the researcher]". I have heard fellow scholars express that they feel once that someone is a researcher, they're no longer a community member and don't have rights/a say within the project.

[77] Kohl-Arenas & Preston 2020, 3
[78] Kohl-Arenas & Sanchez 2020, 102
[79] Kohl-Arenas & Sanchez 2020, 101
[80] For nuanced considerations of "community", see: Joseph 2007, Creed 2006

Community based research is when the research questions, methods, theories, and goals come from the community, itself.[81] I am part of "the community" whether I'm also part of academia or not. I am a direct descendant of Grandma Ellen, with my own rights and interests associated with that, and I would be involved in this project whether or not I was in academia, and my views *don't* align with 100% of "the community*"* because nobody's would. Such a consensus doesn't exist. Not all of "the community" has the same desires, because "the community" is not a monolith. When academia, in particular, seeks to do "collaborative" work, there are certain *sub*-communities (or even just a few families, in some cases) who contribute to that, and then other sub-communities are often left unattended yet the research is celebrated as representative of "the community."

I understand my cousin to've been highlighting the different sub-communities in Karuk Country, all of whom have rights and deserve support, and to be telling me that my own vision mattered and that I should explore it. In thinking through my own vision and considering who this is "for", I find my aunt Raná's comments pertinent. Raná begins by clearly positioning her identity as Karuk, and then says:

> It's funny how in the family … who they kind of marry, they participate more than others. What I mean is my uncle Junior – I don't remember him doing a lot of Native things. And then my aunt Mona, she married a Native gentleman, so their family was immersed more than my uncle Junior, my dad, and MaryJo, even though they were all siblings. When my aunt Mona married her Native husband, her family immersed more than her siblings did. To me they all still identified as family, but, like I said, my aunt Mona, her children who are my fist cousins, they're immersed more in the culture than myself and my other first cousins from my other aunts and uncles, if that makes sense? […] I see a stronger line of culture immersion from one side of my first cousins than the other, but the older [that the non-immersed family members] get, the more [they] try to re-learn or remember and try to pass on things…[82]

[81] Atalay 2012, 26; see also Andersen & O'Brien, 81
[82] Bussard 2022; the Mona named here is my Papa's sister, rather than great grandma Minnie's sister who I interviewed.

My aunt simultaneously identifies as Karuk and acknowledges the rupture of intergenerational transmission for some family lines. Also important here are her comments regarding kinship. Everybody, regardless of marriage practices, still identified as family, and recognizes that we all come from the same *Native* family, and who holds what's deemed "Native knowledge" varies within that family. People who were raised "immersed" in "the culture" are kin to those who were not raised as such.

A prominent theme began to reveal itself in our project: "the culture." I have a respect for knowledge as it is passed by Elders, and the diverse ways it is passed. Sometimes this is orally, sometimes it is sitting silently on the porch looking at Goosenest, sometimes it is leaving traces in the archives for us. That knowledge – which is not always "traditional" but is often wise – certainly deserves recognition as uniquely Karuk. However, this does not mean we throw critical thinking aside and accept everything as though it should inform "how we live" today. It is the labelling of that knowledge (e.g., as "tradition"), particularly into a binary, that I am critical of. The most common label I encounter is "tradition" and so I use it for familiarity so that the readership knows the general concept I am discussing.

In this chapter, I argue that essentializing certain markers as "tradition(al)" and requiring that Karuks know or practice such "traditions" restricts what it can mean to be Karuk. For one, it can disallow innovation. Two, it makes it hard for many Karuks to feel "Karuk enough" while existing as many of us *actually* exist (often getting coded as "nontraditional" even when we perhaps live in headquarters, are "connected", and participate in tribal matters be they "traditional" or not). Three, it can impact how our cultural continuation is viewed, such as reinforcing narratives of loss and subsequent(ly doomed) reclamation projects, impacting much of the progress we have made (such as in tribal Head Start curriculum). And four, it supports a

"difference" based model of understanding Indigeneity wherein Karuk-ness is always "other" and compared to the dominant culture, forcing us into a monolith where there are universal expectations of what it means to be Karuk despite that we are *and have always been* a diverse people within and between our villages.

Reclamation

Given the critiques of "revitalization" that came up during this project, it seems clear to me that some Karuks do see "revitalization" as pandering to the settler colonial view of us as disappeared or disappearing, that they disagree with this view, and want to instead assert that what we do, how we sing and speak Karuk (or for that matter Konomihu) now, is legitimate.

Because of this critique, which I share, I use the term "reclamation" as it is proposed by Miami linguist Wesley Leonard, which is as a response to the dominant discourse wherein "revitalization" has been widely led by non-Indigenous peoples, or led in ways that privilege Western ways of knowing and doing.[83] "Reclamation" differs from revitalization in that it centers the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples and critiques narratives of expectedness and authenticity.[84] Further, the tools of assessment in revitalization often pander to the interests of Western researchers, which might, in a language revitalization scenario for example, hyper-fixate on having "fluent" speakers in order to study specific details of languages in dissecting ways.[85]

Grandma Ellen's recordings are not all the best audio. They are scratchy, they skip, some are hard to hear; but nevertheless, they are important to those of us who descend from her, and they include useful metadata for reconstruction. In addition, what's been documented of the

[83] Leonard 2011, Leonard 2012
[84] Leonard 2011
[85] Leonard 2011

Konomihu language is, according to Western Linguistics, "incomplete." This idea that there's a "problem" – that there's "not enough" – documentation is only a problem if we allow revitalization norms of "authenticity" to dominate our goals (and if we accept deficit models). Who ever said our goal with Konomihu language is to achieve fluency? My goal from the beginning has only been to throw a few Konomihu words into my Karuk language speaking practice as a way of honoring those who contributed to Konomihu documentation and as an act of asserting *presence* – these ancestors' labor was not in vain, will not be forgotten, and will not go to waste. Reclaiming the language and songs is a matter of respect.

Literature Review: How the Label "Tradition" Can Erase Indigenous Presence and Necessitate "Loss"

NAS scholars have already shown time and time again the nuance that comes with the word "traditional" both in terms of its hegemonic use (i.e. as a tool to wield power) and in terms of the strangeness of its use as an identity claim (e.g., "I'm Traditional").[86] As Nick Estes (Lower Brule Sioux Tribe) states, "When used within political, academic, and activist frameworks, tradition does not function as a pure expression of philosophy or ceremony. It serves an agenda that cannot be removed from relations of power conditioned by colonial violence and heteropatriarchy."[87] Moreover, scholars show that this binary of traditional and non-traditional suspiciously resembles binaries of savagery imposed on Indian communities through salvage ethnography, which disallows for documented "traditions" to have futures.[88] In addition, Eva Marie Garroutte (Cherokee) shows that even Natives who are deemed "traditional" can have

[86] For examples, see Garroutte 2003, Barker 2011, Leonard 2011, Teves 2018, Ahlers 2012, Estes 2019, Briggs 1996
[87] Estes 2019
[88] Blaser & Glenn 2004, 53-54

their "authenticity" called into question due to things like phenotype, blood quantum, and enrollment status.[89] I therefore deconstruct and disentangle the concept of the "authentic" Indian and show how projects of reclamation push against broader society's expectations of Nativeness.

A Traditional Person Would Not Call Himself Traditional

Hegemonic Traditionalism

"Tradition" has been wielded as a weapon in many Native communities. For example, in 2004 and 2005 the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Navajo Nation made laws "to define marriage as being between a man and a woman of the opposite sex and prohibiting same-sex marriage rights."[90] As Joanne Barker (Lenape, citizen of the Deleware Tribe of Indians) details, these laws came with the idea that marriage between a man and woman were the "traditional" Cherokee and Navajo ways.[91] The Tribes certainly recognized that they had historic precedent for queer relationships, as the histories of third genders in their precolonial gender systems, often called "Two Spirit" today, are well documented.[92] Prominent Two Spirit activists were, however, not surprised "having had to live all along with the realities of sexism and homophobia in their communities" but they were nonetheless "taken aback."[93]

The broader United States' reactions to the Tribal Nations' passing of these laws was in large part due to the dominant narrative in which it is assumed that because Tribes historically often had third+ genders, those "traditions" would make Tribes more in line with the liberal politics of the US. This has resulted in "misunderstandings about Native traditions […] and even

[89] Garroutte 2003, 66
[90] Barker 2011, 189
[91] Barker 2011
[92] Barker 2011, 195
[93] Barker 2011, 195

contributed to certain expectations about how Native people would engage national debates and state propositions banning same-sex marriage."[94] Barker argues that this response from broader society shows that a Native Nation's "traditions" are expected to remain fixed – a "theoretical paradig[m] of social evolution and cultural assimilation."[95] Such a belief simultaneously ignores that all cultures change as well as ignores the assimilatory, genocidal agendas of colonization, of which Christianity, specifically, has been a "fixed force."[96] As such, Native "traditions" change and the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and the Navajo Nation's changes in "tradition" should be expected. In these examples, Christian values became tradition – and, in some ways, this is neither wrong nor right. It just is. Because all cultures change and this does not invalidate the communities as sovereign Indigenous Nations with political and communal continuity.

Another example of "tradition" being used to marginalize a group within a Tribal Nation is that of the Cherokee disenrolling Freedman. Consider that the Cherokee, long before contact (like Karuks and our neighbors[97]) enslaved people from their own and neighboring Tribes.[98] And so upon contact, enslaving Black persons simply fit into their preexisting institutional and structural "traditional" culture. The descendants of those enslaved, who often also had a Native parent, are called the Freedmen today.[99] Within their sovereign rights, the Cherokee Nation in 2007 disenrolled the Cherokee Freedmen (i.e. anyone who descends from a person on the Dawes Rolls who is not listed as Cherokee "by blood" – which Freedmen, even having a Native parent,

[94] Barker 2011, 196
[95] Barker 2011, 197
[96] Barker 2011, 197
[97] That we had precolonial systems of enslaving our own and those from neighboring Tribes is well-documented and can be seen in our languages where we have words for the enslaved, enslavers, pricing, and tools and methods of enslavement, as well as in salvage ethnographic books. I will not be naming the academic output that details our slave systems in the Pacific Northwest and NW California because the political motives of such research is questionable. I mention our own Tribes' histories here only because it's fact, and seems fair with regard to that I'm highlighting how a Tribe I am not from had this practice as well.
[98] Henry 2014, 11
[99] Henry 2014

were documented as not Cherokee "by blood" because of the one-drop rule wherein "one drop" of Black "blood" racialized a person as fully Black).[100] And this disenrollment was done under the assertion that Cherokee "tradition" is that only those of Cherokee "blood" are Cherokee.[101]

So I wish to make clear that these are the main types of "Traditions" I am critical of – the ones used to dictate who belongs and who does not, who has rights and who does not, who is authentic and who is not. I hope to prevent things like this from happening under the guise of "tradition." However, even beyond that, I do wish to call into question "tradition" as a label, for both people and culture, and show how it has an interesting way of "othering" Nativeness. Its use by our own communities is thus at least *curious*.

Tradition as "Other"

As Michelle Raheja (Seneca descent) argues, Natives "faced pressure from the government to assimilate while simultaneously receiving the message from anthropologists and ethnographers that their cultures were becoming increasingly inauthentic, impure, and irrelevant."[102] Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate scholar Kim TallBear notes too that when settlers feel the need to document/save/preserve Native culture, tissues (e.g. in cryopreservation), etc., then that documentation *cannot* be for the people who are being documented, because the assumption is that they will no longer exist at some point in the future, hence the urgency to get the documentation now, while they still exist.[103] This means that such documentation is being collected for "future yet unarticulated research questions."[104] The ethnographers who created

[100] Inniss 2015
[101] Inniss, 2014
[102] Raheja 2011, 207
[103] TallBear 2013, 11
[104] TallBear 2017, 180

documentation of the Konomihu language, songs, and stories (for example) cannot have intended it to be for Konomihu descendants, since the prevailing belief was that Konomihu people were disappearing. If you believe a people will no longer exist, who are you then "saving" material from them for?

Key is that all cultures have previous renditions (whether still detectable in a community today or not) that could be called "traditional." Consider: would a Karuk from the early 1400s have considered how they lived to be "traditional?" I would venture not – it is just "living." "Tradition" emerges as the "Native" emerges. And the Native emerges only in contrast to the non-Native and their culture – people existed, yes, but "Native" does not exist except in contrast to the sudden presence of the non-Native.[105] "Natives" and our "traditions" are thus differentiators. And as the non-Native emerges they bring with them a fetishized curiosity of the Native, which Vine Deloria Jr. precisely described in *Custer Died For Your Sins*, pointing out how anthropologists "can readily be identified on the reservations. Go into any crowd of people. Pick out a tall gaunt white man wearing Bermuda shorts, a World War II Army Air Force flying jacket, an Australian bush hat, tennis shoes, and packing a large knapsack incorrectly strapped on his back."[106]

Deloria Jr. states that anthropologists perceived that they were "losing" their "authentic" and "pure" Indian to study, resulting in anthropological reports that "Indians are not only bilingual, THEY ARE BICULTURAL!"[107] When the anthropologist cannot acquire funds because it is known there are no more "pure" Indians left to study, they re-label the Indian as a "folk" people, and the anthropologist's place in the ivory tower is reinstated.[108]

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[105] McKay 2021, 14
[106] Deloria Jr. 1988, 79
[107] Deloria Jr. 1988, 80
[108] Deloria Jr. 1988, 80

Grandma's Konomihu recordings are categorized archivally as "Folk" songs, and were recorded in 1926. "Folk" becomes a named music genre, according to William G. Roy, in the 1920s when white people (especially elitist white academics) identified who "the folk" were, which was highly racialized and class-based, but eventually (in the 60s) "folk" music becomes code for Indigenous/authentic (i.e., not consumeristic, and therefore anti-capitalist).[109] Roy states that naming music as "folk" was a practice in marking "*us vs. them*", stating that "no one claims to be 'the folk'," and 'the folk' change depending on place, space, and time; therefore, "folk" is an imposed label.[110] Given that "traditional" and "authentic" are often conflated, and that "folk" is code for "authentic", it can be understood that the marking of certain things, such as songs, as "traditional" is also *us vs. them* rhetoric. This means that "tradition" is a label coming from the dominant – i.e., the colonizers. Karuk culture upon contact became traditional*ized*, it is not essentially so.

Karuk "traditions" then are code for Karuk "culture." That culture has been "folk"-ified or traditional-ized, but these are not naturally existing categories. An unfortunate effect of this is that the label "tradition" rejects contemporary cultural manifestations as being a ("traditional") part of Karuk culture. For example, Karuk renditions of *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star* would not be permitted into the "traditional" (and thus hierarchically valued) authentic construct of a Karuk culture. Only certain aspects of our culture that are both historic and recognizably wholly "different" from the dominant culture "count" as that which authenticates us.

The truth is that *no* culture is "different" or "unique" or "folk" or "traditional." (Or, alternatively, *all* cultures are these things – but not all cultures get labeled as such). "Difference" depends on your perspective. As Marshall McLuhan famously states, "One thing about which

[109] Roy 2002
[110] Roy 2002, 460

fish know exactly nothing is water, since they have no anti-environment which would enable them to perceive the element they live in."[111] (Put another way: "Fish did not discover water. In fact, because they are completely immersed in it, they live unaware of its existence. Similarly, when a conduct is normalized by a dominant cultural environment, it becomes invisible."[112]). As such, a human does not see their own culture as "different" (or "traditional") – they see the cultures of "others" as "different", and whoever has power is the one whose perspective becomes dominant. The one without power is the one who gets deemed "other", "different", "unique", "folk", and "traditional."[113]

If the reader is not convinced, consider: there is no word for "tradition" in the Karuk language. What would we have called "traditions"? They are just "our culture" which needed not be named because it was our norm – our "water". Nowadays, "our culture" includes *so much more* than that which is deemed "traditional."

Roy's point that "the folk do not call themselves the folk" potentially reveals something interesting about our own use of the label "tradition." If we come from the perspective of the "traditional" (the authentically Native), then we would not call those things "traditional" ourselves. We would simply enact those ways of being, without seeing them as "different" (traditional). Calling our traditions "traditions" in some ways indicates that we come from the perspective of the dominant that sees our own culture as "different/other", but this is clearly not the case. Rather, we have adopted the dominant *rhetoric* about Native peoples, but we absolutely come from the Native (always "authentic" no matter how "traditional" or not) perspective.

[111] McLuhan 1968, 175
[112] "We Don't know Who Discovered…" 2014
[113] Roy 2002

Sometimes using certain imperfect terms is necessary, and so I don't dismiss that we might on occasion use the word "tradition" for political purpose, as we have been forced to "differentiate" ourselves from "others" in order to be legible as "authentic" to the feds and exercise sovereignty. Often, the entwined concepts of "tradition" and "authenticity" have important implications for recognition, not only federal but also amongst ourselves and to non-Natives. As Raheja states, " …the petition for recognition is, in some critical ways, predicated on traditional Indigenous practice."[114] This is because, as McKay argues, the US was "motivated by the desire to reduce and eventually terminate financial responsibility to Indians," and so they had a stake in policing authenticity. [115] Moreover, it is clear that "tradition" is not the invisible "water" (within McLuhan's fish analogy) in every aspect of a Karuk's life anymore, and so maybe it is "different." However, Karuk culture – that culture which Karuks have today regardless of if it is "traditional" – *is* our water, and it is Karuk, no matter what outside influence exists, because it is ours.

It is not the "traditions" themselves that I am critical of – indeed, what's often deemed "tradition" are important parts of our Peoplehood.

And – so are parts of our culture that are not deemed "traditional." It's the label itself, not the practices and ways of knowing/being/doing the label often demarcates, that I put on trial here. This chapter shows that we live "authentically" Karuk lives beyond (and sometimes in defiance of) the concept of "tradition." As such, I critique the notion that things which are dominantly labeled "traditions" are the defining pillars of Karukness and that if we don't enact those things, we are inauthentic and at risk of disappearance. In addition, I reject the idea that people, themselves, can be categorized as either "traditional" or "nontraditional."

[114] Raheja 2010, 3
[115] McKay 2021, 15

Findings: When Karuks Don't Feel "Karuk Enough"

Most Karuks, when I invited them to share their thoughts regarding our Konomihu music project, initially either declined because they "didn't know the traditions/culture" or accepted with a disclaimer that they "don't know the traditions/culture" and were not sure what they could contribute. While it is indeed sometimes Native protocol that you defer to someone more knowledgeable than you, especially an Elder, that's not what was going on here, as not only did people explicitly state their reasoning, but if the folks who I invited claimed to not know "the culture" they would by virtue not be applying such a cultural protocol if they had felt they had something to contribute.

When I made clear I am looking moreso at our contemporary experiences be they traditional or not, more people were interested in interviewing. Here I show that the diverse ways our Karukness has been passed down through various lines actually evidences our continuity as a distinct peoples.

Moreover, no Karuk person has "lost" our "traditions." The word "loss" actively erases the colonial violences at work to cause cultural rupture in Indigenous communities.[116] I call the lack of intergenerational transmission of pre-colonial Karuk culture "ruptures" because this acknowledges those colonial violences, rather than making it seem like I just dropped my traditions whilst frolicking through a field (and frolic I do). Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee) identifies "ruptures" as "always violent," and ruptures can be what's forced into community or forced out of community[117] —i.e., they are multidirectional and densely storied.

[116] Risling Baldy 2018, 5
[117] Justice 2018, 186

Fishing

Norgaard, Reed (Karuk), and Bacon conduct research that shows how the impact of environmental and ecological change violates Karuk mens' and families' abilities to perform gender, within which are responsibilities to place, and how Karuk men today have reconstructed masculinity by drawing upon our dipnet traditions.[118] I later show how this study is an incredibly important contribution to Karuk Studies and our community. However, to showcase my critique that certain sub-communities within the broader Karuk community are privileged in contributing to knowledge production with/by/for Karuk people, I highlight a particular analytic of the study. Norgaard et al. sufficiently nuance and disclaim that "tradition" is not static and can be homogenizing, but then use a curious application of "tradition" as a way to categorize knowledge and ways of being in the community, stating: "We use *tradition* to refer to values, norms, worldview and social practices that although not unaffected by outside influence, biologically inherent, historically fixed, or socially static, are nonetheless intensely meaningful to Karuk people."[119] This is not untrue, but *which* Karuk people?

When aspects of culture are coded as "traditional" it can come at the expense and neglect of those who do not claim to be "traditional", cannot claim to be "traditional", or are told they are not "traditional." And so those who cannot claim the label are implied to belong to another category: having values, norms, and worldviews which are perhaps not meaningful to Karuk people. These labels increase the position and authority of those who hold such "traditions" within the community, creating a hierarchy of Karuk authenticity wherein "tradition" becomes a

[118] Norgaard et al. 2018
[119] Norgaard et al. 2018, 101

currency. The gathering of interviewees in fact included "men who had less access [to dipnet fishing] either because they lived farther away or came from families who were assimilated." Even if responses highlighted the "assimilated" group, being called "assimilated" can rhetorically negate uniquely Karuk contributions to a study despite that (as Norgaard et al. acknowledge) such assimilation *is* part of "authentic" Karuk experiences. It is not the study itself I critique, nor the findings (the article is obviously a great example of doing collaborative work with, by, and for Karuk people) – it is simply that this rhetoric mimics rhetoric on the ground in Karuk Country that can reinforce power dynamics within community.

My dad is among those who initially disclaimed that he doesn't know "the traditions." I highlight his reflections on his dipnet childhood experience here:

> "So when I was like ten, eleven-ish, we went to Ishi Pishi with my dad and [name redacted], and there were other people there, and dad actually got to get in there and dipnet fish, and I was too small to do anything there. And I kind of wandered off away from the big rocks near the water, down into the tide pool areas and I found a piece of rubber, and I was just kinda playing around as a kid, and sticking it in the water and whatever, and a big guy up on the rocks said, 'get out of the water!' and you know, because it's sacred […] and you're not supposed to get into the water unless you're dipnet fishing, and it kinda scared me a little bit…"[120]

Dad's getting chastised for doing something "wrong" is an experience many Natives, Karuk and otherwise, share, but it can unfortunately discourage Natives from participating in those things in the future even if that is not the intent. Dad continues:

> "They caught a lot of fish that day and we brought them back to Happy Camp to give to family and Elders and I just remember stopping along the way and showing them to somebody and they just gave a fish to somebody. We were stopping along the way up the river. We still have family members who dipnet – [list of cousins names redacted] have done some dipnetting. […] I think it's important [that] the making of the net, and the process of the dipnetting is passed down from generation to generation."[121]

[120] Hockaday 2022
[121] Hockaday 2022

Dad's stories could contribute to a study such as Norgaard et al. conduct. However, because of the way "tradition" is framed both in and out of community – where some people are deemed traditional cultural practitioners and others not –such persons are prevented from thinking they have anything to contribute and so they are disenfranchised from their Karukness and neglected in research.

Norgaard et al. show how Karuks value fishing contemporarily and relate it back to their "tradition" of dipnetting, such as in the idea wherein "emerging 'traditional' [Karuk] masculinity" includes activism and fishery management.[122] Again, not untrue, but some Karuks do not consciously relate their fishing practice back to dipnetting. It nonetheless can be said to show the importance of Karuk families' relationships to fish. Dad shares:

> "We used to fish all the time, you know, and we would go up Indian Creek and Elk Creek and we didn't fish too much in the river. We were more into the creeks and lakes around Happy Camp and Yreka – when we moved out there, we'd fish around there and in the Shasta River. So not a lot of Klamath River fishing, but when you were allowed to catch steelheads in the creeks in the late seventies, early eighties, we used to do that a lot. And there were, you know, a lot of great memories – we used to go catch the grasshoppers and put them in band-aid containers, and you could hear them in there, the grasshoppers jumping around. That was part of it, you'd go and catch the grasshoppers and be ready to fish. Or you'd go out at night when, after it rained, and catch night crawlers, out there with a flash light, running to catch a night crawler before it slithered back underground. So you know, that was the bait and also, if you caught a female you could use the roe – their eggs – as bait as well.
>
> "And I remember sitting around trying bait balls with some of grandma's old stocking nylons. So that was another way you'd take the eggs, cut pieces of nylons, and wrap it around and tie a knot and you'd use that as bait to catch the fish, so that was just a lot of part of the tradition of fishing was catching bait and getting it ready and you'd go out there. We had our favorite spots. Elk Creek was for me, the best fishing around…Fishing was really big, not only for fun, but we ate all that fish. And smoking the fish was a big thing. Papa and Papa Cowboy used to smoke the steelhead and the salmon and it was delicious."[123]

[122] Norgaard et al. 2018, 107
[123] Bussard 2022

My Aunt Rana also shares about fishing for our family, reflecting that Papa, "because of his stature and the size of the dipnet, he didn't get proficient at [dipnet fishing]…" but that "He always took us fishing, not dipnet fishing, but he took us fishing all over our young lives growing up in Happy Camp. Took us to the lakes, the creeks, everything like that." She also reflects on environmental change that Norgaard et al. evidence in their piece. She states:

> "In the past I would say, when I grew up down there was in the seventies, there was less forest fires, and the summers weren't as hot, so the water wasn't as polluted with ash or debris, and the water was cooler for the fish to come up the river. In these past few years we've had so many forest fires, and the ash and mud from certain things, even, you know, I think it's mostly ash has polluted the water, and the water temperature's so warm, we have no good clean water. That's what I feel from living down there to now."[124]

Norgaard et al. also importantly highlight this point that environmental degradation has made a strong impact on Karuk people.[125] I know many folks who would never feel they could contribute to such a study due to that the labels "traditional" and "assimilated" can facilitate some families thinking they are not Karuk enough to contribute to Karuk things, much less research. There are more than 6,000 Karuk people – how many are consulted as "traditional" practitioners? Generally there is a handful of people who are considered as such, both within and outside of community, and this implies that the rest of us "assimilated" folks are somehow less uniquely Karuk, which reinforces the narrative that Karuks are a disappearing people. I reiterate: there are 6,000+ of us. We are diverse and that diversity should be represented. Imagine how research could look if all Karuks were simply called "Karuk" without any sort of classifier with regard to our perceived knowledge base.

[124] Bussard 2022
[125] Norgaard et al. 2018

BigFoot

And so I wish to uplift the diversity of legitimately Karuk people. There's many Karuks who live in Karuk Country and don't see themselves as participating in Karukness or being "Karuk enough" when they in fact are, and rhetoric such as that some families are "assimilated" or "nontraditional" suggests that they aren't Karuk enough. When I asked what sort of Indian music interviewees heard growing up, two people brought up BigFoot Days entirely on their own. For instance, Dad says:

> "I don't think I heard a lot of Indian music growing up. They used to have a BigFoot Jamboree every year in Happy Camp and there were some Native presentations that went on but we were never involved in helping that or doing anything with them. But I do remember seeing some of that, and there was always a Karok float in the BigFoot Jamboree parade so there was a lot of Karuk on the peripheral of my life, even being Karok we weren't really involved much with the Tribe growing up. Papa wasn't, and I don't think Grandma Minnie was that much, so I knew about it."[126]

Dad states the family "wasn't very involved." However, there are tell-tale signs of what's dominantly deemed to be Indianness both outside of and within the Tribe in dad's relation of BigFoot Days. For instance, someone who grew up in Happy Camp and is Karuk is considered more legitimately Karuk than someone who grew up "away" (a concept I critique in chapter II). However, broader society has imposed a particular version of Indianness ("authenticity" often signaled by "tradition") which makes real Indians feel they are not *quite* Indian. They don't really "count" because maybe they don't know the purported tribal secrets, look a certain way, or have certain "real" Indian experiences. The truth of the matter is that there's simply diversity in Indian experiences, but all are *Indian* experiences. There is no singular "Karuk life." Karuk universals don't really exist because due to colonization, every Native's life has its own

[126] Hockaday 2022

particular set of non-Native influences. These influences do not negate that the person's life is a fully *Native* life.

My aunt Raná also talks about the BigFoot Jamboree:

> "I do remember hearing songs during the community BigFoot Days. The Tribe would always have a float at the BigFoot parade; they would sing and do their dance on the float, and then down at the BigFoot Jamboree. They would have demonstrations. I don't remember hearing any family members sing songs except for my first cousins, they would sing, when they would participate in the demonstrations…"[127]

Karuks and our neighbors often have an appreciation of BigFoot. Sometimes the Indigenous roots of this are obscured and so maybe Karuks don't always know that our enjoyment of BigFoot could be said to come from our own culture. In Karuk, our word for BigFoot is "Maruk'áraar", directly translated as "uphill person."[128] I have heard this in Karuk language classes and it is also in our Dictionary. This comes from our own legends of Sasquatch which one of my grandfather's cousins also tells Karuk stories of. In our community this is the word we are given when we ask about the contemporary conceptualization of BigFoot, and it is not usually paired with teaching any story of Maruk'araar. In fact I've only heard Maruk'araar come up in two language classes, and no story was told along with learning the word either time. Therefore, many of us (validly) use "Maruk'araar" to mean the hairy humanlike creature hunted on Discovery+ and Travel Channel shows. However, Maruk'araar is mentioned by A.L. Kroeber who documents stories told by then thirty-eight- or forty- year old Oak-Bottom-Flat-Jack (i.e., Vunharuk) in **1902**.[129] One such story is BigFoot's Medicine:

> "*a.* Maruk-arar (Hill Person) made this world. He made the mountains. The last he made was a long ridge. He thought, 'I will go hunting.' He made five ravines. The first time he went hunting, the five ravines became filled with the deer he killed. He came back and stood outside his house. He said, 'I killed many. I cannot carry them all.' Then he looked downhill. Far below he saw smoke. He thought, 'I will go down.' Then he went

[127] Bussard 2022
[128] Bright, William, Susan Gehr, and Karuk Tribe
[129] Kroeber and Gifford 1980, 40

down. He saw a woman living in a house. He said, 'I came to get you.' She said, 'Yes? You have come just at the right time.' Then he took her back to his house. Then they carried the deer home: they carried them all into the house. Now he looked at her while she was eating. He thought, 'A woman will not eat that kind: a man will eat it. It is not the right kind for a woman to eat.'

"*b.* At night the woman could not sleep. She appeared to be sick. 'What is the matter with you?' he asked. 'I have a bellyache,' she said. When it was day he said, 'I will hunt again.' He had a dog; he took him along to hunt. The dog found the deer and drove them. But Maruk-arar could not see them: he killed nothing. Next night when it was nearly day the dog came back. The man thought, 'Why is it that I cannot kill deer, and that this woman has bellyache? I think it must be wrong that that woman ate deer.' She said: 'I am menstruating. That is why you cannot kill deer.' 'Is that it? Well, I will make medicine.' Then he took leaves and made medicine. At daylight he went out. Now he filled eight creeks with the deer he killed. He told the woman to go home. He thought, 'When people come to live they will do like this. They will find no deer when a woman menstruates."[130]

We see here BigFoot has the power of Creation, he makes the mountains and ravines in this story.

[130] Kroeber & Gifford 1980, 43

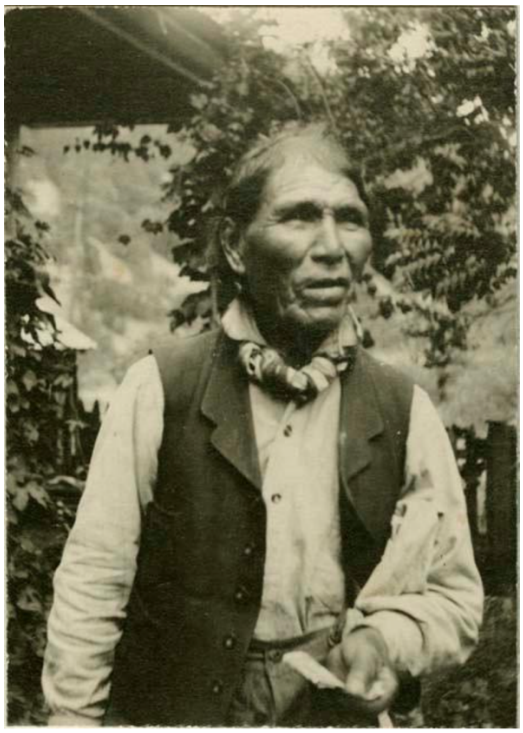

Figure 5. Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ehnology: Oak Bottom Jack, Somes Bar, Karuk Indian, 1910[131]

Another Karuk BigFoot story shared by Oak Bottom Jack is "Maruk-arar (and) the Giant":

> "Maruk-arar saw where a person had been on the hills with snowshoes. He thought, 'He has large feet. What kind is he? I should like to see him.' Then he measured the tracks. His own feet were small. These tracks reached from his fingertip nearly to his shoulder; his own (snowshoe) tracks reached only to his elbow. Then he was much afraid of that person."

Kroeber makes a note in this story after the first sentence, stating: "Or: A human being saw where a Maruk-arar had been…?"[132] Indeed, it seems perhaps it was a human looking at Maruk'araar's footprint, given what we can infer about a human's snowshoe size measuring the length of a fingertip to an elbow, and how the other "person's" measured a whole armlength.

[131] Nicholson 1910
[132] Kroeber & Gifford 1980, 43

Point being: contemporary articulations of "BigFoot" might be traced to Karuk storytelling and knowledge of these Beings. Maruk'araar has big feet.

In addition, Stella Howerton, a Karuk language speaker, shared with linguist Monica Ann Macaulay in the **1980s** a story about local Bigfoot sightings.[133] As well, Emmanuel Cyr (Karuk) writes in Humboldt's *Counternarratives* journal in **2016**: "Tourists today come to the area to look for the legend of Bigfoot; the famous bigfoot sightings known as the Patterson Film was taken only 40 miles away from Willow Creek. When I was a kid, I always remember going to the famous Bigfoot parade, as a tradition every summer, with my family to celebrate Bigfoot's presence as a community."[134] According to *Visit California*, the BigFoot Jamboree started in **1966** in Happy Camp.[135] The Patterson Film was taken in **1967**.[136] Becky Little, a journalist who has written for the *History Channel*, *National Geographic*, and *The Smithsonian*, states that the present American legend of BigFoot began in Humboldt County, when "in **1958**, journalist Andrew Genzoli of the *Humboldt Times* highlighted a fun, if dubious, letter from a reader about loggers in northern California who'd discovered mysteriously large footprints" and that "the modern U.S. concept of Bigfoot can be traced quite directly to [those] *Humboldt Times* stories..."[137] I'd wager it can be traced even *further* to Native knowledge.[138]

Our neighbors talk about BigFoot, too. In Hoopa, their dictionary identifies BigFoot as tintah-k'iwungxoya:n literally translated as "out in the woods – old man."[139]; The Yurok

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[133] Macaulay and Howerton 1989. At this time Aeons, the site that hosts this recording, is under maintenance, and so I have not been able to access Howerton's Bigfoot sightings to detail more fully here.
[134] Cyr 2016
[135] "Bigfoot Jamboree" Visit California.
[136] Paulides 2008, 28
[137] Little 2023
[138] Future research could be conducted to find out who those loggers were. My Karuk grandfather was a logger in the late 70s. Might these Humboldt loggers have been Native or had Native coworkers?
[139] "Hupa Language Online." n.d. Hupa Online Dictionary and Texts. Accessed May 26, 2024. http://nalc.ucdavis.edu/dictionaries/hupa-lexicon.php?lx=&ge=Bigfoot&db=dictionary&match=default&get_id=.

Language Program's site, currently under construction, states that the Yurok word for BigFoot is wo-nue 'we-raa-yuer' literally meaning "ridge runner."[140] The Yurok Language Program's page preliminarily notes that ridge runners "will be seen by random folks around the start time of Pek-won Jump Dance… [they] are considered a teacher – don't be afraid of them… when you see them, a big change will occur in your life in a good way… they throw big rocks to signal it is their turn to fish so a person should pull their nets… [there is a] story about 'wild people' marrying into the big people… [humans should not] talk about where [BigFoot] live or help [people] find him…[they] could disappear quickly."[141]

The point that "wild people" have married into the "big people" (BigFoot/giants) is interesting because non-Native cryptozoologists such as Bobbie Short have pointed to Indian Devils [sometimes called "wild people"] as "evidence" of the American BigFoot. For example, Short drafted a book called *The de facto Sasquatch* which was published online by her editor Molly Hart Lebherz after Short's passing.[142] Short cites Yurok author Lucy Thompson's book *To the American Indian: the Unique Personal Account of a Yurok Native American Woman of Northern California*. She states that Thompson's articulation of "Indian Devils" are evidence of BigFoot. Thompson says, "Our Indian devils (O-mah or O-mah-ha) are Indians who for some reason or cause, leave the tribe and go far away into the lonely mountains and into the depths of the forest, where they live near the streams and places almost inaccessible. In their loneliness they roam through the forests and over the mountains like wild animals of prey. They forget the

[140] "Yurok Language Program - Spiritual Beings." n.d. Accessed May 26, 2024. https://www.yuroklanguage.com/language-domains/spiritual-beings. [Website note: "Under Construction"].
[141] "Yurok Language Program - Spiritual Beings." n.d. Accessed May 26, 2024. https://www.yuroklanguage.com/language-domains/spiritual-beings. [Website note: "Under Construction"].
[142] Short. (n.d.).

language of their mothers and become something like wild beasts, fleeing from the sight of human beings."[143]

Importantly, Paul Montgomery-Ramírez argues that "Beings laden with spiritual significance to Indigenous peoples – Sasquatch, Thunderbird, the Underwater Panther – have all entered the 'scientific' gaze of cryptozoology, where the complex entities can be reimagined as remnants of ancient pasts, laid measurable if only proof could be captured."[144] Indeed, "Sasquatch" itself, according to various sources, "most likely comes from the Coast Salish word 'Sasq'ets.'"[145] Montgomery-Ramírez argues that settler objectification of these "cryptids" flatten "diverse [Indigenous] cultures and worldviews."[146] The settler desires "to make the spiritual biological" [147] so that it can be studied using the Western scientific method and its associated dogmatic privilege.[148] This "effectively dismiss[es] the understandings of traditional knowledge holders [and] does so through a deeply colonial 'scientific' and universalizing lens, one that appropriates the Indigenous while erasing it and its complexities."[149]

Regarding Short's use of Lucy Thompson's description of Indian Devils as indicative of a Native precedent for BigFoot, I am skeptical that these are the same entities. Although Karuks, Yuroks, and Hoopas are often grouped together and do have closely tied kin and cultural networks, we are in fact separate tribal nations today with our own cultures both historically and contemporarily, most clearly through how our languages are entirely different "families", and so as I am not Yurok, I do not seek to debunk nor to provide a thorough argument re: Short's probable conflation of Thompson's Yurok Indian Devils with BigFoot. I will say that in my

[143] Cited in Short (n.d.); originally from Thompson 1991
[144] Montgomery Ramírez 2023, 94
[145] "Native America Calling: Finding Sasquatch." 2024.
[146] Montgomery Ramírez 2023
[147] Montgomery Ramírez 2023
[148] Re: Western science's dogmatic privilege, see Deloria Jr. 1997
[149] Montgomery Ramírez 2023, 94

perspective as a Karuk, Indian Devil is Putawan. Putawan are scary, parents tell the kids the Putawan will get them. Putawan is the mascot of Happy Camp elementary. In our language, apurúvaan (anglicized Putawan) appears to be a different kind than Maruk'araar.

Contemporarily, Hoopas and Yuroks have the aforementioned words for BigFoot (tintah-k'iwungxoya:n and wo-nue 'we-raa-yuer'), whereas the Hoopa word for Indian Devil is k'idongxwe[150] and the Yurok word, per Lucy Thompson's description, is Oh-mah.[151] These are clearly different words.

David Paulides' *The Hoopa Project: Bigfoot Encounters in California* shares many local community members' stories of witnessing BigFoot, and I highlight here the story of Jackie Martins, a Hoopa language teacher who served on council and told Paulides, "there is a specific name for the Bigfoot creature in [Hoopa] that dates back over 200 years. Back then [Hoopa] people were too busy trying to survive and were not prone to making up words and stories about non-existent creatures [and] elders have kept stories about Bigfoot and its culture as a traditional part of Hoopa life."[152] Martins witnessed BigFoot in **1975** at 19 years old along with her friend Julie McCovey (Yurok) who was 17 years old at the time.[153] The two lived in Crescent City but went to a dance in Hoopa in July/August.[154] While driving they took "the dirt road straight from Orick over Bald Hills" rather than "the paved road around Eureka and through Willow Creek."[155] And so they ended up "making their way to Martins Ferry [and] traveling downhill on a series of switchbacks on the dirt road" when, on one of the turns, "they both saw a huge creature come off the embankment on the right side of the road. It was walking upright on two feet, had hair over

[150] "Hupa Language Online." n.d. Accessed May 26, 2024. http://nalc.ucdavis.edu/dictionaries/hupa-lexicon.php?lx=&ge=Indian+Devil&db=dictionary&match=default&get_id=.
[151] Thompson 1991
[152] Paulides 2008, 174-175
[153] Paulides 2008, 176
[154] Paulides 2008, 176
[155] Paulides 2008, 176

its entire body and had the classic Bigfoot appearance now familiar in videos."[156] Paulides confirms that Martins had seen "more than 20 bears in her lifetime" including those who'd stood on hind legs, and "was sure when she looked at this creature that she was looking at Bigfoot and not a bear – 100 percent positive."[157] I highlight this story primarily for a key point Jackie makes next: "[Jackie] considered the sighting a blessing, while Julie felt as though they just had seen the Indian Devil."[158]

Alas, Indian Devils are scary. BigFoot, on the other hand, is called a "blessing" by Jackie, and is said to bring good change to one's life by the Yurok Language Program. In addition, I highlight the story of Josephine Peters (Karuk) who states that her grandmother told her sons "You cannot stay at Crapo Meadows in the Forks of Salmon, that is the Big People's area."[159] Josephine had several encounters with BigFoot later in life, with one being "10 miles east of Weitchpec off Highway 96."[160] While she was out with friends to gather herbs when she "heard something playing in the water not far from her. She looked upstream and saw a huge creature several hundred feet up from her, in the middle of the creek."[161] This creature looked like BigFoot, she said, and was huge, probably over seven feet tall" and "hundreds of pounds."[162]

Her next sighting was decades later, when she was at home and her dog was barking and sprinting around the house in a way that was abnormal for it. It was late at night, 10PM, so she went to see what was outside, and saw "a huge Bigfoot, its silhouette standing behind her truck that was parked near her house."[163] She communicated with BigFoot this time, asking him to

[156] Paulides 2008, 176
[157] Paulides 2008, 177
[158] Paulides 2008, 177
[159] Paulides 2008, 141
[160] Paulides 2008, 141
[161] Paulides 2008, 142
[162] Paulides 2008, 142-43
[163] Paulides 2008, 143

come closer. Paulides notes in Josephine's testimony here that he "know[s] this seems like incredible behavior for an elderly person to exhibit, but Josephine struck [him] as a very levelheaded woman who was not afraid of anything" and that "She had told [him] that she had led a full life and she had never heard anything to indicate that BigFoot would hurt anyone, and she never knew if she would ever see the creature again. She wanted to make as much out of the encounter as possible."[164] Paulides goes on to specify that Josephine had not heard anything out of three generations of Native families that BigFoot posed any sort of threat.

Josephine passed in 2011.[165] I am a distantly related to her, as she was the granddaughter of Ellen Grant whom my family's music reMatriation project is for.[166] Josephine authored *After the First Full Moon in April: A Sourcebook of Herbal Medicine form a California Indian Elder*.[167] Although I did not know her, I am grateful for the work Josephine has done for our community, and her testimony of BigFoot is important here in its relation of BigFoot's nature. I also know others who consider BigFoot a good sign.

Short's proposal, which has been replicated elsewhere, that BigFoot is the Indian Devil Thompson describes appears at least incomplete, if not inaccurate. In the same way, I do not wish to conflate Maruk'araar with the contemporary American BigFoot phenomenon *entirely*, but it should be noted that on-the-ground, we often use the concepts interchangeably, and this is valid because we're the ones doing it. Some Karuks even do actively seek "evidence" per the Western litany of objectivity, as do many Hoopas, Yuroks, and other tribal people whose experiences are relayed in Paulides' compilation. Regardless of an individual Karuk's interpretation and conceptualization of BigFoot, there is clearly Indi'n precedent and,

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[164] Paulides 2008, 143-44
[165] "Josephine Peters Obituary - Arcata, CA." 2011.
[166] Peters & Ortiz 2010, 36
[167] Peters & Ortiz 2010

importantly, contemporarily commonly shared pride in being a people of "Bigfoot Country." Whether one conceptualizes BigFoot as wild beings, creator beings, giants in the woods, possessing of large feet, human or inhuman, both or neither… BigFoot are *Indian*.

Happy Campers and our neighbors thus reference the BigFoot Jamboree often, which Cyr identifies as "a tradition." Such is necessarily a Karuk experience when experienced by Karuks. Maruk'áraar lives on in our communities. Many a Karuk celebrates BigFoot, who is an organizing force of local festivities, watching us from the forest, revealing Karuk continuity: a form of Karukness neglected by analytics that categorize some Karuks as "assimilated."

Really, though, regardless of if BigFoot could be documented back to a precolonial Maruk'araar, BigFoot tends to be a part of many Karuk peoples' lives and culture today, and that is the point.[168] While certainly the present manifestation of BigFoot as an American cultural icon may not be known by all Karuks in the exact same way as Maruk'araar or Putawan were known to our ancestors, this clear lineage to our homelands from which BigFoot was birthed into wider society should not be outright dismissed either. Experiences at the BigFoot Jamboree can be said to be just as "Karuk" as experiences dipnet fishing are.

The concept of a "traditional culture" functions to make some Karuks feel they are incapable of contributing to the Karuk community at large through things such as knowledge production and events. Unfortunately such is the norm so that many Karuks continue to believe that there's some more "authentic" (usually traditional) version of Karukness out there that that they don't have, because broader society represents real Indianness only in certain restrictive

[168] The reader might also be interested to see regional Sasquatch arts: "Native America Calling: Finding Sasquatch." 2024.

ways.[169] So I argue against categorizing Karuks into "traditional" and "nontraditional" groupings. Karuks are Karuk, period. All have something uniquely Native to contribute.

Findings: "Authenticity" in Songs

Regarding music, dominant expectations of what counts as "authentic" Native music permeate society. Jessica Bissett Perea's (Dena'ina) critiques this through considering that these settler expectations of Native music can be understood through something else the settler also created: Native *blood quantum.*[170] Blood quantum applies a reductive understanding of Nativeness wherein any non-Native influence brings into question the Native's authenticity, resulting in a perceived Native deficit.[171] Bissett Perea calls this *sound quantum:* when our music get judged for "how Native" it sounds in comparison to what the non-Native believes is "authentic/traditional", uninfluenced or "pure" Native music.[172]

In addition to judging how "authentic" Native songs sound, settlers also dismiss the importance of Native songs as integral parts of Native institutions, including the fact that songs have legal teeth in Indian Country. For example, I reference the *Delgamuukw v. the Queen* (1985) case, and Dylan Robinson's (Stó:lō) analysis of the judge's "tin ear" regarding the Gitxsan and Wet'suset'en's assertion that "the song is part of the history" that evidences Gitxsan and Wet'suset'en peoples' claims to territorial jurisdiction.[173] Upon the Plaintiff's Counsel requesting permission for the witness (Mary Johnson) to evidence the tribal history by singing the song, Justice McEachern complained that he'd never had such a thing (singing) occur, and

[169] For example, see: Fryberg et al. 2008, Deloria 2004
[170] Bissett Perea 2012
[171] Bissett Perea 2012, 9
[172] Bissett Perea 2012
[173] Robinson 2020, 38-47

that "singing songs in court is…not the proper way to approach this problem." After the witness sings the song, McEachern states that he has a "tin ear" and cannot "hear" (i.e. be influenced by or accept as evidence) the song, condescendingly asking, "would you explain to me […] why you think it was necessary to sing the song? This is a trial, not a performance…"[174] Robinson argues that McEachern's "tin ear" does not allow him to hear beyond the "Western context of what songs are", when in Gitxsan and Wet'suset'en ontology, songs *are* law.[175]

Further, Robinson notes that while the song Mary Johnson sang is one that "some might refer to as a 'traditional' song", this **does not mean** that so-called "traditional" songs have more power (legally, medicinally, historically, etc.) than contemporarily composed ones.[176] I agree.

Song reclamation projects actually show the continuity of Indigenous communities, else we would not exist as a unit to come together and reclaim the songs. For instance, during the revitalization of the Flower Dance, Merv George Sr., a Hupa medicine man, researched the Flower Dance with his daughter, and they created new songs for it together.[177] It's also the case that songs have the power to be applied with intent no matter their original purpose. For example, in *we are dancing for you*, Risling Baldy relays a story in which her mother Lois Risling is sent home from school and told by her male teacher that she's "sick" and needs to go to the school nurse. The nurse sends her home, which reinforces the idea of sickness. However, when Lois returns home, her grandfather assures her she is not sick, but is a woman now, and that it is a "wonderful thing"—he teaches her brothers the importance of it, and has them participate in the occasion by walking to the store to buy sanitary napkins. Especially relevant to interrupting the dominant discourse of music reclamation is this part of Lois' story:

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[174] Robinson 2020, 43
[175] Robinson 2020, 44-45
[176] Robinson 2020, 46; emphasis added
[177] Risling Baldy 2018, 93

> I'm just sitting there looking at everything, and then my grandfather said, "Well, I don't really have a Flower Dance song." And he sang the "hey nunny" song over me.[178]

This is an example of applying a song with *intent* regardless of the song's original purpose. Point being that what we do now is valid and does not have to match exactly what our ancestors did, and it is purist, which is colonial, to assert such criteria in an attempt to gauge some artificial and static notion of "authenticity" and "tradition."

Particularly relevant to songs and the expectations of authenticity, and its entanglement with "tradition", is Leonard's example of a nursery rhyme, *This Old Man*, that is sung in the *myaamia* language. Leonard states, "I have never heard a Miami person question the Miami-ness of this song, but I have encountered this question from non-Miamis."[179] Another example comes from "a song of greeting and thanks, the singing of which reflects core historic Miami practices of using song as one method of accomplishing these communicative goals."[180] The song's lyrics and tune are derived from the French *Are You Sleeping?* (*Frère Jacques)* song, and when sung in *myaamia* reflect the multicultural heritage of many Miami people.[181] Leonard states, "as the first European language to come prominently to the Miami people, French has maintained a level of cultural and linguistic influence in Miami society […] show[ing] up frequently in Miami surnames…"[182]

That these songs (multicultural and thus "unexpected" – or not "traditional" – to curious onlookers) are expected and understood as legitimately, "authentically" Miami within the community leads to my argument that labelling certain songs "traditional" does an immense disservice for Karuk people. For instance, when I asked my aunt Raná what, if any, Indian songs

[178] Risling Baldy 2018, 119
[179] Leonard 2011, 146
[180] Leonard 2011, 146
[181] Leonard 2011, 147
[182] Leonard 2011, 147

she knew prior to our project, she responded that when she worked for the Karuk Tribal Head Start, they learned several Native songs, stating:

> "One was the Twinkle Twinkle Little Star, then there was the Friends Song. I know those two were ones you learn for sure. I'm not sure if I remember any others at the time. You can sing head shoulders knees and toes if you know those words in Karuk, so I sing that song at home just because I knew the words."[183]

These are English songs translated into the Karuk language for purposes of revitalization in community, particularly for Native youth at the tribal Head Start. The songs are understood, here, as legitimately Karuk songs, and beneficial for Karuk children to be learning in the Karuk language. They showcase the fact that Karuks use the tools we have for reclamation as a community. We have contemporary markers of our Indianness that do not necessarily fall under "Tradition" but nonetheless uniquely symbolize our Karukness today regardless of "outside" influence that would otherwise demarcate those things as non-"traditional."

A relevant story, shared by my cousin Darrel Aubrey, who served as our self-governance director and now does so for the Tolowa, highlights the importance of recognizing our "traditions" can be practiced in ways that don't align with dominant society's view of a static and unchanging "tradition":

> "When I was going to Humboldt State, now Cal Poly Humboldt, there was a religious studies class I was taking and we had a – I don't know if it was Yurok or Hoopa elder but we had an Elder come to the class […] She was talking about how some of the ceremonies aren't done right. […] specifically Brush Dances. And she said 'this is why I no longer go to Brush Dances because they're being put on wrong. They were taught wrong. Or they were taught right potentially and then they choose not to do it correctly, and so when you do these, put on these ceremonies and they're done incorrectly, that's bad medicine. That's putting bad energy out in the world and it's not fixing the world that we're in.' And so she quit going to them […]
>
> "And so after the class I [went] and I had talked to her in a small group of people because I was curious, like, why do we even do ceremonies then if you and other – because I know other Elders felt this way too – why do we have ceremonies? What's the point of doing them then, and should we even continue to have them? […]

[183] Bussard 2022

> "And she said 'well, yeah I suppose it's worth having the ceremonies continued on because at least we're attempting to practice our traditions. And it's passing something on rather than not passing anything on to the next generations.' But I think I slightly changed her perspective on that because if we had nobody practicing this, then it would just end that would be it. So we have to make an attempt to continue something within our ceremonies, even if it's, you know, slightly off."[184]

Darrel's story is a great example of the importance of Natives practicing Native culture and calls into question the sort of experiences like my dad had of being chastised for doing something "wrong." Narratives and rhetoric that tell us we are being Indian wrong (not doing "tradition" correctly or at all) can make some Karuks feel less Karuk, discouraging them from claiming their Karukness and participating in tribal affairs in the future. Such is the "loss" to our whole community – and it is not the loss of *tradition*, but the loss of *people* who feel they are Karuk. Or, to apply Justice's framework of "rupture", this rhetoric continues the colonial rupturing of people from their Karukness.

Findings: "Authenticity" in Performance

In *Hungry Listening: Resonant Theory for Indigenous Sound Studies*, Dylan Robinson argues that settler audiences of Indigenous creatives are "hungry listeners," a type of listening which is based on both a desire to possess the Indigenous and treat Indigeneity as a resource for extraction, stating this is an extension of Patrick Wolfe's theories of settler colonialism as possession of, extraction from, & replacement on Indigenous lands.[185] He theorizes this "hunger" specifically from Stó:lō perspectives via the Halq'eméylem language, where xwelítem means "white settler" and is literally translated as "starving person."[186] This word emerged through

[184] Aubrey 2023
[185] Robinson 2020, 1-25
[186] Robinson 2020, 2

contact because in 1858, Stó:lō people saw "the largest influx of settlers to the territory… [who] arrived in a bodily state of starvation, and also brought with them a hunger for gold." This "hunger," Robinson argues, continues to be part of the "settler's starving orientation" from which settlers assert a right to "knowing" (hearing, comprehending, *owning*) Indigenous knowledge.[187]

One way Indigenous peoples respond to settler audience expectations and "hunger" is through what Kanaka Maoli scholar Stephanie Nohelani Teves coins "Defiant Indigeneity" in which Indigenous peoples specifically tailor their performances to defy audience expectations of Indigeneity while asserting their performance as an Indigenous one given that they, an Indigenous person, are the one performing it.[188]

Before I go further, it's important to address the largely negative intuitive reaction to "performance" that many Indigenous peoples (myself included) have when it is used to describe Indigenous doings. Teves has observed this reaction (particularly of offense when Indigenous doings are referred to as "performances") and applied theories of settler colonialism to understand it. Teves argues that performance theory's relationship to "poststructuralism" takes for granted that "origins do not exist," and this is often read by Indigenous peoples as a direct threat to Indigenous claims of origin and emergence from specific places. Those claims of origin are simultaneously what we know settler audiences typically require as authentication for Indigeneity. Thus, when performance theory is applied without accounting for Indigenous analytics (e.g., of origin), this can cause tension. Teves states, "Many Natives would shudder to think that we 'perform' our Indigeneity."[189] However, she argues that many of our reactions to

[187] Robinson 2020, 2
[188] Teves 2018
[189] Teves 2018, 137

protect the "realness" and validity of our Indigeneity are rooted in settler colonial insistence on and pursuance of our elimination.

This is in part what's contributed to authentic-inauthentic binaries, and in fact the desire to distance ourselves from "performance" does the very opposite of our intentions to authenticate our Indigeneity—instead, that distancing further privileges settler metrics of gauging authenticity as something that must be unquestionably identifiable to a non-Native gaze, which will often rely on performing stereotypes.[190] Teves proposes a question that takes into account settler colonial logics which have required Indigenous peoples to prove our Indigeneity: "Why are we so worried people will say we aren't real?"[191] Here I will show some examples of Indigenous performance theories in action.

Teves notes that Indigenous performance for Kānaka Maoli peoples can build upon specifically Kānaka Maoli epistemologies such as "ma ka hana ka 'ike," meaning "In working one learns."[192] It is from this epistemology that Teves shows how performance theory aligns with Kānaka Maoli worldviews. She notes that working is a "doing," and that from that "doing" comes knowledge.[193] Hence, performance, including defiant performance, creates knowledge.[194] Teves proposes "defiant Indigeneity" as "a method and theory of the ways that Kānaka Maoli mobilize performance…to survive the annihilating conditions of colonization and occupation, and also to affirm and reproduce collective forms of Indigenous being, belonging, and becoming."[195] When we "do" Indigeneity in ways that center, respond, and interact with our own communities, we de-center the settler gaze/audience and judgements of "authenticity."

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[190] Teves 2018
[191] Teves 2018, 137
[192] Teves 2018
[193] Teves 2018
[194] Teves 2018
[195] Teves 2018

If an audience is primarily Native, especially from one's own Tribe, then an Native performer may not feel the need to police their behavior either to prove their Indigeneity or in order to avoid reinforcing expectations, because their kin know full well that "not all Natives are (insert expectation)."

Another contribution to Indigenous "performance theories" that situates theory in land and comes from a Karuk worldview is offered by Norgaard, Reed (Karuk), and Bacon, who state that "doing gender" is an incomplete understanding of gender roles for Karuk people.[196] They show that "the natural world is central in Karuk constructions of masculine identity," and that "participation in responsibilities to family, community, and the future…can be enacted *only if ecological conditions are right*."[197] Thus, Karuk performance theories incorporate environmental components. Such a performance theory from a Karuk worldview illustrates Karuk "performances" as explicitly responsible to the environment that Karuk people are responsible for renewing, stewarding, and relating to. The environment is also central in Dena'ina musicologist Jessica Bissett Perea's arguments that Inuit mens' performances ("what they do") and identities are "culture- and place-based *in relation to* language, land, family, and community."[198] Norgaard et al. and Bissett Perea expand on masculinity studies utilizing feminist theory and research methods, showing how Indigenous peoples can and do utilize performance theory for Indigenous peoples' empowerment.

How we perform gender and Indigeneity is also influenced by how others perceive our gender and Indigeneity. For instance, de Vries and Sojka show that when some "multiethnic" or "multiracial" transgender people transition genders medically, they are perceived not only as a

[196] Norgaard et al. 2017
[197] Norgaard et al. 2017, 104
[198] Bissett Perea 2017, 129

different gender, but also as a different race or ethnicity than they had been previously perceived as.[199] One of de Vries and Sojka's interviewees was Lance, a "mixed-heritage (Lakota and White) 39-year-old trans and intersex man" who shared that he was perceived by others as a person of color prior to transitioning, but after medically transitioning he was perceived as a white man.[200] This impacted his relations and the way he performed his gender and Indigenous identity. For instance, as a child, Lance (perceived as Indigenous) experienced racism, but after transitioning (perceived as white), "his experiences [with racism] …were rendered not 'real' by others."[201] He therefore "removed himself socially" from communities of color because of experiences where people "discounted [his] Lakota identity [which] brought up historical and contemporary trauma of Indigenous peoples being erased through settler colonialism."[202] An audience's reactions and perceptions of our genders and Indigeneities matter, as they have the potential to support our performances or to discourage us from performing, doing, being, and relating.

Karuk Performance of Song, Music, and Gender

Seduction is Sacred

Defiance is a favorite approach of mine because of its potential for comedy. For instance, a fellow Karuk once told me after I had given a presentation that in the future I might try singing a Karuk song before I share my work. My initial reaction to this was *absolutely not*. Not for any reason related to shyness, as I have a nice singing voice and am a tour guide – i.e., I'm not afraid of performing. My response was because I would view this as strategic essentialism on my part which is something I try to avoid, as performing one's identity in ways that align with

[199] de Vries & Sojka 2022
[200] de Vries & Sojka 2022, 4-6
[201] de Vries & Sojka 2022, 7
[202] de Vries & Sojka 2022, 7

expectations which garner the audience's stamp of authenticity can serve to reinforce those expectations of authenticity. I worry about the effects of this for future Karuks.

When this person clarified their reasoning, it helped me see their view. They said starting with an Indian song helps the audience "think with their Indian minds." In their saying this, I was reminded of Teves' arguments about "Defiant Indigeneity"—where Indigenous peoples perform Indigeneity in ways that center, respond to, and play with our *own* communities, defying settler stereotypes of us and performing what we know to be Indigenous even if that does not align with settler colonial expectations. My friend was, in essence, encouraging me to center my Native audience. Their assumption was that my audience—or at least my intended audience—was Karuk. My intended audience for the presentation I gave was indeed Karuk, and I did do a lot to cater my talk to that audience.

However, I was keenly aware that in that context, my audience was mostly non-Native (who arguably do not have an "Indian mind" to think with) and so if I had to do the presentation again, I still would not sing a Karuk song, unless I did so defiantly (even then I don't think I would – I am not a side show to be gawked at). For example, I could put a funny twist on it. I might sing my explicit seduction song with a serious face, in a tone where non-Karuks, if they rely on stereotypes, might interpret it to be a very special song. One they should listen to with awe and respect.

But Karuks would know I am singing about butts.

My song about butts, which I contemporarily composed myself, would "sound" "authentically" Karuk to an audience applying a *sound quantum* analysis. What, I wonder, would the audience

think if I were to sing *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star* in the Karuk language, following in my aunt's understanding of this as a Karuk song included within Karuk music? I can anticipate their comments, which I've witnessed in other contexts. They tend to feel as though it wasn't "authentic", it wasn't "traditional" and therefore was less special or "real." They want a real Indian to project fantasy onto.

The audience is key, here. If it had been a majority Karuk audience, I'd have no problem singing a Karuk song, because my audience knows other Karuk people and therefore knows we're diverse. I wouldn't be creating some idea in their head about what a "real" Karuk person is like.

Mandolins and Fiddles are Traditional

As I note in the Introduction of this dissertation, I had the privilege of interviewing my (great) aunt Mona to learn about her life experiences, as well as our family's oral histories more broadly. She is my great Grandma Minnie's sister. She is one hundred and four years old, and was one hundred and three at the time of the interviews, and was just recently celebrated in our Karuk Spring 2024 tribal newsletter as our Tribe's eldest Elder.[203]

In asking aunt Mona about music in our family, she shared the following:

> "[M]om had a mandolin and [pops] had a fiddle and they'd played – oh it was good. They'd just play anything. They were really good. Just playing by themselves. I don't know where they got the instruments, but… oh, we were never to touch them. Somebody broke the mandolin. The fiddle, I used to try to play it, it'd just squawk (laughing). Oh, and they'd dance. Real dances. Some old Indian dances. They'd just show us kids just to give us something to do. Too bad we didn't have cameras then."[204]

[203] Karuk Tribal Newsletter, Spring 2024, p. 30
[204] Meinert 2023

"Mom and pops" are my great-great Grandparents Susie and Peter, "upriver and downriver injuns" who lived during the late 1800s through the mid-1900s. I'm told Grandma Susie spoke Karuk only. Importantly, this was within the time period that salvage ethnographers went into our communities and took notes on what we were doing, and coded those things as "traditional." But of course, anthropologists only cared about documenting that which had no non-Native influence, creating an image of us that was not fully who we were. Could it not be said, then, that mandolins and fiddles are "authentically" Karuk? Or, at the very least, that Karuk peoples playing mandolins and fiddles are doing so in authentically Karuk ways? Not "assimilated" but simply enjoying music?

In addition, aunt Mona talks about uncle Paul (her brother) and his musical talents:

> "Pauly could've been a singer. They'd bring show people out from different towns – LA, and have a big show at Sherman [Indian Boarding School]. And Pauly was singin' and he sang a lot of times, got up on a porch with the guy from down – oh, I forgot the name of that town, down the river somewhere. But they used to sing together. And, I don't know who it was, wanted them to go on the radio or something […]
>
> "They were really good, their yodels and everything. […] Pauly just wrecked to pieces when he got to Sherman."

Aunt Mona's daughter Cathy asked if Pauly didn't like it down at Sherman. Aunt Mona responded:

> "He didn't like anything, I guess, 'cept for girls (laughs).
>
> "Someone used to sing with Pauly, living down at Orleans, I think it was, or somewhere down there. […] I wish I had some recordings of his songs."

I asked her what kinds of songs it was, and she said:

> "Just regular songs. Mostly cowboy songs […]

> "I'll tell you that yodeling was something (laughs). […] He could've been a celebrity, but didn't want that either. They used to come out from LA, or Hollywood, and look for people to be in their shows - Indian people. Somebody they could use. I remember seeing – uh, what's her name? […] she was a big blonde. She used to come out to Sherman. I saw her drive by once. I was so surprised to see her. She just drove by in a car. […]"[205]

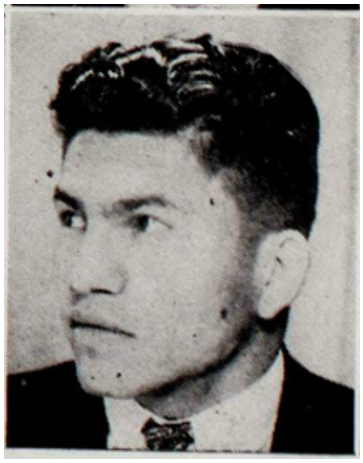

Figure 6. Paul Frank Grant, Senior Photo Class of 1935.[206]

These stories of my musical Karuk family reveal to me that mandolins, fiddles, yodeling and "cowboy music" are "authentically" Karuk things. Due to the ways tradition and authenticity often get conflated, I might even say they are "traditionally" Karuk.

Whether or not I'm being facetious is up to the reader. I want for "tradition" to be taken off its pedestal as the pinnacle of Native identity, truth, and authenticity. If my second and third great-grandparents were doing these non-Karuk-derived things yet were necessarily, by virtue of things such as time period lived in and language spoken, "more Karuk" than those who get coded "non-traditional" Karuks today then I'm pretty sure the dominant concept of "tradition" is off.

I also do not see an argument that Grandma Susie (for example) was purposefully "defying" anything by playing mandolin and fiddle, instruments most would absolutely not

[205] Meinert 2023
[206] In Sherman Institute: Purple and Gold 1935. Riverside, CA. Sherman Indian Museum (p. 32-33)

associate with "traditional" Natives. Same with Pauly's talent for yodeling and inclination for cowboy songs. Because people today would expect Natives in the northern California mountains from that time period to play a drum and sing only "Indian" songs, Grandma Susie, Grandpa Peter, and Pauly *happen* to defy expectations of broader society *today*. It was not exactly an act of resistance based on audience when they did it.

I next consider how rhetoric of tradition can set a dangerous precedent where evidence for a particular way of being might not exist: queer Karuk genders and sexualities.

Gender & Sexuality & Two Spirit "Traditions"

Two Spirit: Context

Given my particular interest in Two Spirit matters, I want to know why it is that for so long the dominant narrative has been that "Two Spirits were sacred." My response to this, as a queer person involved in Two Spirit matters myself, has for a long time been: "so what?"

"Two Spirits were sacred" has romanticized undertones that replicate the romanticization of Natives more generally. I do not want LGBTQ2+ acceptance to come at the expense of reifying noble savagery. This is of course far from the intended goal of the sentiment, which is clearly meant to support Two Spirits in feeling valued in the face of colonial queerphobia – an important intention that indeed need exist for many.

Although "Two Spirit" is an identity that resonates with many Indigenous peoples and has contributed to the ability to organize and build community steeped in queer Indigenous histories,[207] it does have its drawbacks. Perhaps the most oft cited critique is that the English translation of "two" reflects Western binaries of gender. However, Two Spirit people have argued

[207] Davis 2014, 65

that the identity is extremely useful as a refusal of participation in another Western binary—that of gender/sexuality. Jenny Davis' (Chickasaw Nation) research shows that the conversations Two Spirit people have about Two Spirit identities emphasize what people in the community have in common, rather than the ways they are different from each other.[208] For example, when Mark, a participant in the 2006 Rock Mountain Two Spirit Organization community presentation, relays his Tribe's creation story, he identifies the "original being" as "intersex" at one point and as "transgender" at another point.[209] Such an understanding of similarities shows that there are many identities which fall under "Two Spirit" and that these understandings differ from "dominant queer discourses" where identity terms "are used to describe distinct realizations of gender and sex."[210] As such, "Two Spirit" remains a strong identity for Indigenous peoples because it can articulate the ways Indigenous identities can be inclusive of our genders and/or sexualities.

Here I situate the discussion in broader panIndian history of Native LGBTQ2+ activism (for California-specific Two Spirit theory, see Ch. IV). The definition of "Two Spirit" I work from is, loosely, that it's a term for Native people who do not fit dominant European or American ideologies of gender/sexuality. This dominant ideology includes white LGBTQ identities, which stem from particular histories in European and American contexts and are thus still "dominant" in society. While my articulation informs my view of the term, it's also important to note that "Two Spirit" refuses to be explicitly defined, in that it's meant to be a term open to any Native person who feels called to it, and can define it for themselves.[211] There will therefore be as many "definitions" for "Two Spirit" as there are Two Spirit people.

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[208] Davis 2014, 73
[209] Davis 2014, 66-72
[210] Davis 2014, 73
[211] Re: Refusing to define "Two Spirit", see: Laing 2021

Wesley Thomas (Diné) and Sue-Ellen Jacobs detail the history of the term "Two Spirit", stating that in summer 1990, people at the third annual Native American Gay and Lesbian Gathering in Winnipeg, Manitoba, made the decision to coin a term that could, in English and in a panIndian way, encompass the spirit of diversity reflected in systems of gender/sexuality developed precolonially across Native North America, but which could also suit the needs of "urban" Natives in articulating both their Indigeneity and LGBTQ identity at once and with cultural pride.[212] Importantly, the AIDS epidemic of 1981 seriously contributed to Gay and Lesbian movements around that time period, and so the remembering of "Two Spirit" traditions had the implication of reminding Indian country that homophobia was not an Indian worldview. Rather, respecting and making space for diverse gender presentations and sexual orientations aligned more closely with most Indian "traditions." This theme is exemplified in Mohawk author Beth Brant's works, especially *This Place* in the collection *Food & Spirits* where Brant's main character, David, is a gay man dying of AIDS, and he returns home where he is welcomed by his mother, who contacts a Medicine Person name Joseph to come and meet with David.[213] At one point during their interactions before ceremony, David thinks, *He [Joseph] acts like a queen.*[214] Such reveals to David the important place of queer persons in his Tribe's system developed precolonially.

The origin of the term itself is often misrepresented. According to Two-Spirit and trans-gender Métis scholar Kai Pyle:

> The term Two-Spirit [...] is frequently cited as being a translation of the Ojibwe phrase *niizh manitoag*, sometimes spelled *niizh manidoowag*. The latter is clearly inaccurate: although *-wag* is indeed a common plural ending in Ojibwe, the correct plural of *manidoo* is *manidoog*. Furthermore, *manidoog* generally refers to external spirits, rather than the spirit or soul of a person, for which the word is *ojichaagwan*. The use of *manidoowag*

[212] Thomas & Jacobs 1991, 91
[213] Brant 1991
[214] Brant 1991, 53

> suggests that someone who was only partially familiar with the language may have attempted to retranslate Two-Spirit into Ojibwe.[215]

Native folks have warned time and time again against translating "Two Spirit" into Indigenous languages. It is not meant to be done. For instance, Beatrice Medicine (Sihasapa and Minneconjou Lakota) cautioned against doing this because "Spirit is an extremely variable term, and in some Native languages connotes sacredness."[216]

Harlan Pruden, First Nation Cree/nēhiyaw and longtime Two Spirit activist, has documented the origin of the term per testimonials of those who were present at that 1990 conference. The term Two Spirit came to First Nations Cree activist Myra Laramee in a dream.[217] Laramee states, "I did not coin this term, word or phrase – it came from the Creator or the Great Mystery […] it is sacred and is more than just words […] When Two Spirit is used it invokes our sacredness and reminds us that we have always been here, and we will always be here. As a result, with Two-Spirit comes a great responsibility, to those who use it, as we walk and work in a sacred way with and for our people."[218]

So perhaps this is not meant to resonate for every LGBTQ Native person. However, there is something useful in having "labels" that bond and connect us for support and community. For those who are not called to "Two Spirit," the LGBTQ Native community has come up with terms such as *indigiqueer*.[219]

While the term "Two Spirit" and others like it are useful in that they connect people across Indian Country and have resulted in many activist organization and grassroots projects,

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[215] Pyle 2018, 577
[216] Medicine 1997, 148
[217] Pruden 2020
[218] Pruden 2020
[219] See: Keene et al. 2019 And Romero 2023

critiques of the term also abound.[220] For instance, the term can erase the tribally specific diversity of 3rd+ gender/sexual roles in favor of panIndianism, which often contributes to expectations (such as exemplified in broader society's responses to the cases of the Cherokee and Navajo Nations illegalizing marriage equality). The term also relies heavily upon a past-tensing privileging of archival narratives and reifies a binary despite intending to move beyond a binary.[221] An important critique explored next is that having queer ancestral precedent does not somehow validate or legitimize our being queer today.[222]

Two Spirit: Critique

Two Spirits should do what they feel called to do whether it aligns with what's deemed "traditional" or not. For example, to proclaim that if someone is Two Spirit and wants to be "traditional", they ought to be an Medicine Person is essentializing discourse that actually functions to restrict Two Spirit people's futurities. That rhetoric is so strong out there—that Two Spirits *were* medicine people or *were* sacred, that it can leave out Two Spirit people who simply do not, and do not want to, fit those boxes or "traditional" roles, even if they have a strong Two Spirit identity founded upon participation in contemporary Two Spirit communities.

In addition, that sort of rhetoric ("Two Spirits were sacred!") sets a dangerous precedent. It privileges the past and puts our ancestors on a pedestal. My question remains: *So what* if we were "sacred"? Our queerness is valid today regardless of what our ancestors did or did not do.

Put another way: If our ancestors were homophobic, does that mean Indian Country should be homophobic today?

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[220] Keene et al. 2019
[221] Keene et al. 2019
[222] For a rich argument of this point, see: Rowle & Morgan 2002

There are certainly Tribes without a Two Spirit tradition, and I will not leave them in the dust.

My own Konomihu ancestor shares a story about her village throwing a girl into fire because the girl got pregnant from premarital sex (which I go into more detail/analysis of in Chapter II).[223] In this regard, I'm skeptical of some of the literature that claims that because we have the Flower Dance, we were historically necessarily feminists and that this is somehow relevant to our feminism today, making Native feminism a "traditional" thing to do. I am, of course, decidedly pro-Flower Dance, and in the same line of thought am hopeful to see the work of community organizing such as is done by Two Feathers Native American Family Services in collaboration with Queer Humboldt to create space for Two Spirit peoples to come together in sacred space and ceremony.

Nobody's arguing we bring back the practice of throwing girls into fires based on our "traditional" views on virginity. To believe that whatever we did in the past was necessarily correct or more honorable is romanticization. It is colonial. Natives face a binary stereotype of being either noble or ignoble savages—to believe we were perfect and should aim to exist exactly as our ancestors did is merely to bow to the noble savage stereotype. Garroutte asserts, "tradition" need not equate to 'what our ancestors did', and if something deemed 'traditional' is not working for our current and future selves, then we must adapt, as we always have.[224] I don't disagree, though I still wonder at the label of "tradition" at all, when our culture includes so much more than what gets deemed "tradition" and it is all validly Karuk.

I believe strongly in cultural reclamation, and personally am not concerned if we are (accused of) "cherry picking" what we practice to support our communities today, because I

[223] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-12, 4-5
[224] Garroutte 2003, 137

recognize that the politics of "authenticity" are a colonial imposition that had a literal goal of creating no more "authentic" Natives so that colonizers could take the land, and that this intended to doom us into a future where we would no longer resemble the "authentic" Natives of the past if we "lost" our "traditions."

It is obvious to me that whatever we do now *is* "authentic" because – hello – *we're the ones doing it.*

My point is less to claim, for example, that my eating a bowl of cereal in the morning for breakfast is a super "traditional" and authentic Karuk thing to do. Rather, I aim to make the point that rubrics tallying off how much a Native person lives up to expectations of Nativeness, be those rubrics internal or external to the community, pander to the colonial gaze.

And I am extremely suspicious of rhetoric that leaves room for an argument for homophobia if a precedent of accepting LGBTQ2 persons were missing.

Conclusion

I bring us back to the 4 excerpts I pulled from the notes on Grandma's musical knowledge at the beginning of the chapter:

> The words of nos. [song recording numbers] a, b, and c are among the oldest K!onomíhu words. They were old when Mrs. Grant was a girl, and becoming meaningless even then.[225]

This note that certain words were "becoming meaningless" when Grandma was a girl drew my attention because although not stated outright, it implies a "disappearance" of Konomihu language. In addition, most of the songs Grandma sang, it seems, were "burden syllable" songs

[225] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 1

without words, which makes sense to me given what I know about Karuk songs and those of our neighbors. Thus, even if this song were originally word-derived, does it really matter if we don't know what the words are today, when they're part of our broader corpus of songs without words? We know the meaning and intent of the song is a Flower Dance song. This is about presence and medicine. The next three excerpts I chose are about innovation and inter/multi-tribal musicking.

> h. Clapper song of the Cherokee. Mrs. Grant said the Cherokee had the clapper, but she thought her people (the k!onomíhu) did not.[226]
>
> There was no stringed instrument that Mrs. Grant can recall.[227]
>
> d. […] There were no k!onomíhu marriage songs.[228]

This is all well and good – perhaps we call it our History. Perhaps it manifests contemporarily. But the fact of the matter is, we could use clapper sticks with these songs today because many of us come from Tribes that do have these. Or, if we decided to sing the songs on a guitar (or a mandolin, or a fiddle), it's also "authentic." Regarding marriage, we have access to the ways of knowing that compose Konomihu music. We can create marriage songs if we so choose. And these ways of engaging Grandma's music should be *expected*, given that many Konomihu descended persons get married today and might like a song for that. Doing these things does not make those ways of knowing either traditional or not traditional, they just are.

I have noticed that those who don't like when I critique tradition are often focusing on lowercase t traditions (the things we do that are passed generation to generation). This centers traditions themselves as the analytic unit. Folks' responses when focusing on the "traditions" tend to be along the lines of, "fine, but traditions can change!" (such as Garroutte argues).

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[226] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 9
[227] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 7
[228] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 14

I don't disagree. However, this is actually not what I'm speaking about. Again, that which is labeled "tradition" is arguably culturally important, but so too are important those aspects of Karuk culture which are not "traditional" but that are uniquely Karuk and do not exist in other communities in the way they exist in our own. Those are also part of our Peoplehood which we should privilege and assert (such as to academia or entities like the US government) as included and valued within "Karuk culture." Otherwise, when "collaborative" research is conducted, it will primarily end up being thinly veiled salvage ethnography, even if applied in nature.

That argument aside, I'm moreso worried about capital-T Traditions, which are enforced and hegemonic, which dictate who belongs and who doesn't, who is authentic and who is not, and which can turn Indianness into a performance at its core. When tradition is imposed as the right and most valued way of being Indian, people can become ostracized or even berated for doing things "wrong." This makes them feel "less" Karuk and discourages them from returning to certain spaces, when instead we should be encouraging Karuks, diverse as we factually are, to feel secure in their Karukness without having to be any certain way to be "legitimate." The goal should not be to hegemonically teach "tradition" where only certain peoples' knowledges are valued as teachable "Karuk" knowledge, but instead to embrace the diversity of Karuk perspectives as contributing to our unique existence and possible futures. When only certain people's knowledge is valued (e.g. traditional), those who want to learn that knowledge are at the graces of those who hold it. This is a power problem, as the group without the knowledge does not feel empowered to state their actual opinions on things. They must always align with those who hold the knowledge, lest that knowledge be gatekept from them. If instead everyone's knowledge is recognized as legitimately Karuk, people are more able to contribute their own perspectives.

I love to assert my Karukness while doing absolutely nothing identifiably Karuk. It confuses settlers. It's fun for me. And I extend this to my academic work as much as possible. I do not want to set a precedent of what "counts" as Karuk thought that others feel obligated to follow *or* that non-Karuk academics then compare all future Karuk people's writings to. I want every Karuk to feel they have meaningful contributions and can say what they think, even if it does not align with what previous Karuks may have said, done, or thought.

This chapter's points on the pitfalls of "tradition" as a label inform my choice to call the act of learning and teaching Grandma's songs "reclamation", rather than revitalization. This chapter has been my long-winded answer to a cousin's question about my "vision", turned into an argument for academic purposes, which is that coding certain aspects of culture as "traditional" and in need of revitalization actually draws from a colonial narrative of loss that projects a fetishized fascination of purism onto our communities which have never been "pure" except mythologically in the eyes of the colonizer. This is not rhetoric that comes from us. It is, however, as Robinson argues: "oriented toward defensive against, or responsive to the work of settler colonial sovereignty."[229]

Within my family's project, I use "reMatriation" to refer to the entirety of the project which is a community archiving project, and I refer to the process of inviting community members (especially those who have been ruptured from what's dominantly deemed to be "traditional" culture) to learn the songs, stories, language, etc. as "reclamation." In the next chapter I detail why I call the work we're doing to organize our materials within and among our kin, which makes reclamation possible, "reMatriation" rather than repatriation or some other

[229] Robinson 2020, 67; Robinson appears to be arguing against approaches such as "refusal" and "defiance" here, but I think the point makes sense in this context as well. Calling things "traditional" is a way we show the colonial government we are "different" from them and thus are in fact Indigenous.

term. I do this through exploring our on the ground process of *organizing* our project, and specifically the important theme of *place* that has come up in conversation during these pursuits.

Ch. II: Bear Sings for the Mountains [Remotely via Zoom] – *Music as ReMatriative Relational Mapping*

Introduction: Where are Karuks?

> Mrs. Grant's grandmother was a Cherokee Indian… "[The song] sound [sic] like it says 'Where this people coming from?'" Wherever Mrs. Grant's grandmother was singing at a girl's dance, she would sing this sing [sic]. This was her mother's mother.
>
> [This Flower Dance song belonged] to Mrs. Grant's maternal grandmother… Somebody had a war with the Cherokee and captured some little girls and they were traded and traded and finally to Grant's Pass and Etna and around there and then to the Konomihu people.[230]

The above excerpts come from the metadata for the Konomihu recordings. Mrs. Grant is Grandma Ellen. It is clear that Grandma's maternal grandmother brought the importance of women's coming-of-age ceremonies from her background (identified as Cherokee) with her into the Konomihu community where women's coming-of-age ceremonies were also valued. The excerpts also indicate one of the ways Indian people moved and were moved across place throughout colonization. Song and place are connected. These songs center around women's coming of age ceremonies, and show "Cherokee" songs being used in Konomihu homelands.

This chapter considers Indigenous geography and cartography studies and the nuanced concepts of place and land from a feminist perspective. For instance, what does it mean to sing a "Cherokee" song in Konomihu lands? What does it mean for a descendant of Grandma Ellen today to sing Konomihu songs in "diaspora"? I join the broader community of California Indians

[230] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 8

who are conceptualizing "CA" in creative ways that critique colonial borders, such as Cutcha Risling Baldy, Kathleen Whiteley, Kayla Begay, William Bauer, Deborah Miranda, Ursula Pike, and many others in showcasing California Indian connections to place, travel, history, and sovereignty. In particular, I question what gets counted as Native space as well as directly challenge the relevancy of the common "(but) Did you grow up there?" question.

Our relational maps are detailed, multifaceted, gendered, and even changing, with relationships to humans, animals, plants, and places. This relational "map" is one that Karuks share as a whole, regardless of whether or not an individual Karuk person "grew up" "there". I show that through projects such as my family's, those who live away from tribal territory are connected to Karuk Country, itself, thereby being *from* it.

Indigeneity is inherently connected to place, and Indigenous people move across places. This mobile relationship to place should not restrict identity; rather, it is expansive, agentive mapping.

Literature Review: Politics of Place-Based Identities

Throughout this dissertation, I work from a Peoplehood framework wherein a group is an Indigenous People when they have a shared homeland, language, sacred history, and ceremonial cycle, and these imbue that People with inherent sovereignty.[231] Although Indigeneity is linked to place in a way that makes relationalities to place vital to Indigeneity, this chapter explicitly holds space to account for the fact that Urban Indian Health Institute studies show that 70% of Native

[231] Holm, Tom, J. Diane Pearson, and Ben Chavis. 2003. "Peoplehood: A Model for the Extension of Sovereignty in American Indian Studies." Wicazo Sa Review 18 (1): 7–24.

Americans are urban.[232] Many also live in diaspora but are *not* "urban", and many communities' homelands have been impacted by colonial development projects, deforestation, and industrialization. Jenny Davis (Chickasaw Nation) frames diaspora for Indigenous peoples as describing Indians who "are no longer located in their homelands, […] are not authorized to exhibit political control over the entirety of their original territories, and/or […] do not have access to full political sovereignty, even if they may practice various levels of tribal sovereignty."[233]

I argue that where an Indian grew up or lives isn't the end all be all of Indian identity, and that it's even less so relevant for reMatriation projects in this era of technology and adjustments to remote collaboration which has been especially refined during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The literature on Indigenous identities shows that Native "authenticity" is dominantly presumed to exist on reservations – by nature rural.[234] Moreover, the assumption is that if you didn't "grow up there," you don't get to *fully* claim Indigeneity, because "there" is where cultural knowledge is presumed to be taught to all Indians who live there. These assumptions – that "authentic" Indigeneity exists only in certain places and that one must, from birth, have had that authenticity imparted to them – are falsehoods not based on real Native people's experiences. For instance, Sara Calvosa Olson grew up on the Hoopa reservation, and states, "I realized so many of my peers that I went to school with [on the Hoopa Valley Reservation], they didn't have the same connections, even growing up on the Rez […] They didn't know how to filet a salmon."[235]

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[232] "Urban Indian Health." n.d. Urban Indian Health Institute (blog). Accessed May 29, 2024. https://www.uihi.org/urban-indian-health/.
[233] Davis, Jenny L. 2018. Talking Indian: Identity and Language Revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. p. 8
[234] Ramirez 2007
[235] Tomky 2023

In addition to this, the question "did you grow up there" ignores that people who "grew up" elsewhere can actually be quite "connected."

If someone assumes that the most authentic Indian experience is a "reservation" one, then they'll discount what Indians who don't have that experience say on Indian matters, and this is dangerous. In addition, the idealized rural experience functions to preserve the Native as the noble savage, ultra connected to the Earth and the mascot of white environmentalist efforts.[236]

Many Natives often feel the need to confess if they, and/or ask if others, grew up "there" immediately upon meeting each other. My readership likely knows what I mean by "there" before I have clarified it, which is revealing. These confessions Native people make of not growing up "there" can reify stereotypical narratives. Not growing up "there" is different from descriptions of specific places where someone actually "grew up", which provide longer answers with more detail, and don't as often contain the overtone of inadequacy compared to yes/no answers to the "did you grow up there" question.

In the context of Asian American Studies, this question of "where are you from" has long been shown to construct Asian people in America as "perpetual foreigners."[237] In a similar vein, it might be argued that this obsession of discerning where a Native person is "from" can be connected back to the colonial desire to paint Native people as *not* from our Homelands – i.e., we came from across the Bering Straight, so the settler legends go.[238]

Nay, we know where we are from. If we acquiesce to the idea that we are not "from" our Homelands just because we live elsewhere, this serves the colonizer's agenda of being able to slip in and usurp our lands, or even indigenize themselves. Sometimes Native folks, especially of

[236] Raheja 2010, 103
[237] Huynh 2011
[238] See; Deloria 1997

predominantly diasporic Tribes, lament that they grew up "away" from their Tribes and therefore don't feel they can claim their Nativeness or speak to Native matters. If a Tribe is mostly composed of people living in "diaspora" then the feeling of inadequacy is likely the norm rather than the exception, and if diaspora is the tribal norm, and we continue to accept the idea that "authentic" Indianness is located *not* in diaspora but in homelands, then this opens the possibility of eventually having very few or no "authentic" Indians from that Tribe. Having just a few people who claim the "authentic" voice is a power problem both internally and externally – the colonial government and non-Native society use it against us to dismiss our voices, using it to perpetuate the "lasting" of authentic Indians. If diasporic Natives are inauthentic, this leaves room for settlers to sweep in as the "natural inheritors" of the land.[239]

I understand that, often, people are trying to figure out someone's *positionality* when asking "Did you grow up there?" However, the question results in a yes/no answer. It is therefore not actually getting at someone's positionality. Positionality is not static nor black-and-white. Positionality, according to Maggie Walter (palawa) & Chris Andersen (Métis), includes metacognitively considering how one's social position, axiology, ontology, and epistemology contribute to things such as their worldview, research questions, research methods, application of theoretical analysis, interpretation of results, and so on. Axiology is "the theory of extrinsic and intrinsic values."[240] This requires the researcher to engage with where their interests stem from, how their morals guide their research, and these include identifying dominantly "invisible, unnamed, and unmarked" privileges such as whiteness.[241] Such privileges are one example of one's social positions (of which there are potentially endless).[242] Ontologies are the ways we

[239]Tuck & Yang 2012, Pearson 2013
[240] Walter & Andersen. 2013, 49
[241] Walter & Andersen 2013, 45
[242] Walter & Andersen 2013, 51

categorize the world—the taxonomies we use to make sense of and relate knowledge.[243] Lastly, epistemologies are the 'ways of knowing' that the researcher brings to their research, and these are "core to the 'what' and 'how' of…new knowledge."[244]

So, does a yes/no answer to "Did you grow up there?" really provide the questioner with what they've determined the answer means for the Indian's "positionality", where "yes" is associated with certain assumptions about background and "no" is associated with the supposed binary opposite of those assumptions? I would wager not – it is surface level, incomplete information. One must go much deeper to get at positionality.

I want to make it clear: I am not stating that the question of where someone is temporally located or has an abundance of experience is in and of itself irrelevant. Clearly, this is part of positionality. However, I am arguing that there are assumptions wrapped up in the question that are obvious in the way that Indians, specifically, are asked where we're "from", and that the question in and of itself *can be* irrelevant in the context of seeking the person's background with regard to those assumptions associated with yes/no. That is to say, the Native's answer doesn't actually tell the asker what they often think the answer is telling them about that Native's positionality, which is typically that the Native either is or isn't "connected", has a particular amount or type of cultural knowledge, or maybe is even from a certain economic background. "Connected" has become the new "authentic."

To uphold an understanding of Indigeneity based solely on place would ignore the rest of the matrix as well as various histories of dispossession, diaspora, and movements of agency throughout Karuk history. Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca) critiques approaches to place, space, and land that "fai[l] to address…colonial spatial restructuring of land" and she

[243] Walter & Andersen 2013, 52
[244] Walter & Andersen 2013, 47

states that "Land in indigenous studies is a resistance to a conception of fixed space."[245] Goeman's critiques are based in questions of what gets counted as Indigenous space, and therefore where Indigenous peoples are expected to be, as well as highlights that *all* land in the Americas is Native land. Further, Vicente Diaz (Carolinian and Filipino) considers how colonial cartographies, specifically the restrictive and disconnected conceptualization of "islands," permeate the dominant discourse of "land" and how that narrative supports nationalistic attitudes.[246] Important to Diaz's analyses are the connectivities of and movements through water as constitutive of space and place. David A. Chang (Native Hawaiian) utilizes water-based analytics as well, and argues that "indigenous geography means looking out at the global world from indigenous perspectives as well as looking closely at homelands."[247]

Further, Dylan Robinson (Stó:lō/Skwah) states, "Indigenous mobility hindered settlers' attempts to civilize Indigenous perception into a temporality of productivity. Indigenous mobility was often equated with unproductive use of land…"[248] This reveals a settler belief that Indigenous movement grants settlers the right to use the land how they see fit because Indigenous movement is seen as "unproductive." Therefore, the common assumption that Native peoples are more "authentic" when found in places we're *expected* to be (such as our homelands or reservations) functions moreso to reinforce the settler goal of usurping Indigenous lands by denying Indigenous legitimacy in movement. Moreover, Warner et al. offer critiques of over-emphasizing place as a primary authenticator of identity and propose ways to account for and engage "scattered communities", particularly within Native language revitalization efforts[249] All

[245] Goeman 2013, 74-76
[246] Diaz 2015
[247] Chang 2016, xiii
[248] Robinson 2020, 54
[249] Warner et al. 2009

of this illustrates the ways at least one aspect of Native identity – where we're *from* – must respond to settler colonial constructs of place.[250]

In alignment with the considerations put forth by these Indigenous scholars of diverse backgrounds, this chapter considers the nuances of space and place for Karuk peoples, emphasizing agency and recognizing that Indigenous movement can build Indigenous theories of cartography and geography and that perspective, as Chang claims, is a vital component of Indigenous mappings.[251]

Who Wants to Know?

With regard to the question "(but) Did you grow up there?" or "Where are you from?" it's important to note that this question, although sometimes asked by fellow Karuks, most often comes from non-Karuks. Karuks (as with most Tribes) usually ask who you're *related* to in order to "map" you, so to say, in their minds. Non-Karuks don't usually know the family trees of Karuks, and so their only way to map us is by colonial cartography (e.g., "Did you grow up *there*? Where are you *from*?"). However, to many fellow Karuks, all Karuks are "from" our Tribe, regardless of where they're physically "from."

For example, I recall an instance at CoLang (Institute on Collaborative Language Research) where a new acquaintance asked where I was "from", and I told him Idaho, because I was aware based on conversational context that "where did you *grow up*?" is really what he meant, and that most people expect short answers, not ramblings about the many places a person has lived or why they identify with a place without holding residency there.

[250] See much of Deondre Smiles' work as well, such as: Smiles 2023 "Anishinaabeg in Space" and Smiles 2023 "Reflections on…Indigenous Geographies"
[251] Chang 2016

One of my long-time Karuk language teachers overheard me tell this person I was from Idaho, and kindly teased me, “Are you switching Tribes on us? Going to join the Nez Perce?”

Such a response evidences that, to many fellow Karuks, I am *from*— I am “of” and could not have been born without— Karuk Country, even if I didn’t “grow up” there. People who aren’t Karuk often assume that a diasporic Karuk’s experience means that Karuk person is a “disconnect” and probably unknowledgeable about the so-called “traditional” ways compared to those who grew up in headquarters. Both assumptions are simply wrong to make, about Natives in “diaspora” *and* about Natives from homeland, and the question is not useful in the way it is commonly asked.

The following shows that ways colonists have dismissed Native mapping knowledge and even abused Native mapping practices.

The Diversity of Indigenous Maps

There is diversity in how Indigenous peoples “map.” For example, songs are maps. Songs are often rooted in place, and that connection to place can look slightly different from language’s connection to place. Leanne Hinton writes about her observations in Baja California, and how Kiliwa peoples were historically isolated and more recently had less than twenty folks to “communicate” with.[252] However, Hinton argues that communication includes more than language, and makes this point through Kiliwa and Diegueno peoples’ music. She argues that while Kiliwa and Diegueno people communicated by translating four languages (their own and Spanish and English), they largely communicated and built relations through singing together, and they knew the same songs in order to do so. Therefore, songs connected their places and

[252] Hinton & Hale 2013

people in a way language wasn't able to do, and Hinton understands Indigenous songs without words as having this purpose of connecting communities. These sonic connections between communities are indeed "maps".

Another example of a map – one that reflects Chumash knowledge of the sky – is that of the Chumash Arborglyph. Sabine Talaugon (Chumash) states that Elder Joe Talaugon and paleontologist Rex Saint Onage conducted research into a tree carving in the Santa Lucia Mountains which was "previously thought to be a cowboy carving."[253] The findings were that "the Arborglyph provides a calendar of important events throughout the year for Chumash people" and that it follows a solstice, equinox, and seasonal calendar indicating important Chumash "cultural days."[254] Talaugon states that "the top part is a map of Ursa Major's (aka the Big Dipper's) placement in relationship to the North Star at sunset on the same dates throughout the year." This mapping is evidence of Chumash peoples' "complex and sophisticated" scientific knowledge, something that had previously routinely been dismissed under Western scrutiny.[255] This follows academia's tendency to dismiss Indigenous knowledges more generally due to expectations that our ancestors were "primitive" and could not have known or developed complex scientific methodologies, theories, and practices.[256] In addition to such dismissal, sometimes our knowledge is outright taken advantage of.

My aunt gave me a *Now You're Speaking Karuk!* pocketbook a long time ago. In this book, by Nancy Richardson Steele, are survival Karuk phrases. That is, the language needed to have basic conversations and needs met when speaking Karuk. In addition, there is a map of Karuk ancestral territories. This is where I saw my village name written somewhere, besides my

[253] Talaugon 2018
[254] Talaugon 2018
[255] Talaugon 2018
[256] Harrison 2007

family tree, for the first time—and on a map! This was exciting to me. However, years later I learned that in the new versions of the pocketbook, they stopped publishing our map, because people had started using it to find our village sites and dig them up looking for "artifacts."

In addition, C. Hart Merriam (ethnographer) consulted Grandma Ellen ("Mrs. Hugh Grant") and Fred W. Kearney regarding Konomihu vocabulary. In his notes, he includes "Konomeho villages." Out of twenty-one documented Konomihu villages, three have notes written next to them about the state of the villages: "Place now all mined out," "Now all gone—mined to bedrock," "all mined off now."[257]

At least three whole villages mined away.

Whole. Villages. Mined. Away.

That is part of the legacy of the Gold Rush. And this is just what's known, or what was known at the time, to be completely gone; it doesn't mean the other villages and Indian people at them weren't immensely impacted by genocide and mining, and hydraulic mining especially.

Despite that some Konomihu villages may be mined away, we still have the names and descriptions for locations of those villages, which means they are still part of our maps, and we can reclaim them. Risling Baldy states that "the way you know there were California Indians everywhere is that every place had a name."[258] While obvious to Native peoples, this continues to need to be said because of what gets considered "Native land" in broader society: generally reservations or sites of ceremonial importance.[259] However, all land "was" (is) Native land. To allow certain spaces to be coded as non-Native spaces is to allow the settler their *terra nullis*

[257] Merriam 1976, 60
[258] Humboldt PBLC 2019
[259] This can be seen at-large, but, as I watch much more Ghost Adventures than I'm willing to admit, I'm specifically thinking of all the instances on that show where they say "this was once Native land…" without any reflection on the fact that it is (present tense) all Native land.

(meaning "territory without a master"). William Bauer of the Wailacki and Concow Round Valley Indian Tribes states that due to *terra nullis*, "Settler place-naming, or renaming, was a 'discovery ritual' by which Settlers colonized Indigenous land and economies" which was a means of "claim[ing] to be indigenous to California."[260] In instances where the transmission of placename knowledge has not continued, it should be noted that Indigenous peoples map relationally in diverse ways that do not necessarily require a place to have a name.

How can we map when we can't trust colonizers with knowing our places – they dig them up, blast them away, and rename them in rites of self-indigenization? We can and do map. Our music is an example, and it asserts a moving presence that reveals Karuks as connected across the world, all reverberating back to Katimîin as the core/center of that world.

Method & Theory: ReMatriation and *from*

ReMatriation

In asking my aunt Mona [my great-grandma's sister] about stories of my Papa [grandfather] when he was young, she said:

> "The bigger boys was trying to make him drink beer or something, they were all drinking, and he wouldn't drink it and they're trying to force him, and I remember him saying, 'I want my **grandma**!'"[261]

This chapter theorizes from tenets of Indigenous projects of "rematriation" which Lee Maracle conceptualized in conjunction with repatriation, stating that "Decolonization will require the repatriation and the rematriation of [Native] knowledge by Native peoples themselves.[262] Maracle's niece, Robin Gray, has expanded on this to offer one of the first articulations of a

[260] Bauer 2016, 29
[261] Meinert 2023, emphasis added
[262] Maracle 1996, 92

definition for rematriation, stating that it is "an embodied praxis of recovery and return [and is] about revitalizing the relationship between Indigenous lands, heritage, and bodies based on Indigenous values and ways of knowing, being, and doing."[263] I connect these proposals with Unangax̂ scholar Eve Tuck's arguments for a curricular and pedagogical practice of rematriation that is explicitly feminist in that it disrupts settler patriarchal claims to land.[264] Tuck outlines nine starting points for thinking through what "rematriation" can mean. Two of these points which I emphasize here include "to honor all of our relations by engaging in the flow of knowledge in community," and "to engage place and land in ways that dramatically differ from more commonly held constructions of place and space," including disrupting beliefs in the "permanence of settler colonialism and the nation-state."[265] This attentiveness to place/space, inclusion "all of our relations," and imagining beyond the time when the settler nation will fall is especially important for a project in which I hope that *all* Karuks will have a song.

This belief that all Karuks [should] have a song appears to be shared in the community. In summer 2016, I held an internship with my Tribe's language department. As I was walking around my ancestral village of Athithufvuunuupma (Happy Camp) during a lunch break, I saw written on a bridge:

Truth medicine is saying good words so people remember they are good.

Everybody has songs. Songs are your Medicine.

Ikxare-yav l ❤️ves people.

Sing your song.

[263] Gray 2022, 5
[264] Tuck 2011
[265] Tuck 2011, 36

Ikxare-yav made people beautiful.

The mountains are the baskets giving love for free.

People are so beautiful.

The river is the giver.

Everybody is good medicine.

I want you to be able to think yourself to where you want to go.[266]

I asked around, but have not yet found out who wrote this prayer on the bridge. While I regret that I cannot properly attribute it at this time, it has made a strong impact on me and so I have made the choice to include it because I hope it will benefit others and potentially find its way back to the original writer(s), who I can then properly thank. I have repeated the words to myself and shared them with others often.

And when I first read it—I had no songs.

"Everybody has songs. Songs are your Medicine."

I had no "traditional" songs, that is, and I figured having those was what the writer meant, given the obvious context (Happy Camp) and references that a primarily Karuk audience would be familiar with (i.e., medicine, Ikxarêeyav, basketry, the mountains and river). However, I had non-"traditional" songs I learnt from my aunt and through being involved with Karuk language revitalization. I therefore knew that if I sang any song with healing intent, it could serve the medicinal purpose of songs identified by the writing on the bridge.

[266] Presently unknown Karuk community member(s), emphases added

Because songs could potentially be composed based on archival consultation, such as looking to examples to identify key compositional aspects to follow, how to engage in the archives with an Indigenous perspective is also vital. To this end, Lou Bennett (Yorta Yorta/Dja Dja Wurrung, Indigenous Australian) envisions rematriation as a means of bringing together the pedagogies of learning Indigenous languages from archives with pedagogies of learning from landscapes, noting that Indigenous languages "come from the country" (i.e. the land, water etc.), thus pedagogy must also come from the country.[267] Rematriating Konomihu music with our community requires physically engaging with the lands Grandma Ellen sang at, where the songs emerged from. However, what does this imply about singing Grandma's "Cherokee" songs, which have been sung in Konomihu lands but which logically emerged from non-Konomihu lands? Moreover, how do we then include Karuks who live elsewhere, who cannot reasonably drop everything to visit and learn through such engagement with land?

I do not want to use reMatriation as a buzzword. The project does need to be markedly "feminist" to warrant calling it "reMatriation" rather than "repatriation" since both methods exist in tandem with their own pros and cons. I've chosen "reMatriation" to articulate my methodology for various reasons but in particular, an explicitly feminist methodology is necessary because this project centers around Grandma Ellen, my family's female ancestor for whom we are pursuing this project in honor of and organizing our various family lines around. We are expanding our network by identifying relatives who descend from a shared ancestor whose experience was that of an Indian woman in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In addition, in everyday enactments of relationality, we organize around my great-grandmother's generation, a

[267] Bennett 2019

generation of five sisters, of whom aunt Mona is the sole surviving sister at one hundred and four years old. Ergo, in the context of the project thus far, "matriarchal" language makes sense. Moreover, my family came across Grandma's archival materials by doing genealogy research. Genealogy is dominated by a Western patrilineal pattern of inheritance (most obviously in surname continuity and legacies of land inheritance/"ownership"). ReMatriation is thus a useful framework and approach to reinstate an Indigenous way of knowing and center women's, specifically Grandma Ellen's and the women of her community, contributions to our continued survivance in this world.

At least ten of Grandma's song recordings are women's coming of age ceremony songs. It is clear that her musical knowledge was informed by her position as a Native woman of the time, and in a community where the Flower Dance ceremonies, as Risling Baldy argues, are one of the pillar ceremonies of our religion, World Renewal.[268] The gendered nature of Grandma's songs supports research approaches that center Indigenous worldviews on gender, of which "reMatriation" does.

[268] Risling Baldy 2018

Karuks Map “Belonging” Relationally

Figure 7. me & Grandma Minnie at 2016 California Indian Basketweaver’s Gathering

When I meet a Karuk person who I haven’t met before, I skip straight to saying I’m from Grandma Minnie, through “Big Kenny” and then “Little Kenny.” Everyone knows Minnie was a **Grant** before marrying Papa Cowboy “Hockaday”. Grandma Minnie and her sisters are also almost never mentioned in isolation. In every conversation I have, the sisters are named off, often as one counts up to five on their fingers:

1. Aggie Wood
2. Lena Swearingen
3. Ellen Palmerton
4. Mona Meinert

5. Minnie Hockaday

Everyone also always says, “Minnie was the youngest. That’s why she didn’t go to Sherman.”

Figure 8. (pictured order: Ellen, Lena, Mona, Aggie, Minnie)

The sisters had three brothers, as well: Willie (Ulysses), Peter, and Pauly. The boys did not have children. So when our family organizes, we are organizing around the five sisters. While I have situated this project within reMatriative academic contexts, I agree with Simpson’s argument that “matriarch” doesn’t represent the equity systems of all Indigenous communities.[269] While the Grant sisters might be called “matriarchs”, this doesn’t align with how we talk on the ground – they are the Grant sisters. “Sister” – not only “Matriarchs” – can also thus be conceptualized as having a relationally important place within reMatriative projects.

That the Grant sisters are from *Happy Camp* is especially important for my family’s Karuk identity. For example:

[269] Simpson 2017

In Oct. 2022 I showed a print of my drawing, *Game Rush*, at the Goudi'ni Native American Art Museum. When I said I'm a Hockaday at the museum reception, looking for people to talk to, I couldn't find anybody who knew the Hockadays, which is rare in Karuk situations for me. Finally, one "downriver" Karuk (not to be confused with a Yurok!) said, "Oh, Hockaday. You're the *really* upriver Karuks. Like Happy Camp, right?"

Karuks are legitimately Karuk no matter where they "grew up," because we relationally map each other.

Indigenous Feminist Mapping

As detailed in the literature review, mapping has been used by colonizers to confine Indigenous peoples, impose borders and create space where Indigeneity may exist only with colonizer permission, dismiss Indigenous knowledge, and violate Indigenous lands. Indigenous peoples have mapping practices we use to Indigenize (or simply to create) our place-based theories, as well as decolonize colonial, anti-BIPOC mapping practices. Here I consider the ways these practices can contribute to Indigenous feminist mapping more specifically.

Many people have practices of gendering land and space. Raheja points out that settlers viewed Native land as "female."[270] This is where we get a lot of colonial literature about whites "penetrating" the forests. Conquering was a gendered pursuit wherein the land was considered virginal and waiting to receive the male masters who would make use of it agriculturally – planting their seeds for posterity.[271] Yet, land is considered "female" in a lot of Native worldviews, as well, resulting in dualities frequently found Indigenous epistemologies such as

[270] Raheja 2010, 185, 48, 50
[271] Raheja 2010

Mother Earth and Father Sky. Settler gendering of land as female and Native genderings of Land are guided by different philosophies that result in extremely different treatments and relationships to the land.

While this is true, gender equity is not necessarily inherent to Indigenous communities, nor am I interested in evidencing that Grandma Ellen's community was feminist as we would define that today. I avoid this for the same reasons detailed in Ch. I for why I avoid saying we ought to embrace Two Spirits today simply because there is diversity in our gender/sexuality systems precolonially. I find it important in my work to actively reject romanticizations. As such, I question our alleged traditional feminism and argue that it doesn't matter if we were or weren't – we can support gender equity today regardless.

The following is written by Roberts, with Grandma Ellen as the "informant". Based on direct quotes from Grandma Ellen throughout Roberts' notes, I take it that Grandma did relay this information. However, statements of value (e.g., the first sentence about morality) are indeed Roberts' own lens and language. This caveat of ethnocentrism in the metadata noted, the following is why I reject the idea that "feminism", as it's constructed even in norCal Indian spaces today, is "traditional":

> "They were very strict about morals and the girls were not allowed to be with a man not the husband. If a woman became pregnant and the father was unknown, they built a big fire and then went to the girl and decked her with beads and asked her to run a race, (made her) and then pushed her into the fire and she was burned to death. But if the father was known but not married to the girl, they tried to make him marry her. If he refused, both were killed, the girl burned, but the man stood with hands tied behind to a tree and was shot with bows and arrows. When twins were born they were regarded with fear and cast into a hollow tree to die."[272]

There is far too much for me to unpack here, but I want to reiterate the fact that this is an archival document and so it's probably missing a lot of context. For instance, I admit I initially found it

[272] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-12, 4-5 p. 4-5

"sexist" to learn that men in my Tribe traditionally paid for wives—until I learned that the reason for this is that women did *so much* within the home, village, and community, that the money was intended to help the family and community in her new absence. This system is not "sexist" – it makes perfect sense.

At the same time, I cannot think of any context that would convince me that throwing a woman into fire for getting pregnant from premarital sex is a particularly feminist act – and it doesn't have to be. It doesn't somehow justify genocide and colonization or anything of the sort if we didn't have gender equity.

Some Indigenous scholars argue that we cannot trust the information that has been documented in archives because sometimes "informants" would lie to anthropologists; however, other Indigenous scholars find much value in archival documentation because it is sometimes their only point of access for reclamation projects and they believe their ancestors knew their descendants would be consulting the archives so they wanted to leave information for them. Although I understand the former position, I align moreso with the latter with regard to my own ancestor's documented thoughts. I see no reason she would've lied to Roberts, especially in such a way that paints Natives like this.

However, what's key here, again and again, is that it doesn't really matter. We can and do do what we feel is right today without having to point to historic precedent. In this vein, singing Grandma Ellen's Konomihu and Cherokee Flower Dance songs can function as a historical accounts of how Native women have significantly contributed to ensuring Indigenous structures would persist. These songs are of the Sacred History of the *People,* and asserting them as such centers and uplifts women's ways of knowing and how those ways of knowing contribute to our ceremonies, relational maps, histories, and *Peoplehood.*

The "From" Theory

My Dad grew up in the mountains in Happy Camp and Yreka, where he fished, hunted black tail deer, and swam in the rivers and cricks. He now lives on the East coast, where it is flat, swampy, and has gators ('no swimming' signs abound). He occasionally states that he can 'feel the mountains calling' to him. While I grew up in southern California because of my dad's military history, I also often feel the need to return to and visit the mountains, my family, and community as well.

Many places along peeshkêesh are villages incorporated into the Karuk Tribe, and these areas are the place where all Karuk people, regardless of where individual Karuk people might be born or live today, are *from*.

I've noticed that my family use this word—"from" – to describe any Karuk person as "from the Karuk Tribe," regardless of where they were born or grew up, and I've heard other Karuk families describe themselves this way, too. Thus, I grew up with a different understanding of "from" than I notice is dominantly used in conversation. I understand most people to use "from" to mean that they grew up in, were born at, or are currently living in a specific place. Karuk people would not be Karuk if we were not *collectively **from*** (as in "of") certain lands. "Karuk" does not exist except in emergence from those places, where we were created and come from. And this aligns with both religious and scientific understandings of human existence: Karuks were created in our place by the Ikxareeyav; and/or (following Western evolution/migration theories) Karuks were created *by* our place, which is to say we became Karuk in that place, and so any humans who might have come before and did not live in Karuk Country *were not Karuk*. All Karuk people today come from the Karuk Tribe. We come from that

place, those villages, as well as the colonial histories that resulted in the named Karuk Tribe, or else we would not be Karuk.

My family's use of the term, as I understand it, is moreso in line with TallBear's arguments about Indigenous theories of creation, or the 'where we come from' argument. TallBear states:

> The dismissal by nonindigenous thinkers of indigenous stories in place […] is not simply the result of privileging scientific evidence over Indigenous creationism […] Such dismissals also ignore the importance of indigenous peoples' emphasis on land-human co-constitutive relations. […] At stake in contesting such genomic narratives is the desire of indigenous peoples to emphasize their emergence as particular cultural and language groups *in social and cultural relation* with nonhumans of all kinds—land formations, nonhuman animals, plants, and the elements in very particular places…[273]

The way my family talks about us is in alignment with this. What's more, there is a great deal of work detailing the connectedness of language, culture, identity, and place. For instance, Keith H. Basso argues that "places possess a marked capacity for triggering acts of self-reflection, inspiring thoughts about who one presently is, or memories of who one used to be, or musings on who one might become," and notes that these musings lead to an understanding of relations with other people, places, and memories because the physical landscape connects to the "landscape of the mind."[274] While place and the 'call of the mountains' is deeply embedded in what it means to be Karuk, it's a component that's in relation to everything else it means to be Karuk— i.e., the components of our Peoplehood (land, language, sacred history, and ceremony).

[273] TallBear 2017, 186 (emphasis original)
[274] Basso 1996, 107

Results: Story and Song as Kin- and Community- Based Maps

Exercising, exploring, or responding to political topics and sovereignty within Indigenous communities is often done through critiques about (what is considered to be) Indigenous space and assertions that all land is Native land.[275] Maps in Indigenous communities are diverse – stories, song, and relations are just some examples of our "maps", and all are entwined ways of knowing.

For example, Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca) conducts literary analyses where she shows how Indigenous literatures "(re)map."[276] (Re)mapping, as Goeman uses it, "is the labor Native authors and the communities they write within and about undertake, in the simultaneously metaphoric and material capacities of map making, to generate new possibilities."[277] Taking a feminist approach, Goeman looks at the writings of Native women to generate intersectional critiques, investigate how the displacement (mapping) of Native people has been impacted by heteropatriarchy, and creates space on maps for decolonial Native futures.[278] In reclaiming these oral traditions, we develop theory, method, and praxis whether the stories include oral histories, oral traditions, and include our contemporary stories within this continually developing History of our People. Such is the importance of "Storywork," which sto:lo First Nations scholar Jo-ann Archibald theorizes as the use of story as a methodological approach to research and teaching, whereby stories are analytic units and guiding tools.[279]

In this way, I highlight my aunt Rana's Book Club that included herself and her grandma and aunties. She says:

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[275] Also see Ramirez 2007
[276] Goeman 2013
[277] Goeman 2013, 3
[278] Goeman 2013, 14
[279] Archibald 2008, Archibald et al. 2019

> "[Aunt Lena] was one of my book club members. Her and grandma Minnie and I would exchange books. Because aunt Lena, I think she went to the library all the time, I don't even know where she got her books. She may have gotten them from aunt Mona because, I think grandma Minnie, aunt Lena, and aunt Mona, since they were sisters, they all had their little book club and once I expressed interest they would give me a brown bag of books, and so I would read them and then I would share those books with my friends. […] I do remember [Lena] had books everywhere in that mobile home and if I saw one laying I thought I might like she'd always say, 'here take it take it' no matter what."[280]

Native communities engage in "mapping" via sharing stories and aunt Rana's description of the book club is a good example of this. Moreover, during an interview with Aunt Mona (part of the book club mentioned above), she shared the following occurrence with me when talking about her time at Sherman Indian Boarding School which she attended in the 1930s:

> "I lost that annual book. The annuals – I had a nice one. When we went to Stockton […] somebody stole our car. Everything was in there. We didn't have a thing."[281]

I asked what the annual book was, if it was like a yearbook. Aunt Mona said:

> "Oh they had an annual every year, just like any high school."[282]

I said I would try and find the yearbook for her, and I did find it. I reached out to Lorene Sisquoc (Cuhilla/Apache), curator for the Sherman Indian Museum, and asked if they had those annuals. Sisquoc kindly sent me thumb drives which I took up to Aunt Mona and Cathy. In addition, Sisquoc found a story Aunt Mona wrote for the '35 yearbook called *Pi-nay-a-fitch and the Star Maidens (A Klamath Legend)*.

[280] Bussard 2022
[281] Meinert 2023
[282] Meinert 2023

Figure 9. Oct. 23, 2023. Jason reading Aunt Mona's story "Pi-nay-a-fitch and the Star Maidens" to her. Photo credit Cathy Meinert

Here is the story:

> "One day Pi-nay-a-fitch and his son went hunting. It was stormy and the ground was covered with snow. They went a long way, and, when they decided to return home, they found that they were lost. After two days of wandering, they found their way home. When they were but a short distance from home, Pi-nay-a-fitch sent his son home and then he went back the way they had come.
>
> He looked up into the sky and saw the Star Maidens dancing. They seemed to be having a good time, so Pi-nay-a-fitch wished that he could go up in the sky and dance with them. Suddenly he found himself in the sky, watching the Star Maidens dance. He begged them to let him dance with them, but they wouldn't let him. They told him that, if he once started dancing, he couldn't stop. But Pi-nay-a-fitch begged until they let him dance with them. They danced and danced day and night. Finally Pi-nay-a-fitch got thirsty. He asked the Star Maidens if he could stop and get a drink, but they wouldn't let him. Later he got very hungry. He begged the Star Maidens to stop, but again they refused. Finally Pi-nay-a-fitch got so tired that one of his legs came off and dropped through space. Then his other leg came off, but still he had to keep on dancing. Then his arms became tired of holding his partner, so they dropped off too. He still had to slide around with his body. Soon his head too dropped off, and finally his body dropped

> through space. All his bones had fallen in a heap at the bottom of a high cliff. One day an Indian maiden and her father were walking along at the bottom of this cliff when they came to a pile of bones. Not thinking anything, the girl stepped over the bones and then Pi-nay-a-fitch came back to life."[283]

Pi-nay-a-fitch in current Karuk orthography is *Pihnêefich* – Coyote.

After I read the story back to her, she smiled and said, "I don't know if that's true or not." She said that her momma (Grandma Susie) had told her that story. This is thus a Karuk Oral Tradition. I love Aunt Mona's response because it leaves room for the *possibility* that the story could be historically true. Our Oral Traditions have been brushed off by colonizers as myths. Densely connected, full and complete stories detailing our knowledge of creation and history have been viewed most often as nothing more than fanciful tales, and Native people when asserting the truths of these Oral Traditions are not taken seriously. Aunt Mona's own remark leaves room that maybe, perhaps it is true. This story is part of our maps not only in its description of a particular cliff, but also in that by writing it down in a yearbook, Aunt Mona has mapped Karuk peoples' cultural knowledge and experiences at Sherman. Karuk people were *there*. Moreover, in that way, our Oral Traditions transcend and circumvent linear, temporal ways of knowing and being. We bring them along with us and continue to map the world from their foundations.

Grandma Ellen, whose song recordings we originally began organizing this project around, was Aunt Mona's grandmother. Grandma Ellen's songs are connected to stories, such as they are sung within the story. For example: Eagle's Love Song, Dog's Love Song, Little Chicken Hawk's Love Song.

Eagle's Love Song is:

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[283] Meinert 1935, 106

> "I don't know the name of the place. It is up Sisseville way, at the head of the Salmon River. And that snow never did melt. Eagle was a woman and buzzard was a man. Eagle = hatcup'ha. And this eagle stuck after the buzzard. And buzzard wouldn't look at him. And she done everything, pounding acorns, and pack wood, and this buzzard wouldn't look at him. And live there for I think it was a two years, still buzzard never look at him. The buzzard walk a long way from him and never come closer. And that eagle was a stuck after his head. Eagle thought he had a red-headed. But buzzard had a bald head and kept away from eagle, don't let him see his head and eagle thought he has got a red hair. And finally eagle left and he went away. He is going to leave this place. And eagle from the other side of the snow mountain. I don't know the name of that mountain. And she went over that mountain. Then she went down, half ways down and sat down on a big rock. Then she sang."[284]

In addition to sharing how songs are vital to Oral Traditions, most of the songs contain an oral history [such as of Grandma's own or another community family] or other knowledge shared while relaying the song. Sometimes that knowledge is about a particular being, ceremonial information, or reciprocity laws (e.g. while dressing a Bear).

Not only do the stories get told with the songs, but the stories are set in specific places, as most Native Oral Traditions are. While it appears that Grandam Ellen told Roberts she didn't know the names of the places, she clearly knew the places themselves, and perhaps meant she didn't know their English names. One of my dad's cousins upon review says "Sisseville" must be Cecilville on the Salmon River. Another place-based song/story example is from the Pointing Arrow Dance Song:

> There are lots of songs for this dance. […] The story of the song is as follows:
>
> > First coyote made this world and this big ants, the black one, they was a people that time, and the coyote told him "What you going to be" He told this old grandma (the little ant's grandma). And she had two granddaughters and one was little girl, small one. One was just 13 years old. (She had his monthly this time, that little girl.) And she said, this old grandmother said this, "I'll take this with me, them both girls. I'll set down on top the ridge; we will be rock. And everybody can call my granddaughters' name, if he sees us. That's wapxă'hu' (the one that had his monthly)." Then old grandma said, "If something come around front us we'll push down and push him in the river." And there is

[284] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK -13, 5; You can see the pronouns go all over the place (I am guessing since English is Ellen's second language). I borrow this interesting phenomenon in the conclusion of this dissertation.

> where the song is. They pushed the deer in the water. It was lying in the water. The three can be seen at Nuthammer Creek, on top of the bluff. [285]

This oral tradition—indeed a Konomihu origin story—explains the creation of three rocks at Nuthammer creek. They were originally Ant People, and they give a song to be sung in the river below them.

For Konomihu, the song recordings are connected to stories our Grandma Ellen told to the researcher, Helen H. Roberts, documented in the metadata for the recordings. Our reclamation project thus uplifts and values our own community's rhetorical knowledge which pushes back against the dominant colonial rhetoric which in-authenticates the Native who didn't "grow up" or is assumed to not be "from" their tribal homelands.[286]

Our songs and stories are maps, be they contemporary, oral history, or oral tradition, and they show us as being *from* Karuk Country, and as being a people who experience the world in other places from the perspective *of* Karuk Country.

Results: Increasing Relationalities and Remote Involvement

Even when Karuk people have relationships to Karuk places through direct interaction with those places, sometimes they do not always see it as being explicitly "Karuk" (to throw back to chapter one). However, this is due to the ways Nativeness has been conceptualized in broader society in subtractive, rather than additive, ways, such as through blood quantum or simultaneously forcing assimilation while claiming Natives are becoming "less authentically Native" so that they

[285] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK -13, 9
[286] For more on Indigenous rhetorics see Lyons 2000, Gross 2014

(colonizers) can swoop in to steal Native land.[287] I highlight my dad's articulation of a family connections to place:

> "I think some of the places around Happy Camp that we've talked to you about are like family places, or not necessarily tied to the Tribe or Karuk or… like Poker Flat, Kelly Lake, places like that, that I think kind of… where the family have ties to traditionally, where they always wanted to go and hang out and be with each other."[288]

What's important here is that these places are identified as being family places. I think this is true of all Karuk places. A family basing their identity on "tradition" might say "this is a traditional Karuk place", but the truth is that all of Karuk Country is "traditionally" Karuk… that's where we have always been, all around there. Some places are ceremonially sacred, but the fact of the matter is that any connection to any Karuk place is necessarily Karuk in nature if it's a Karuk person connecting. And because Karukness is kin based, tribal spouses, be they Native or not, influence what becomes a family place based on their own cultural background's values. That does not mean their Karuk children's or grandchildren's relationships to those places are less Karuk. We should begin to consider additional cultural, ethnic, or racial backgrounds as additive (increasing relationalities) rather than subtractive (decreasing Karukness).

Certain landmarks also become important in community that may not initially seem to indicate "Karuk" knowledge. For example, aunt Mona (and others) often refer to the Happy Camp Airport. Aunt Mona share stories like:

> "Oh, I remember going to a spring to get the water. It was about a half a mile across the Airport. Minnie was with us. She had a little five gallon, a, five pound, more like a can. Do you remember those? […] She had that. Ellen had a big bucket and I had a couple of buckets. And we'd go over there. We got – Minnie carried her bucket. She was sure helpful. She wanted to do everything we did."[289]

[287] McKay 2021, 13
[288] Hockaday 2022
[289] Meinert 2023

I am not convinced that our "sacred" places are much more "Karuk" of landmarks than the Happy Camp Airport is. It is all Karuk. It is all ours. Such is the #LandBack movement, and it is all indicative of a Karuk perspective from which we map, view the world, and develop knowledge.

Dad also acknowledged during the interview that he is "participating remotely." A majority of the reMatriation project has been happening remotely because of the COVID-19 pandemic, which is when the grassroots of the project began, and various wildfires were going on. Therefore, all participants have been meeting via Zoom. I understand dad's nod towards his "remote" participation to be identifying, explicitly, that he's living away from Karuk Country, whereas everyone else who is on the Zoom calls is in California, and within driving distance to Yreka. He is recognizing that he's not physically in the *place* of the songs, but articulating this through his lived experience with language that came from the pandemic.

I think there is something endearing about identifying as a "remote" participant in a reclamation project. He is not identifying as "in diaspora" or as a remote Karuk, he is Karuk, but his remoteness is an adjective to his participation in tribal happenings. So there are Karuks participating in-person and Karuks participating "remotely."

Results: Reclamation

One of Grandma Ellen's songs is public as a "sample" through the Library of Congress. It is titled a "Konomihu Lullaby," though in matching the recordings up with the metadata, it is my belief that this is actually a Cherokee song from Ellen's grandmother and was mislabeled.

I listened very closely to this song and the non-public ones. I transcribed what I understood to be wordless vocals using my Karuk writing system background, which was of

course inadequate for a sound system more similar to Shasta than to Karuk. I attempted to sing with the recording once I had a transcript, and practiced. And I had ancestral songs, and my family—and I mean extended family as well as immediate—was ecstatic. They had me make recordings of myself singing to share around.

I taught these songs to my dad, who also did not have Indian songs until our reclamation project, though he grew up in tribal headquarters. Despite that we are a clearly Karuk family, not having songs or identifiably Indian "culture" to "prove" our Indianness/ "authenticity" to non-Natives outside of Karuk Country is, in fact, a common and therefore "authentic" Karuk experience. The rupture of intergenerational transmission of what's identified to be "Karuk culture" is the norm, rather than the exception. Of course, there are aspects of Karuk culture and experiences which are not identified as being "Karuk" (able to "authenticate") because they are not deemed "traditional" knowledge.

The discontinuation of some songs for certain lines of family was due to genocide—it was not a good thing to be Indian. For example, aunt Mona shares:

> "…we'd sit down ask momma different questions about the language. We wanted to learn some of it. She never taught us any. She didn't want to – she didn't want us speakin' pops' language, and they're different. Funny they knew everything, what they meant. That's funny. I don't know how anybody could say 'the Indian language' there's so many of 'em."[290]

I asked her if Grandma Susie (momma) ever shared why she didn't want to teach them the languages. Aunt Mona said:

> "I don't know, she didn't want us to be Indians I guess."[291]

It's still dangerous to be Indian. However, the above mindset continues to shift towards cultural pride. As there has been intergenerational rupture for many lines, not all are going to be able to

[290] Meinert 2023
[291] Meinert 2023

learn directly from their own relations. And so some will turn to archives – and not only is this OK, but it is good. Because maybe there are songs in there that even families with intergenerational transmission no longer hold, because the particular ancestor from whom it was documented may have not been passed to her children. So it hasn't been sung for a while. We should bring these back.

Results of a Self-Reflection: "Growing Up"

Karuk "identity" is a collective identity, not an individual one, and it necessitates that every Karuk comes *from* a particular place, evidenced by the relational mapping practices such as surname, story, song we participate in.

Following my family's lead, I've always said I am "from" the Karuk Tribe. As I got older and people asked where I'm "from" I've continued to say this, and it has caused confusion that I did not expect. I sometimes have to clarify that I *grew up* in Idaho, despite that it's been a long time since I've been in Idaho, and I am a different person –a different gender, even – than I was when in Idaho. I say I "grew up" there because I experienced two puberties there, and it seems to me that puberty is a significant "growing up" rite. However, the idea that one is no longer "growing up" once they reach eighteen is curious. When people ask me where I grew up, they often wouldn't count if I said Portland, because I moved there for college when I was eighteen. However, that's where I experienced my first solo-adulting responsibilities. I did a great deal of "growing up" there. "Growing up" is an elusive concept, and is not the same as being "from."

Perhaps people think I grow sideways now, and so what I've experienced after the age of eighteen while in Happy Camp and Yreka, such as the language internship and this music project, are irrelevant. Or perhaps they think all those weeks and summers visiting as a child,

preteen, and teen were not part of my "growing up" and so discount explicitly tribal experiences and connections through Karuk language classes, tribal reunions, family reunions, and swimming in the same cricks my Dad, Papa, great-grandparents, ancestors, and cousins swam in.

That I grew up in various places might lead some to think this means I have a multigeographic perspective, but I do not see it this way. I sometimes use this term for conciseness and to avoid wasting my energy. However, I have a Karuk perspective and a mental map that has topography (substance) in various places, but my perspective – my center and where I "stand" – remains "*from* the Karuk Tribe". And Tribes are necessarily connected to places via the literal meaning of Indigeneity.

I've therefore always "identified" as *from* Karuk Country, even as I've never held permanent residence there, because my family is collectively from there and I am not somehow separate from my family. In addition, my worldview comes "from" Yreka and Happy Camp because it is the worldview that my family who are from those places imparted and instilled in me. However, my worldview is simultaneously "adjacent" to Happy Camp and Yreka. Note that I have not just said that my worldview is *Karuk* "adjacent". I have said that it is *Happy Camp and Yreka* "adjacent".

This adjacency to those places is because there are certain things I can't speak to regarding experiences physically living in Happy Camp and Yreka for extended amounts of time. However, and this is important, non-Karuks who live there could speak to those things that I cannot speak to based on living there, which means that experience living in those *Karuk* places doesn't *inherently* indicate one has a *Karuk* perspective. If non-Natives from "there" can have perspectives from "there" that aren't tribal perspectives, then this nullifies the "(but) did you

grow up there" question as an indicator of one's perspective as being more authentically tribal or not.

Growing up there or currently living there isn't what gives Karuks a Karuk perspective. Karuk worldviews are not developed from one singular criterion such as physical location or tradition. Karuk perspectives – plural – are multifaceted, and all represent Karuk Peoplehood.

Moreover, Karuks who are or grew up away from Karuk Country have Karuk perspective on matters elsewhere in the world.

I am privileged in that I'm the child of the person who lived "there" and most of my family still lives "there"; ergo, my relationship to tribal headquarters is concrete and familiar. However, I want people several generations removed, or who did not have the privilege to visit several times a year, to feel securely included in my theorization of what it means to be "from" our Tribe.

While it's possible that my "connection" would be different if my grandparents had been the generation to move away and I'd never visited as a youth, I argue that this theorization of "from" extends to those people in such situations, and that we (Karuks) need more robust critiques of this "where are you from" question, given its political implications and the assumptions embedded within it. It is often weaponized, when instead we need more Karuks who are confident in their identities and feel they have the right to speak to things, even if they "didn't grow up there."

More philosophically, at what point does where someone technically "grew up" cease to be relevant? Some Karuks "grow up" in tribal headquarters, and move away to never be heard from again. Some Karuks "grow up" on the East coast and move to secluded Happy Camp, work for the Tribe, and never dream of moving away, coming to be known as Karuk through and

through. My critique is that they would be Karuk through and through even if they'd *never* moved back, just as the people who grew up and left are.

And, wouldn't you know it, Grandma has a song especially for those who are "lonesome for the mountains"—similar to how my dad describes missing the mountains and feeling them call to him while participating "remotely." I don't know what's more a sign that Grandma's songs have structured within them ways for us to include our relatives who are scattered from Karuk/Konomihu places. Grandma and Konomihu people knew what our mountains mean to us, and made sure to share songs they knew we would come back to, and those songs provide us a means to sense and enact our direction and perspective, and thereby connect or "ground" ourselves if we were ever away from those mountains, so that the "maps" we draw are still Karuk in essence.

Whether or not that's truly the original "purpose" of the song, I argue, isn't relevant, because it's how we've been using it today, and our ancestors would not be mad about that. They would be happy we are singing it. That is why Grandma allowed it to be recorded.

> h. Bear Song of the Boy
> [musical vocal transcription]
> This is the song he sang when he was lonesome for the mountains.[292]

Conclusion

In this chapter I have applied my family's use of the word "from" to critique of underlying assumptions that come with the question "where are you from" or "(but) did you grow up there?", arguing that those who don't "grow up there" are not, in fact, *inherently* "less

[292] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK -13, 2

connected" as is the assumption/expectation. "From" encompasses all those things which make us Karuk and are born of Karuk Country, thereby making us necessarily from those homelands.

I want every Karuk person if they feel they are "disconnected" to pursue "connecting"—but I also want for folks to be critical of what it is we mean by this verbiage, because Karuk people are a diverse people. Natives are often saying, "we are diverse," and typically meaning there is diversity between tribes, and this is important, but it's also important that there is diversity *within* tribes. Each Karuk person is a "legitimate" or "authentic" Karuk *simply because* they are Karuk.

It should also be noted that a majority of Karuks did not grow up in and do not live in tribal headquarters. This is a very Karuk experience, and Karuk Country could not structurally support a sudden influx of 3,000+ Karuks even if we all wanted to move back. The infrastructure, jobs, supplies, etc. simply do not exist for that. As such, if we assert that living "there" is at the top of the Karuk hierarchy of authenticity, it ensures that many Karuks will never be able to fully claim their Karuk perspective, and such a belief facilitates the idea that we are "disappearing."

There is not a universal prototype that indicates connectedness, especially when viewing Indigeneity through a relational lens rather than individualistic identity-based frameworks. We are a collective political unit and know who each other are and we collectively belong to and come from a homeland, without the knowledge of which we would not be who we are. That knowledge can be symbolic for some Karuks who do not grow up there, and it can be experiential for Karuks who grew up or live there. Both are legitimately Karuk.

And this "identity" or relationality to homeland does not brush off situations such as those villages mined away or where a Tribe's homelands have been industrialized, or where

people are forcibly removed. L. Frank in an Oral History interview by the California Museum states about her homelands, “I see pretty much everything, all the buildings [in Los Angeles] as something that will go away, and the land will be what the land needs to be again.” The places are always there, even through change; just as Indian people are here through our changes. I occasionally hear Karuks joke that our lands are going to fall into the ocean. What then? Do we then no longer have uniquely Karuk perspectives since no one can live “there”? No, I argue we should hold on to our Karuk ways of knowing, and songs can map us to our Sacred Histories and the places that developed those ways of knowing and being.

I return to the excerpts I opened with:

> Mrs. Grant’s grandmother was a Cherokee Indian… “[The song] sound (sic) like it says ‘Where this people coming from?’” Wherever Mrs. Grant’s grandmother was singing at a girl’s dance, she would sing this sing [sic]. This was her mother’s mother.
>
> [This Flower Dance song belonged] to Mrs. Grant’s maternal grandmother… Somebody had a war with the Cherokee and captured some little girls and they were traded and traded and finally to Grant’s Pass and Etna and around there and then to the Konomihu people.[293]

This is a map – one that is instrumental, musical, and that is based on relations, with interconnections to place. Even when our songs are not sung at the places they honor or were born of, they reverberate to those places through our networks.

While we are a small Tribe, we are still 6,000+ Karuks strong. It can be hard to keep track of where everybody’s gone off to. Just because somebody’s parents, grandparents, or even great-grandparents left, often because of colonial pressures, doesn’t mean they are less “connected”. It means they are out there representing Karuks, and we need representation everywhere. This helps more Natives to imagine “possible futures/future possible selves” for

[293] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 8

their own lives (Fryberg et al). When a Karuk is asked where they're from, I want all to feel they can say they're from the Karuk Tribe. When asked where they "grew up", I want all to feel they can push back against the questioner a bit, to see if their answer is really going to tell the questioner what the questioner thinks the answer is telling them.

Moreover, I want every single Karuk to have a song, no matter where they are born, raised, or presently live, because they are from (i.e. related to through kin networks) Karuk people which necessitates that they are *from* Karuk Country and this can be expressed, felt, and mapped through music.

Robin Gray theorizes that reMatriation "moves Indigenous peoples further away from the distractions and constraints of state-sanctioned recognition politics toward the resurgence not only of our own sociopolitical systems but also a politics of refusal in our dealings with settler states, subjects, and institutions."[294] As this chapter has considered the *place*-based politics of recognition and who is considered legitimately Indian (by whom, and under what circumstances, and in what places), I next more thoroughly throw this analysis into politics to consider how the Karuk Tribe enrollment ordinance has impacted Karuk tribal identities and, thus, the existence, rights, and actions of our populace more broadly.

[294] Gray 2022, 5

Chapter III: Coyote is a Descendant – *Enrollment Politics*

> They do as Coyote said in the time when all the birds and everything was a people.[295]
>
> The laws of the Karuk Tribe shall extend to:
> 1. All Tribal members;
> 2. All persons who are eligible to be enrolled as Tribal members or descendant Tribal members with the Tribe, for the purposes of certain Tribal programs and Indian Child Welfare matters, wherever located;
> 3. All persons throughout and within Karuk Tribal Lands who consent to the Tribe's jurisdiction;
> 4. All activities throughout and within Karuk Tribal Lands, or outside of Karuk Tribal Lands if the activities have caused an adverse impact to the political integrity, economic security, resources or health and welfare of the Tribe and its members; and
> 5. All lands, waters, natural resources, cultural resources, air space, minerals, fish, forests and other flora, wildlife, and other resources, and any interest therein, now or in the future, throughout and within the Tribe's territory.[296]

Introduction

The Karuk Tribe, like many Tribes, currently institutionally and systemically functions under a colonially created system of racialization— namely, blood quantum. In the Karuk Tribe, "Enrolled Descendant" is an enrollment status indicating that someone's blood quantum doesn't meet the Tribe's requirements to be a "Member," though the Tribe does *enroll* "Descendants." Word choice is not a light matter. This chapter's connecting thread is about the politics of recognition – specifically through enrollment – and how seemingly simple rhetoric can bring about much harm. As this is a major political topic in my Tribe, it was also a major topic that came up during my family's music project.

[295] Helen Heffron Papers 1907-1936: HHR KK-12, 3
[296] Karuk Tribe Constitution, Article II, Jurisdiction

What can Tribal nationhood look like?

Native people strategically confront our being labelled as "Tribes" and assert our sovereignty through centering our nationhood. While "nationhood" is a useful and important approach for asserting sovereignty, there is also a significant amount of literature, particularly targeting NAS audiences and people familiar with Indigenous political structures, on the ways in which even Native constructs of "Nation" have been utilized in colonial ways.

"Peoplehood," proposed by Holm et al., is a matrix of land, language, sacred history, and ceremony—and they argue that when an indigenous group has all of these, it creates a worldview from which practices of governance and politics come.[297] Therefore, when a group has these, they are *inherently* sovereign.[298] This differs from a Nation because of the hierarchal assumptions of the nation as a politically sovereign unit.[299] Western political hierarchies were used to taxonomically stratify and form paternalistic relations with Native peoples, and *Peoplehood* as an analytic moves beyond – decolonizes – those systemic categorical issues of governance. To explain, Holm et al. describe Western views of governance as follows: the Band is considered to be the most "primitive" of the organizational politic, but has an "informal headman"; after this is the Tribe, which has more people than a Band but no central political organization, an offshoot of which is the "chiefdom", which does have a centralized political authority; Lastly, there is the Western ideal of the "modern" and developed state, which includes the "civilized" Nation.[300]

While the "nation" criteria and articulation was often initially forced on us as a governing structure from which to gain recognition, much of its hierarchal motives and objectives have been internalized by many Indigenous communities. Remembering that the Settlement Act had a

[297] Holm et al. 2003
[298] Holm et al. 2003
[299] Holm et al. 2003, 17
[300] Holm et al. 2003,15

huge part in forcing California Indians to choose one identity/community affiliation over other tribal communities they might also belong to, depending too on their eligibility for enrollment, singular-tribal nation pride has become common.

None of this is to say that "Nation" is not a useful means by which Indigenous peoples articulate our sovereignty. Ellen Cushman (Cherokee) describes how, rhetorically, it is common for non-Natives to "unimpressively" and unconvincingly (especially to Native audiences) self-identify as Native, such as by indicating they have a Cherokee grandmother.[301] Cushman states that there's typically four responses from Native folks to such claims: some will brush the claims off as harmless, some respond with "pity for the speaker," others "see it as nothing more than a lame attempt to find something in common," and some are offended.[302] Despite being an adamant anti-Nationalist, I often use the framework of nation when I interact with people who bring this Cherokee family myth up. I do so because, as Cushman argues, Cherokee great-grandmother claims are rhetorically unconvincing.[303] Responding to it by informing the speaker of Indigenous sovereignty, which they are usually unaware of, through a framework of *nationhood* is rhetorically strong and shows that ancestry, while important, is not the sole component of Indigeneity.[304] As such, audience is important in articulating Indigeneity.

Villages along the Klamath were historically the unit of politic from which sovereignty and autonomy were exercised. I highlight the points of Darrel Aubrey who from his vantage as a Karuk Tribal Member, law school graduate, and tribal self-governance coordinator, shared:

> "It's so weird having to talk about a tribal government and a culture, because […] we see the federal government [and] learn this bad way of handling things, because we see how the US government is supposed […] to keep 'church and state' separate. And because tribal governments are modeled off of the same governmental practices as the federal

[301] Cushman 2008, 334
[302] Cushman 2008
[303] Cushman 2008
[304] Wilbur et al. 2019

> government, [because] the federal government's the one that forced this structure on us, for how we're supposed to have a "government" and how we're supposed to "govern" ourselves. [T]hey forced us to have these constitutions, and these constitutions [are] so foreign to our own governing system prior to colonization [such as] keeping those two separate. But with Native people, our way of life is so integrated to religion there is no way to break that apart. It's practiced every single day in the way we do things and the way we govern ourselves that there's not an easy way to divorce government from culture, but we're being forced to do that. And so that's why, when we talk about tribal government and culture, it's really like an awkward conversation because we're instilling colonist's ideas into a thing that was really never broke apart."[305]

It is from this perspective wherein we are forced into colonial constructs that we must recognize the fact that "sovereignty" doesn't always function the way we need it to in order to enact full Karuk ways of being in the world, and so we also need to look closely at how it functions on the ground. Darrel says:

> "We like to [fight for] this true sovereignty when we're fighting for our tribal rights, when we're talking to the United Nations or when we're talking to other governments other than the US, we fight for that, but that's not […] the type of sovereignty we have now. And the reason I say that is because we can't raise arms, we wouldn't be able to fight against other nations if somebody were to try to take us over. Because what would that look like if we really tried to do full sovereignty? We would not longer import/export in the United States, we would no longer get services from the US, we would no longer get protection, so somebody could theoretically invade [and attack the reservations and] the US would be like 'sorry peace out, you guys are full sovereigns.'"[306]

It is within the reality of this paradox – the difficulty of a tribal government to fully exercise cultural definitions of belonging when it is forced to mimic the US federal government– that I propose change to our enrollment ordinance.

Separating Suffrage and Citizenship Creates a Second-Class Citizenship

To return to the importance of rhetoric and word-choice specifically in articulating our citizenship (membership) within our nation (Tribe), the Karuk Tribe has "enrolled Members" and

[305] Aubrey 2023
[306] Aubrey 2023

"enrolled Descendant Tribal Members." Indeed, past tribal IDs use this specific phrasing, but have since changed to "Enrolled Descendant," leaving out "Member" in the title of Descendants alltogether.

"Descendants" are, in essence, second-class citizens in a sovereign nation, because descendants *are* citizens (i.e., enrolled) (some adamantly disagree with this, saying descendants aren't "members", but they are working off of language used internal to the Tribe without considering things from the language of nationhood, where "citizen" would be used instead of "member", and I will later show that, legally, "Descendants" *are* "Citizens" – which is to say, "Members"). However, there are practices Descendants cannot participate in related to Karuk sovereignty such as voting for the tribal council and serving on certain boards. What do we call citizens of other nations who do not have voting rights? Second-class citizens. They are still citizens because suffrage (the right to vote) and citizenship are two separate things.

This type of membership split in tribal communities due to settler colonialism exists elsewhere. For instance, Dena'ina scholar Jessica Bissett Perea notes that in Alaska, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act "established a new definition of a 'Native' person that is based on ownership of corporate stock and consequently created different classes of Natives—enfranchised 'original enrollees' and disenfranchised 'descendants.'"[307] Bissett Perea shows how this impacts Alaska Native identities, tracing the "identity crises" which emerge from this act to Alaska Native suicide rates and substance abuse.[308] Blood quantum is a colonial tactic literally intended to aid in the disappearance of Indigenous peoples.[309]

[307] Bissett Perea 2017, 146
[308] Bissett Perea 2017, 147
[309] Bissett Perea 2012, 9

Disenrollment

This discussion on enrollment is further complicated when introducing cases of *dis*enrollment, which Seattle attorney Gabe Galanda (Nomlaki and Concow of the Round Valley Indian Tribes) feverishly fights. There are several potential causes for disenrollment or non-enrollment, and Galanda argues that a primary one is greedy tribal politicians.[310] There is also a correlation between Tribes in California who erect casinos and disenrollment cases. Galanda states that "nearly 90 tribes have disenrolled their relatives, most often to also preserve gaming per capita wealth for existing tribal members…"[311] These enrollment decisions typically follow increased blood quantum enrollment ordinances. Galanda argues that blood quantum is in no way similar to California Indian epistemologies of belonging, and that our systems of belonging, rather, have to do with our kinship structures.[312]

A specific case of California Indian disenrollment patterns can be seen in the Redding Rancheria's disenrollment of the Foreman family.[313] Bob Foreman was the first elected tribal chairman of the Rancheria in 1985. However, despite the great change he was able to instigate, particularly in healthcare, dental care, and The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children, his family was disenrolled "less than twenty years later."[314] Carla Foreman-Maslin's father was Bob Foreman, and her great-grandmother was Virginia Timmons, who lived on the Redding Rancheria. However, an elder, Dorothy Dominguez, who was passing of cancer made a "death-bed confession" claiming that Virginia Timmons never had children, and so the Foreman family's claim to Nativeness was called into question. However, the question of the Foreman family's lineage in 2002 came just as the "Tribe's casino revenue put about

[310] Galanda 2021
[311] Galanda 2021
[312] Keene et al. 2019, Ep #10
[313] Brennan 2020
[314] Brennan 2020

$3,000 in the pocket of every tribal member of the Redding Rancheria in the form of checks known as per capita payments."[315] While the lawyer for the Tribe disputes the family's claims that the "inquisition" was about capital, the timing is indeed suspicious and follows the pattern shown by Galanda in which Tribes with casinos begin disenrolling families once casinos begin to generate ample funds. Moreover, the type of evidence the Tribe demanded was colonial – privileging paper documentation over the more oral-tradition based ways Indigenous communities typically consider evidence ontologically. The Tribe wanted a birth certificate, despite the fact that "it wasn't uncommon for a Native American to not have a certificate of birth or proof of baptism during that time" and "Though a delayed birth certificate was issued to Lorena and was found following her death, the tribe did not accept it."[316] Unfortunately, the legal precedent for disenrollees is that of Santa Clara vs. Martinez, which "leaves many tribal disenrollees without hope of legally fighting their way back into their Tribe." Due to stare decisis (a way to create consistency in court cases) the Supreme Court bases its decisions on precedent where facts of cases are similar, aligning outcomes to keep things predictable.[317]

The story takes an incredibly dark twist here – one that I offer a warning of because it has to do with exhuming the deceased and shows an unimaginable cruelty.

The courts decided that DNA would be the only viable proof the family could use in their favor. The family's response was, 'well, she's dead. How could we do DNA samples if she's passed?' Someone at the Tribe's enrollment department told the family, "Dig her up. She's nothing but a bag of bones."

For a second, I want the reader to imagine being told this – *about your grandmother*.

[315] Brennan 2020
[316] Brennan 2020
[317] Brennan 2020

Someone comes to you and tells you: Dig your grandma up. She is just a bag of bones.

Beyond the cruelty of the sentiment, could you do it? It is an absolutely reprehensible thing to ask of a family.

But the Foremans banded together and did it. They contacted "a world renowned DNA scientist…known for helping to identify victims of the 9/11 terror attacks at the World Trade Center."[318] The test results were 99.9% positive which indicates a unquestionable biological match. The Foreman family descended from the tribal member "whose belonging to the tribe was undisputed." However the Tribe, even after being shown the evidence, disenrolled them regardless.[319]

The family directly ties their disenrollment to the fact that "tribal members started wanting more money, the per capita" of the casino.

My experiences on-the-ground with the Karuk Tribe is that blood quantum is still rhetorically strong as a validator of who 'counts' as Indian, and getting stronger with the opening of our casino, Rain Rock. There are subcommunities within the Tribe which do not reinforce this ideology—I have felt quite welcome in the language community, for instance, where many have emphasized the importance of all Karuk people learning the language for its successful revitalization. Unfortunately, however, I have also heard wind of desire to increase BQ for tribal membership. I plan to present this chapter of my dissertation to the tribal council in the hopes of proactively preventing us going down such a genocidal path.

[318] Brennan 2020
[319] For more examples of blood quantum and its impact on tribal enrollment, disenrollment, and the likes, see: Carson et al. 2024

This Chapter is a Response to a Call…

My Papa's first cousin, Cathy Meinert, ran for Council in 2022. Her full candidate statement can be read at karuk.us/… , but I wish to highlight a few key points here. Meinert states:

> "As a cultural Monitor, I have tried to do my part in securing our past. I look forward to a future that not only continues our traditions but listens to new ideas.
>
> During the process of soliciting signatures for my candidacy, I became aware of how many of our tribe are descendants. Where did this process come from. Our ancestors did not follow this. For thousands of years, they married members of other tribes. A native possessed the blood of more than one tribe. They did not consider a child 1/8th member of the tribe. The child was considered a native member of the tribe.
>
> I know I must research this more before submitting any proposal for our Council to consider. I would appreciate input from our native family."[320]

The research of Native scholars has consistently aligned with the sentiment of Meinert's statement. I aim for this chapter to show that research supports Meinert's critiques of how we use BQ in our enrollment system, in the explicit hopes that some aspect of my arguments might be useful for such a proposal to the Council to change our two-tiered enrollment system which disenfranchises, marginalizes, and creates a second-class citizenship within which a large amount of Karuk people are restrained from living their best Karuk life in service of the community.

Meinert makes several good points. For one, the enrollment system we use is not "traditional" and incorporates a known pseudoscientific colonial idea that came from contact: blood quantum. Importantly, however, scholars such as McKay assert that "racial boundary policing did not originate as an indigenous phenomenon."[321] In the same way, TallBear points out the problematic ways in which Native communities have been painted by social-constructionist theorists as "foolishly [continuing] to believe that blood (alone) matters."[322] Neither of these sorts

[320] Meinert 2022
[321] McKay 2021
[322] TallBear 2013, 55-56

of assertions about Native use of BQ is accurate or fully understanding of the exact histories of how Tribes came to use BQ for enrollment in diverse ways. I agree with Native scholars like McKay and TallBear that this sort of research is not intended "to depict the prejudices and bigotry of American Indians."[323] No – by detailing each point of this chapter, I aim only to provide my relations who have been working to change our Tribe's enrollment ordinance with clear, evidence-based arguments that they may use for their purposes. The goal of this chapter is not to condescend, but rather to make space for the views which are not normally allowed space, and to show that such views have scientific and social legitimacy.

This chapter is also a response to the fact that since at least 2009 I have heard many in the Tribe state an explicit desire to decrease the BQ for tribal membership, so that those who are currently enrolled "Descendants" would be "Members." This has still, as of 2024, not happened, and I am still hearing people saying, "it's gonna happen, they're working on it!" But then there's others saying "It'll never happen" and that the Tribe is actually considering increasing BQ for membership because they're hoping the casino will start paying out. Both views exist and I see this as a matter of social justice, where one group (enrolled "Descendants") are clearly marginalized and used for profit but are not granted the same rights as another group. My argument is thus in support of the rights of the oppressed, from the standpoint of the oppressed – I am an "Enrolled Descendant" and have faced the brunt of much of this oppression, and am often met, even with those sympathetic to my cause, with discourse such as "both sides are equally bad!" or "at least they enroll you" (with an implied "be grateful").

This chapter exists because I disagree. I present evidence for the position that is under-represented in our Tribe so that it might have a fighting chance in the matter. I start by detailing

[323] McKay 2021

just a few examples of the harm Enrolled Descendant status enacts, thus showing why this conversation matters, before I deconstruct where the concept of "race" comes from. As many who are proponents of BQ on-the-ground believe BQ is just "biological fact" when it is not. From the evidence that science actually does *not* support the existence of "races", I show how our particular racial*ization* as Indian people (i.e., via BQ) was literally created to genocide us out of existence. I then provide examples of alternative enrollment systems I hope our council might consider.

I argue that if we do not change this enrollment ordinance we limit ourselves and our futures, and harm literal relations. I do not conflate enrollment/citizenship with legitimacy in identity or relations. Rather, I am focusing on a political issue important to my Tribe because, as TallBear states, "We privilege our rights and identities as citizens of tribal nations for good reason: citizenship is key to sovereignty, which is key to maintaining our land bases."[324] This chapter is less about theorizing what Karuk identity "could be", and more about creating a document that is literally going to be read cleaned up and read to council in hopes of instigating political change. Nothing more, nothing less.

Point I – Some Issues of "Enrolled Descendant" status

> *"During the process of soliciting signatures for my candidacy, I became aware of how many of our tribe are descendants."* – Meinert

A point from Cathy's statement I am addressing is the fact that there are more enrolled "Descendants" in our Tribe than there are Members. There is usually power in numbers. However, in this context, Descendants have no political power. In this section I address a few

[324] TallBear 2013, 32

major issues related to why creating a second class of enrolled "Descendants" is harmful: educational opportunity and exercising sovereignty through an example of an ICWA case.

Given that "Descendant" is a legal political status in the Karuk Tribe, it also poses major issues outside of tribal context. In my lived experience, my "Descendant" status only became an issue once the Tribe changed the tribal ID cards of "Descendants" from saying "Enrolled Descendant Tribal Member" to saying "Enrolled Descendant." With the former ID, my Indianness was never questioned when it came to accessing any services. Indeed, when I was an undergraduate at Southern Oregon University with a tribal ID that said "Enrolled Descendant Tribal Member", I was eligible for the out of state tuition remission offered to enrolled members of federally recognized Tribes, and this allowed me to earn my degree.

With the new label on Karuk "Descendant" tribal IDs, my Indian "status" suddenly came into question more and more often. And when I applied for a service that Descendants absolutely qualify for given the above precedent, I was denied.

University of California Native American Opportunity Plan

The Native American Opportunity Plan (NAOP) that the University of California system has implemented recently is a game changing program for enrolled members of federally recognized Tribes to receive tuition remission from the world class public universities in the University of California system. The spirit of the NAOP is really about supporting students who are documented as enrolled in a federally recognized Tribe. And in fact, the main webpage literally says this: "UC's Native American Opportunity Plan ensures that in-state systemwide Tuition and Student Services Fees are fully covered for California students who are also enrolled in federally

recognized Native American, American Indian, and Alaska Native tribes. This plan applies to undergraduate and graduate students."[325]

Per the website's literal language, Enrolled Karuk Tribal Descendants are eligible.

When I applied for NAOP, I was told by UC Davis that the Tribe implied that I am not eligible. Upon an appeal, the University indicated that my lack of Tribal voting rights means that I don't qualify for NAOP. I disagree. Suffrage and tribal membership are two separate things. There are many throughout history who have been citizens of sovereign nations, yet have not had the right to vote (e.g., women in the U.S. before 1919).

The type of enrollment that's eligible was, upon UC's review of Karuk Descendant tribal ID cards at the bureaucratic level, deemed to be enrolled "Members" only, but this was due to ignorance about the variation that exists in tribal enrollment systems, and the assumption that anyone who's enrolled will be referred to as a "Member". The Karuk enrollment system is a bit of an anomaly, outside of Alaska, so the UC system is confused about us (and/or, they're hoping to look good to the public but to pay out as little as possible).

I was told that the University contacted the Tribe when I submitted my tribal ID, and was told by the Tribe that I'm not a "Member". This resulted in the interpretation that I'm ineligible for the NAOP. Moreover, the university thought it appropriate to give me and the Native Studies faculty an inaccurate lesson in Indian law. A response from Shawn Brick, which was forwarded to the NAS faculty and myself by Trina Wilson, Senior Associate Director of UC Davis Financial Aid Office (dated January 12, 2023), stated:

> […] As we understand it, an Enrolled Descendant does not have full tribal citizenship, i.e., voting member of the tribe. Because the legal theory that underpins the Native American Opportunity Plan relies on the sovereign-to-sovereign relationship between **citizens of the tribes and the federal government**, Enrolled Descendant does not

[325] "UC Native American Opportunity Plan | Financial Aid and Scholarships."

> qualify. This comports with the practice on at least one other UC campus and we can add this distinction to our Administrative Guidelines for 2023-24.[326]

I received immense support from the Native American Studies department at UC Davis, and I assisted in crafting a response to the UC Office of the President in which we informed the university that Karuk Members and Karuk Descendants are both "statuses of recognition with enrollment numbers, and the Tribe includes enrolled Descendants when reporting tribal population in federal grants."

Moreover, and very importantly, the letter *corrected* the university's misrepresentation of tribal sovereignty (a very serious matter), stating:

> "The UC's interpretation detailed in the above email message is factually incorrect. Individual enrolled tribal citizens, regardless of internal label (Member/Descendant), do not have a government-to-government relationship with the United States. Tribes as sovereign Nations have this relationship. Even if a tribe denies an enrolled citizen the right to vote, that individual is still an enrolled and recognized citizen. Suffrage and citizenship are two separate matters. Yet, the UC's interpretation of the type of political status that NAOP recognizes wrongly conflates suffrage with citizenship."

Moreover, being *enrolled*, by the federal government's standards, means that Descendants are legal tribal citizens. McKay states:

> "Under federal law, American Indians are issued CDIB cards in one of two ways: (1) BIA authenticates people with one half blood quantum or more who are not members of a federally recognized tribe, or (2) people are citizens or members of federally recognized tribes. Tribal cards are issued *only to people who meet their tribal standards for citizenship*."[327]

So, where does that leave enrolled persons who a Tribe calls "Descendants" when the Tribe differentiates between "Descendant" enrollment and "Member" enrollment? I emphasize: the Karuk Tribe provides *tribal IDs* (not CDIBs) to Enrolled Descendants, complete with enrollment numbers accompanied by the letter D at the beginning. What happens in this odd situation in

[326] Wilson, Trina. 2023. Email message. Bold added.
[327] Dwanna L. McKay 2021, 16. Emphasis added.

which the Tribe is recognizing Enrolled Descendants legally, even including Enrolled Descendants when reporting tribal population in federal grants (and so getting money out of Descendants), but calling them a "Descendant" and denying them voting rights?

Moreover, if we want to talk law, Enrolled Descendant *is* a legal political status – it's a *unique* political status, but a status nonetheless. Enrolled Descendants fall under the (admittedly colonial/problematic) "status Indian" concept.

In response to the UC's violation of Karuk tribal sovereignty, both myself and my father (an Enrolled Member) emailed our tribal Chairman, Buster Attebery. We asked the Tribe to correct this injustice and to tell the University that enrolled "Descendants" are officially enrolled citizens, regardless of the internal label of "Descendant" status. Buster and I have since spoken, and he updated me that the Tribe's position is supportive of Enrolled Descendants receiving NAOP, and that after my and my father's letters, he's been in contact with a tribal lawyer who was facilitating his connections with UC President Drake about the political status of Enrolled Karuk Descendants and how we are included on the Tribe's constitution. The Tribe sent a resolution authorizing the support for Karuk tribal Descendants to be afforded NAOP to UCOP.

I have inquired and still not received confirmation that NAOP is secured for Enrolled Descendants by the University. The impact is already felt by Karuk "Descendants." Enrolled Descendants' lives have been thrown off track for over a year now because they assumed that they should've received this remission but did not (it was truly a surprise to Enrolled Descendants that we were deemed ineligible because…we know we are eligible). In addition, we were subject to the emotional trauma of being subjected to the colonial violence of pseudo-scientific racism (blood quantum) which informs our enrollment system but which is nobody's business outside of our Tribe and many of us have taken on the labor of all kinds (emotional,

intellectual, etc.) to respond to it, such as by writing letters and organizing and attending meetings as I have.

The common idea within the Tribe that enrolled Descendants are not "Members" has led to turmoil for Descendants and I next show how a legal Indian Child Welfare Case determined that Enrolled Karuk Descendants *are* Members. However, the time it took for the courts to come to this determination due to being confused about "Descendant" status is unacceptable.

Indian Child Welfare Act and Enrolled Descendants

Court case: Court of Appeal, First District, California., Division 4, California. Guardianship of the Person of D.W., A Minor. J.G., Petitioner and Respondent, V. D.W., Objector and Appellant. A136982. Filed October 10, 2013.[328]

This case was about a child whose mother was an Enrolled Descendant of the Karuk Tribe. The child was eligible for enrollment as a Descendant. The grandmother consistently told the courts this and informed them that ICWA should apply. They ignored her and never sent the materials the Tribe requested to the Tribe per ICWA requirements. "The Tribe intervened an appeal and filed an intervenor's brief, which confirmed that the minor was an enrolled descendant member of the Karuk tribe."[329] This process took way too much time, but "the Tribe has determined the minor is an Indian child [and] the guardianship order must be reversed…new guardianship hearing must be held in conformity with the ICWA."[330]

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[328] See: "Guardianship of D.W." n.d. CCAP. Accessed May 29, 2024. https://capcentral.org/case_summaries/guardianship-of-d-w/. Lagesen, P. J. 2021. IN RE: N. C. H. (2021) | FindLaw; See also Sanders, Steve. 2010. "Where Cultures and Sovereigns Collide: Balancing Federalism, Tribal Self-Determination, and Individual Rights in the Adoption of Indian Children by Gays and Lesbians." "Court of Appeal, First District, California., Division 4, California. Guardianship of the Person of D.W., A Minor. J.G., Petitioner and Respondent, V. D.W., Objector and Appellant. A136982." n.d. National Indian Law Library, Native American Rights Fund (NARF). Accessed June 4, 2024. https://narf.org/nill/bulletins/state/documents/guardianship_of_dw.html.
[329] Guardianship of D.W. 2013. CA Court of Appeal.
[330] Guardianship of D.W. 2013. CA Court of Appeal.

Upon the appeal, the court noted that if any meaning within ICWA was "ambiguous" with regard to a particular case, the courts are to rule in favor of tribal interests.

For ICWA, the definition of an Indian child such:

> "any unmarried person who is under age eighteen and is either (a) a member of an Indian tribe or (b) is eligible for membership in an Indian tribe and is the biological child of a member of an Indian tribe."[331]

For legal purposes, whether or not someone is a tribal member is considered a statement of fact. The courts need a clear-cut definition to determine if someone is a member or not a member. There is no middle ground. Moreover, the state may not decide if a child is or is not eligible for membership. Only the Tribe may decide that.

The courts called tribal member and expert Malone to testify. While Malone acknowledges that the Tribe internally distinguishes "fully enrolled' members from "descendants", the Tribe's stance on if enrolled Descendants are members for legal purposes is clear: Descendants are members for legal purposes such as ICWA. When Malone was asked if the child met the definition of an Indian child within ICWA's definitions, Malone said yes. Here is the transcript from the case[332]:

> "[Counsel for DHS:] And having reviewed that in the letter that you signed, the position of the tribe is that [N] is not an Indian child within the definition of the Indian Child Welfare Act?
>
> "[Maloney:] Within the definition of the Indian Child Welfare Act, the new definition of the Karuk Tribe all our descendants are Indian children.
>
> "[Counsel for DHS:] Correct. As descendant members?
>
> "[The Court:] Excuse me, [counsel]. The Court could not hear her answer when you asked whether or not [N] was a Indian child according to the tribe. Could she please repeat that answer slowly and loudly.

[331] Lagesen, 2021, 332.
[332] Lagesen 2021

> "[Counsel for DHS:] Go ahead.
>
> "[Maloney:] "To answer the question as it was asked if—under the Indian Child Welfare Act, the tribe would not perceive a child as an Indian child, but as for the Karuk Tribe, we recognize all our descendants as Indian children.
>
> "[Counsel for DHS:] Within the tribe?
>
> "[Maloney:] Within the tribe, yes. Within the tribe."

Essentially, the child is "exactly" an Indian Child per ICWA's definition of an Indian child because the Tribe itself confirms that the child is Indian within the Tribe and it's *Tribes*, not ICWA nor the courts, that determine who is Indian. The court found, based on Malone's testimony of who the Tribe considers to be Indian, that the mother is an enrolled Descendant Tribal **Member**, stating that:

> "the Karuk Tribe recognizes two tiers of **membership**."[333]

The report of this case also states that the Karuk "tribe has established more than one class of membership" and that "A tribe's right to define its own membership for tribal purposes has long been recognized as central to its existence as an independent political community […] [T]ribal membership criteria, **classifications of membership**, and interpretations of membership laws are unique to each tribe and vary across tribal nations […] Further, as the Karuk Tribe has done, "[s]ome tribes have created classes of citizenship that **limit certain tribal members' rights or privileges. For example, tribal law might provide that tribal members who live outside a tribally designated area cannot vote in tribal elections."**[334]

This is an example of the Tribe itself intervening to define tribal membership and who is Indian within the Tribe – the legal consensus is clear and corroborates what I've been saying since ~2015 when Descendant tribal IDs no longer had "Member" on their labels: Enrolled

[333] Lagesen 2021. Emphasis added.
[334] Lagesen 2021. Emphasis added

Descendants are Members and we should not have to disclose our particular enrollment *class* to anyone outside of tribal context because it's irrelevant to our status as legally Indian. This case shows that legally, we are still "members." While on-the-ground the Tribe and certain tribal members prefer we don't call ourselves "members," they cannot deny that, legally, we are tribal citizens.

The main issue, however, seems to be that the rest of the world assumes Karuk Descendants don't have unique political status, considered *by the Tribe itself* to be Indian, and so doesn't even contact the Tribe to begin with, and/or the particular personnel they are connected with tend to share their opinion or misunderstanding that Descendants aren't "Members." It's true that particular language of "Membership" doesn't extend (anymore – it used to) to Descendants; however, that does not really mean much for external-to-the-Tribe affairs. In interactions within non-Karuk contexts, Descendants are Karuk, *period.* We are included within the tribal constitution and protected by the Tribe's government, even if individuals within the community might prefer that the particular verbiage of "membership" be reserved for the first class.

To bring us back to NAOP – which is still not fixed for Enrolled Descendants as of my knowledge – DHS had suggested "that the tribe itself has determined that the ICWA does not apply, […] We do not read Maloney's testimony the same way; we understand her to have testified that the tribe does view descendant members, and those eligible to become descendant members, as Indian children." This is extremely similar to the situation of what's happening with NAOP. The University claims the Tribe indicated that Descendants are not Members. That is *the university's* interpretation – and it is simply false, and our inclusion in NAOP was authorized by the Tribe. The Tribe may tell the university that descendants aren't "members", but that's

because that word "member" has a specific meaning in tribal context. Outside of that context, Enrolled Descendants are citizens of the Karuk Tribe. It might be useful for the Tribe to have an employee training video detailing the specifics of how Karuk enrollment works. People can still have their personal views about what enrollment criteria should or shouldn't be, but they need basic skills in clarifying to outsiders that "Member" is a named category of what, per the Karuk Tribe constitution, is a larger category of tribal membership.

While I am, in fact, glad that the Tribe has thus far protected Enrolled Descendant status legally, and Tribes do indeed hold the sovereign right to create classes of membership, I hope here to state the obvious: having more than one "class" is inequitable. Just as other second-class citizens throughout history have fought for their rights, I will fight for the rights of second-class Karuks. We should have full membership, and simply saying "it's our sovereign right to have two classes" does not somehow end that conversation. Yes, it is our sovereign right. That doesn't mean we should do it the way we're doing it. It's also our sovereign right to choose to do it another way, and I'm going to show why we should do that. This dissertation is the platform from which I'm able to do so given that Descendants have no political power within the Tribe.

Point II – BQ is literally a tool of colonization *meant* to genocide us out of existence

> *"[Native people] did not consider a child 1/8th member of the tribe. The child was considered a native member of the tribe."* – Meinert

Blood quantum, which many refer to as "what part Native you are" or "how much Indian you are", is a created concept without root in a person's actual biology – it is social, and the boundaries have thus changed and can thus be changed. It is my experience in Karuk Country

that many of our community believe that being Native is racial, and that races are biologically determined and detectable in our genes. This chapter dismantles that assumption.

First, Kim TallBear (Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate) calls out Churchill for "glossing historical blood meanings for different actors as 'genetic' or 'not genetic'."[335] While I wish to acknowledge that TallBear argues that Tribes *don't* conflate BQ with biology in practice, it is my experience that in quotidian (day-to-day) conversation, most Karuks *do* conflate these things, and that such shared understandings *have* influenced contemporary rhetoric and thus politics. I often hear folks say things like that our Nativeness is "in our blood" and "in our genes" interchangeably. Sometimes people use this rhetoric in what's considered to be a more liberal way – stating that any part Native you are makes you Native. However, some use it in a reductive way, stating that some people are in fact less Native. Whether or not they believe that someone who is "less" Native should have anything to do with their being enrolled varies; but, by and large, most folks I speak to believe race is a biologically based thing that can be scientifically quantified, even if BQ on paper is just a loose representation of that biological reality.

Alarmingly, I've even heard some suggest that we start using ethnicity DNA tests to identify what "percentage" Indian someone is (BQ) for purposes of enrollment – not Karuk, specifically, but Native overall, from any Tribe. TallBear cautions against this for several reasons, and while I would prefer to highlight the sovereignty-based ones, I think a more effective one would be the fact that "One could have up to two Native American grandparents and show no sign of Native American ancestry" in such an ethnicity DNA test result.[336] I will further address DNA testing later, but want to have this stated for my audience right away here.

[335] TallBear 2013, 53
[336] TallBear 2013, 43

These things considered, it's vital that I start by showing that races are not naturally existing and discoverable, but were rather created from European folk taxonomies with particular histories, because it reasons then to follow that if race is a social construct, so is the concept of being "part" race. That is to say, "part Indian" – or having a particular BQ that represents "how much" Indian someone is.

Social Race Becomes Science

First to deconstruct the predecessor of BQ: the origins of the "scientific" construct of "race." Ann Morning, author of *The Nature of Race: How Scientists Think and Teach about Human Difference*, provides a concise overview of how race and racial essentialism came about. Racial essentialism is the belief that "a given group share[s] one or more defining qualities – 'essence(s)' – that are inherent, innate, or otherwise fixed."[337] This is what fosters the idea of purism – or being "full." Michelle Raheja (Seneca descent) states that such fixations on purism can be likened to a romanticized, dehumanizing view of Natives as "pure primitive" – "peaceful, happy, childlike, noble, independent, and free."[338] This has been used to justify the colonial government taking a paternalistic approach to tribal nations – as is evidenced in the verbiage of "Domestic dependent nations." BQ relates to purism most clearly in the language of "pure/full blood" and "mixed." Purity is based on the assumption that someone at some point in time was "pure."

Essentially, the more Native people intermarried with non-Native people, the more white people began to lament the "loss" of their mythicized, dehumanized noble savage. Moreover,

[337] Morning 2011, 12-13
[338] Raheja 2010, 210

Bissett Perea reveals the connection of using blood quantum as dehumanizing rhetoric, showing how people would discriminate against Native people by hanging signs on businesses such as "no dogs, no natives."[339] Such a hyperfixation on pedigree and "mixed" vs "pure" rhetoric is something that people do for animals, not humans. Moreover, the rhetoric of "mixed" centers race as what determines Indigeneity, which then functions to subsume Natives under the broader umbrella of "People of Color" which the US considers to be "special interest" activist groups.[340] Native people have long argued that we are not (inherently) People of Color, instead centering our sovereignty, as the broader groupings of People of Color do not have government-to-government relationships with the US.

Morning cites historian George Fredrickson (2002) who traces "the emergence of racial essentialism to sixteenth-century Spain, particularly the belief that the descendants of Jewish and Muslim converts to Catholicism retained indelible markers of their ancestors' taint."[341] This belief in Jewish and Muslim inferiority to white Catholics was the foundation upon which "essentialist and hierarchical black/white/yellow/red race concept[s]" were "formalized and that we recognize today."[342] Morning cites Audrey Smedley (2007) on what "essentialism" includes, which is, among other things, "the belief that the outer physical characteristics of different human populations were but surface manifestations of inner realities, for example the cognitive linking of physical features with behavioral, intellectual, temperamental, moral, and other qualities. The notion that all of these qualifies were inheritable – the biophysical characteristics,

[339] Bissett Perea 2021, 103
[340] For example of how this plays out in gaming affairs, see Barker 2011, 154
[341] Morning 2011, 26
[342] Morning 2011, 25-26

the cultural or behavioral features and capabilities, and the social rank allocated to each group by the belief system itself."[343]

The black/white/yellow/red formalization was created by a Swedish biologist, Carl Linnaeus, who "generally suggested that four to six races inhabited the earth."[344] The racial categories we use today are based on categories a prejudiced group created with particular political, social, and cultural motives and perspectives. Such motives and perspectives would continue inform the way racial boundaries would shift and be reproduced over time.

Now we move to the 19th century. Morning outlines how American academic science in the 19th century was based on "reconcil[ing] their observations with theological doctrine."[345] For example, "Biblical episodes such as Genesis, Noah and his three sons, or the Towel of Babel figured in popular and academic accounts of race in the United States."[346] Race entered this academic, "scientific" discourse in the 1830s, when a school of thought called polygenism gained momentum.[347] Polygenists argued that "each race descended from separate origins or acts of creation."[348] In academia, polygenists began to consolidate "their expert status by marshaling empirical evidence of racial differences in skeletal structure, muscles, genitalia, brain size, sweat, speech, and intelligence, and by establishing the scientific fields of anthropology, craniometry, and anthropometry."[349] This solidified the black/white/yellow/red "races" as subjects of science, when they in fact came from "layman" categories created without biological basis.

Constructivists, another group of thought, contend that "racial categories are the intellectual product of a particular…cultural moment and setting, and that human biological

[343] Morning 2011, 29
[344] Morning 2011, 26
[345] Morning 2011, 24
[346] Morning 2011, 24
[347] Morning 2011, 28
[348] Morning 2011, 28
[349] Morning 2011, 28

variation does not naturally and unquestionably sort itself into 'black', 'white', 'yellow', and 'red' groups"[350]

With regard to early constructivism, the consensus is that "races" are "biologically bad, but socially real" with respect to lived experience. The debate is often glossed as 'one group believes in scientific race while the other believes it is not real.'[351] It is much more complicated for both groups. Generally, the constructivist sentiment finds itself in conversations that point out lightskin privilege. This is indeed a much worthy and important discussion in our communities. I have white skinned privilege. I am not more likely, for instance, to get targeted by police for how I look. I uplift my cousin's experience that shows this is an important discussion to have in general and also in Indian Country more broadly:

> "There's a couple of times where, even when I was living in [place redacted] I was walking across the street with some buddies. This is during like seventh, eighth grade […] and I'm the only person that has a slightly darker complexion. Everyone else is very, well, they're all white. And police had come by and he pointed me out of the group and he had told me to come over to him, and he told me I could get in trouble for jaywalking. That's like […] what? This is really strange because he picked me out of a group of people. We were all crossing the street. It's like right across from [the school] […] I would consider that some kind of discrimination."[352]

In addition to everyday privileges, academia privileges white skinned Indian, too. This is something Jessica Kolopenuk investigates in the context of "*The Pretendian Problem*", stating "real Indigenous people who look white make up a large proportion of Indigenous academics – [and] collectively, we produce knowledge about indigeneity from this standpoint. White-looking Indigenous people experience the violence of colonial dispossession […] while also experiencing effects of white privilege in daily interactions with individuals and institutions."[353]

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[350] Morning 2011, 18
[351] Morning 2011, 14
[352] Aubrey 2023
[353] Kolopenuk 2023, 471

Regarding enrollment ordinances specifically, it is important to note that skin color and BQ are more of a "correlation" than a "causation" relationship. I have seen this idea that BQ relates to darker complexions used to argue that the oppression within broader society that a higher-BQ person might encounter means that higher-BQ folks would benefit greater from services afforded to tribal Members, thus legitimizing restricting membership based on BQ. I used to think in this line of thought, myself. I no longer do because skin color is not predictable, full siblings can have extremely different phenotypes and coloring. Moreover, this correlation does not account for Natives whose complexions are dark from the non-Native parent, but whose BQ is low. BQ does not cause skin color and those with low BQs regardless of phenotype do face negative social realities of racialization because that racialization is operationalized against us, rejecting our Indigeneity which contributes to Native "disappearance" (genocide). In addition, BQ can be understood as controlling Native peoples' bodily autonomy, such as through sexual relations and choices with whom to reproduce, especially reinforcing heteronormativity. Hodges (Tolowa), cites Ryan Young, a Two Spirit artist of the Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, stating that "Blood quantum is a heterosexual construct." Moreover, TallBear notes that "Laws forbidding sexual relations and marriage between races were also enacted to maintain the purity of the American (white) population."[354] BQ functions similarly by maintaining the so-called "purity" of the Native population, which in turn disallows, or at least penalizes, certain relationships and their offspring from existing.

[354] TallBear 2013, 38

The Creation of the Native Race

McKay states that "American Indians did not exist before European invasion."[355] Native folks often react strongly to this, feeling it is an attack on our literal existence and responding that "of course we existed". However, it is not an attack on our existence. It is actually an anti-colonial articulation of our Indigeneity: the *particular racial construct of "American Indian"* didn't exist because it hadn't yet been observed by non-Natives. The racial category of "Native" was articulated specifically in contrast to the non-Native, and thus emerged when the non-Native emerged and there was need to differentiate between "Native" and "non-Native". What followed was that the non-Native racialized Natives in reductive ways for their own gain (typically of the land). McKay clarifies, "People were here, but the first inhabitants were heterogeneous groups that were fluid and dynamic…without the concept of race, indigenous peoples held a subjective view of who belonged—with no exclusionary hard boundaries."[356]

One oft-cited example really showcases how race was socially constructed in the US, and it is the juxtaposition of how Native people and Black people were racialized. Garroutte details:

> The logic that underlies the biological definition of racial identity becomes even more curious and complicated when one considers the striking difference in the way that American definitions assign individuals to the racial category of "Indian," as opposed to the racial category "black." As a variety of researchers have observed, social attributions of black identity have focused (at least since the end of the Civil War) on the "one-drop rule," or rule of hypodescent. […][357]

Essentially, Black people and Native people were racialized in the exact opposite ways, which reveals that both of these impositions are in fact socially constructed based on the politics of the time: Black people were considered Black even if it was just "one-drop" because white

[355] McKay 2021, 14
[356] McKay 2021, 14
[357] Garroutte 2003, 43

Americans wanted to be able to enslave Black people, so the more Black people there were, the better.[358] White Americans wanted Native land, so the *less* Native people there were, the better. Therefore, they racialized Natives in a way that would eventually result in people who were not "Native enough" (BQ) to claim Nativeness.

This racialization followed the purported "science" of the time, which measured parts of people, such as skulls, noses, and ears, in order to determine their racial category. This was also used to determine who was Jewish during the Holocaust. McKay states, "Because race is socially created, modified, and transformed within sociohistorical contexts among powerful political interests (Omi and Winant 2008), racial boundaries are messy and inherently biased."[359] She then argues that the racialization of Natives included colonizers identifying Natives as "heathens" and "savages", and justifying colonization through their own God-given rights to land (manifest destiny), and considering what they were doing as "righteous and godly."[360]

Social and behavioral ("savage") definitions of the Indian race were contested in the midst of two court cases: the 1877 *US v Joseph* which found that "even though they *looked* like Indians, the Pueblos in New Mexico were not really Indians because they behaved in intelligent, virtuous, and industrious ways."[361] However, in 1913 *US vs. Sandoval* case determined that "the Pueblos were Indians, after all, because BIA reported that the Pueblos drank, danced, and lived communally."[362] Due to these cases, the definition of the "Native" race was found to be "too inclusive", and so the federal government switched to a phenotype-based definition of Native in

[358] See also: McKay et al. 2020
[359] McKay 2021, 13
[360] McKay 2021, 15
[361] McKay 2021, 15
[362] McKay 2021, 15

which "physical differences indicated different races."[363] This shows how unstable, dynamic, fabricated, and socio-political that definitions of "race" are.

Many academics started to subscribe to the idea that race is a social construct rather than scientifically based in the aftermath of WWII.

Leading up to WWII, white anxiety over racial purity, prompted by eugenics and its closely related field of genetics, was used to justify genocide.[364] During this time, whites feared racial mixture, hoping to preserve (white) racial purity.[365] After the war, "the Nazi regime's experiments and murders demolished the legitimacy of eugenic science" and critiques of essentializing race resulted in the 1968 anti-essentialist statement which Morning cites from Lieberman:

- "Human biological variation cannot be neatly divided into discrete categories [such as race].
- Racial characteristics are not transmitted together as complexes.
- Populations have always interbred, making the emergence of distinct races impossible.
- Racial boundaries are drawn arbitrarily, depending on the tastes of the classifier."[366]

This was largely a pushback against social Darwinism and its eugenics child. See how the third bullet is similar to what Meinert has said. However, despite these constructivist points, dominant scientific academia still held that races based on biological reality existed, but that rac*ism*, the hierarchal stratifying of races, was wrong – scientifically and ethically.[367]

So it is clear that the "Native race" is not a static category, but rather changing depending on context. Some readers may still feel there is a biological basis, citing things such as that ethnicity DNA tests (purport to) identify one's "race" – and perhaps anecdotally, many folks feel

[363] McKay 2021, 15
[364] Morning 2011, 30
[365] Morning 2011, 9
[366] Morning 2011, 31
[367] Morning 2011, 32

they receive accurate results. So, how do we explain this? It's really quite simple: the pre-existing racial categories were applied to genes. It was not the other way around. Races did not just exist and then get discovered based on genes.[368]

Which genes get coded as indicating someone is "Native"? Hair color/texture genes? Eye color? Skin color? It is more complex than that, certainly, but TallBear argues that the coding of certain genetic markers as racial markers is suspiciously similar to the old "science" of measuring skulls – they're just switched to "measuring" (coding) genes, instead.[369] It is not more scientific just because they are calling it something else and using new technology to measure things. Color, nose shape, height, amino acids? Are these what make someone Native? Since we know there is great diversity in such traits among people even of BQs that meet requirements for membership, I would hope the consensus at this point would be "no."

The "race" of Indian was codified during colonization, and then something akin to confirmation bias happened within science – they found some genes common among their pre-constructed races, and decided those must indicate the true existence of genetic races. It is not so.

Medicine

I've just detailed how the categories of "race" both within and outside of academia were created in the 18th and 19th centuries. However, those same categories continue to be used today and perpetuated as though they are based on biological essences, rather than named and categorized according to the aforementioned sociopolitical, cultural, historical, and even religious contexts.

[368] TallBear 2013, 32
[369] TallBear 2013, 34-35

In fact, we can observe the categories of "races" shift today. TallBear details a shift from "race" to "population":

> "In the 1930s, a new science, a 'populational, genetical science of human diversity,' emerged. It was nourished by the decreasing viability of racial science's theories, techniques, and propositions, by the renunciation of the old science by younger scientists, and by the cultural work of social scientists. The racial horrors of WWII dealt the old race science a hefty blow. The new science found attempts to classify humans in a zoological manner irrelevant. Genetics at this stage focused on studying how human groups 'adapt, how they vary, and what the impact of their histories has been upon their biology.' Rather than race being shunned, both physical anthropologists and geneticists regarded race as an important factor in the study of human variation and evolution, but they redefined it, 'in the wake of scientific and political developments,' as 'population."[370]

This is simply a change in terminology with the same shaky foundations. Moreover, as TallBear puts it, "as new scientific knowledge enters the picture, older meanings do not simply fall away."[371]

Many feel that because medical doctors ask for race/ethnicity, it *must* be scientifically founded, our races biological because doctors treat our biological bodies, in turn meaning that if they need to know our race, it is relevant to our biology. However, this is not the case. Although scientists sometimes still use "race", research shows they probably should not be doing so, because it is not actually a viable variable. Key is that such researchers tend to not even be able to define "exactly what they mean when they refer to 'race.'"[372] Morning provides an overview several researchers' work that looks at how "scientists" conceptualize race as a variable in their interpretations. Anthropologist Duana Fullwiley, for example, shows "that traditional essentialist concepts of race – for example, as originally 'pure,' or as corresponding to Linnaean categories" routine inform scientific interpretation of data.[373] Other researchers who've come to similar

[370] TallBear 2013, 38
[371] TallBear 2013, 49
[372] Morning 2011, 38-39
[373] Morning 2011, 39

findings about how "race" is used in research include Montoya, Anderson, Epstein, Kahn, Braun, and Reardon: "all of these works find that long-standing essentialist ideas of racial difference play a role in varied sectors of contemporary biomedical science."[374] For those researchers who don't use the Linnaean categories, they still "sensed the importance of race or ethnicity in biomedical research and thus used these concepts…they rarely defined them or articulated how race or ethnicity operated in their models. When racial or ethnic variation was found, most researchers did not provide an explanation for how and why such findings resulted or their medical significance."[375] Ritchie Witzig states, "Scientists and medical workers should know that most variation occurs between individual persons. It is estimated that 85% of all possible human genetic variation occurs between two persons from the same ethnic group, 8% occurs between the tribes or nations, and 7% occurs between the so-called major races. Only .012% of the variation between humans in total genetic material can be attributed to differences in race, although many diseases are linked without proof to this small amount of diversity."[376]

Importantly, such research has created stereotypes which can result in self-fulfilling prophecies for communities. For example, for a long time it was said that Natives were genetically predisposed to alcoholism. However, this comes from "the shameful collection of stereotypes and stigmas" wherein "'firewater' myths come from the racist ideology that fueled colonialism."[377] Such myths resulted from "the idea that genetic 'inferiority' causes native peoples to be particularly susceptible to addiction" and "even now that it has been disproven, the

[374] Morning 2011, 39
[375] Catherine Lee, quoted in Morning 2011, 40
[376] Witzig 1996, 676
[377] Szalavitz 2015

myth obscures the real causes of addiction and the starring roles that trauma and the multiple stresses of inequality can play in creating it."[378]

Consider our own Karuk context: what if medical research were to accept *all* Karuk people as "racially" Karuk? Such research would then benefit our entire Tribe. Majority-"racially" "white" Native Tribes are typically not "studied" or considered for studies in racially-motivated medicine. Same majority "Black" Native Tribes. Yet, their "populations" could well have medical aspects specific to them that should be called "Native" because they are the Native "population" today (even if mostly "white" or "black") who that research would be benefiting – making them the Native "race" , "group" , "population". Such research results are the results of Native people. But scientists would say "no, that's social!" (ignoring that the original conception of "native" was also social). As race is socially constructed, we can re-socially construct it to include those we deem Native today, and many Tribes have done so, detailed next.

The origins of BQ: A Legal Concept Meant to Control The Native and The Land

In this section I show how and why Tribes started using BQ, particularly to show that 1. It is purely a legal concept which Tribes themselves have adjusted, and that 2. the way it's documented may not even be accurate to what it's intended to be documenting. As TallBear notes, "'Indian blood' has enjoyed a unique place in the American racial imagination, and tribal communities are managed (by others or by us) according to the precise and elaborate symbolics of blood. Considered a property that would hold Indians back on the road to civilization, Indian

[378] Szalavitz 2015

blood could be diluted over generations through interbreeding with Euro-American populations."[379]

McKay details the history of how many Tribes came to use BQ:

> The concept of Indian legitimacy by blood was birthed in federal legislation by the Dawes Act of 1887 (Simpson 2014). The Dawes Act abolished tribal governments and removed communal lands from tribal ownership to portion out predetermined allotments. Individuals were required to enumerate their blood quantum on allotment applications.[380]

However, BQ was often determined by Anthropologists who entered communities with pseudoscientific tests to determine someone's supposed BQ. For instance, if a person had curly hair, they were deemed a "half blood", if they had straight hair, they were "full".[381] These BQs were documented on the official roles which descendants then determined their BQs off of. For example, full siblings were often deemed to have different BQs because they had, say, different types of hair.[382]

McKay continues:

> …the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act firmly established the concept of federal recognition as the defining criterion for tribal legitimacy and blood quantum as the standard for tribal membership. […]

These details show how races have been created and led to essentialist beliefs about who "counts" as Native racially, based on political, cultural, religious, historical, and/or social context. Here I will focus on its legal use for Indian Tribes.

To exemplify the point that blood quantum is primarily a social and legal, not scientific and racial, construct, I share the fact that some Tribes have passed ordinances making all members born before certain dates "full blood" despite that previous documentation stated

[379] TallBear 2013, 45
[380] McKay 2021, 15
[381] McKay 2021, 15
[382] McKay 2021, 15; Garroutte 2003, 55

otherwise.[383] For example, the Red Lake Tribal Council passed a resolution to "increase blood degrees for members" stating that "everyone on the base roll [is now] a full-blood."[384] Other Tribes are following suit, for example the Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians' Gary "Little Guy" Clause "is preparing to propose a new change to the Lac Courte Oreilles Tribe's blood quantum requirement for membership" specifically referencing the Red Lake Nation's declaration that "all members who were on the Membership Rolls in 1958 [are now] full blood."[385]

This is an example of how social definitions become biological definitions, and also an example of a Tribe exercising their sovereign right to determine who their own people are – showing that we can and do create our own "race." Anybody who is enrolled Karuk is *fully* Karuk by virtue of citizenship; you cannot be "part" citizen in the same way racial logics create "partial" "mixed" people (though we have made a second *class* of citizenship, it is not to be confused as a "partial" or "mixed" citizenship, as being a citizen is a yes/no statement of fact).

As the federal government must accept our own definitions of our people, social constructs can be newly constructed. And if the Tribe says who is Indian, what would happen if "scientists" *respected* that categorization instead of making their own ideas up about who the Indian "race" consists of? They've created their constructs, we can create ours. Imagine the useful amount of research that would come if our own constructs were respected – it would benefit much more of our community.

[383] I recognize that binaries can do a disservice to complex ideas and that the binary of scientific/social is in fact fabricated, and at the same time I believe it is a useful line in this particular rhetorical context wherein the line is a point of reference where much of the social contention in this conversation emerges.
[384] Khattab 2019
[385] Morey 2024

However, core to this point that "BQ is a legal concept" is that we are not a race because we are nations with political government to government relationships, and nations can be racially diverse.

Linnaeus was one of many18th century Europeans who decided to name, catalog and describe "races".[386] In addition, "18th century naturalists' taxonomies…formed part of a broader project of a general science of order' that was spurred in part by Europeans' 'discovery' of unfamiliar lands… these naturalists "epitomize the constructist contention that race is an ideology that arose as part of European attempts to make sense of – and dominate – others."[387] This discussion of domination is key. TallBear complicates the use of blood quantum "beyond the more standard, top-down characterization of tribes as simply intellectually colonized by old-fashioned race and blood concepts"[388] by detailing the use of BQ to maintain sovereignty over tribal territories:

> "Indian and tribal identification and the constitution of the first or 'base rolls' of approved tribal members can be traced to the requirements of the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, after Massachusetts senator Henry M. Dawes, who sponsored it. The Dawes Act divided communally owned reservation lands into individual 160-acre, and 40-acre allotments. But before commonly held Native American lands could be distributed, lists of 'tribe members' had to be constructed. Although the Dawes Act specified no criteria by which formal lists of Indians should be compiled, it noted that land should be allotted according to 'belonging' or to 'tribal relations.' After rolls of Indians were determined, parcels of land were then allotted to individual Indians depending on their status respectively as a head of family, as an unmarried adult, or as a minor. Indians deemed to be 'half-blood' or less were given full title and, with it, U.S. citizenship. Indians who were deemed to be more than half-blood had title held for them in trust for twenty-five years. The Dawes Act was built on the common assumption that individual land ownership would assimilate Indians. It was hoped that it would make them individualistic farmers and better subjects for a capitalist economy. On the other side of the nurture/nature coin was the idea that those with less Indian and more European blood were more advanced on the evolutionary road to civilization. These 'mixed-bloods,' therefore, had greater autonomy in land tenure. They could legally sell their land to others. Indeed, in addition to promoting the assimilation of Indians into

[386] Morning 2011, 25
[387] Morning 25-26
[388] TallBear 2013, 57

> dominant U.S. culture, the act worked even more effectively to assimilate Native lands into the land base of the still-developing (white) nation. After distribution of Native American allotments to those deemed eligible, the extra land was sold off or given to white settlers. Therefore, tying blood quantum to land tenure aided the project of dispossessing Indians from their land."[389]

Essentially, a main goal of BQ was to ensure there would be more land for settlers. Eventually, there would be no more Indians with legal claim to land. And so BQ has been used by many tribes to maintain control of land base. However, it is not the only way to do so.

Enrollment systems based on blood quantum use the definition of "Indian blood" (or more recently "the Indian race") as it was created within the context of colonization, where the goal was to genocide Indigenous peoples so that settler colonizers could steal the land. Although "federal agents sometimes sough Indian input on who should be a tribe member"[390] the definition of the Indian race was largely based on colonizers imposing frameworks of what it meant to be Indian, and especially *authentically* Indian. Authenticity has been largely deconstructed in my earlier chapter on "tradition." Given the evidence that BQ is not an Indigenous way of knowing, we should consider alternatives for our enrollment system.[391]

Point III – Other options for enrollment

> *"I look forward to a future that not only continues our traditions but listens to new ideas."* - Meinert

The third point I wish to draw attention to in Meinert's statement is the practice of balancing tradition and integrating new ideas. As argued in Ch. 1, "tradition" is a nuanced term. However, those things deemed "traditions" arguably fall within the *Peoplehood* matrix, for example our

[389] TallBear 2013, 57
[390] TallBear 2013, 57
[391] For future versions of this chapter turned into a speech for council I will be consulting Hill et al. 2017

Oral Traditions include origin stories. An origin story is necessarily a Sacred History. And so yes, while I stand by the idea that labelling *people* as "traditional" or "not traditional" in fact results in some members not feeling "authentic" – I do not dispute that, as a *People*, we have what we might call "traditions" (and these can include Ways of Knowing that don't look like precolonial Karuk culture but which are still uniquely our own). And I see within *Peoplehood* a way to figure sovereignty that aligns with what Meinert proposes re: "tradition" that also addresses Darrel's point that the federal US model of sovereignty separates church and state. For example, "blood" does, in fact, seem to align with how Karuks might employ rhetoric of *kin*.

For example, when I reached out to see how my work as a researcher could support my family's goals within the Tribe and this reMatriation project, I was working with a combination of Members and Enrolled Descendants. One of my cousins, a Member, consistently used the word "blood"—but it was to describe our *relationship*. Not our quanta.

During my cousin's first phone call with me, there was a lot of talk and emphasis on blood, but never once was I made to feel uncomfortable or unwelcomed due to my legal BQ. I was identified *as* "blood" many times. I understood this cousin to be using this word to mean kin—Indian kin, specifically, but with an openness towards non-Indian kin, as evidenced by the fact that she mentioned my mom and paternal grandma (who are non-Native) many times, and also talked with pride about her personal archive which includes documentation of some of the first white families in Happy Camp. There is an understanding of the importance of archiving and preserving those materials, which were in fact part of our community, as well.

"You're blood", she said, "I knew who you were before you were born."

Garroutte shows that Indigenous peoples have "essentialisms" that should not be brushed off by dominant academia (such as might occur in constructivist rhetoric).[392] She states that postcolonial theorists have posited "essentialism" as something that is colonially imposed, thus leaving Indigenous epistemologies about genealogical connectedness easily dismissed in broader academia.[393] However, she argues that claims which have been deemed "essentialist," such as Kiowa-Cherokee author N. Scott Momaday's articulation of "memory in the blood," are actually founded in Indigenous epistemologies.[394] Garroutte also notes that Momaday makes "no indication" that his identity "is in any way compromised by being mingled with his European ancestry."[395] This is important because it is the belief that genes quantify Nativeness that gets deemed essentialist in Western worldviews. However, the conclusion in Momaday's case is that "one either belongs to the ancestors or one does not" and that this can be articulated biologically.[396] Further, this does not leave out people who are adopted, particularly through ceremonial means where the person's blood is literally changed by sacred agents.[397] Garroutte asserts that ancestral belonging "demonstrates that the essentialism of tribal philosophies can be founded on a different logic than that…of social scientists."[398] Here I emphasize a point Darrel makes:

> "I could imagine somebody who was raised in the tribal community that may feel less because they weren't recognized by the federal government as a as a Native person, but there is a lot of value in, you know, knowing that you are a considered a Native person because of the community and because of the involvement they are in in the culture, which is why Tribes really need to have a method in their laws that allow for families to adopt non-Indian blood children or spouses to be a part of the membership, and I think

[392] Garroutte 2005
[393] Garroutte 2005
[394] Garroutte 2005, 177
[395] Garroutte 2005, 181
[396] Garroutte 2005, 181-183
[397] Garroutte 2005, 181-183
[398] Garroutte 2005, 182

> some of them have honorary membership, or they have ways to adopt, but there needs to be a stronger path."[399]

He acknowledges such a path could be abused and yet such a path would really value community involvement as key to tribal belonging.

To return to McKay (2021) and TallBear's (2013) arguments, the emphasis in the literature on social constructivist perspectives with regard to how tribal people have internalized (that is, come to believe in the truth of) BQ is that we're simply a "duped" people. This is not the case at all. Many articulations of "blood" align with the above – it's a word that, given its familiarity through all those genocidal histories, we've come to operationalize in our own ways. Particularly, as another word for "kin." We can still use "blood" and are not an internally colonized people for doing so.

I propose that our own understandings of *blood* as kin supports a move to enrollment by lineal descent, which is where blood rhetoric is maintained but blood *quantum* – that which the colonizers imposed onto us – is not.

When I brought up lineal descent to some folks, they said they'd never heard of that. When I referenced some well-known Tribes who use it, I was met with comments such as "well, that's way out East" (e.g. Cherokee Nation). So I'll instead note that there are Tribes in California, close to home, even, which use lineal descent. Emma Hodges notes that "The Tolowa Dee-ni' Nation enrolls members based on lineal descent, which means that as long as an individual or family can prove relation to a Native ancestor from the region, blood quantum is irrelevant."[400] Garroutte (2003) and Barker (2011) also outline several Tribes in the US who use lineal descent instead of blood quantum.[401]

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[399] Aubrey 2023
[400] Hodges 2020
[401] Garroutte 2003, Barker 2011

There are also culture-based frameworks of enrollment that exist. Culture is not biologically determined. McKay argues, "Possessing phenotypical authenticity does not indicate cultural capacity or tribal membership. Cultural standing does not depend on phenotype or belonging to a federally recognized Tribe. Tribal citizenship is not equivalent to holding traditional knowledge, community belonging, or racial identifiability."[402] There is therefore not an inherent threat of loss of culture by nature of collapsing the categories "Member" and "Descendant" into one full citizenry of the Tribe. Moreover, I would wager to argue that the *more* inclusion we have, the more people will feel as if they belong, and so will pursue learning the Tribe's history and want to contribute to its contemporary happenings. This shows the community what we have to offer as a People today—that it is a good thing to be Karuk—and this will benefit the masses because other gatekeeping issues (as explored in the previous chapters) will also likely disintegrate by creating broader levels of institutional acceptance within the community of who "counts."

First and foremost, many "descendants" are "cultural practitioners" and many "members" are not involved in tribal matters at all. I am even aware of some "Descendants" who manage to keep their enrollment status hidden in certain circles (often, I suspect, their phenotype allows this). And not only are many Enrolled "Descendants" involved, growing up in tribal headquarters, or being "traditional" cultural practitioners, but "descendants" are *kin* to "members."

Moreover, I appreciate Darrel's vision of this which includes:

> "[someone eligible for enrollment] would have be somebody that's involved, and when I talk about 'involvement' I think that there's more ways to be involved than one may think. And that could range from anywhere from being involved in ceremonies, being involved in language, being involved in something that progresses Native people in general. Because what if I decided to live in the Bay Area or across the country in Maine

[402] McKay 2021, 13

> and wanted to help tribal people still? Because, you know, I'm identifying as a tribal person and I want to assist in furthering our People as a whole. And when I say our people as a whole I'm talking about Native Americans in general. And so I would consider that as a person that's being involved."[403]

Darrel expresses concern about people who are "card carriers" that do not participate in Indian Country. This is a phenomenon and can in fact do harm to Native people. For example, William Quinn showed in 1990 that the history of removal "in the trans-Mississippi East of the American colonies" led to those with legitimately Indian ancestry choosing "to hide the fact and assimilate with the Euro-America culture" and that their knowledge of "the history of their people ha[s] not survived, or ha[s] often degenerated into exaggerated legends or stereotypical myths."[404] [405] After World War II and during "the rise of civil rights issues, a gradual restoration of Indian pride began to take place in the Southeast, as well as in other sections of the United States."[406] Families who had previously denied Indian heritage suddenly wanted to claim it, and those "whose ancestry ha[d] no documentable Indian heritage or whose claim to Indian ancestry [was] simply bogus" also began claiming to be Indian.[407] Quinn argues that *both* groups – those without legitimate ancestry and those with it who previously assimilated – "have distorted notions of Indian cultures, issues, and history" and that these notions greatly harm Native peoples by proffering either the noble or ignoble savage stereotypes.[408] Quinn dubs this the "Southeast Syndrome" due to that most claims are regional, of the "Five Civilized Tribes" (Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Seminole) and states that the result is that such persons perform their Indianness (play Indian) as a panIndian stereotype and their representations solidify "the Indian

[403] Aubrey 2023
[404] Quinn 1990 149
[405] Quinn 1990, 147
[406] Quinn 1990, 149
[407] Quinn 1990, 150
[408] Quinn 1990, 150

way" in the social imagination: "if such behavior is rude or belligerent, it is not the Indian way; if it is kind or cooperative, it is then the Indian way."[409] These expectations of Nativeness result in colonizers dismissing Natives who do not perform said "Indian way." Deloria has argued this is an ideological tool politically pacifying the Indian.[410] Only one form of Nativeness – that which acquiesces to colonial fantasy – is legitimately Native, and such a Native can only work within the confines of what the colonial desires and allows.

And so enrollment ordinances which prevent and essentially require that the person knows more than a stereotype can be understood to be serving Native peoples' interests. Fryberg et al. show that stereotypes such as Native mascots, regardless of if individual Native peoples feel "honored" or not, function to restrict the "future possible selves" that Native peoples are able to envision for themselves, and represent Nativeness to non-Natives in those ways that reinforce the stereotypes.[411] Individual opinion on mascots doesn't actually matter when research shows that they have ill effects on our people. Similarly, individuals with Southeast Syndrome, enrolled or not, enact that sort of representational harm.

Darrel's point that involvement can be broad is important, as sometimes parents have made the decision of the extent to which their child/ren will know of or participate in Indian matters for their children already. TallBear also notes what such involvement looks like in these sorts of enrollment ordinances which can include "doing community service on reservations or in historic homelands, knowing the tribal history, culture, and politics; knowing the tribal language; taking an oath of allegiance to the tribal nation; and proving that one is of 'good character

[409] Quinn 1990, 150
[410] Deloria 2004, 8
[411] Fryberg et al. 2008

according to the tribe's traditional code of morality."[412] At its core the ideology of this sort of enrollment could be a move towards *Peoplehood*: promoting knowing our Tribe's Sacred History, Ceremonial Cycles, Language, and Land – all of which are contemporary parts of how we practice sovereignty.

Given that Tribes are sovereign, we can choose to enroll our people however we want. The current enrollment system we have is adversely impacting Enrolled Descendants, and I hope that we change it to be more considerate of Karuk epistemologies of kinship and belonging.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I've discussed the problems of the "Enrolled Descendant" category ranging from its implications for educational opportunities, sovereignty, and even mental health; I've detailed the ways biological articulations of BQ are socially constructed and can be re-constructed however we want, and I've provided two examples of less genocidal enrollment options.

I circle back to the fact that this chapter is not theoretical, I am not focusing on "identity" or belonging the way I allowed myself to do some in chapters I and II. Rather, the purpose is practical, focusing on enrollment policies and showing the reasons our current enrollment system is harmful and arguing for another system. I do not privilege enrollment as the authenticator of Indigeneity, and although *theoretically* enrollment and federal recognition and the likes are colonial measurements of who "counts", practically they exist and we must deal with them, ideally in ways that don't harm our relations. I again highlight TallBear's point that "We privilege our rights and identities as citizens of tribal nations for good reason: citizenship is key

[412] TallBear 2013, 61

to sovereignty, which is key to maintaining our land bases."[413] Land is a key aspect of how and why Native people have been racialized in the US. Any ordinance of a restrictive BQ will eventually lead to there being no more tribal "members." Someday, even if far in the future, incest would be the only option to maintain this arbitrary construct of "purity." And in the meantime, relations suffer and are deemed and treated as "less."

The Tribe has the sovereign right to determine our own enrollment criteria. I hear many people in Karuk Country say they believe the federal government regulates this – that is simply not the case. It is widespread misinformation. We *can* change the enrollment ordinance to whatever we want. Will we choose to? In addition, while I recognize our sovereignty is based on a government-to-government relationship with the US government, I wonder at many folks' urgent reference to the feds. Why the obsession?

I had the privilege to officially interview my great-aunt Mona Meinert (née Grant), who is my great-Grandma Minnie's sister.

I asked, "What do you feel makes someone Karuk?", and she responded pretty quickly,

"How could anybody know that?"[414]

I love the philosophical direction aunt Mona took this. Her daughter Cathy sought to draw out a more concrete answer, asking: "Your mom was Karuk, that made you Karuk, right?" Aunt Mona replied:

"She tried to teach us Indian things…"[415]

("She" here refers to aunt Mona's mom, Susie Alphus).

[413] TallBear 2013, 32
[414] Meinert 2023
[415] Meinert 2023

There are many ambiguities here which are not solely up to me to interpret, though I share my thoughts. My initial interpretation of this is that aunt Mona is saying there are specifically "Indian things" that make someone Indian. However, aunt Mona does not attach this teaching/learning of Indian things to a particular BQ, and, as already explained, even those things coded as tradition are not restricted to being known by persons of a particular BQ.

It is possible my own framing of the question was not great as well. Perhaps if I asked what makes us – as a *People* – Karuk, the particularities of these "Indian things" might help us discern Karuk "identity" as a group. "Identity" itself is a framework fitting more within American individualism than Indigenous collectivism. Hence why many Native scholars turn to frameworks of *relationality* for understanding tribal belonging.

What's important, however, is that Aunt Mona's answer is extremely revealing in that it gives zero power to the federal government.

The feds are not who imbue us with our Indianness. This, in combination with Darrel's points re: how our tribal government has been forced to mimic the US government, reveals that the current system we use is not the end-all be-all of Karuk identity, belonging, and thus membership. A Member is not more legitimately Karuk than a "Descendant."

Reiterated, I've shown: One, the current enrollment policy is adversely impacting our kin. Two, BQ is not only pseudoscience, but literally intended to genocide us out of existence. And three, there are plenty of feasible alternative options.

I opened this chapter with an excerpt from the "metadata" of Grandma's notes, without fully exploring it, and this was intentional.

They do as Coyote said in the time when all the birds and everything was a people.[416]

[416] Helen Heffron Papers 1907-1936: HHR KK-12, 3

This quote comes from a Konomihu Oral Tradition, with Coyote being Konomihu peoples' Creator. Oral Traditions fall under what constitutes the "Original Instructions." Coyote gave all the creations ("the birds and everything was a people") instructions for how they were to exist. Creations are relations. I understand this to be about not only a species' roles and rights in existence, but also about their responsibilities. For humans, this includes not only our responsibilities to each other, but also to other-than human relations. I hope that why I chose this quote is apparent, but in case it is not, I'll leave the reader with questions to ponder: Would Coyote approve of our enrollment ordinance? Is it respecting our relations? Are we doing, to the best of our abilities under colonial constraints, as Coyote said we should do?

Ch. 4 - Audible (Two) Spirits and Vocal Remains: a Queer Karuk Deathworker Investigates Postmortem Singing

***For folks who believe we should not think about or discuss death matters outside of the context of a death, I offer the content warning here that this chapter does that.**

> b. c. A Song sung by a person who was already dead.
>
> Mrs. Grant says that the person sang when the cloth was taken off the mouth and he was cold, he sang the song without opening his mouth. He called out the places he was passing as he went to the spirit land. Mrs. Grant's own mother spoke after she was prepared for burial, dead perhaps two hours. Her lips did not move but she said, "You folks do not know where I am now. I am with my sister," and she called the name of the place.[417]

Introduction

Supernatural Stories

Each chapter of this dissertation has been inspired by a particular theme I felt significantly emerged during my family's Konomihu-Shasta music reMatriation project, or which existed in broader California Indian Country and thus influenced the conversations we had and decisions we were making. This chapter is somewhat of a deviation from that approach. I instead chose a topic I was personally interested in, but which directly related to songs Grandma Ellen shared, and so this topic still finds a comfortable place in the context of the project, revolving around matters we will have to engage when reclaiming those songs. That topic is, broadly speaking,

[417] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 17

deathwork. This includes both the practices associated with death, such as funerals, and the realms associated with the dead, such as the paranormal and religious.

These are things I engage in in "industry." For the former, I am a current student in an accredited mortuary school. For the latter, I lead paranormal investigations in my capacity as a tour guide for a local history museum, and also volunteer as an actor in, and have served on the script writing committee for, seasonal Ghost Tours.

Figure 10. Jason as "Thomas Rooney" in Sacramento History Museum Ghost Tours, Oct. 2022

I therefore designed interview questions about my family's paranormal stories, wishing to document ones I heard growing up. Such stories as those relayed about our Grandma Susie and her sister, Auntie Lizzie Maddox. Susie was one of Grandma Ellen's daughters. My Papa gathered champinishiich (Indian tea) for grandma Susie often, and had lunch with her every day even into high school. Grandma Susie and Auntie Lizzie both spoke Karuk.

My dad, Ken, reflects:

> …stories that I've heard is that [Grandma Susie] had ways of [pause] I guess looking at babies or children, and basically saying things about their future […] I think she looked at the back of aunt Rana's neck and said something about her because of that, I don't remember exactly what it was. And she looked at my hands or my feet, and told my mom or dad that I would be a big man, which was strange – a strange thing to say about a baby because, how would you know? Because Papa was not that tall and neither was Grandma. So just different ways of seeing or saying things. Also there was ghost stories about how she had a rocking chair that nobody could sit in and cats would rub up near it, so you wonder—"were there spirits there?" just those kinds of stories.[418]

Grandma Susie was right – my father is very tall, especially considering Papa and Grandma's heights. My aunt Raná also shared stories that included ghosts. I was asking for any information regarding auntie Lizzie, who lived at [place redacted]. Raná said:

> I do remember one story that mom and dad went down there [to Lizzie's] and they were visiting, and a rocking chair started to rock all by itself, with no one around. I remember them telling me that, and that would scare them a little bit, but Auntie seemed fine with it—she seemed fine with whatever was there with her. That's one little thing I remember.[419]

So, a lot of our family's memories are to do with the spiritual tendencies or gifts of our family, or the ghosts that our family has encountered. Some of our stories are also about the way paranormal beings impact our community at large. My aunt Mona [i.e. my great-grandma Minnie's sister] shared a story about the realness with which a Downriver Indian knew putawan (Indian Devils) to be, which had an unfortunate impact on his life:

> Oh, there was a old guy from down the river somewhere, down by the coast. He did something wrong [and] was sent to prison […] He used to write to Pops, begging [Pops] to go and tell the people that he shot a guy who was dressed like a putawan. And, he tried to say that he believed it, that he was killing a putawan, not a Indian. Of course, nobody would believe him. But I remember him writing the letters to Pops to tell somebody that he [was telling the truth]. I remember reading that letter. I can't remember what his name was, either. I sure felt sorry for him.[420]

[418] Hockaday 2022
[419] Bussard 2022
[420] Meinert 2023

In a future interview, aunt Mona clarified the "old guy" was a good friend of "Pops."

People who react to paranormal entities in physical ways are often deemed mentally ill without any consideration that the entity might in fact be real. And no, I don't mean "the mental disorder *is* the demon!", I mean the demon is the demon. This, despite that we have thousands of years of testimonies regarding the paranormal, and just two hundred or so years of the field of psychology, during which a majority those two hundred years psychologists tormented people the same amount, if not more, than their demons ever did.[421]

Ghosts and the paranormal are a key means by which my family bonds through seances, teasing, and storytelling. My family often has a good laugh over memories of when my dad and his cousins held a séance at [great] Grandma Minnie's, and my Papa [i.e. grandfather] jerry-rigged the stereo to turn on, but then other things started happening that he hadn't caused, such as the window closing and lights going out. One time, my Papa grabbed my electromagnetic field (EMF) detector, walked down the hall with it, and made it go off to make me think there were ghosts. That hallway often smells like things my grandma and I associate with people who are departed. My aunt and cousins and I use Ouija boards. So we have this "tradition" of infatuation with ghosts and fun in playing around them.

In this chapter, I use "ghosts" and "spirits" interchangeably. However, they are often viewed as different. My Papa once told me that ghosts don't exist, but that spirits do. This was long before Suzanne on Orange is the New Black shared this same sentiment, but there you have it – different entities, according to many. Although I view spirits and ghosts as different as well, I use the words interchangeably for readability to get the main point across that the spiritual realm,

[421] Consider such things as the Stanford prison experiment, Little Albert, the general phenomenon of asylums and lobotomies. Relatedly, see Gordon 1990, 493 for a description of Freud's sexist opinions on Sabina Spielrein's research

including ancestors, and various manifestations from said realm have an entry point into research.

During gatherings to discuss our music project, the spiritual realm certainly came up independent of my asking direct interview questions about ghosts. It typically came up in regard to the sacred nature of many of Grandma Ellen's songs. At least five of such songs are funeral songs. Some may feel that discussing death matters outside of the context of death is taboo and therefore this chapter actually violates Indigenous protocol. Such is explored in Native work such as Ramona Emerson's (Diné) *Shutter* where the grandmother of the main character is frightened by her granddaughter's interest in death, as this will prevent spirits from moving on to the afterlife.[422] While I acknowledge that in World Renewal a protocol I have heard is that you don't sing, and should not listen to, death songs outside of the context of a funeral, it's also the case that my family, which includes World Renewal participants, wanted to hear those songs during our project. Ergo, it's important that Karuks are able to learn protocol deemed "traditional," and can then choose whether or not they wish to *follow* it, just as some people of dominant religions do not follow the rules of their religions all the time.

Mortuary Matters: Deathwork & Deathcare

My interest in ghost stories is related to my interest in deathwork more broadly. While I am a geek for holding seances, I am also a member of the 2024 Funeral Service Education cohort at the American River College (ARC), which is an industry-focused Associate's program in which we are trained in tending to remains (e.g., removals, embalming, and restorative art), are required

[422] Emerson 2022

to hold an internship in a funeral home before graduating, and are versed in bereavement for the surviving family and friends of decedents.

Obviously, in actually providing services to families, I would not nerd out about my interest in the paranormal. Somebody who just lost a loved one does not want their funeral director to pull out an EMF detector. Yet, I cannot help but feel my interest in the paranormal and my calling to mortuary science are two sides of the same coin – an interest in Death itself. As Death is their common denominator, I see these things as "Deathwork" and I would use "Death care" to refer to work in funeral service, specifically.

I've chosen the Konomihu "song sung by a person who was already dead" as the epithet for this chapter. It comes from the notes that accompany Grandma Ellen's song recordings. It is a description of one of her song recordings identifying what the song is (a song sung by a dead person), documenting how and what the dead sing about (with their mouths closed, and where they are going), along with a personal narrative Ellen shared with Helen Roberts (the documenting ethnomusicologist) detailing that Ellen's own mother, Queen Brazille (née Ruffey) sang this song post-mortem.

The dead can sing post-mortem.

Other songs Grandma recorded relate to deathcare as well, including: a song for marching to the grave, a song for burying, a song for preaching, songs for mourning, a song for "decorating the corpse", and songs for lowering the body into the grave.

The metadata for these are detailed and include information on "decorating the corpse" and dressing the decedent, dancing and procession steps, translations of songs (where there are

words to be translated, as opposed to songs composed solely of "burden syllables" which are nontranslatable), and at which point during the funeral rites the songs are to be sung. Essentially, we have the whole ceremony here. These songs have drawn my attention as someone newly entering funeral services.

When I visited my one of my Papa's cousins early on in this project, there was one day when we listened to song recordings and she put iknish on the stove before we listened to them. Her grandson asked, "Grandma, are you burning medicine?" She, in a joking tone, responded that she wanted to make sure all of this singing (from the recordings) didn't wake the spirits of the singers up and bring them back to haunt us. This was, of course, not entirely a joke.

Recordings of those who've since passed bring contemporary contexts from which to engage the Konomihu epistemology that the dead can sing post-mortem; the knowledge that the living can hear spirits, and that spirits can hear the living.

In this chapter, I investigate the phenomenon that the dead have an interest in music. I do this by using a combination of two methods: radical Indigenism (Garroutte) and hauntology (Derrida and others).

Research Question, Methods, and Theory

In 2019, when my family started our music reMatriation project, I was posed with the challenge in academia of defending intellectual property rights and protocol research. My research into intellectual property rights was in tandem with two other Karuk scholars and we all agreed such research is vital to Karuk sonic sovereignty. Our concerns were often to do with appropriation and misrepresentation, which can easily slip into violating sovereignty. However, each of us had at some point experienced being brushed off because the idea is that musicologists,

anthropologists, linguists, and so on would collaborate with us and do community based participatory research. There was therefore no need for our distrust or interest in creating protocol – anybody who wanted to access Karuk documentation (recordings or otherwise) should have access to it because they'll *always* do the right thing!

None of us was convinced, and this is the first instance where my response to an academic challenge was primarily from a spiritual stance. I am so against the noble savage stereotype of the hyper spiritual Indian who serves as the spiritual savior/teacher to non-Natives that I avoid reinforcing it at all costs, and so pursuing this type of work which might come off to the unfamiliar as "that Native person is so spiritual" is really something I never thought I would do.

My way of making up for how this chapter might reaffirm this stereotype is to assert here that Natives who believe in a spirituality that doesn't align with their Tribe's precolonial religion, or who don't believe in the spiritual realm at all, are legitimately Native with important, still-**Native** perspectives on matters. While I do not wish to proffer the idea that we *need* ancestral precedent to be who we are or believe what we believe today, I know that historic precedent holds currency for Natives and non-Natives alike, and so I highlight the documented historic diversity of Karuk opinions on the spiritual realm:

> "The trail to the other world forks: one trail goes to Arutanahiti, 'heaven', the other to Yumarari, 'hell.' The yash-ara [people with property] and priests and assistants go to Arutanahiti. Unbelievers [taboo breakers] go to Yumarari; they do not accumulate wealth anyhow. The believers are bound to have good luck."[423]

First and foremost – this comes from a salvage ethnographic text written by the commonly and rightly critiqued Kroeber and Gifford in 1949.[424] That context in which our religion is called a

[423] Kroeber and Gifford 1949, 27-29
[424] Kell 2021

"cult" aside, the fact of the matter is that there *were* "Unbelieving" Karuks who "broke taboo" and this did not negate their Karukness (even if Unbelievers go to Hell). While every Karuk certainly *knew* the tenets of World Renewal precolonially, I find it hard to accept that every Karuk unquestioningly believed the exact same thing, and every Karuk need not believe nor practice the exact same thing today. Karuks develop radically Karuk knowledge regardless of their particular spiritual or a-spiritual path.

In this chapter, I avoid offering what could be deemed "traditional Karuk/Konomihu beliefs" because the intent here is not to teach culture to the curious masses wherein it us susceptible to fetishization.

When asked why Grandma's songs should have protocol for listening associated with them, as much was obvious to me: the songs, Grandma's voice, the whole context of her singing, was sacred. I felt a connection to those recordings I could describe in no other way than "sacred."

Some of the recordings are ceremonial songs, and this, for many Natives, is what imbues certain songs with sacred status. However, even Unbelieving Karuk people (on the path to Hell – kidding!) can also feel such recordings are sacred. For example, even if a Karuk person isn't a participant in World Renewal and thereby may not believe the songs, themselves, to be sacred, the recordings themselves *become* "sacred" through projects of cultural reclamation. This is because people engaged in reclamation projects form relationships with others. Even if an individual does not develop a relationship to the spiritual realm, such as to their ancestors, they form relationships to other living people. If someone has meaningful relationships within a reclamation project, they are likely to also feel that the source of that project that brought them

together (e.g., recordings) should be protected, as a way of protecting and respecting the relationships themselves – and this protective impulse can be articulated as, "they're sacred."

This is to say that, under Western society's objective/subjective split, relations, themselves, are subjective, delegated to the realm of emotion, which is the same realm to which spirituality is delegated. This split comes from the Enlightenment era during the colonial project, when/where, Brendan Hokowhitu (Ngāti Pūkenga Māori) argues, "The liberal humanist appeal to the individual is, more succinctly, an appeal to an idealized universal European masculinity, where European bourgeois heterosexual masculinity came to represent humanity: 'This Man, rational, self-determined and, since Descartes at least, the centre of his universe, serves as the privileged unmarked term against which all humans are measured.' Deviance from this world of European masculine forms […] was central to the 'othering' process of European colonization."[425] Hokowhitu continues in tracing this lineage of "objectivity" stating "the invading heterosexual male embodied the power of human reason and, thus, represented the interests and will of humanity. Ironically, European masculine authority and reason was depicted as dispassionate, disembodied, and, consequently, as an objective lens through which reality could be viewed."[426] As such, the so-called "objectivity" of dominant Western academia proclaimed to be imparted to students (especially in STEM) is, in fact, simply code for the European masculine view of the world.

Spiritual beliefs are deemed untestable and incapable of being evidenced using the Western scientific method. The emotional therefore exists in the same category as the spiritual. Thus, the relations that one builds during reclamation projects are also at least spiritually

[425] Hokowhitu 2015, 84-85
[426] Hokowhitu 2015, 85

adjacent, because such relations are emotionally tethered and thus related in a Western taxonomical sense to the spiritual; which is to say, the sacred. There is sanctity there.

"Ok," some folks said, "unpack '*sacred'* for us."[427]

Well, our voices are extensions of our selves. They come from us. They are part of us. We create them – the act of creation is sacred – and we own our voices. Ellen owns her voice. Nobody who has her recordings owns her voice. It is hers, still, in death. As I understand her voice as an extension of her body and being, I am dealing with something not dissimilar to human remains.

Vocal remains.

Grandma Ellen consented to being recorded. But she did not consent to those recordings being completely public, such as online—a platform that did not exist in her time. Living descendants are the logical people by whom her voice should first be heard, and it is up to us collectively to determine if the recordings themselves should be shared, and protocol associated with that sharing. If we wish to share our own vocal recordings of the same songs, then we are able to consent to doing so, but Ellen's own recordings are hers, and she is in the spirit world.

Can the dead sing?

I abandoned developing the above argument. I don't want to spend my time unpacking "sacred" for academia –I have the tools to provide such arguments within community context and that's what matters. Others have already theorized Native sound recordings to fall under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). The repatriation of song

[427] While I don't recall if this exact phrasing was used, the general gist of many responses to me was asking me to explain why Grandma's recordings were sacred, which gets at the same idea.

recordings is informed by legal statutes for federal copyright laws. Trevor Reed (Hopi) notes that two of the precedents for ancestral song recording repatriation are "the Native American Languages Act of 1990...and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act."[428] Using these Acts, Tribes have a means to argue for the return of the recordings as well as the right to restrict circulation of recordings made on tribal lands.[429] Tribes can invoke the Native American Language Act because the Act protects the "right to protect and manage" Native American languages, which many songs contain.[430] However, this does not address the need to restrict circulation of recordings, which is also of interest to some Tribes, particularly for sacred/ceremonial songs. This is where NAGPRA can be invoked, because NAGPRA protects "sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony."[431] Therefore, Tribes could argue that certain sound recordings (e.g., ceremonial songs) are sacred and thus fall under NAGPRA.[432]

So there is precedent and research being done there. However, the concept of ancestral recordings being sacred is likely to be self-evident to my intended Native audience. The scholar who does not reference sacredness is not similarly bombarded with requests that they unpack why what they're researching *isn't* sacred. It appears a double standard – a burden not requested of scholars from the dominant positions in society.

My theory of vocal remains in its early development didn't seem to have promise in convincing those demanding an explanation of the sacred. And if they won't accept what evidence I have (which is, "*this is how I feel about the thing*") then I'm not going to be able to prove the thing no matter how hard I try. I draw here from Tanana scholar Dian Million's "Felt

[428] Reed 2016, 279
[429] Reed 2016
[430] Reed 2016, 279
[431] Reed 2016, 280
[432] Reed 2016

Theory", which asserts that knowledge about hegemony can come from *feeling* colonization, and that where white feminism successfully politicized "private" spheres (e.g. the home), Indian communities Indigenized some of the therapeutic results of that politicization to follow traditions of storytelling.[433] It is from these therapies of "telling," with the intent to uproot silence, that knowledge of hegemony lies—in the "felt" experiences of colonialism.

Western science-aligned scholars are most often not asked to prove the case for foundational theories which underly their research. For example, Deloria Jr. shows that beyond the fact that theories such as the Bering Strait allow colonizers to feel absolved of residual guilt about colonization, those theorists never actually evidence the "doctrine."[434] He states, "Most scholars today simply begin with the *assumption* that the Bering Strait migration doctrine was proved a long time ago and there is no need to plow familiar ground."[435] He looks at "what scholars say about [the] subject when they are discussing another topic and simply mention it as a peripheral part of their discussion of another area."[436] In doing so, he shows that most sources contain typically a sentence or two, and, following what those sentences reference, he "assumed there was […] a detailed article which cited evidence and arguments that proved, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Paleo-Indians had crossed from Asian into the Western Hemisphere [but he] was unable to find anything of this nature."[437] Despite no convincing evidence of the theory, most scholars "proceed without the slightest doubt that they are [building] upon a strong foundation."[438] Moreover Deloria Jr. instead finds research showing that scholars such as William Laughlin – an expert on "migration across the Bering Strait, having been asked to explain it in

[433] Million 2008
[434] Deloria Jr. 1997, 70
[435] Deloria Jr. 1997, 70
[436] Deloria Jr. 1997, 74
[437] Deloria Jr. 1997, 70-71
[438] Deloria Jr. 1997, 70

court during the Wounded Knee trials in Lincoln – provides "no evidence […] to show that scholars have proven that Paleo-Indians have traversed the Bering Strait at any time." And in fact Laughlin describes the strait as "boggy, swampy" and not conducive to human migration.[439] As such, Deloria Jr. states, "I must conclude that generations of scholars, following the so-called scientific method of inquiry, have simply accepted this idea at face value on faith alone. [This] is more evidence that science is simply a secular but very powerful religion."[440]

It is clear that most academics are not required to thoroughly evidence that the core assumptions they build knowledge on are indeed true, explain what evidence exists for those core assumptions, or even to show *awareness* that they have assumptions. For example, Eva Marie Garroutte shows that Western science has never been able to demonstrate the core paradigm of causality.[441] Is all research that then builds off of the idea that effects have a cause null and void? Even I, hard sell as I am, would wager not.

As a Native American Studies researcher, I take the same liberty here. I take the songs' sacred status to be true, and do not take on the burden of proving it, nor cater my research questions, methods, findings, or analyses to Western ontologies of what constitutes valid evidence.

As a Native American Studies scholar, I *should* also take Konomihu knowledge of the dead to be true, which is to say that the dead can sing postmortem – taking Native knowledge to be true is a key tenet of Native Studies.

However, even as a Native person – one who is "connected" to my community – I do not actually know the dead's singing abilities to be true. Neither do I know it to be true that the dead

[439] Deloria Jr. 1997, 72
[440] Deloria Jr. 1997, 72
[441] Garroutte 2003, 147

don't sing. I, at the start of the research, personally knew naught, and in knowing naught, I prefer not to restrict what's available to me methodologically and evidence-wise to find out.

So, my research question, rather than being about intellectual property rights regarding the sacred, is much more fun for me: "Can the dead sing?"

Don't worry, I'm not killing people to see if they can sing. My research project was excused from IRB oversight.

Radical Indigenism

> "When modern contact [happened], we had to forget about all our relationships, we had to forget about all the sciences, we had to forget about all the philosophies, we had to forget about everything that was ingrained in us for thousands of years. To a shattered existence."[442]
>
> - Ron Reed (Karuk)

What counts as "evidence" in academia is gatekept to prove only those things Western ways of knowing essentially already believe to be true—therefore, my felt evidence will never prove the thing adequately for dominant academia. Felt theory suggests that feelings are the evidence. This works in tandem with another method I employ in this chapter: radical Indigenism.

As it's proposed by Cherokee scholar Eva Marie Garroutte, radical Indigenism "respect(s) indigenous philosophies of knowledge… (and) accepts that tradition is fundamentally a *sacred* concept."[443] Included in these philosophies are "*spiritual* dimensions of inquiry," and Garroutte states that "This sacred knowledge is what makes us as Indian people most uniquely ourselves, and it rightly affects and is reflected in all that we do and discover."[444] Radical

[442] Reed in Humboldt PBLC 2019, 7:30-7:47
[443] Garroutte 2003, 137. Emphasis original.
[444] Garroutte 2003, 114. Emphasis original.

Indigenism goes beyond cultural preservation and into the pursuit of extending and building upon, not solely referencing and staying comfortably within the foundations of, Indigenous philosophies.[445] She argues that one way in which we can do our research is through traditional spiritual testimony (such as dreams, ceremony, communing with Spirits, and "through interactions with land and language") as legitimate evidence to support our claims and generate new knowledge and discoveries.[446] To fully employ Radical Indigenism it must be accepted that this research will sometimes be at odds with 'traditional' Western academic research—i.e. it will be "subjective" and "unique (nonrepeatable)," and is not intended to replicate Western scientific methods, it is just as valid, and is its own Indigenous approach to research, questions, and assumptions, with the intent of recreating and furthering Indigenous forms of scholarship.[447]

Radical Indigenism requires that academia support projects they more often don't view as under their realm of interests, often claiming that those projects are "political" and would be investing in the agendas of "special interest" groups.[448] Garroutte argues that under an epistemology of Radical Indigenism, "when we ask [universities] to invest in the protection of our languages and cultures, we [are] asking them to protect *the conditions under which we carry out our scholarship*."[449] To deny such support is to deny Native scholarship. Garroutte continues, "We ask for these things for the same reason that scholars ask for laboratory equipment, or books, or the protection of tenure."

Moreover, when discussing the right to build knowledge out of "spiritual" methodologies, Garroutte addresses the widespread concern that "if the academy allows American Indians to

[445] Garroutte 2003, 150
[446] Garroutte 2003, 146-147
[447] Garroutte 2003, 146-147
[448] Garroutte 2005, 193
[449] Garroutte 2005, 193. Emphasis original.

speak from within tribal traditions to issues that have conventionally been reserved for archaeologists and other scientists, Whittaker complains, 'what is to prevent other crackpots from claiming that Columbus brought all the Indians over with him in 1492, or that they are really Jews who fled the tower of Babel?'"[450] However, academics have and do do this regardless. Deloria Jr. states, "[I]ndian flood stories were taken as evidence of the truth of the Bible rather than as independent evidence of a planetary flood. It was simply assumed that Indians originated shortly after Noah's flood and over the years got their stories garbled."[451] Moreover, Garroutte illustrates that persons that would claim Natives were brought by Columbus or are Jews who fled Babel "assert that they do better and more skillful science – archaeology, physicals exobiology, or what have you – than the mainstream scholars. Yet in the end they are unable to fulfill the standards of empiricism, intersubjective verification, replicability, and the like to the satisfaction of the scientists."[452] Garroutte argues that in contrast, Radical Indigenism does not claim to fit those standards to begin with. Rather, it intends to generate research which is "*genuinely separate* from those the academy customarily embraces."[453] Moreover, the *findings* of radical Indigenism are equally as legitimate as those findings that follow the Western scientific research method because, although "indigenous models begin from fundamentally different assumptions about the…nature of the world and how it is to be known [and t]he accuracy of these assumptions is undemonstratable […] American Indian models and philosophies do not differ from scientific ones [in this regard], which have never been able to demonstrate, say, such a central and elemental concept as causality."[454]

[450] Garroutte2003, 147
[451] Deloria Jr. 1997, 47
[452] Garroutte 2003, 147
[453] Garroutte 2003, 147. Emphasis original.
[454] Garroutte 2003, 147

Grandma Ellen states that songs are sung by persons already deceased. Her stories and songs evidence that she knows so by personal observation, the stories of other community members, as well as by the evidence of songs that exist for that purpose –the reader will remember from chapter one that songs function as Native history and law, amongst other things. Certainly, Konomihu people could have defined "death" at a different stage. For nonWestern definitions of the point of death, I reference Caitlin Doughty's work in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Doughty shares her experience of attending a funeral for Rovinus, an Indigenous Torajan man, which followed the Torajan religious protocol of Aluk as well as Catholicism.[455] Doughty states that "Rovinus had died – as Western medicine would define the term – at the end of May […] But according to Torajan tradition, Rovinus remained living. He might have stopped breathing, but his physical state was more like a high fever, an illness."[456] Given that the actual point of and definition of death is ontological and thus culturally determined, an explanation of the Konomihu definition of death might make Grandma's story more comprehensible to those from a nonbelieving Western perspective.

However, under a framework of Radical Indigenism, I take Grandma literally. Consider Montgomery-Ramírez' point, mentioned also in chapter one, that "Beings laden with spiritual significance to Indigenous peoples – Sasquatch, Thunderbird, the Underwater Panther – have all entered the 'scientific' gaze of cryptozoology, where the complex entities can be reimagined as remnants of ancient pasts, laid measurable if only proof could be captured."[457] Montgomery-Ramírez argues that settler objectification of these "cryptids", such as Big Foot, flatten "diverse

[455] Doughty 2017, 55
[456] Doughty 2017, 55
[457] Montgomery Ramírez 2023, 94

[Indigenous] cultures and worldviews."[458] The settler desires "to make the spiritual biological"[459] so that it can be studied using the Western scientific method and its associated dogmatic privilege.[460] This "effectively dismiss[es] the understandings of traditional knowledge holders [and] does so through a deeply colonial 'scientific' and universalizing lens, one that appropriates the Indigenous while erasing it and its complexities."[461] I refuse to put Grandma's knowledge under the same universalizing Western scientific lens. I will use Indigenous science to contemplate it – not to *test* it – instead.

Many Western Academics have taken it upon themselves to pathologize and literally rid the student populace of "pseudoscientific" and paranormal beliefs, as can be seen in work such as Charlotte E. Dean's dissertation, *Exploring the Association between Paranormal Beliefs and Cognitive Deficits* (2022), and James A. Wilson's *Reducing Pseudoscientific and Paranormal Beliefs in University Students Through a course in Science and Critical Thinking* (2018).[462] Such agendas are clear examples of those in power asserting their own paradigms and presumption of the Westerner's intellectual superiority and intangible claim of objectivity to valorize their own positionalities whilst subjugating and devaluing those Ways of Knowing (epistemologies, ontologies, axiologies) deemed "other" to Western Ways of Knowing. And research such as Wilson's reveal overt agendas of assimilation.

The same pathologization can be seen in academic treatment of Native STEM practices. For example, Tony Benning notes there is a peculiar habit of Western academia to pathologize Native doctors ("shamans"), dubbing them "mentally deranged."[463] Applying a Foucauldian

[458] Montgomery Ramírez 2023, 94
[459] Montgomery Ramírez 2023, 94
[460] For the dogmatic privilege of western science see Deloria 1997
[461] Montgomery Ramírez 2023, 94
[462] Dean 2023, Wilson 2018
[463] Benning 2014, 61

analysis, Benning traces this phenomenon where the Westerner assumes its own authority and ability to subject "the 'primitive' and his mental health [to the Westerner's] scrutinizing gaze."[464] He states that it is clearly from "the Europeans' hypertrophied valuation of reason and rationality" whereby the Westerner considers itself superior and the Native inferior – specifically evolutionarily "primitive."[465] Such rhetoric by self-proclaimed "objective" folk manifests in the supernatural and paranormal realm as well, such as with people identifying as "skeptics" – a nonbelieving identity which seeks "evidence" (though only of the sort of evidence that Western science values) while standing on the objective moral high ground and asserting that, even if they *might* be convinced to believe (though they usually are not), they're not like those of us who are gullible and uneducated. They're *different* from those who believe that every speck of dust is an orb – or perhaps those of us who "believe" (know) that the dead can sing. Such skeptics condescend primitive believers by conveniently ignoring that, yes, even "believers" can tell the difference between, say, dust and orbs.

In fact, ignoring or even belittling a group's intellect is key to reinforcing the Westerner's "imaginary cultural evolutionary scale."[466] For example, Deloria Jr. notes, "Scientific writers usually pretend that the ancient peoples were highly superstitious and that, after having created astrology, they eventually moved into a secular and objective astronomy, forgetting that at that stage of development it would have been considerably more difficult to have created an astrological horoscope than a simple map of our solar system. Since we must assume that ancient people used the naked eye to determine the planets, comets, star formations…[then] then

[464] Benning 2014, 62
[465] Benning 2014, 62
[466] Deloria Jr. 1997, 49

ancients must have been incredibly good observers of the heavens or had access to information whose channels no longer function for us."[467]

Western science asserts itself as truer and more "developed" than anyone else's knowledge and this manifests in academia itself, where there is a hierarchy of what even counts as science. STEM – the "hard" or "core" sciences – get valued at the top of this hierarchy, and then the social sciences, and then humanities, arts, and even lower are placed Indigenous Sciences, with labels such as Ways of Knowing or Traditional Ecological Knowledge. STEM gets portrayed as the epitome of rationale, valuing so-called "facts" over "emotion", where students are trained to write from the disembodied "one" ("One may think", instead of "I think") that completely obscures the positionality of the observers whose power in part comes from that assertion of disembodied knowledge. Circularly, findings of such research from the perspectives of those in power reifies its own self as "objective."[468] Renowned feminist scholar Donna Haraway calls this the "God Trick" because it is a claim of seeing the purported facts and truths of reality simultaneously from everywhere and nowhere at once.[469] It is God's perspective. More evidence, perhaps, that science is a religion, with scientists themselves being the "God(s)" of their own religion.

The evidence already exists for the fact that the dead can sing – it is an observed paradigm by Konomihu people. So in taking Grandma Ellen's knowledge (paradigm) that the dead can sing literally, my own academic inquiries (e.g. "what should be protocol for sharing and use of her recordings?") need not evidence that paradigm of sanctity. If the spirits of the dead can sing, then the spirits of the dead have a stake in our music project which makes it sacred and in

[467] Deloria Jr. 1997, 49
[468] See: Haraway 1988, TallBear 2013, Gordon 1990, Deloria 1997, Hokowhitu 2015; Wilcox 2021, 13; Walter & Andersen 2013
[469] Haraway 1988, 581-82

need of protocol, because they have rights to their own songs and Native practices of dealing with the dead have protocol associated with them.

The implication of this is then, in alinement with *Radical Indigenism*, that academia ought to be receptive to and supportive of Indigenous research questions, methods, evidence, findings, and interpretations that are founded from this paradigm, *without* forcing Indigenous researchers to evidence the paradigm.

Literature Review

Queer Hauntologies

One of the main entry points of research such as this might be *hauntology*. Hauntology, initially proposed by Jacques Derrida in *Specters of Marx*, is commonly articulated as being about what's *not* "there" (often articulated as what's not "visible") being just as revealing/telling, sometimes even moreso, than what *is* "there."[470] An example of this is Glenda Goodman's argument that "silences" (information archivists state "isn't there") in archives are not necessarily created by what wasn't documented, but are actually created *by the questions that researchers ask*.[471] In addition, Avery Gordon states that in applying a hauntological framework, researchers need not (only) address which methodologies they have chosen, but also "what paths have been disavowed, left behind, covered over or remain unseen."[472]

Recent prominent theorizations in hauntology aim to make space for that which is not temporal or evidenced by Western scientific and philosophical fields; that which is often deemed subjective or maybe even "spiritual."[473] In addition, hauntologists have critiqued theorizing from

[470] Gordon 1990
[471] Goodman 2019, 498; also see Somerville 2017 on Indigenous presence as vital to oceanic theorizing
[472] Gordon 1990, 491
[473] Roseneil 2009, Wolfe 2014, Gordon 2011

the perspective that ghosts are just code for "invisible" and "unknowable", given that many people in the world, including the "others" whose perspectives hauntologists seek to uplift, in fact *see* ghosts (sometimes even *are* the ghosts in the secular, metaphorical use of the theory). For example, Gordon states, "haunting is not about invisibility or unknowability per se, it refers us to what's living and breathing in the place hidden from view: people, places, histories, knowledge, memories, ways of life, ideas. To show what's there in the blind field, to bring it to life on its own terms (and not merely to light) is perhaps the radicalization of enlightenments…"[474] I would add to my own considerations within hauntology that which includes literal spiritually substantive specters such as misty figures appearing out of nowhere, shadowy apparitions that disappear upon a double-take, orbs, and so on.

Productive as metaphorical hauntology is in developing an understanding of why stories about Native ghosts are problematic, this viewing hauntology/ghosts presumes "we" (those theorizing) are "the dominant" (Western) and thus cannot see ghosts (the subaltern), but rather need to see *around* ghosts in order to illuminate their presence. Who is this "we"? As a Native person, I can see my own and other Native peoples' existence, and I have also seen literal ghosts. I see this as core to critiques such as Gordon's which posit hauntology as a method going beyond discussions playing with the binary of visibility and invisibility, dominant and subjugated.[475] Wolfe quotes, for example, transgender activist Jennifer Finney Boylan who states: "I do not believe in ghosts, although I have seen them with my own eyes. This isn't so strange, really. A lot of people feel the same way about transsexuals."[476]

[474] Gordon 2011, 3
[475] Gordon 2011
[476] Boylan in Wolfe 2014, 41

Despite such interventions of recognizing and valuing subjectivity, the ways "ghosts" and "hauntings" have been used as buzzwords in academia have strayed far from taking seriously the *reality* of those very realms many hauntologists have sought to uplift: that which "others" (especially interviewees) see and experience. Hauntology has instead dominantly aligned itself to the secular realm. For example, especially popular has become the use of "ghosts" within hauntology to be used as a metaphor for colonial trauma and/or various psychological phenomenon which are *already* accepted by dominant Western social science, especially Psychology. Actual ghosts, as in disembodied spirits, are not commonly discussed, a problem that leading theorists on Native phantoms, Colleen Boyd & Coll Thrush call out in *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture and History*. They highlight the tendency for hauntology to primarily result in theorizations on oppression, stating that "most scholars writing on ghosts and the supernatural generally dismiss specters as little more than anti-colonial metaphors and psychological manifestations of the repressed, or evade altogether the question of whether spirits are real."[477] "Ghost," as such, has become a fun buzzword used as a metaphor for what's already recognized as "real" to Western society. I therefore argue in this chapter from the basis that "ghosts are not a metaphor" (a la Tuck & Yang's "Decolonization is not a Metaphor").

Native Hauntologies

Perhaps the word "only" ought to be in there – my argument is moreso that ghosts are not *only* a metaphor, but that doesn't have the rhetorical impact I want it to have. Indeed, metaphorical hauntology has resulted in robust analyses of how stories about Native ghosts function for the colonial storyteller, which in fact reveal Native peoples as (metaphorical and literal) "ghosts"

[477] Boyd & Thrush 2011, xxxi bold added

forever haunting settlers. Because the dominant expectation is still that Natives are a peoples of the past, our true existence (including as biologically or culturally legitimate people) is uncertain/unknowable to the "other" ("other", here, from a Native perspective, being the settlers). Moreover, if metaphorical hauntological theorists use "ghost" as the identity of "the other", this reinforces the idea that the research is never done by "the other", thereby erasing Native scholars' work, when in fact Native scholars have also theorized on hauntology.[478]

> Kim TallBear (Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate), in analyzing the 2001 film, *The Others*, states:
>
> > Nicole Kidman's character, Grace, cannot remember that she and her children have died. […] Like Grace, settler-colonial culture is in denial of the unspeakable acts that commenced its present delusional state of being. Just like Grace cannot understand "the others" as living, settler states have difficulty remembering that Indigenous people actually live. […] The settlers hear us go bump. They are terrified of the moral and literal claims we make on the grounds of their country. As Grace denies "the others," Indigenous voices and movements are denied as merely noise from the national house settling, not real[istic] demands at all…[479]

As hauntology often reveals what's not there to be "the other", and Natives are the "other", then this means dominant society deems Natives to be not there, not visible, and unknowable –thus "ghosts". To an extent, given representation and population statistics, this is a subjective truth from a dominant settler perspective. However, settler society knows Natives exist*ed*. This past-tensing in alignment with the "peoples of the past" stereotype of Natives provides at least two ways for settlers to engage Natives via ghost storytelling – an offshoot of which, I argue, is secular hauntology. One, if Natives are from the past, they haunt. And two, as Boyd & Thrush show, without Natives, settlers' historical accounts (as are documented through ghost stories) are without a genealogical claim to the land.[480] There must be a spiritual conference from the Native to the settler to legitimize settlers on Native land, promoting a 'natural inheritance' story arch.

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[478] See Tuck & Ree 2013
[479] TallBear 2019, 29
[480] Boyd & Thrush 2011, xxxiv

Hence all the "Native ghost" stories. By laying claim to Native ghosts, settlers lay claim to Native land and even indigeneity itself.[481] Boyd & Thrush argue that settler told Native ghost stories do the work of "express[ing] the moral anxieties and uncertainties provoked by the dispossession of a place's Indigenous inhabitants […] harness very real Indigenous beliefs in the power and potency of the dead, and then cast those beliefs as irrational 'superstition' that must give way, like the believers themselves, to rational 'progress' […] [and] Native hauntings disrupt dominant and official historical narratives as expressions of liminality that transcend fixed boundaries of time and space."[482] Michelle Burnham argues that in such a settler storytelling tradition, fear of the unknown (Natives) allows settlers to simultaneously experience the "pain of fear" that is also their "source of pleasure."[483] And at the same time, the settler spectator "is protected by some measure of distance from the actual source of pain itself."[484] Alas, when Natives are turned into ghosts, we are unable to actually cause harm to the settler audience member who is, of course, objective, scientific, skeptical and thus not *really* believing in (and therefore not threatened by) Native Ghosts, which they consume for pleasure/entertainment. By nature of their own safety and appropriation of the Native ghost, the settler nation state is also safe and able to appropriate the Native.

Stephanie Nohelani Teves (Kanaka Maoli) provides a key critique of the Native ghost story phenomenon through analyzing the rhetorical conventions of ghost tours. She addresses three main points of the common issue of "Native ghosts" that Europeans obsess over:

[481] Also argued by Montgomery-Ramirez 2023 re: cryptids
[482] Boyd & Thrush 2011, ix
[483] Burnham 2011, 9
[484] Burnham 2011, 9

1. Native ghost stories function to erase Indigeneity and keep it as a "thing" of the past, as Natives are seen as forever haunting Europeans
2. Stories about Native ghosts told by Europeans promote linear thinking, as history is disconnected from Indigenous peoples' lived experiences today, and
3. Native ghost stories support a multicultural heritage philosophy wherein non-Natives lay claim to Indigenous cultures, peoples, histories… and ghosts.[485]

Some Native theorists have pushed for the realness of ghosts to be taken seriously in hauntology. For instance, Angie Morrill (Klamath) uses haunting theory to speak to Native Ways of Knowing which engage literal knowledge of ghosts, spirits, haunts, time travel, and other-than-human relationships.[486] In her analysis of her mother Peggy Ball's painting, *Vanport*, Morrill argues that despite Ball's inclusion of a relative who could not have been present as a living being in the painting, and who was thus a ghost, the painting is not "haunted."[487] She states, "Ghosts haunt the present with demands for justice. As a methodology of justice, haunting points toward the future through engaging the past through the figure of the ghost."[488] Morrill states that ghostly presences in Native lives might better be theorized as "visitations" than "hauntings" – they "clai[m] the ghost as family, the presence of our ancestors, and those we love, who are present through difficult times."[489] The ghosts in Native creative work "are not terrifying. They are friends and family who are loved and missed, missed but never gone because they are often remembered and spoken of with respect and affection."[490] Being "haunted" is most commonly considered a

[485] Teves 2018; I previously summarized using this verbiage on my blog, Hockaday 2022
[486] See Morrill 2017
[487] Morrill 2017, 18
[488] Morrill 2017, 18
[489] Morrill 2017, 19
[490] Morrill 2017, 19

negative thing, and "ghost" a thing of trauma. Therefore, in Native ontologies, "spirits" might better accompany "visitations."

Related are ontological assertions of what constitutes *reality* (and who gets to make those assertions), which is a pillar of the Western objective rejection of the ghost. When objectivity rejects the ghost, it rejects the Native. For example, Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee Nation) considers ontologies of "reality" via literature, theorizing on how *literary realism* (a highly valued Western genre informed by Western ontologies of reality) excludes the realities of Indigenous peoples (even when such authors have explicitly stated literary realism is their intended genre) in at least two ways. One, dominant literary practices demarcate the author's literature only as "realistic" if it caters to stereotypes of Indigenous peoples where such "realisms" might include representations of Indigenous peoples as peoples of the past, deficient, or as having "lost" Indigenous cultures, languages, and so on.[491] These are the "realities" that Western society has constructed for Indigenous peoples. And two, the "reality" of literary realism privileges Western ways of knowing—epistemologies— particularly those considered "objective," which renders many Indigenous realities "subjective" and thus not real.[492] For example, spiritual experiences, which many Indigenous peoples would assert belong categorically within genres depicting reality, are forced into genres such as fantasy or speculative fiction.[493] I have personally had it suggested to me many times that my own creative writing is speculative fiction because I include ghosts. I believe in ghosts (*not all Natives do*), and speculative fiction is not how I see my writing given that I know ghosts to be real. I once included this point in a paper, to which an anonymous peer reviewer pitched a fit because they

[491] Justice 2018, 141-142
[492] Justice 2018, 152-153; Maracle 2015, 76
[493] Justice 2018; also see Swann 2011, 4

thought I was trying to "argue" that ghosts are real. I thought this response was humorous given that I am not arguing anything of the sort – I am clearly stating that the realities of Indigenous peoples are usually dismissed, which the reviewer's response actually further serves as evidence for. Unfortunately, such is the sort of reaction Western academics have when confronted with much of Native peoples' research – they cannot get past that we simply have different paradigms, so much so that they hyperfixate on those paradigms and ask us to evidence them, or decide that they have the right and mental superiority, themselves, to deem the Native "mental" and so to discount all else we say, ignoring the actual findings of the research.

Another example of Native realities that are dismissed in literature is, as discussed in detail in chapter II, the idea of where Native peoples *really* exist (particularly authentically). This results in the "return home" story arc that is expected of Native authors because Natives have been forcibly removed and confined to reservations, rancherias, and the likes, and this created in the colonial map a restrictive conceptualization of where "authentic" Indigeneity exists.[494] Therefore, a *real* Indian will be, or should aim to be, on a reservation or ancestral territory in order to be able to embody their true authentic, nature-connected, rural self. "Home", defined as such, is the ideal place for the Indian, as knowing *where* Indians exist enables control over where we then go. This is not to say that returning home isn't a major arc of Native literatures. It's to say that "home" for Natives is conceptualized in much more nuanced, decolonial, and creative ways that are not restricted to colonial mappings. Such impositions of reality create a singular Native genre in which all Native writing is expected to conform to similar conventions.

Justice proposes "Wonderworks" as a genre to remove the power from colonial ontologies which inform dominant genres and not only control what people create but also assign

[494] For further discussion on the "return home" arc in Native literature, see: Goeman 2013, 119-156; Maracle 2015, 75-76

those creations a place within a hierarchy of value. “Wonderworks” are stories that allow for “other ways of being in the world” and “allow us to imagine a future beyond settler colonial vanishings.”[495] Vanishings which render the Native a ghost.

In the same vein of “reality”, Deloria Jr. shows how Western science and philosophy copied the frameworks and structures of Western religion and called them “academic” instead—dogmas to be taken for granted with esteem, privilege, allegiance, and unwavering belief in what the Scientist has to say: “Most of all, [the institutionalization of science] meant that scientists would come to act like priests and defer to doctrine and dogma when determining what truths would be admitted, how they would be phrased, and how scientists themselves would be protected from the questions of the mass of people whose lives were becoming increasingly dependent on them. In our society we have been trained to believe that scientists search for, examine, and articulate truths about the natural world and about ourselves. They don’t. But they do search for, take captive, and protect the social and economic status of scientists. As many lies are told to protect scientific doctrine as were ever told to protect ‘the church.”[496]

So why has hauntological theory – a theory with the potential to uplift those marginalized perspectives deemed “subjective” in academia – instead mostly reproduced “secular” research findings which are more likely to already be accepted by the scientists Deloria describes? Moving away from this requires academia to support researchers whose work will not follow Western scientific dogma.

I employ a Native hauntology that looks with suspicion at the dominance of ghost-as-metaphor, and reclaims the method as a way to discuss “real” ghosts. For example, trauma is said to be a “ghost” because it’s not tangible to those not experiencing it, but is real and therefore

[495] Justice 2018, 152-153
[496] Deloria 1997, 5

"haunts" due to its (supposed) invisibility (though the evidence for trauma meets Western science's criterion of valid evidence). I wonder what would result if we pushed at this secularization of hauntology: Why does trauma need to be a "ghost"? Why can't it just be stated for what it is, which is trauma? In using metaphorical "hauntings" as a buzzword, academics, I argue, are able to draw upon that same "pleasure" from "fear" that Burnham describes, while being safe from the repercussions that secular academia might dispense, and do so at the expense of Believers (which, in a consideration of "trauma", Believers would be those traumatized, themselves). It appears that many in Western academia *want* to talk about ghosts, but fear ostracization from their "skeptical" peers if they appear to be too Believing. What does that tell those who they are theorizing about?

Karuk Hauntological Musicology

Remember that in a Karuk view, Believers get "rich" and go to Heaven. I'm thus not only personally confident in my theorizing here, but also religiously, culturally backed in it. As such, I consider what Karuk hauntological musicology might look like here. Importantly, Ingrid Vranken states, "Listening is not passive, it is an action, engaged and committed. Listening requires patience, even if we don't fully understand right away what we are listening to and what for; it requires a suspension of one's own desires to dominate or push the other towards what they 'should be' doing, thinking or saying. Listening is done with the whole body."[497] As such, hauntologists participating in a music reMatriation project might ask questions such as: How do we listen to the songs of ghosts and spirits with the whole body?

[497] Vranken 2020, 242

Moreover, Benjamin Powell and Tracy Shaffer state, "we cannot control [the ghost's] comings and goings, we [therefore] must not seek to appropriate the ghost, or the other, by conjuring it into existence. By trying to control the coming of the ghost, one assumes dominion over the ghost, and consequently the form that the ghost might take."[498] Note here that "we" indeed propagates an "us vs. them" perspective—who is included in "we"? That aside, they go on to say, "[t]he ethical thing to do is to allow the other, or ghost, to manifest by waiting for its arrival, openly and without expectation."[499] I don't disagree, and I find this generative in that it actually made me think: if Natives are the "other" and therefore ghosts, as has been evidenced thus far, and "we" (academics?) don't *prepare properly* for ghosts, instead just waiting around hoping Natives appear, then ghosts can't even access that arrival; and if we (ghostly Natives) do arrive, then it is difficult for us to thrive. Consider how academia is not set up for the success of Native students and therefore our ways of knowing are discounted when we do access it.[500]

Powell & Shaffer also argue that "Because the ghost always begins by coming back, the haunted subject has the responsibility to wait for the ghost."[501] If Natives are ghosts, if "the other" are ghosts, it's true that the dominant *should not* "control [the ghost's] coming and going", and I would argue that included in the responsibility to wait for the ghost is preparing for the ghost, and see the ghosts *are* present whether the dominant perspective sees them or not. Other theorizations on hauntology recognize the ghost is not necessarily "coming back" but is always there. As such, waiting around won't help one connect with the ghost; it is not listening. Actively seeking (not controlling) ways to engage, make space for, and support ghosts is needed.

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[498] Powell and Shaffer 2009, 16
[499] Powell and Shaffer 2009, 16
[500] See work like: Walters et al. 2019, Walter & Andersen 2013, paperson 2017, Kuokkanen 2011, Chew 2015, Pewewardy & Frey 2004, Meyer 2001, Johnston-Goodstar et al. [2017, Cech et al. 2017]
[501] Powell and Shaffer 2009, 16

When I pull out my Ouija board, for example, it's not an act of controlling the coming and going of *actual* ghosts (not used here as metaphor for "Natives", as explored above). My holding seances is listening and making space. A Karuk hauntologist might then ask questions such as: How do we properly prepare for ghosts, spirits, ancestors in our work? ‘

This Karuk hauntologist is asking the question of whether or not the dead can sing, and in the next sections looks at evidence that is *not* accepted by Western science to imagine a hauntological theory premised on the acceptance of such evidence.

Findings

Us Unreliable Indians

Frans M. Olbrechts (an anthropologist with so-called "expertise" in Cherokee languages), in a letter to Helen H. Roberts regarding Grandma Ellen's "Cherokee" songs/language, dated March **1920**:

> "Your informant [Ellen] has committed another lapse when she translated "rainbow" by (hinore/), (xannoril); these words are not Cherokee."[502]

I rolled my eyes so hard when I read this that it's a wonder they didn't get stuck. A memory "lapse," indeed. This, despite that C. Hart Merriam (ethnographer) wrote, while documenting language from Ellen (and Fred W. Kearney) in **1921**, that "Mrs Grant is a remarkably intelligent woman, and while old has a surprising memory."[503]

[502] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-20
[503] Merriam1898, 424

I'm grateful for Merriam's note because it provides a useful contrast to Olbrecht's dismissal of Grandma's knowledge, especially seeing as Olbrecht never even met Ellen and Merriam did. *However,* I don't actually care whether or not Grandma's word was a Cherokee word from her maternal grandmother, which is, clearly, the concern and point of interest for academic Linguists and Musicologists at the time (and perhaps would be contemporarily). Rather, my interest in this excerpt of Olbrechts' letter is that the legitimacy and accuracy of Native participants' knowledge is often the focus of scrutiny, stemming from the Enlightenment worldview earlier deconstructed to mean that European masculinity is rational, and all else is irrational, questionable (to be tested/researched), and dismissible.

I have been "the Native interviewee" myself on occasion. I find it concerning that what I have to say (particularly in the realm of family stories) would generally not be permitted as evidence into academic discourse coming directly from me, but if someone else interviews me, and I tell them the same story, they're be able to use it in their own work. Once it is integrated into another's work, it is filtered through their own worldview and applied for their own means.

I am hyperaware of the parallels here where I am the interviewer, and various community members interviewees. Hence why I share interviewee ghost stories in the introduction of the chapter as the basis – the background information which birthed – the rest of the research, rather than sharing the stories as if they are the research, themselves, and conducting analyses of them. I aimed to let them exist for themselves.

Confessionals

Native peoples' testimonies are often subject to scrutiny regarding their validity. However, testimonies regarding the reality of the spiritual realm follow Indigenous storytelling traditions.

For example, Mariana Mora in *Kuxlejal politics: Indigenous autonomy, race, and decolonizing research in Zapatista communities* employs Indigenous testimonies throughout the text.[504] One such example is that of Macario, whose testimony of his "personal history and his reflections on local struggle" includes:

> When I became an adult, I remember that first arrived the Word of God that helped us discover that we are human beings and that we deserve to be treated with dignity and that there as great social inequity and these reflections helped us to begin to organize and unite to defend our rights and struggle for lands and water, the years passed and the bad government never listened to our demands, but every time the wisdom of our people grew more and we started to participate in movements, marches, meetings, it's as if our spirits started to warm up and we started to lose our fear and ignorance and we started to believe that we are all the same and that no one is lesser than the rest."[505]

Mora's analysis of Macario's testimony includes that it embodies "a process of collective self-making heavily influenced by the Word of God, the liberation theology-inspired Catholic teaching starting in the 1960s."[506] Through Mora's work, Indigenous testimonies – be they overtly spiritual or not – support and sustain the autonomy over land, as they are not solely employed for analysis but result in "problem-solving decisions."[507] This framework of a testimony can align moreso with storytelling than other frameworks of a similar nature.

Boyd & Thrush state that the tendency of hauntologists to focus on hauntings as "anti-colonial metaphors and psychological manifestations of the repressed […] is squarely at odds with the increasingly compelling consensus regarding the need for academic scholarship to take Indigenous epistemologies and ways of knowing and being seriously."[508] They say that just "a handful of scholars have begun to 'come out' about" things such as "nonhuman sentience,

[504] Mora 2017, 210
[505] Mora 2017, 71
[506] Mora 2017, 77
[507] Mora 2017, 2010
[508] Boyd & thrush 2011, xxxi-xxxii

prophecy and dreams, or communication with the dead."[509] Finally, they ask: "Does our potential professional discomfort outweigh our oft-stated commitments to respect the peoples on whose lives and histories we build our careers?"

This line of thinking – that scholars ought to "come out" about their beliefs – is in line with what Religious Studies names "confessionals" within academia. Although the label indeed has Christian overtones and may not be the exact framework for everyone, the practice when working in an academic realm that deals with or borrows from spiritual verbiage and subjects is probably warranted, as it falls under positionality.[510]

That said, there are plenty of reasons not to share aspects of one's positionality – for example, not all trans scholars are safe or want to state this as part of their social positioning. With regard to confessionals, it's similarly nuanced. For example, Melissa Wilcox states that the "sharp divide [between confessional/nonconfessional] places intellectual historians who study (but don't develop) theology and ethics, and ethicists who don't work within a specific religious tradition, in a gray area."[511] In addition, the split can be traced back to "Supreme Court decisions in the early 1960s affirmed that the comparative (that is, nonconfessional) study of religion could…be taught in public schools, but simultaneously clarified that the First Amendment to the US Constitution forbade those same schools from mandating or supporting religious indoctrination or practice."[512] This academic genealogy may, as in other fields, result in some scholars needing to appear "objective" in order to access "success" in their careers, such as via publishing.

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[509] Boyd & Thrush 2011, xxxii
[510] See Wilcox 2021,183; "In the confessional, a person tells truths about themselves – their actions, but also their thoughts and desires – to a figure of authority, who responds by prescribing penance and absolving the person of their sins…the location of the rite of confession shifted from the confessional booth to the doctor's office, be it that of a psychologist of a physician."
[511] Wilcox 2021, 13
[512] Wilcox 2021, 12

Some scholars may fear of their beliefs being challenged, or perhaps they will "confess" they believe one thing, but in few years their beliefs have changed and now they are seen as wishy-washy. In this regard, I think "confessionals" are explicitly feminist in that, even beyond sharing what's deemed "subjective" standpoint, confessionals insert the standpoint, wich might not always be "visible", into the "public sphere." This manifests in the feminist slogan for liberation, "the private is political."[513] In this regard, Adrienne Keene (Cherokee Nation) and TallBear argue that "consenting to learn publicly" is feminist, as it "is thinking along with people publicly and getting feedback."[514] Testimonials and confessionals, then, might be seen as feminist ways of consenting to learn publicly.

Lastly, in a similar vein as the gray area of nontraditional religions Wilcox noted, beliefs can be complex. Jewish journalist Sarah Hurwitz has noted the phenomenon in which persons who have deeply spiritual experiences that led to their beliefs are often at a loss for how to share them in detail, stating that she herself struggles to articulate such experiences and finds that it "cheapens" them and that they don't sound as powerful as they were when experienced.[515] In that line of thought, for some people it may take an entire book length to adequately detail out even a sliver of their belief, and to have it summarized up into a sentence of a positionality statement may feel disrespectful to their sensibilities and do a disservice to their spiritual relationalities.

Many things may be prevent such a praxis.

[513] Hanisch 2006
[514] Wilbur et al. 2019, Wong n.d.
[515] Hurwitz 2019, 60

Evidence from Native Experiences

What I'm saying and doing here is not new. Native scholars have argued for basing scholarship on Native epistemologies, which includes Native religions and knowledge of death and the afterlife, for a long time. Deloria Jr. argues that:

> "With the triumph of Darwinian evolution as the accepted explanation of the origin of our Earth— indeed, of the whole universe— we are the first society to accept a purely mechanistic origin for ourselves and the teeming life we find on planet Earth. Science tells us that this whole panorama of life, our deepest experiences, and our most cherished ideas and emotions are really just the result of a fortunate combination of amino acids happening to coalesce billions of years ago and that our most profound experiences are simply electrical impulses derived from the logical consequence of that first accident. We thus stand alone against the cumulative memories and wisdom of all other societies when maintaining this point of view. We justify our position by accusing our ancestors and existing tribal societies of being superstitious and ignorant of the real causes of organic existence. Do we really have a basis for this belief?"[516]

Humans are not on a linear trajectory of "evolution" mis-articulated as "progress" based on early theorization from anthropocentric ideologies with a predetermined end-goal. Ancient people and present tribal communities are not less knowledgeable than Western scientists. Natives, when colonizers happened upon us, were viewed as a relic of the past frozen in time – they believed they were more evolved and wondered at what had prevented our evolution. Though debunked, social Darwinism is far from absent and in fact informs lay society's beliefs about how Natives existed upon contact, which assumes all sorts of things about what Natives knew and did not know, and this belief of the intellectual inferiority and primitive underdevelopment of the Native continues to reverberate through expectations about Indigenous peoples today. Phil Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe) reveals that this idea of Natives as "primitive" manifests contemporarily in "expectations" of Native peoples. For example, in the assumption that we would be "unaccustomed" to modern technologies.[517] Deloria notes that he often shows a photo

[516] Deloria Jr. 1997, 24
[517] Deloria 2004, 4

called *Red Cloud Woman in Beauty Shop* to people, which depicts "an Indian woman in a beaded buckskin dress sit[ting] under a large salon hair dryer."[518] He notes that when he shows this photo to people, they usually chuckle. The chuckle reveals those expectations of Native peoples; that is to say, the Indian woman's presence under a salon hair dryer is *unexpected*, specifically because primitive Indians are "unaccustomed to the modern technology of the 1940s hair dryer."[519]

The magical, spiritual, sacred ways of knowing that are often dismissed in dominant articulations of "reality" are a continuation of colonial goals to make the Native seem unintelligent, unobjective, unreliable, deficit, and so on. This is because, as Lawrence Gross (Anishinaabe) says, colonization can be understood as an apocalypse – an end of world experience – that uprooted Native institutions of family, government, education, religion, healthcare, and economics.[520] Such has resulted in being fed the story that we are deficit, which has resulted in symptoms such as drug and alcohol abuse and domestic violence in Native communities.[521]

Deloria Jr.'s *The World We Used to Live In* is a detailed compilation of historic examples of Native evidence of the spiritual realm. These are the exact sorts of phenomenon which scholars like Boyd, Thrush, and Garroutte are calling upon scholars to engage, such as dreams and contact with the deceased. Deloria Jr. cites Rupert Sheldrake's point that "Direct experience is the only way to build up an understanding that is not only intellectual but intuitive and practical, involving the senses and the heart as well as the rational mind." Deloria Jr. then calls upon academia to support such experimentation, asking: "is there a 'graduate and post doctoral' level to this kind of Indian education?"

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[518] Deloria 2004, 3
[519] Deloria 2004, 4
[520] Gross 2014, 33-35
[521] Gross 2014

Deloria Jr.'s book evidences the reality of the spiritual realm by referencing oral histories, oral traditions, and ethnographic examples throughout north American Tribes. Some of the main types of evidence include: dreams and visions; medicine people, prophets, and psychics; ceremonial experiences; interspecies relations and communication; weather and land relations; and powerful and sacred places. The stories rely on relationships between Indigenous peoples and spirits, weather, places, and so on.

Native Medical Institutions: Sucking Doctors, Levitating Objects, Psychoanalysis, and Clairvoyance

Deloria Jr.'s collection of accounts showcases sucking doctors such as the following:

> "An Ojibway man awoke one morning to find that he was lame in his legs and hands. He was transported to a hospital, but the doctors there were unable to explain his disability. They gave him a pair of crutches and some arthritic pills, and then they went him away. He was home for a week, without experiencing any improvement. A medicine man was called in. He could state that the man's illness was due to witchcraft, brought about by a jealous individual. This individual had injected foreign substances into the patient's members and thus incapacitated him. The medicine man sucked these objects out through a tube that he put on the afflicted places. The man soon recovered and has since then not suffered from similar pains."[522]

These accounts of healing witchcraft and sucking doctors showcase "advanced" medical care developed precolonially by Native peoples – a sharp contrast to the Western view of Native peoples as unadvanced, just happening to survive out in the wilderness. Moreover, these systems of medical care are often accessed through the spiritual realm, such as in ceremony. For example, Deloria Jr. shows stories wherein the purportedly (to the Western) unexplainable occurs,

[522] Deloria Jr. 2006, 60

evidenced by things such as eagle feathers dancing in the following Native medicinal context as documented by the skeptical, or "objective," William E. Curtis:

> "The members of the tribe gather in a circle around a fire in the center of the floor of the estufa or underground temple, and after preliminary incantations, accompanied by strange chants which recite the glories of the tribe and the abilities of the priests, when the emotions of the audience have been worked up to a sufficient degree, the high priest, or cacique, takes from his bosom a bunch of eagle feathers and sticks the quill ends into the clay floor so that they stand upright.
>
> "Then with their eyes fastened upon them and with many gyrations the priests dance, sing and clap their hands until all at once the feathers begin to move and dance about upon the floor for five or 10 minutes or even longer, moved by invisible power, changing places, circling around one another and acting like puppets: but there is no connection between the hands of the priests and the feathers, at least no one has ever been able to detect such a thing [and] This [ceremony] has frequently been seen by outsiders – army officers, traders, missionaries and visiting scientists – but nobody has ever been able to explain how it is done."[523]

Furthermore, Deloria Jr. highlights the ability of Native medicine people to locate lost objects and persons. He states that "One of the primary powers given to medicine men is that of locating lost objects, be they animate (people, horses) or inanimate (rifles, utensils, religious power objects). These powers are usually found in the small sacred stones used by Plains people and the power boards, or cedar shakes, used by the Indian nations of the Pacific Northwest. Sometimes, medicine men simply have an extended vision that enables them to see such a long distance that they locate the missing thing." He then shares eight accounts of tribal doctors having the power to locate lost objects and people before moving on to showcase stories that evidence tribal doctors making predictions as well.[524]

These are but a few examples from Deloria Jr.'s detailed compilation. Such evidence has been called "unexplainable" by Western science – but Natives have been explaining it all along. We are communicating, interacting, and relating with spirits – the spirits from the nonphysical

[523] Deloria Jr. 2006, 185
[524] Deloria Jr. 2006, 67-81

realm, the spirits of plants and animals, the spirits of the weather, land, and places. That is the explanation. It is just not a flavor of evidence the Western scientific research method can taste. Or, when it tastes it, it gags.

I add to Deloria Jr.'s collection an example from Grandma Ellen's stories, which showcases that all three of the above tenets common to Native doctoring exist in Konomihu doctoring as well: sucking, items moving on their own, and the power to locate what is lost. Grandma showcases that there was magic in the Konomihu world and that this magic was accessible to our doctors, who necessarily also used Konomihu science to treat their patients. Science and Spirit are not separate, but a wholistic approach is inaccessible in broader academia because Spirit cannot be commanded to repeat itself or be tested, a trait of evidence Western academia demands of its experiments.

> "When [the doctor] is singing this you be looking to see where the cane come from. It just dancing from the corner of the house right into his hand. It is all feathers from the top down and striped just like a king snake. Then he will catch the cane. Nothing is holding it till it dances up to him. Then dance, dance, dance […] The doctor just use his hand, but the Klamath doctors suck on a person. They know what's the matter with you and everything like that. Henry at Happy Camp is <u>old</u> doctor, still living."[525]

There is an interjection from Helen H. Roberts where she states:

> (Evidently the doctors practice a kind of psychoanalysis and also can be clairvoyants, as when people are lost, like out hunting.)[526]

Then, Grandma's narration continues:

> The cane stands up, right in front, not held by anything visible and dances up and down, the feathers floating up and down.
>
> When a person is sick sometimes the doctor says "I can't help you- a darkness over you, you hide." Then the doctor makes him confess and asks questions and when full confession is made the patient gets well. The old folks understood how the cane could stand alone and the pipe and the dress could come to the doctor, nobody holding it and they weren't afraid but the children would be afraid. But they would gain confidence

[525] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 11
[526] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 11

> from the behavior of the older people. There is lots of doctor's songs but I can't think of them.[527]

That adults "understood" the magic of the doctor's cane floating can certainly be interpreted as them knowing that it was a trick akin to something Chris Angel does, but my interpretation gives the doctors more faith in their medicine: adults knew it was magic, as magic was an accepted part of their world. Children feared these powers, but upon growing up in a world in which the spiritual is an integral part of all of their social institutions, they grew into adults who accepted the magic as normal, expected, typical aspects of daily life.

Regarding medicine "men" – or Native doctors – many a precolonial tribal nation held that those we call Two Spirit today held such roles.[528] It is commonly said that Two Spirits "were" healers or medicine people, mediators and counselors, and adopters of orphans.[529] These roles certainly tend to be shared across Native communities and I have heard of them in Karuk Country as well, but they leave out a very California-specific role of Two Spirits, detailed next.

Findings: Two Spirits & Deathcare in California, Northwest California, and Karuk Country

I researched gender and sexuality in Karuk language reclamation for my undergraduate senior project at Southern Oregon University. This project included identifying what sort of knowledge surrounding gender/sexuality was being passed within the Karuk language community, as well as more generally researching the 3rd+ gender roles (hereafter called "Two Spirit") that were developed precolonially in NW California Indian communities. I asked one anonymous

[527] Helen Heffron Papers, 1907-1936 (AFC 1979/100). HHR KK-13, 11
[528] Nibley 2011
[529] Nibley 2011

community member, “what might a Two Spirit person say to another Two Spirit person?” They responded:

“Grab a shovel, we need to take care of another body.”

Exemplified in this quote, Karuk Master Language speaker Crystal Richardson has taught me that Two Spirits were, in addition to “burden bearers” who stayed within our villages and were adopters of orphans, our Undertakers. In fact, it appears that throughout much of what’s now called California, we were responsible for conducting death related business: performing burials, caretaking remains, counseling those in mourning, leading funerary rites and ceremonies, and so on.

Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen tribal member Deborah Miranda has also shown that a primary role of third genders, called *joyas*, in southern California had been as caretakers of the deceased, particularly emphasizing the spiritual aspect of this. Miranda has shown that for southern California, where the words for a Two Spirit person include *joya* and *’aqui*, the Two Spirit’s role as Undertaker was similarly due to religion:

> In California, death, burial, and mourning rituals were the exclusive province of the *joyas*; they were the undertakers of their communities. As the only members of California Indian communities who possessed the necessary training to touch the dead or handle burials without endangering themselves or the community, the absence of *joyas* in California Indian communities must have constituted tremendously disturbing crises. […] The journey to the afterlife was known to be a prescribed series of experiences with both male and female supernatural entities, and the *’aqui*, with their male-female liminality, were the only people who could mediate these experiences. Since the female (earth, abundance, fertility) energies were so powerful, and since the male (Sun, death-associated) energies were equally strong, the person who dealt with that moment of spiritual and bodily crossing over between life and death must have specially endowed spiritual qualities and powers, not to mention long-term training and their own quarantined tools.[530]

[530] Miranda 2010, 266

Miranda further theorizes the specific targeting of the *joyas* as a "gendercide", drawing upon Maureen S. Heibert's articulation of the term as "an attack on a group of victims based on the victims' gender/sex. Such an attack would only really occur if [the gender] are victimized because of their *primary* identity as [their gender]. In the case of male gendercide, male victims must be victims first and foremost because they are men, not male Bosnians, Jews, or Tutsis. Moreover, it must be the perpetrators themselves, not outside observers making ex-poste analyses, who identify a specific gender/sex as a threat and therefore a target for extermination."[531] Due to *joya* gendercide, Miranda argues that a "strong possibility is that elderly women stepped into the role of undertaker when persecution reduced the availability of *joyas*" and that this was because postmenopausal women, because of a similar "liminal" gendered disposition, are capable of "not [being] harmed by symbolic pollution of the corpse."[532] This may also exist in other Indigenous communities, as TallBear states that "in the language of one prairie Indigenous people, a woman changes gender when she hits menopause."[533]

Of course, research regarding gender/sexuality is not restricted to explicit 2LGBTQ+ and changing gender discussions. Research is also needed regarding cis-gender and heterosexual positions. Queer & Trans Studies (as a named field) emerged from the intellectual lineage of Women's & Feminist Studies.[534] In northern California Indian communities, research using feminist theory and research methods includes Hupa/Karuk/Yurok scholar Cutcha Risling Baldy's work raising awareness to the importance of the revitalization of girls' Flower Dance (Coming of Age) ceremonies. Risling Baldy argues that Flower Dances are one of our World

[531] Miranda 2010, 259
[532] Miranda 2010, 266-267
[533] TallBear 2024
[534] See: Stryker & V Varun 2022

Renewal ceremonies.[535] Risling Baldy is attentive to the role of California Indian men in girls' coming of age ceremonies as well as other rights of passage, stating that "men…(help) to create medicine for giving birth (and this) speaks clearly to Hupa beliefs about the importance of both men and women in all aspects of each other's lives."[536] Notedly, in the Karuk language, the word for a boy's voice change upon puberty is yeeripharáthiinka which derives from words yêeriphar (menstruating), thiin (glands in one's throat) and ka (to/onto).[537] Regarding Karuk masculinities, as noted in chapter I, Norgaard et al. theorize Karuk masculinity as encompassing relational responsibilities to others and place, which can be performed only when the environment into which those responsibilities were created is well.[538]

While clearly gendered and possibly including LGBTQ2+ research participants/community members, neither of these lines of inquiry (i.e., Flower Dance revitalization and Dipnet masculinity "traditions") is explicitly about the LGBTQ2+ community in NW California, and Miranda's research, while using the contemporary political construct of "California Indian", is a close study of southern California, despite that the findings closely align with what I've been told for NW California. Importantly, Two Spirit research has started to be done for our area, such as seen in research conducted for the community in collaboration with the Two-Spirit Dry Lab, Two Feathers Family Services, and Queer Humboldt.[539]

Research regarding 3rd+ genders for the NW California area is newly emerging alongside more established lines of inquiry promoting Flower Dance revitalizations and healthy Indigenous masculinities. There is evidence in the colonial archives for NW California that there were

[535] Risling Baldy 2018
[536] Risling Baldy 2018, 41
[537] "Ararahih'urípih." n.d.
[538] Norgaard et al. 2018
[539] See: Queer Humboldt, Reynolds 2023

systems which went beyond two genders. Primarily, this comes from documentation of our languages. For instance, Kroeber details that the Yurok gender system includes "Wergern", a 3rd gender biological male who dressed in women's clothing and was highly trained in medicine.[540] The Shasta word documented for this gender/sexuality in Catharine Holt's "Shasta ethnology" is "Gituk̆uwahi."[541]

During my research into gender & sexuality in Karuk in 2017, I wasn't given terms like this, distinctly identifying another gender/sexuality in addition to the words "man" or "woman" that weren't neologisms during my project. That's not to say such terms don't exist or never existed, but it is evidence that they *might not* have not existed in the Karuk language. When initially asking for language surrounding transgender identities, I was told these would just be called how they identified. For example, those in Western LGBTQ systems who would be called a trans woman would just be called a "woman" in Karuk. This was evidenced by a story in which a Karuk man's wife pees while standing up (i.e., she is male sexed), and she is just called an *asiktávaan* (woman).

However, during the project, we created language to talk about these terms that align more with Western LGBTQ identities today for language community members to be able to articulate their unique positions in today's society, and the words are based on our ways of knowing, often descriptive. That we created these terms is an important part of Karuk language reclamation history, showing our strength as a contemporary community valuing acceptance and empowerment, and the terms are "legitimately" Karuk. They include:

- Trans woman: asiktavánhiichva (woman-imitation) *or* asiktavánkunishvan (woman-like-agentive)
- Trans man: avansahiichva (man-imitation) *or* ávansakunishvan (man-like-agentive)

[540] Kroeber 1976, 46
[541] Holt 1946, 317

Terms not created during the project but pre-existing and depictive of roles or ways of relating previously known or developed include:

- Pa asiktávaan u'kyaaviichvutih avansa kûupha meaning "the woman who does men's work." This role was especially important during colonization when colonizers killed all the men in a village and these women had to step in to do the men's work. This is not a different gender – she is a woman – nor is it to do with sexuality, as she could "tapkûup" (like) men, women, both, neither, etc.
- Pa avansa pu'kanukriivutih asiktavaansas meaning "the man who does not live with women" even when there are women present in his village, this is a male-presenting gay man.
- Pa'asiktávan utapkûuputih asiktavaansas: The woman likes women.
- Pa'ávansa utapkûuputih ávansas: The man likes men

Archivally for the Karuk language, the only note I have found regarding anything to do with non-cishet genders or sexualities comes from Harrington's field notes with Karuk informant Fritz:

> " 'afúptshúraxkuth-thaan, one who fucks arses.
> 'afuptshurax takunkuth
> They are fucking him in the arse (in the act).
> Nesc. How to say one whom they arsefuck all the time.
> Fritz says they never did that here. It was absolutely unknown. If wanted to get girls, got one.
> Fritz has heard of men who fucked males."[542]

This translation appears to be a direct description of men having anal sex with men, and thus could be a verbatim translation informed by the way Harrington phrased his inquiries. Moreover, I apply what Miranda calls an Indigenous reading to this, whereby Natives read the archives in ways that "enrich Native lives with meaning, survival, and love, [and] poin[t] to the important role of archival reconstruction in developing a robust Two-Spirit tradition today."[543] In applying

[542] Harrington 1925-1933
[543] Miranda 2010, 256

this perspective, the circumstances of Harrington's conversation with Fritz matter. Crystal noted that Two Spirits were in high roles of ceremonial visibility and that, due to the general hunt for all Indian people in California, Two Spirits were targeted because of their visibility during ceremony. With this in mind, Fritz' statement that "they never did that here" could have been one intended to protect the community, and Crystal thought that it might even have been Fritz's way of "letting Harrington down gently" – wanting to give him something for what he was asking.

If it is the case that distinct words for 3rd+ genders/sexualities didn't exist, it is not concerning to me in the least per my arguments in Ch. 1.

In addition to our languages, there are people in the archival records who do provide "queer" representation in our areas. I preemptively address the fact that we queers are often silenced by theorists who like to claim "you can't say they [historical figures] were LGBTQ2!", even when such historic persons fall under, to us, what's obviously not "cishet" today nor would've been so in the old days (even if "cishet" and "queer" would've been conceptualized differently then). Kai Pyle, (Métis trans-gender linguist) addresses this, stating:

> "We face abundant scholarship that claims complete disconnection between historical and modern Two-Spirit people, as well as scholarship chastising transgender people of all races for attempting to claim historical figures as transgender ancestors […] by rooting ourselves in Indigenous methodologies, Two-Spirit people are able to circumvent the debate within transgender studies as to whether it is possible and desirable to claim historical figures as transgender or Two-Spirit ancestors."[544]

Which is to say, we can push back against this "don't say gay!" agenda some. For example, Sam Brown was a main Hupa consultant of Anthropologist Edward Sapir in 1927 and was known for wearing "a (women's) basket cap" and excelling in "traditional female occupations as basket weaving, acorn processing, and cooking."[545] While I do not impose a specific identity, gender, or

[544] Pyle 2018, 575
[545] Risling Baldy 2018, 94-95

sexuality onto Brown, it is clear that Brown did not exclusively perform Western gender roles in accordance with the dominant imposition of those roles into the Hoopa community. Brown is thus is someone who *does* provide representation for those of us who also do not do so today.

Figure 11. Sam Brown and Oscar Brown, photographed in 1907[546]

Again, I am not claiming Brown was "LGBTQ2" – I do not know Brown's sexual preference nor gender identity. I am simply saying there is *representation* for diversity in gender/sexuality beyond cishet man and woman who remain within their fixed, rigid gender roles and, per the evidence that gender/sexuality are not inherently two separate things (detailed in Ch. I), Brown is such representation of that diversity. We can go beyond all this "I don't want to impose an identity onto someone!" rhetoric that disallows historic Two Spirit representation.

Despite these rich histories and present examples of acceptance and gender and sexual diversity, queer- and trans- phobia can be just as much an issue in Native communities as they

[546] "Sam Brown (*left*), Edward Sapir's principal Hupa consultant in 1927, photographed in 1907 with his brother Oscar Brown, the source of several of Pliny Earle Goddard's *Hupa Texts* (1904). Courtesy of the Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of UC (15-3751)." (Golla 2011, 78)

are in broader society, and knowledge of this Undertaker role and Two Spirit peoples' importance to it has largely been ruptured. It is a balancing act, to be sure, to accept that we do not need historic *precedent* to be who we are, while also valuing historic representation where it does exist.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have wondered about many things, from how to handle, hear, and respond to vocal remains, to how what's "not visible" has been cast in broader academia to include that which is, in fact, in alinement with what dominant academia already accepts as valid evidence. I show evidence of the spiritual realm as connected to Native doctoring – necessarily "scientific" – practices and how spirit/science are not separate but one. Doctoring practices in Native communities would not work without the spiritual part. In addition, those often marginalized today, such as persons diagnosed with mental illnesses or LGBTQ2 persons, often held important roles within Native doctoring institutions. I balance uplifting and reclaiming these Indigenous structures with the point that such precedent is not needed for contemporary social equity.

Scientists say nothing can be "proven", things can only be evidenced. But some things are considered unevidenceable before the questions are even asked because Western science, in fact, has paradigms – they are just obscured under the guise of "objectivity".[547] But those things deemed unevidenceable can be evidenced, if only the criteria for what counts as "evidence" were conceived to include evidence Native peoples provide.

[547] Haraway 1988

In Which I Make a Funny

In part, I abandoned unpacking "sacred" because of the reasons identified in this chapter: the evidence of the sacred isn't a flavor dominant academia can taste, or, if they can taste it, they often react as if they've been poisoned. What is the point of using a seasoning on a meal if it is going to get sent back to the kitchen, and you are accused of putting poison in it? Wasteful.

Of course, there is another explanation for why I do not unpack "sacred."

Konomihu is a dialect of Shasta. Anthropologist Catharine Holt, in a Shasta ethnology, states that the word in Shasta for a third gender is "Gituk̆uwahi." And she says about my Gituk̆uwahi ancestors:

> Gituk̆uwahi were recognized but apparently occupied no special status. They wore men's clothes but did women's work and, like unmarried girls, they lived at home. They never married. They did not hunt, but might go with the men to carry the meat. **They were not looked down upon, but were considered a little queer and were not very bright**.[548]

There you have it – perhaps I do not unpack "sacred" because, being a little queer, I'm not *bright* enough to do so.

Paradigms

Proposed research question: Can the dead sing?

Western science rolls its eyes at the question, conducts no research into such a silly question, assumes it has *certainly* been researched before, and responds confidently, "*obviously* not. People have never heard a dead person sing! Simple observation. No research needed."

Konomihu science rolls its eyes at the question, conducts no research into such a silly question, assumes it has *certainly* been researched before, and responds confidently, "*of course*

[548] Holt 1946, 317. Emphasis added.

the dead can sing. People hear the dead sing all the time! Simple observation. No research needed."

The researcher who proposed the question realizes that he has never personally witnessed evidence for the Western claim that "people have **never** heard a dead person sing." His own ancestor heard dead people sing, as had others in her community; and it was such a common occurrence that they even knew what the songs were that the dead sung. That is direct evidence against Western science's assumption. However, the researcher also never personally witnessed the dead singing – only his ancestors have heard this, not him. So, he still wants to do the research. He has been denied the experience, himself, due to the ruptures of colonization.

He will not kill someone to see if they can sing and he will not harass the decedents he cares for in mortuary school by asking them to sing, but he is very happy with what he's learned in pursuing the question despite the presumptions of dominant society. He has not answered the question, and so has no *strong* "argument" for his dissertation chapter's proposed research question, but he has learned a lot in his pursuit – much of which was done through personal spiritual development that is not shared herein.

Perhaps his argument is: ask the silly questions with the "obvious" answers.

Colonizers tried to kill Konomihu epistemologies – such as are found in our doctoring practices and the magic practiced within it – by calling them "unscientific". Colonizers also brought their own magic. Not only their own arguably unscientific paradigms but also through different technologies such as recording devices. This whole project long, I *have* been hearing the dead sing through ancestral recordings.

But such a statement is a cheeky "gotcha!" and I would rather not end things there. It seems like ending a story with "and then she woke up!" It's cliché in hauntology at this point,

adjacent to metaphorical assertions of ghosts, and not in the true spirit of Radical Indigenism I intended to pursue.

I have a sneaking suspicion that Grandma was right about the dead and their ability to sing, and specifically to sing postmortem, even without a different definition than Western science uses for the point of death. Based on my research, what it really appears to be, in the end, is that questions are unanswerable without a cultural framework of assumptions, and a collective with their assumptions provides the group a foundation to conduct research. Otherwise, they could not conduct research to answer questions at all. This is called having a paradigm, and all people – Western "scientists" included – have one.

As this is the case, I choose Konomihu paradigms.

Yes, the dead can sing postmortem.

Conclusion

Uknîi (Once upon a time…)

Uknîi, Coyote was a nontraditional, queer, diasporic, vegan, disenrolled, deaf, atheist Karuk. She created the Karuk people who rejected her and told him he wasn't Karuk enough because he did not dipnet, he lived in Kansas, she had no roll number, they did not sing, and she did not practice World Renewal. Although Coyote did not dipnet, she fished (veganly) for subsistence. Although Coyote lived in Kansas, his stories and songs and name tied her to Katamin, and his perspective was simply not that of a Kansan. While Coyote had no roll number, s/(t)he/y knew such documentation was a way the colonizers intended to keep track of him, keep her contained, and steal their land. Although Coyote did not sing, he contributed to music and language reclamation in other ways. While Coyote did not practice World Renewal, she was born of the World Renewal culture, and thus had his own contributions to fixing the Karuk World.

Call Coyote blasphemous, but Coyote is Karuk, regardless.

In some ways, I think I'm funny. In some ways, I am being serious.

Some Karuk who grew up "away" from the Tribe –

Some Karuk who doesn't know the word "Ayukîi" –

Some Karuk who might not be able to dipnet fish because maybe they are in a wheelchair, or (like me) are clumsy and would fall (which kills you) –

Some Karuk who is trans and feels invalidated because we had to *create* words for transness rather than having ancient words for it (whether those words were ruptured through colonization or never existed to begin with) –

All of these persons are legitimately Karuk. They do not need to change. If we require such change, then only certain people who are what is perceived to be the "correct" way of being Karuk hold all the power, and thus are the only ones considered to be able to impart knowledge to other Karuks. This can cause things such as gatekeeping, hegemony, and homogenization. All Karuks are Karuk, period, and should say their piece, show up as they are and as they come, and this makes our community stronger.

I reflect on an anonymous peer review I received once, where the person liked what I had to say, but noted my piece was "repetitive." Curiously, as someone with experience as an instructor of Writing Studies where I saw repetition a lot (generally where students were trying to meet word requirements – no judgement), I knew that I was not being repetitive. Perhaps my dissertation would be perceived as repetitive as well. And I'm not going to change it. My repetition is Indian, like BigFoot, evidence of a continuity in my Karuk worldview. The late Greg Younging (Opsakwayak Cree), in *Elements of Indigenous Style* states, "Indigenous writing contains elements of storytelling that appear repetitious to a non-Indigenous mind, but which are not repetition."[549] Where I "repeat", I often am either making what is actually a new point, showing how that point might be come to by very different trains of thought (and so perhaps there is something to the point), or emphasizing it because it's simply important and we learn by repetition.

In this conclusion I summarize my research process, the dissertation chapters, and the contributions to the fields I play with and in.

[549] Younging 2019, 24

Research Process and Methods Reflection

While our project has had a good fifteen people involved and in fact continues to spread, I specifically interviewed four people. I had extended invitations to several more, but (as explained in the first chapter) many Karuks are not sure what they can contribute and are thus hesitant to do so. In addition, most folks are busy with life and work. I therefore supplement "findings" with my own observations as a community member. I am sore curious how findings might look if even more perspectives were represented (but also recognize that in qualitative research, more than four interviews is a feat in itself – as I am still actually transcribing recordings to return to folks even upon the filing of this work).

Summary of Chapters

Within this dissertation I have analyzed prominent themes that came up in my family's early starts of Konomihu-Shasta music reMatriation, within which families with intergenerational rupture have reclaimed many songs, where reclamation centers sovereignty and our right to assert who we are despite the world's expectations of who we ought to be. Themes discussed also reflect the politics of Karuk Country more broadly and include the concept of Tradition, Karuks participating in tribal doings remotely (or Karuks "in diaspora"), our Enrollment ordinance, and considerations of what a Karuk hauntological theory could look like, especially how Karuks might assert our own paradigms which have been targeted for eradication.

With regard to **Tradition**, I have shown that the dominant way the word is used functions to make some Karuk people feel they are less Karuk, have less of a say, and don't really "count" as Karuk. This is evidenced by the fact that many people felt they did not "know the traditions" and so might not have something to contribute to research for Karuk peoples. Importantly, these

were folks deeply rooted in Karuk community, tribal structures, and thus Karuk culture as it exists contemporarily, which necessarily also includes what is deemed "tradition" since "contemporary" and "tradition" are not, in fact, opposites, both existing today and on a continuum. I propose that a solution to Karuks not feeling "Karuk enough" is *not* to hegemonically teach "tradition" where only certain peoples' knowledges are valued as "Karuk", but instead to embrace the diversity of Karuk perspectives as contributing to our unique existence and possible futures. Ideas explored include Karuk peoples' relationships to fish; BigFoot's presence in many Karuk psyches; Karuk renditions of "English" songs used in revitalization; and evidence of our historic "authentically Karuk" diversity, such as our playing of fiddles. Moreover, I show how rhetoric of "tradition" *can* set a dangerous precedent for lateral oppression, such as where some tribal nations assert "tradition" as marriage between man and woman, or denounce the Indian "blood" of Black Native peoples. Our "contemporary" culture is just as much "our culture" as our traditions are, and research supportive of both (ideally as a wholistic "one" rather than segregated) is important.

With regard to **Diaspora**, I have shown how Karuk people map relationally – a common type of mapping among Indigenous peoples evidenced by the fact we often ask each other "who are you related to?" In theorizing from this question, it reveals that within a Karuk mental map, all Karuk people are necessarily *from* the Karuk Tribe, meaning that we are necessarily *from* the places Karuk people emerged – Katamin – regardless of where individual Karuks might have been born or live today. We all by nature of our Karukness are from Karuk Country. In addition to our relational map, evidence includes how our stories and songs do the work of "mapping." As well, I argue that Karuk peoples' relationships to place – be those places dominantly conceptualized as "Karuk" or not (such as the Happy Camp Airport) – are "authentically" Karuk

relationships, and that Karuk people have Karuk perspectives with a standpoint that is from Tribal homelands. More philosophically, I put pressure on the common assumption that where someone "grew up" is inherently indicative of their positionality or so-called level of "connection" and perspective on matters because in reality, we never stop growing.

With regard to **Enrollment**, I detail how the Tribe's current enrollment ordinance creates a second class of Karuks, and how this class is used for numbers (and thus grant money) but is denied rights and a political voice. Because support of the ordinance typically comes from a perspective that blood quantum is important and a biological essence, I deconstruct the fact that blood quantum is not a biologically existing substance, showing how race is a social construct and thus so is being "part" race; even showing how some tribes have socially *re*-constructed their race and defined their own baseline of blood. I argue from the fact that Tribes are sovereign *nations* and that nations can be made up of many "races" – negating the idea of a "mixed" Karuk person. All Karuks are fully Karuk from a citizenship standpoint, and that citizenship includes two *classes*, but one class is not inherently "less" Karuk. From these points, I provide alternative ideas for an enrollment ordinance, which I plan to clean up quite a bit post-graduation and present to council, and I am supported by many, family and not, in doing so. The more Karuks who are able to contribute to the community, such as by serving on council and boards, the better the Tribe can assert autonomy in various areas – such as in sonic sovereignty over our music productions.

Lastly, I show how dominant academia asks Indigenous peoples to evidence our own paradigms (such as "sacred") when they do not ask the same of those using Western paradigms. Within the same vein, mainstream academia has swallowed "**Hauntology**" and made it align with that which it originally was intended to critique. Which is to say, "hauntology" now

functions moreso as a buzzword wherein theorists provide “fun” analyses often at the expense of those who have the beliefs/perspectives hauntology was originally intended to uplift. For example, believing in ghosts, Putawan, and BigFoot. I argue that from the paradigm that the sacred exists, from which I explore the idea that the dead can sing and thus have a sacred stake in music reMatriation and other cultural reclamation projects, and that Natives in academia should not have to take on the burden of proving those paradigms which are obvious to many of us. Rather we should be supported in research that begins from such assumptions.

Field Contributions

My work cannot be neatly filed away into one field, perhaps not even Native American Studies (NAS) itself, whose audience likely already knows the things I have said. It is mostly non-NAS fields what need to hear it, and it is Native Studies what backs me up and gives me the platform from which to say it. I watch many fields, occasionally doing a deep dive, and then fleeing. I do not stay. I am thus a slippery, evasive, often invisible Being. A ghost, myself, in many fields.

No, this is not code for inter- or multi- disciplinary.

It is code for Indian.

“Indian” is perceived not to be an “expert” in any one area. Dominant disciplines in academia often sever connections, dichotomize concepts, and rely on binaries. These means of compartmentalizing are colonial tools that control knowledge production and dissemination, packaging and presenting knowledge as related or not related based on systems not informed by Indigenous ways of knowing. Oscar A. Kawagley (Yup’ik) explores this through Yupiaq knowledge systems, arguing that Western scientific knowledge is “fragmented knowledge that is discriminatory, piecemeal, and analytical,” and that this doesn’t synchronize well with

"learn(ing) from particulars leading to the whole," which is a Yupiaq way of learning.[550] As TallBear succinctly puts it, "Indigenous ontologies *don't* break the world into disciplines—into 'literature,' 'history,' 'religion,' 'biology,' 'philosophy,' 'physics.' Those categories lead inevitably to hierarchy, just like breaking the continuum of life into races, sexualities, and species leads to racisms, sexisms, and species-ism."[551]

"Who should read this work?"

Indigenous peoples' research should be read widely, in all fields. For example, a musicologist would benefit from reading this dissertation despite that it may not initially look like "Musicology." I do not actually share our songs or dissect them. However, it is research born of a music project. Why would a musicologist *not* be interested? That is the more interesting question. Who *shouldn't* or wouldn't read this work, and why?

Clint Bracknell (Nyungar) argues in *'Say You're a Nyungarmusicologist'* that Western Musicology, even Ethnomusicology, as part of the broader structures in which it resides, is dominantly white – perhaps in its makeup and demographics, but also in its epistemological bases, evidenced by such things as BIPOC ethnomusicologists being told they cannot be "objective" when producing research with, by, for, or "about" their own communities' musics and praxis.[552] Fascinating, given that "objectivity" has been debunked and abandoned in most of the humanities (per chapter IV's arguments) and that this includes in ethnomusicology, which Bracknell states "the possibility of an objective stance in ethnomusicology has long been dismissed, let alone prioritized."[553] Moreover, Loren Kajikawa argues that "U.S. music schools

[550] Kawagley 2006, 102
[551] Tallbear 2016, 73, emphasis original
[552] Bracknell 2015, 201-202
[553] Bracknell 2015, 201

share a 'possessive investment' in classical music that perpetuates, or is at least complicit with, white supremacy."[554] Given whiteness' dominance in musicology, musicology itself has come to mean the study of white music, as Music departments "are clearly not devoted to the study, advocacy, and performance of all music: 'They are…schools of Western European art music."[555] As whiteness, and white music, is the norm (the unmarked), anything that isn't so is "other" and thus must be named. Hence we get "Native musicology" and the like.

But then we become an echo chamber, and the classical white elitist is comfortable that we have our place and they have theirs – segregated.[556] They need not bother to engage with what Natives are up to… Ah, but Natives are required to engage what they do in the "main" field of Music, cite and learn their canons. Such education includes "the aesthetic qualities prized in symphonic music", including learning that these qualities are "missing in the music of more 'primitive' peoples."[557]

Although I play in many fields, NAS does, in fact, have its own canon – as do individual Native communities. So to expect a Native musicologist to have the "foundational" citations of (white) musicology is a double standard – the Native then must know the literature of two fields (usually more), whereas the (white) musicologist only need be familiar with one canon. The Native is asked to do double the labor just to enter the discourse. This is in part Kajikawa's critique of how whiteness – particularly its proximity to classical music – is a form of property in musicology.[558] The property of success in one's career due to possession of whiteness and/or of white music. When BIPOC are prevented from entering the discourse, we return to our own

[554] Kajikawa 2019, 156
[555] Kajikawa 2019, 157
[556] Kajikawa 2019, 160
[557] Kajikawa 2019, 158
[558] Kajikawa 2019, 164

subfields, to those who receive us, engage our thoughts, publish us, value our contributions. And it's important we have that space, not only as an "alternative" but also in its own right. Yet, this results in the non-BIPOC continuing to feel secure in not reading BIPOC work because they think they don't have to engage – as it is not their area of study.

The reader will see that song and music are mentioned in every chapter summarized above. I have done musicology.

Future Research Possibilities

This dissertation project's findings reveal the importance of uplifting all Karuk people no matter their perceived "cultural" knowledge base, locational experience, enrollment status, or belief system. Limitations of the study include that within such a goal of "uplifting all Karuk people", there are only a handful, all from the same family, of perspectives directly represented herein. So it is, in a way, a paradox. However, importantly, these are the perspectives and experiences often neglected in what's deemed "Karuk" research and knowledge, so I stand by that it is a useful start. Future research should include other families and people from more backgrounds (e.g., in enrollment status, present/past physical location, perceived "cultural" knowledge, etc.).

In addition, research could focus on Enrolled Descendants' perspectives and the impacts of their status on their lives – as Bissett Perea shows, the "identity crises" which emerge from Member/Descendant splits in enrollment processes in Alaska Native communities has contributed to Descendant suicide rates and substance abuse.[559] What might be found in Karuk Country regarding the mental health of our "Descendants"?

[559] Bissett Perea 2017, 147

I am also most excited by BigFoot, his music, and how he has come up. Future research might investigate the particularities of how BigFoot manifests in Karuk peoples' lives (which will of course be diverse, ranging from "not at all" to a literal Being who is feared, communicated with, consulted, even venerated).

Practical applications of this research includes that researchers need to expand the types of Karuk people they work with, rather than doing thinly veiled salvage ethnography (looking for only the "traditional" Karuks to do research with, thereby reifying the narrative of Karuk disappearance).

Kupánakanakana [The end (of this story…)]

Things have come full circle for me. I was propelled into language reclamation work as a way to mourn the passing of my Papa [grandfather], and this set me on the trajectory to eventually come to learn of my family's Shasta funeral songs, and it has been through this path that I've actually come to mortuary science. Now in collaboration with other Natives from our area in mortuary school, we are working to create a Native model for a funeral home and will be consulting with various Tribes in the area. There is much exciting work happening for Native mortuary science.

Recall that in Indigenous Oral Traditions, all stories are all connected, forming a complete History of the People. For example, Archibald shares that Indigenous story frameworks might look like this:

> "In our stories there isn't a tidy beginning, middle, and end. [For example,] Our stories start somewhere where the trickster is traveling around the world. Or maybe Coyote lost his eyes in one story and [another story picks] up and he's still wandering around looking for his eyes. But we don't really know how he lost his eyes unless we heard that part of the story before. Oh and sometimes the story will just end, where in one way, yeah, Coyote ends up with these mis-matched eyes and that's the end of the story. And then people will think 'wow, is that the end of the story?' You know, 'what happens? Does he

> get his eyes back?'… For us, maybe, we've grown up with these stories, we know when the storyteller finishes telling the story at that point, then that's where the story stops at that moment. It may pick up another portion of it another time. But we usually don't ask 'what happens?' Because we're the ones that are supposed to figure out what could happen."[560]

So, in one story, Coyote may be going around doing things in the story, but he doesn't have his eyes. It's it's own story. But in another story, how Coyote lost his eyes is revealed, and you don't know how he lost his eyes unless you've heard that story as context for the other one in which coyote has no eyes. You don't necessarily need to know both stories in order to learn from them, but they are connected in that way.

This dissertation is like that. This is one story. It is connected to much context that is not packed within it. And here I end it, but it will be picked up again – by myself or another storyteller – this ending is another story's "uknîi."

[560] Archibald 1:30 – 2:45

Appendix A: Interview Script Sample

I. Please share about your background and any community affiliations or identities that are important to you

I. I'd like to know your thoughts on the music reclamation project and what you think the impact could be for the family and community

II. Could you share what you remember about Grandma Susie, or any stories about her?

III. Could you talk about specific places important to you?

IV. Do you (or did you) and/or your relatives dipnet fish? Can you tell me about that? Did you ever see women dipnet fishing? How do you feel about who can/should dipnet?

V. I was wondering if you could tell me about our family's baskets—what you know of them, who made them, what their designs are, what plants are used? Who in our family weaves or weaved? Did you ever hear of men weaving baskets? How do you feel about who can/should weave.

VI. Could you share about auntie Lizzie Maddox? About her life, her family, what she did.

VII. What was the presence of Indian music like for you growing up?

VIII. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me? About your family, aunts, uncles, parents and grandparents? What directions you think the project could or should go?

IX. Is there anything I should know, or that you want to make sure is remembered?

X. Can you recommend another family member I might reach out to?

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