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Red Feminist Literary Analysis: Reading Violence and Criminality in
Contemporary Black American Fiction

By

Dorothy Ann Nason

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Patricia Penn Hilden

Professor José David Saldívar

Professor Hertha D. Sweet Wong

Fall 2010

Abstract

Red Feminist Literary Analysis: Reading Violence and Criminality in
Contemporary B UHj] Y'K ca Ybŋg;K f]h]b[

by

Dorothy Ann Nason

Doctor of Philosophy

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Patricia Penn Hilden, Chair

This dissertation argues for the development of a red feminist literary analysis in the context of recent calls for a more ethical literary criticism in Native Studies and the more recent articulations of Indigenous feminisms. As a contribution to the field of Native literary analysis, it seeks to intervene in the gaps of literary nationalist approaches by reading the works of Zitkala-Sa, Janet Campbell Hale and Linda Hogan from a red feminist perspective which makes central considerations of gender. Using contemporary Indigenous feminist theory and history as the foundation of such a literary approach, this dissertation asserts that h\YgY'h\l hg'cZZYf']a dcfhUbh]bg][\h]bhc'h\Y'k Umg]b'k \]W\ 'B UHj] Y'k ca Ybŋg' experience under colonialism has been shaped by gender oppression and colonial violence. In particular, this dissertation focuses on these Native women k f]hYfgŋ[YbXYfYX W]h]ei Yg'cZgYl i U' j]c`YbW'UbX W]a]bU']ImUg'h\Y'cf[Ub]n]b[' themes through which these works describe, and also attempt to unravel, the ideologies which normalize such conditions. Beginning with the early twentieth century non-fiction writing of Zitkala-Sa, followed by the short fiction of Janet Campbell Hale set during termination and the Red Power era, and ending with the contemporary fiction of Linda Hogan which evades specificities of time and nation, it also makes the historical claim that such feminist considerations of [YbXYf'cddfYgg]cb'UbX'[YbXYf'↑ gh]W'UFY'bchU'fYWbŋ' ZcW'g'Zcf'B UHj] Y'k ca Yb' who have theorized the conditions of colonialism or the politics of decolonization throughout contemporary literary practice.

For my mother, Cecilia Marie Cantú Nason

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Chapter One

Introduction: Beyond the Red Power Era, Laying the Groundwork for Contemporary Indigenous Feminisms

Let your women hear our words.

--Nancy Ward, Speech to US Treaty Commissioners (1781)

The women know as much as the men do, and their advice is often asked. We have a republic as well as you. The council-tent is our Congress, and anybody can speak who has anything to say, women and all. . . . If women could go into your Congress I think justice would soon be done to the Indians.

--Sarah Winnemucca, *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883)

For spite I feel like putting my hand forward and simply wiping the Indian away. I should not really do such a thing. Only I do not understand why your organization does not include Indian women. Am I not an Indian woman as capable to think in serious matters and as thoroughly interested in the race as any one or two of you men put together?

--Zitkala-Sa, Letter to Carlos Montezuma (1901)

This project engages contemporary Indigenous feminist thought and practice and current discourses in Native literary criticism which ground literary analysis within the project of self-determination and decolonization. As demonstrated in recent scholarship by Indigenous feminists Cheryl Suzack, Shari Huhndorf, and others, Indigenous feminism is an intervention in the nationalist turn in Native literary studies and an important contribution to the discussion of ethical literary analysis. Specifically, Huhndorf argues in her most recent work, *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*, that Native literary nationalisms, which have dominated the field in recent decades, have been inadequate in addressing many aspects of contemporary Native cultural production. In particular Huhndorf argues that Native literary nationalists have devoted little attention to writing by Native women, especially those works that attend to issues of gender, and they have thereby reinforced the marginalization and political containment of indigenous women. Cheryl Suzack has argued that in seeking an ethical literary criticism, the subject of *Reasoning Together: The Native Critics Collective* (2008), critics must be remade by the discursive power of colonial law and policy, which produce the colonial subject not only through categories of race but also through redefining gender relations.

remain vigilant to the conditions of cultural production from which emerge the identity categories we inhabit and employ in our cultural criticism; indeed, those conditions require an intersectional approach that, for Suzack, feminist analysis and standpoint theory offers (171).

This dissertation addresses the lack of critical attention to Native women's literature that Huhndorf notes in a way that locates these works within a critical derision and identities as feminists and activists. The study of Native American literature must be constituted through the terrain of political representation in order to transform the field of Native American literature (171). However, exactly how to conduct such analysis, or rather what gives form to an Indigenous feminist literary practice must not be the work of one person or one project. Indeed, theoretically, literary critics might avoid such an undertaking because the terms of what constitutes Indigenous feminism are necessarily open and contested. Moreover, any project which claims to offer a definitive Indigenous feminist literary approach is more likely to produce its own exception rather than a sustainable or viable critical practice. This project therefore takes a humble position as it attempts to, on the one hand, lay the groundwork for a feminist literary practice, and on the other, avoid asserting that its analytical moves are the quintessential method of Indigenous feminist literary analysis.

While what constitutes a red feminist literary analysis will be more fully discussed in Chapter Two, a basic claim is that gender as a field of social relations and power must be at the center of literary analysis that claims to unlock the political aims and anti-colonial critiques of early modern and contemporary Native women writers. Whether these writers claim feminist identities or not, the literature they produce requires a Native feminist approach in order to understand the ways Native women's literature has been produced and received. Yet, this claim is one that can never fully be described through an analysis focused on gender only. As Indigenous feminists consistently argue, what makes Indigenous feminism distinct from other feminist approaches is its intersectional analysis of race, class, sexuality and gender.

However, before engaging with literary theory or undertaking analysis of the works of Zitkala-Sa, Janet Campbell Hale or Linda Hogan, I turn to the context of Native American history and the United States during the period of heightened political engagement most commonly referred to as the Red Power era, a period of Native American political activism and rights movements. The key texts and debates in this history have become familiar to many scholars interested in contemporary Native feminist scholarship. Yet I offer this brief overview in order to think through the arguments against feminism in

(14). This rejection, Green argues, can be traced to the neglect of gender analysis in much of the work by intellectuals in the early decades of Native studies.³ Green writes:

by the emergence of a cadre of Aboriginal intellectuals, most of whom were gender-blind or hostile to gendered analysis. . . . This led to a consensus . . . that feminism was an alien ideology inimical to the political and cultural objectives of Aboriginal women in particular and Aboriginal peoples in general. (15)

M. Annette Jaimes and others often positioned feminism as against tribal nationalisms; therefore, they argued, feminism undermined Native nationalist movements for self-determination. However Huhndorf points out the problem with such an uncritical acceptance of nationalism is its positioning of Native women in ways that reproduce the gendered violence of colonization. She writes:

The opposition between sovereignty and feminism positions male-articulated nationalisms as the sole site of indigenous resistance to ongoing colonization and it deflects questions about the ways patriarchy shapes the internal dynamics of Native communities and activist movements. In a stark recapitulation of colonial narratives about Native women from within indigenous communities posits assimilation (an accusation frequently leveled at feminists) or submission to patriarchy as the only paths available to indigenous women. (113)

could only ever be oppositional or outside of Native political thought and practice. This is the position of many non-indigenous scholars . . . uncritically accepting the proposition that feminism was inauthentic, un-Aboriginal and in other ways problematic. Native feminist scholar Andrea Smith points out that Indigenous feminism is not now (or was in the past) merely about the inclusion of Native women into American Studies (309). Smith argues that this inclusion of Native women into American Studies devalues the contributions of Native women to feminist thought and practice generally, as well as the value of Native feminist analysis, one must take seriously the specific vantage-point of which Native women articulate their politics.

From a Red Zone, Durrant argues that the traditional standpoint to one that recognized that there are many centers from which to theorize. Durrant describes her own effort to advance this standpoint.

met with the dismissive reframing of this idea with postcolonial trends in theory. She writes, H\cb[cŋĀ words so startled a white British geography lecturer that she cut me cZ'""'Đā 'gc'h]fYX'cZ'h]g'Wb'hYf-periphery stuff... LYhŋ' bch\Uj Y'Ubma cF'cZ'h'U'h'Ŋ' (4). Hilden notes this particular scholar had incorrectly dismissed H\cb[cŋĀ a cF'gcd\]g]W'hYX'W'cb'W'dhk]h'k \Uhg\Y'fY'W'c[b]nYX'Z'h'Y'cb'W'dcdi 'Uf'Đ'W'b'hYf-dYf]d\YfmŊ X]W'c'h'a m' fU'h'Yf'h'U'b'U'Z' bX'U'a Yb'h'g\]Zi]b'dYfgd'W'h]j'Y'Z' 'i' g'f'U'h]b['<']X'Yb'ŋ'c'j'Y'f'U' point (4). Hilden explains:

K \Uhg\Y'X]X'b'ch'g'Y'Y]g'h'U'h\Y'f'g]g'h'Y'k c'f'X'k \Y'f'Y'Đ' Y-b'Y'g'g'Ŋ]g'k \]h'Y' Đ\Y'm-b'Y'g'g'Ŋ]g'b'c'bk \]h'Y' 'Đ' Ya]b]ga Ŋ'U'g'd'f'U'W'h]W'h]X' V'm'h'Y'g'9'i' f'c'U'b'X' 9'i' f'c'd'Y'U'b'5'a' Y'f]W'b'k' ca' Y'b'Z'a' Y'U'b'g'Y'h]b['Đ\Ya Ŋ'Y'b'h'r' the wide world of WE. The center does not move, it just expands outward... (4)

As Smith and Hilden argue for the necessary re-centering of perspective and experience for Indigenous feminist theorizing, other feminist scholars have begun the work of re-orienting the historiography of anti-racist feminisms. Feminist historian 6Y'W'm'H\ca dg'cb'ŋ'W'U'Y'b[Y'g'h'Y'k' Um'Ā \Y[Ya' cb]W'Z'Ya]b]ga Ā'X'Y'Z]b'Y'g'Z'Ya]b]g'h'k'ci [\h'U'g'W'c'g]g'h]b['c'Z'h'Y'Z'c'ck]b['Z'ci' f'W'h]Y[c'f]Y'g'Ā]V'Y'f'U'Z'g'c'V'W]g'h'Z'f'U'X]W'U' 'U'b'X' *sometimes* culti'f'U'Z'Ya]b]ga Ā' f'm'y' emphasis, ' ' +L''H\Y'g'Y'W'h]Y[c'f]Y'g'U'g'c'W'b'h'Y'f'k \]h'Y'k' ca' Y'b'ŋ' leadership and relegate women of color feminisms as an off-shoot of a monolithic white k'ca' Y'b'ŋ'a' c'j' Ya' Y'b'h'Z'c'f'c' 'i' g'Y'<']X'Y'b'ŋ'k' c'f'X'g'U[U]b'Z'h'Y'Ā'W'b'h'Y'f'X'c'Y'g'b'c'h'a' c'j' Y'Z]h'Ā' g'h' expan'X'g'ci' h'k' U'f'X'Ā' "

K \]Y'H\ca dg'cb'c'Z'Y'f'g']h'Y']b]g[\h]b'h'c' B'U'h]j' Y'k' ca' Y'b'ŋ'Z'Ya]b]g'h'U'h]j']ga' during the second wave, she makes an important observation about the periodization of mainstream feminist history, which marks the height and decline of feminism from the 'U'h' *\$ŋ'c' h'Y'Y'U'f'm', \$ŋ' 'H\ca dg'cb'U'f[i' Y'g'h'U'h]]g'c'f]Y'b'h]h]c'b]g'd'U'f'h]W'U'f' m'f'c'h'Y'X]b' the milestones of white hegemonic feminist activism. In contrast, she notes that a Ā'd'Y'f]c'X]n]h]c'b'c'Z'h'Y'k' ca' Y'b'ŋ'a' c'j' Ya' Y'b'h'Z'f'ca' h'Y'd'c']b'h'c'Z'j]Y'k' c'Z'a' i' h]f'U'W'a'l' feminism k'ci' X'h'f'Y'U'h'h'Y' 'U'h' % *\$g'U'b'X'Y'U'f'm' +\$ŋ'U'g']h'g'c'f] []b'U'b'X' h'Y'a']X-% +\$ŋ'Z%, \$ŋ'Z'U'b'X' % - \$ŋ'U'g'U'\Y] [\h' 'fĀ ((L''H\]g'd'Y'f]c'X]n]h]c'b]g'g'ca' Y'k' \U'h'g'i' d'd'c'f'h'Y'X' V'm'h'Y'k' f]h]b['g'c'Z' Native women feminists during this period who describe the coming together of W'c'Z'f'Y'b'W'g'X'i' f]b['h'Y' +\$ŋ'Z'h'Y'd'i' V']W'h]c'b'c'Z' B'U'h]j' Y'Z'Ya]b]g'h]Y']g']b' h'Y', \$ŋ'Z'm'h'U'g' b'c'h'Y'X' V'Y'Z'c'f'Y'Z'h'Y'f'Y]g'U'f'U'g]h]c'b]b' h'Y'g'W'c'U'f'g' \]d']b' h'Y' - \$ŋ' 'C'Z'W'c'i' f'g'Y'Z'c'b'Y'W'c'i' X' argue that even these essays which rejected feminism were an important moment in contemporary Indigenous feminist historiography.

Yet even amongst histories attentive to re-centering women of color to the b'U'f'f'U'h]j' Y'g'c'Z'Z'Ya]b]g'h'a' c'j' Ya' Y'b'h]]b' h'Y' % +\$ŋ'Z'h'Y'f'Y']g'g'h']h'Y'U'h]Y'b]h]c'b'd'U]X' h'c' B'U'h]j' Y' k' ca' Y'b'ŋ'c'f[U'b]n]b['U'h'h']g'h]a' Y'": c'f'Y'i' U'a' d'Y']b' 6'Y'b]h]U'F'c'h' ŋ' \]g'h'f'm'Z' *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana and White Feminist Movements in the Second Wave*, she explains \Y'f'X'Y'W'g]c'b' h'c' 'Y'U'j' Y'ci' h'B'U'h]j' Y'k' ca' Y'b'ŋ'c'f[U'b]n]b['because of the lack of available archives and the assumption that the divided loyalties and small number of Native women feminists lessened its historical value. She explains that feminist organizing in h'Y'B'U'h]j' Y'5'a' Y'f]W'b'W'c'a' a' i' b]m'Ā'k' U'g'X'Y'U'm'X' U'b'X'a' U'X'Y'f'Y'U'h]j' Y'm'X']Z]W' h'V'm' competing loyalties an'X'c'j' Y'f'U' 'dc']h]W'U' W'f'W'a' g'f'U'b'W'Ā' h'Y'f'Y'Z'c'f'Y'Z'g' \Y'W'c'g'Y' \Y'f' h'f'Y'Y'

a cj Ya Ybhr'VUgYX'cb'h\Y]f'ā i 'h]ghUH'gW'Yī 'UbX'h\Yī'h]a]b['cZ'h\Y]f'Ya Yf[YbW'gī 'fl'ē'' However, Roth points to a brief article written by Sherna Burger Gluck and her research partners, Maylei Blackwell, Sharon Cotrell and Karen Harper on K ca Yb'cZ'7'c'cf'ŋ second-wave feminist organizing. What this article reveals, though limited, is a number of touchstone events later more fully described by Native scholar Rayna Green that begins to give shape to the feminist organizing of the latter \U'ZcZ'h\Y'% +\$ŋ'

Conferences and Coming Together (1974-81)

Hi fb]b['hc'; 'i W_ YhU'žg]a]'Uf'hc'F'ch'ŋ'a cfY'Yi dUbg]j Y'\]gh'cmž'h\Y]f'dfc'Y'W' UH'Ya d'hg'hc' i b\]b[Y'h\Y'ZcW'g'cZī'g'Y'W'cbX-k Uj Yī '\]gh'cf]Yg'cb'h\Yī'UM]ions of mainly k \]h'Y'k ca Yb'ŋ[fci dgi 'hc'h\Y'k]XYf'W'cbg]XYfU]cb'cZ'k ca Yb'cZ'W'cf'Z'Ya]b]ga'g'fl'&ē'' I bZ'cfi bUH'mž'h\Y'g'Y'W]cb'cb'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'Z'Ya]b]gh'UM]j]ga]b'h\Yī' G'g'ei]h' underdeveloped, but offers four moments of anti-gYi]gh'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'UM]j]sm during h\]g'd'Yf]cX'' 'CZ'h\Y'g'Y'Zci fž'h'f'Y'f'Yj'c'j Y'U'fci b'X'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'd'U'f'h]W'd'U]cb]b and cf[Ub]n]b['k ca Yb'ŋ'W'cbZ'Y'f'Y'W'g]b'W' X]b['h\Y'B U]cbU'K ca Yb'ŋ'7'cbZ'Y'f'Y'W']b' Houston (1977), the first Ohoyo Conference in Albuquerque (1980), and the second annual conference sponsored by Ohoyo in partnership with the North American Indian K ca Yb'ŋ'5'ggc'W]U]cb'h]h'YX'ī' -b'X]Ub'K ca Yb'U'h'h\Y'7'fc'gg'f'c'U'X'g'ī' fl%, %&f'(&-3) .

H\Y'B U]cbU'K ca Yb'ŋ'7'cbZ'Y'f'Y'W']b' % ++k Ug'U'mainstream event sponsored by the U.S. federal government and planned as part of h\Y'b'U]cb'ŋ'V]W'b'h'bb]U' celebration Ug'k Y'' Ug]b'f'Y'W' [b]h]cb'cZ'h\Yī' B ŋ' -b'h'f'b'U]cbU'K ca Yb'ŋ']M'U'f']b' % +)'''' The Ohoyo conferences, on the other hand, were sponsored by the newly formed group of Native women activists and scholars under the same name in 1979, the North 5 a Yf]W]b' -b'X]Ub'K ca Yb'ŋ'5'ggc'W]U]cb'UbX'h\Yī' G'8'Yd'U'f'ha Yb'hc'Z'9'X'i W]h]cb'' 'H\Y'Z]bU' Yī'Ua d'Y'Y'X'Y'b'h]Z]Y'X'V'm; 'i W_]g'h\Y'W'Y'U]cb'cZ'h\Y'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'UM]j]gh'b'Y'k'cf'_ Women of All Red Nations (WARN) which she cites as occurring in 1978, although the date is much earlier in 1974. WARN, a more radical group, emerged out of the Red Power organizing of the American Indian Movement and did not identify as a feminist organization. However as Gluck and Andrea Smith have noted, within WARN leadership, members like Madonna Thunderhawk have claimed this position. Despite the brief nature of ; 'i W_ ŋ'cj Yfj]Yk 'cZ'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'U]b]-sexist activism, this assessment attempts to fill the gap in the feminist historiography on the organizing activities of Native women during this period.

These key moments UfY'U'gc'X]g'W'gg'Y'X']b'F'U'nb'U'; f'Y'Y'b'ŋ'Y'gg'U'mī'8']U'f'm'ic'Z'U' Native-5 a Yf]W]b': Ya]b]gh'ī' 'Di'V']g'Y'X']b' 'Ms. Magazine]b' %, &ž; f'Y'Y'b'ŋ'ī'X]U'f'm'ī' W'f'cb]W'W'g'Yj Yb'hg'k \]W' f'Y'd'f'Y'g'Y'b'h'h\Yī' d'U'f'ts that make up the American Indian K ca Yb'ŋ'A cj Ya Yb'h']b'h\Y''U'h'%' +\$ŋ'UbX'Y'U'f'm, \$ŋ'fl' ' \$ē''; f'Y'Y'b'ŋ'ī'X]U'f'm'ī' 'X'c'Y'g'b'ch' presume to cZ'Z'f'U'W'ē'a d'f'Y'Y'g]j Y'U'W'ē'i b'hc'Z'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'UM]j]ga 'U'h'h\]g'h]a Yž because as Green dc]b'hg'ci hž'h'Y'f'Y'U'f'Y'ī' Ug'a U'bmj Y'fg]ions of Indian feminism as there are hf]V'Y'g] 'fl' ' %&'' The events which she focuses on are oriented around conferences in which Native women activists and academics participated to discuss various issues, but also W]a Y'hc[Y'h\Y'f'hc'gd'YU'_hc'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'ŋ'Yi d'Y'rience and gendered concerns.

Her diary VY[]bgk]h' Ub' Ybhf mUVci hB Uhj Y'k ca Yb' UWij]ghnd UfhVd Uh]cb at a 1977 energy development conference in Billings, Montana attended mostly by Native tribes from the state. Green recounts a Mohawk woman ng'gdYYW which galvanized the Native women at the conference. In this speech, the woman strongly challenged a B Uhj Y'a Ubng'XYZ]b]h]cb'cZhfUX]h]cb cf'hAY'c'X'k Umgj' which he had argued meant Native women should stay out of leadership positions. Green writes that the Mohawk k ca Ubng'gdYYW d'UWX'hY'k ca Yb']b'UHYbXUbW'gei UfY'm]b'h'YZYminist V'bgV'ci gbYggj' f'l' %ZUbX'hYmVla Y'hc[Yh'Yf']b'dfchYghcZgi W'Ubh]-woman rhetoric and XYd'cma Ybh'cZ'f'UX]h]cb"i'5'h'ci [\ 'h'Y'V'ZfYbW'k Ug'ZcW'gYX'cb'XYW'X'Y'mX]ZZYfYnt political issues, the question of Native women and feminism had come to the surface. G]a]'Uf'nz'B Uhj Y'k ca Ybng'[YbXYf'dc'h]Vgk ci 'X'Z]bX'fYdfYgYbUh]cb'Uha cfY' mainstream feminist events as well.

4' UXX]h]cb'hc'h'Y'B Uh]cbU'K ca Ybng'7cbZfYbW'bchYX']n Gluck et al, a Native k ca Ybng'XY'Y[Uh]cb'V'bj YbYX'Uh'Ub'ch'Yf'ia U'cf]m'i'Yj Yb'h'h'Y%' +-'B Uh]cbU'K ca Ybng' Studies Association Conference in Lawrence, Kansas. Green gives a fuller accounting of the conference in an article she writes for the NWSA newsletter that same year. FYdcfh]b['cb'h'Y'Yj Yb'h'z; f'Yb'b'ch'Y'g'h'Uh'rk Y'j Y'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'UWX'Ya]Vg'a Yh'i d'Ufhim [to] participate in a symposium on Indian women, and partly to formalize the cf[Ub]nUh]cb'cZU'bYrk cf_cZUWX'Ya]W'X]Ub'k ca Yb'i'f'i'5'a Yf]W'Ub'X]Ub'K ca Yb'i'6). ; f'Yb'Ya d\Ug]nYg'h'Y'a Y'h]b['i'k Ug]b'Zcfa YX'Vm'U'gh'cb['gYbg'Y'cZci f'f'Y'Uh]j Y']bj]g]V']]m'Ug'g'W'c'U'fg'Z'Ya]b]gh'z'Ub'X'U'W]j]gh'j' f'f'5'cb[g]XY'; f'Yb'z'B Uhj Y'g'W'c'U'fg' 7'U'f'U'Gi Y'?]Xk Y''Ub'X'6YU'A YX]W'b'Y'cf[Ub]nYX'U'B Uhj Y'k ca Ybng'gma d'cg]i a 'Uh'h'Y' conZfYbW''; f'Yb'k f]h'Y'g'h'Uh'i'Ub'i'bi'gi U'm'U'f[Y'bi'a VY'f'cZ'ch'Yf'X]Ub'k ca Yb'U' dfca]b'Yb'h'Y'Xi W'h'c'fg'z'dc'h]W'YUX'Y'fg'z'Ub'X'UX'j c'W'h'Y'g'Z'c'f'X]Ub'k ca Ybng'UX'j Ub'W'a Yb'h' U'gc'd'U'fh]V'd'Uh'Y' f'h'c'f[Ub]nY'fg'\UX'h'f'Y'j]b]h]U'[cU'g' i'hc']X'Yb'h]Z'm'Ub'X' W'eate a network of Indian women scholars and academics; to produce a definitive bibliography of works on and by Native American women; and to determine whether the NWSA would offer a sympathetic and useful context in which to operate as Indians and scholars' f'f'c'k]b['h'Y'V'bj Yb]h]cb'z; f'Yb'f'Ydcfh'Y'hc'\Uj Y'Uh'Y'Ugh'i'%) 'b'Ua Yg' k]h'c'h'Y'fg'V'a]b[]b'z' UXX'f'Ygg]b['h'Y'Z]f'gh[cU'z'k \]Y'h'Y'g'V'X'c'U'k ci 'X'W'a]b'Uh'Y' in the publication of her well-known text *Native American Women: A Contextual Bibliography*, in 1983.

The third goal was less successful both based on her accounts of the interactions between women at this initial conference and the relatively small number of Native women who attended the conference the following year. While Native women at the 1979 NWSA convention stressed the importance of building better and more informed relationships with others, such a goal could not overcome the unwillingness of others at h'Y'V'ZfYbW'hc'g']h'h'Y'W'b'h'f'G'Y'dc]bh'g'ci h'h'Uh'h'Y'i'Q'bh'Y'V'W'Ub[Y'V'Yrk een the Indian and non-Indian women attending the panel confirmed our feeling that Indians UfYz]b[]Yb'Y'f'U'Z'U'a m'gh'f'm'hc'a c'gh'd'Y'cd'Y'i' f'h'c'f'Y'c'j Y'f'g'Y'k f]h'Y'g'z' a c'gh'c'Z'h'Y'k ca Yb' in our group felt a real distance between their goals of activist commitment and their work within a non-X]Ub'g'W'c'U'f'm'5'ggc'W]Uh]cb'f'YdfYgYb]b['h'Y'k ca Ybng'gri X]Y'g' a c] Ya Yb'h' f'h'c'f'X'Y'X'; f'Yb'f'Yj YU'g'h'Uh'h'Y'g'Y'g'Ua Y'i'g'W'c'U'f-U'W]j]gh'j '\UX'U'f'YUX'm

Zcfa YX 'h\Y]f'ck b ĩ bUh]cbU' Vcbgcfh]i a 'WU'YX 'BC \cmc'NF7 \cWUk 'Zcf' B ca Ub'Nĭ 'k \]W' hosted its first annual conference in the fall of 1980.

Gj[b]Z]Wbhimz; fYYb'Ng'XYgW]dh]cb'cZ'h\Y'C \cmc' VcbZYfYbW']g'a Uf_YX Vm'h\Y' memory of a discussion about the 1978 *Santa Clara v. Martinez* Supreme Court decision. The court had held that there was no remedy at the federal level via the Indian Civil Rights Act for Julia Martinez, a woman who sued on behalf of her children denied tribal membership and thus inheritance rights. The decision effectively upheld the Santa Clara Pueblo bUh]cb'Ng]f] [\hito discriminate based on gender; the Martinez children were denied membership because their father was from another Native community. The A Ufh]bYn'W']XfYb'Ng' UW_ cZUW'Wgg'hc' hf]VU' 'a Ya VYfg\]d' fUbX' h\YfYzcfY']b\ Yf]hUbW' cZ' h\Y]f'a ch\Yf'Ng'dfcdYfm'k Ug'VUgYX' cn a 1939 membership ordinance which recognized all children of Native men but recognized only those children of Native women from ch\Yf'GUbU'7'UFU'Di YV'c'a Yb'fi Yf[i gcb '& -L''; fYYb'k f]hYg'h Uhĭ U' cZi g'UFY' [fUHYZ' that the court upheld tribal sovereignty']b' h\Y'gYbgY' h Uh'h\Y' Vei fhX]X' bch]bhYfj YbY'in h\Y'f]VU' [cj Yfba Yb'Ng]f] [\h'hc' XYhYfa]bY'a Ya VYfg\]d' W]h]YFU' fi 8]Ufm' ' ' %L'' However, Green notes that the women remain divided in assessing the *justice* of the matter, noting h Uhĭ A fg" A Ufh]bYn and all the others [who were forced out of their communities] gh'' \Ui bhi gj' fi' &L'' G\Y'W'cYg'h\Y'k cfXgcZa Ubmk ca Yb'cZV'cf' activists facing such contradictions:

The double bind of race and sex is too real. Two powerful words— tradition and equality— do battle with one another in Indian country. But whose version of tradition and whose version of equality should we fight for? (332)

In her last entry on the second national Ohoyo convention in 1981, Green seems to suggest the tensions between sovereignty vergi g'B Uh] Y'k ca Yb'Ng] ĩ gh]Wĭ which sobered the last meeting had subsided. She makes the observation that in a discussion advocating for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, Native women from over ' \$X]ZZfYb'hibUh]cbg'gUk ĩ bc' VcbZ]V'icZ]bhYfYghVYhween justice for Indian women and hf]VU' gcj YfY] [bmf' g\ci 'X' h\Y' 9qual Rights Amendment be enacted in Oklahoma (333). Yet in terms of self-]XYb]h]Zm]b [ĩ ZYa]b]g'gĭ g\Y' VcbWXYg'h Uhĭ a cgh\YfY'k ci 'X' bch XYgW]VY' h Ya gY'j Ygj']b' h\]g'k Unz'mYhĭ h\Ym'UFY'U' I quite clear about the need for attention to Native women, and they are vocal about the burdens they bear because they UfY'ZYa U'Yĭ 'fi' ' L'' This vexed relationship with the term ĩ ZYa]b]ga ĩ fU'h\Yf'h\Ub'Ub]h]- sexist practice would eventually come to dominate the discourse around Native women and ZYa]b]ga]b' h\Y' - \$Ng'' However these series of prominent and well-documented conferences point to the fact that during this period of activism, and indeed from its inception, even in the most contemporary social movements, gender focused and anti-sexist organizing has always been part of and has existed alongside social justice struggles of Native women and Native peoples in general.

Indigenous Women's Network (1985)

→ B Uhj Y'5 a Yf]Wb': Ya]b]ga žSovereignty and Social Change, Andrea Smith writes:

B Uhj Y'k ca Yb]g]UWj]ghhYcf]Yg'UWci hZYa]b]ga žUWci hñY'gfi [['Y' against sexism both within Native communities and at large . . . are complex and varied. These theories are not monolithic and cannot simply be reduced to the dichotomy of feminist versus non-feminist. (118)

Smith quotes Janet McCloud, Tulalip activist, who recalls how women in the Native rights movement were essential to its success. McCloud recalls that during this period of Red Power activism, ĩ k ca Yb'k ere really the VUW_VcbY'cZYj Yfmh]b[ĩ fSmith 119) yet g\Y'ZYUFYX hñUhgi]ga 'k]h]b hñY'a cj Ya Ybhk ci 'X''YUX'hc''cg]b['k ca Yb]g] political will. In order to avoid such a consequence, McCloud organized a gathering at Yelm, Washington in 1985 which led to the Zcfa Uh]cb'cZñY'ñX][Ybci g'K ca Yb]g]B Ytk cf_ (IWN). McCloud, a longtime and respected Native rights activist, points out that she saw her role in organizing the conference and later as a member of the group as being a ĩ Vi ZZYf'VYWli gY'hñY'a Yb [in the movement] k YfY'gUm]b[hñY'ñX][bUbhK ca Yb]g] Organization . . . They kinda felt threatened by the women organizingñ' fñ% E''It would be her community standing that would VñbW]j UV'mgYfj Y'Ug'Uĩ Vi ZZYf' hc'hñY'cb[- gñUx]b['hUW]WcZX]ga]gg]b['B Uhj Y'k ca Yb]g]organizing *as women* in such a simple but effective way.

Anishnaabe activist Winona LaDuke is one of the women who McCloud refers to Ug'hñY'ĩ VUW_VcbY' cZUMj]ghdc']h]Vg]UhñY'h]a Y''ñ @U8 i _Yñ%, * YggUmUbbci bWb['hñY' formation of IWN, she focuses on hñY [fci dñg] [cUg however, rather than its criticisms of gñ]ga 'k]h]b hñY''Uf[Yf'B Uhj Y'f][\h'ga cj Ya Ybh'' G\Y'k f]hñg'h UhñY'ĩ [UhñY]b[']b' M'a žK Ug\]b[hc b''Ugh5 i [i gh'cgñYX VmñY'B cfñk Ygh'ñX]Ub'K ca Yb]g]7]fWY'''''''' afforded a precious opportunity tc'g\UfY'YI dYf]YbWgž]XYUgž'UbX'j]g]cbg] 'fñ') E''A cgh]a dcfñUbhñmžhñY'ñbZYfYbW' cZĩ a cfY'hñUb &\$\$ B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'cf[Ub]ñYfg''''''Vfci [\hU' fYbYk YX'gYbgY'cZgi ddcfñUbx'Ya dck Yfa Ybñ' fñ') ĩ'Ubx'g\Y'UXXg'hñUñ k ca Yb'k \c' often would not be the ones speaking ud'UhñhñY'ñ Yñ]b[gñ \UX'U'W'UbW'hc'ñbñf]Vi hñ]b']a dcfñUbhñk Umñfñ' *E'':]bU'mž@U8 i _Y'WcYg'k]h' hñY'ñ B ñg]gñhñY'a YbhñZdi fdcgY' which describes the necessity for a B Uhj Y'k ca Yb]g]cf[Ub]ñUtion such as theirs:

As indigenous women we have personally struggled against overpowering forces. Indian women are abused, mistreated, battered, sterilized, and are victims of institutional racism and poverty in double doses, as women and as Native Americans. . . We are compelled to address the problems that confront us. (237-38)

@U8 i _Y' [cYg'cb'hc' bch'ñUhñhñY'ñ B ñg]ck b'd'Ubb]ng meetings included the concerns around issues of identity described by Green, Kate Shanley, and others, were expressed Ug'Ubl]YmñUWci hñ k ca Yb]g]]VYfUh]cbĩ'cj Yfñ'a]b['ñ'a a i b]ñmñ'ñYg]j YbYss. LaDuke k f]hñg'hñUñžĩ B cbY'cZi gñhñci [\hñ \Uñk Y'k YfY'Xc]b['Ā' k Ug]ga d'mñUXcdñYX'Zfca 'hñY'

k ca Ybŋ'a cj Ya Ybŋ' f& , l''G\Y YbXgVmUXXFYgg]b[ĩ hcgY'k \c Vfcı [\hi d'hAY]ggi Y'cZ X]j]g]j YbYgg''''''Bfi ghi g'U''hYı k Y'UFY'Zca 'hAY'Vca a i b]mžUZhYf'U'ŋ' f238).

@U8i _Yŋ'fYei YghZcf'fhi ghYVWcYg'A W'ci Xŋ'dcg]h]cb]b['cZ\YfgY'ZUg'Uı Vi ZYfı ' Zfca 'X]ga]gg]j Y'UHUW'gk \]W' d]hB Uhj Y'k ca Ybŋ'cf[Ub]n]b['U[U]bghı Vca a i b]mı ' interests. I end this section of my brief historical overview with the formation of the IWN largely because its formation seemed to mark a moment of confidence in Native k ca Ybŋ'Ubh]-sexist and women-centered organizing as well as gestured towards an ĩ]bX][Ybcı gı ' ['cVU' gYbgY'cZdi fdcgY'' < ck Yj Yfžk \]Y'h.]g'cf[Ub]nUh]cb'has maintained itself, the discourse on feminism in scholarly literature seems to have stalled in the decade that follows. Yet before addressing this critical turn, I want to briefly address the literary arena of Nat]j Y'ZYa]b]ghhıci [\hXi f]b['hAY'Uf'm, \$ŋ.

A Gathering of Spirit (1983): Native Feminism & Literature

Becky H\ca dgcbŋ'h]a Y']bY'cZa i 'h]fUWU'ZYa]b]gh'a]'YghcbYg discussed earlier includes the 1983 publication of *A Gathering of Spirit* as an important milestone, though she does not discuss its significance. In this collection, editor Beth Brant brings together the creative work of, at the time, up and coming Native writers such as Linda Hogan, Janice Gould, Wendy Rose, Winona LaDuke, Luci Tapahonso and others along with art, creative writing and letters submitted by Native women in prison, including Mary Bennett, Rita Silk-Nauni and Share Quart. Brant describes the origins of the collection as a special issue of the lesbian feminist magazine *Sinister Wisdom*, edited by Michelle Cliff and Adrienne Rich between 1981 and 1983. In fact, the collection was originally published in 1983 as volumes 22 and 23 of *Sinister Wisdom* before being published on its own in 1984 by Sinister Wisdom Books and again by Firebrand Books in 1988.

↳'6fUbhŋ]b]rfcXi W]cbžg\Y'ZcW gY'g'cb the shared experiences of the voices presented and on the subject of sisterhood, a word often critiqued as an cj Yf[YbYfU]nUh]cb'cZk ca Ybŋ'fY Uh]cbg\]dg'UW'cgg'X]ZyfYbW''Mhı6fUbhı f]hYg. ĩ G]ghYf'' The word comes easily to most of us. Sisterhood. What holds us to that word is the commonness as Indiansı Ug'k ca Ybı 'fV\$E''6fUbhŋ'ZcW g'cb hAY'k cfX'g]ghYf\ccX']g' worth noting, but not in terms of its association with mainstream feminist paradigms. Brant underscores the experiences these writers share as both Native peoples and as k ca Ybžk \]W' U'ck g'Zcf'B Uhj Y'k ca Yb'hc ĩ fYVc [b]nY'YUW' chAYfı 'Ug' Indigenous peoples under patriarchal colonial conditions (10).

Although it is a small volume consisting mainly of poetry and letters from Native women in prison, it also includes a number of essays by Native women scholars cb'hAY'gi V'YVı'cZYa]b]ga 'cf'B Uhj Y'k ca Ybŋ'dc'h]W' UW]j]ga 'Ufci bX' [YbXYf''5 g]h]s a collective project first published by a feminist journal, *A Gathering of Spirit* is significant in the hıhı'cfmı'ZB Uhj Y'k ca Ybŋ'ZYa]b]ghhıci [\hin conversation with not only Native women, but also with a mainstream feminist audience. It marks a point in the conversation where the differences VYhk Ybı ZYa]b]ga ĩ 'Ug'a U'cf]hmX]gVıi fgY'UbX' Native politics is still a topic of discussion, but not the only focus for its contributors. Brant references these early critiques of mainstream feminism, alongside a critique of

Native nationalist movements, when she describes the sources of anger which contextualize Native feminist politics at this time” G\Y’k f]hYgZ’I K Y’UFY’Ub[fm’Uhi-’bX]Ub’ men for their refusals of us. For their limited vision of what constitutes a strong Nation. We are angry at the so-W\`YX’I k ca Yb’Ng’a cj Ya Yb’H’ h\Uh’U’k Umg’gYya g’hc’Zc’f[Yhi\Uhk Y’ Yl]g’i’ (11).

While this Ub[Yf’dcg]h]cbg’B Uh]j Y’k ca Yb’Ng’dc’]h]Vg’]b’U’fYU’W]cb’U’fmdcg]h]cb’hc’ these other two movements, Brant also points to a much longer historical tradition for Native women’Ng’Zya]b]gh]XYbh]Im. These words serve as an epigraph to this intrcXi W]cb’Vi h’UFY’k cf’h\’fYd’YUh]b[.I *We are not victims*. We are organizers, we are freedom fighters, we are feminists, we are healers. This is not anything new. For W’b’hi f]Yg’]h\’Ug’V’Yyb’gc’i’ fYa d\’Ug]g’]b’h\’Y’cf][]b’U’z’%’H\Y’]XYbh]h]Yg’WU]a YX’]b’h\’]g’ statement cover a wide swath, but unapologetically include I feministI among them. More importantly, the assertion that a feminist identimI]g’bch’Ubr’h\]b[]b’Yk’z’]g’Y’W’c’YX’ by contemporary Indigenous feminists who seek to locate definitions of that term within their own cultural contexts and histories.

Most contributions to *A Gathering of Spirit* do not theorize explicitly on Native feminist thought; however, ? UH’G\’Ub’Ym’Ng’ essay I H\ci [\hg’cb’-’bX]Ub’ : Ya]b]ga I’ begins to articulate what this might mean in the V’b’h\I hc’Z’B Uh]j Y’k ca Yb’Ng’ contemporary organizing. Despite her reservations on speaking from an overly academic space or for all Native women, Shanley attempts to theorize some core values of Native feminism from her perspective. She argues that although the term feminist has yet to hold a V’bg’Yb’g] g’Ua cb[]B Uh]j Y’k ca Yb’z’I h\Y’k cfX’E’Zya]b]ga N\’Ug’gd’Y’WU’ a YUb]b[g’hc’-’bX]Ub’ k ca Yb’i’ f’%’E’’H\]g’a YUb]b[]gd’Y’W’Z]W’]m]b’W’i XYg’I h\Y’]XYU’c’Z’dfca ch]b[]h\Y’V’b’h]bi]m] of tradition, and consequently, pursuing the reco[b]h]cb’c’Z’f]VU’gc] YfY][b’mi’ f’%’E’’ Much of the essay points to the way identity continues to play a role in the discussion on Native feminism, particularly at this point in time, although one could argue that Native]XYbh]Im]b’ h\Y’U’H’+S’Ng’Y’U’f’mi, S’Ns’ preoccupied much of the Native political discourse. G\Y’U’f[i Yg’h\’U’hc’b’Y’Ng’j U’f]ci g’gc’V’U’]XYbh]h]Yg’ can simultaneously contribute to a g]hi U’H’X’dc’]h]W’]d’f’U’W]W’k]h\ci h’k YU’_Yb]b[]cb’Y’Ng’W’]h]ei Y’cf’V’ca a]ha Yb’hi’c’ch\Yf’ transformative politics. She also notes that while Native feminism may have some common goals with mainstream feminists, particularly in terms of violence against women and children, her main point throughout the essay is that I Indian feminism . . . a i gh’VY’dck Yf’Zi]cb’]hg’ck b’hyfa g]i’ f’%’E’’ (15).

K \]’Y’G\’Ub’Ym’Ng’Ygg’Um’X’Ya Ub’X’g’f’Y’V’[b]h]cb’c’Z’I -’bX]Ub’Z’Ya]b]ga I’ U’g’]hg’ck b thought and practice, other entries turn to a discussion of the Native rights movement and radical organizing of the period. These entries specifically critique the blatant sexism within militant Native nationalist movements of the period, a point that Brant addressed in her introduction. Two poems in the collection directly address this theme, @_c’H’k’ f]hYf’; Um’Y’H’k c’9U[]Yg’N’i H\Y’M’ci b[]K’ U’ff]cf’z’]Ub’X’8’V’f’U’G’k U’]ck Ng’dc’Ya’ I? Yep a Dime.I]-’b’H’k c’9U[]Yg’N’]c[f’U’d\]W’]g’_Y’h\X’Z’c’f’h\Y’V’c’]W’]cb’z’g’Y’i f[Yg’U’] I W’cg’Y’hi-’bX]Ub’Z’Ya]b]gh’z’V’ca Y’ci h’i’ f’%’ , E’’ Her poem begins with the awakening dc’]h]W’]V’bg’V’ci gb’Ygg’c’Z’U’]m’ci b[]@_c’H’k’ ca Ub’k \c\UX’V’Yyb’I V’f’ci [\hi d’h\]b_]b[] she was spec]U’Ub’X’[cc’X’i]Ub’X’U’I k ca Ub’k U’ff]cf’i’ f’%’E’’M’Y’hk]h\ h\Y’V’ca]b[]c’Z’h\Y’

Í bYk `cfUhcfg#HY`b[`cZñY`c`X`k` Umgj` h`]g`mci` b[`k` ca` Ub`]g`V`b`Z`f`c`b`h`Y`k`]h` h`Y]f`
j` Yfg]cb`c`ZÍ` O`U]h]cb`Ug`h`c`X`V`m`i`a` YbÍ` f`%`L`""`=[` bcf]b[`h`Y]f`YX]V`h`h`U`h`Y`Í`k` ca` Ub`ñj`
squad is assigned h`c` h`Y`_]h`W`Y`b`ž` g`Y`c`Z`Y`f`g`Í`@`Q`]Y`h`X`Y`Z]U`b`W` h`c` h`Y`a` Y`b`k` \`c`g`U`m`ž`
É`Y`gd`Y`V`m`i` f`V`f`c`h`Y`f`ñj`]g]cb`ž`#`G`Y`a` i`h`Y`f`g`É`Y`gd`Y`V`m`i` f`g]h`Y`f`ñj`]g]cb`h`ccÍ` f`%`L`"

It is at this point the poem shifts in voice and directly addresses all Native people listing the places where the protagonist had participated in activist protests, including Wounded Knee, Sioux Falls, Custer and Sturgis. Significantly, the poem follows this list of key protests with more private moments where the woman had Í`]gh`b`Y`X` h`c` h`Y` women who were beaten by the men they love, / cf`h`Y]f` \`i` g`U`b`X`g]` f`%`L`""` :]b`U`m`ž`h`Y` woman remembers the times g`Y`Í` [`Uj` Y`g`h`Y`b[`h` h`c` h`Y`k` ca` Y`b`k` \`c`k` Y`f`Y`U`d`Y`X`#`5` g` \`U`g` h`Y`G`U`W`Y`X`A` c`h`Y`f`9`U`f`h`Í` f`%`L`""`At this point, the poem breaks to highlight a single line which notes these events left the woman Í` asking where Tradition for women was being XY`V`X`Y`X`Í` f`%`L`""` The poem ends with this now wiser Lakota woman looking at her mci` b[`X`U`i` [\`h`f`k` \`c`Í`U`g`c` \`U`g`U`j`]g]cbÍ` f`%`L`""`D`f`Y`g]`a` U`V`m` \`Y`f`X`U`i` [\`h`Y`f`ñj`]g]cb`]g` similar to the one that opens the poemÍ` c`b`Y`c`Z`V`Y`b[]Í`gd`Y`W`U`Í`U`g`U`@`U`_`c`h`U`k` ca` Ub`""` <`ck` Y`j` Y`f`zi` b`]_`Y` \`Y`f`a` c`h`Y`f`ñj`]g]cb`ž`h`]g`mci` b[[]f` \`U`g`k`]h`b`Y`g`g`Y`X` h`Y`U`X`X`Y`X`U`m`Y`f`c`Z` injustice towards Native women within her own community as well as outside of it. Two Eagles poem repeatY`X`m`h` f`b`g`h`c`Í`j`]g]cbÍ`U`g`U`h`f`c`d`Y`f`Y`Z`Y`f`Y`b`W`b[`V`c`h`U`b`i`b`f`Y`U`]n`Y`X, but hoped for future as well as the ability to see clearly. In both instances, sexist d`f`U`m`]W`g`z`b`c`h`c`b`m`h`Y`]b`↑`g`h]W`d`f`c`X`i`W`X`V`m`V`c`b]U`]g`a` ž`]a` d`U`m`B`U`h`j`Y`k` ca` Y`b`ñj` vision(s). This internally directed critique at the Native rights movement highlights the violence experienced by women in the movement, as well as challenges the doctrines of Í` h`f`U`X`]h]cbÍ` a` Ub]dÍ`U`h`Y`X` by some men to secure their own power.

Importantly, however, Two Eagles qí` Y`g`h]c`b`g`Í` h`f`U`X`]h]cbÍ` f`k`]h`U`W`d`]h`U`H`E`b`c`h`U`g` a primitive or inherently sexist category of knowledgeÍ` a critique Native women have long dismissed as mired in Western expectations of indigenous ways of being. Instead, Hk`c`9`U`[`Y`ñj`d`c`Y`a``ei` Y`g`h]c`b`g`B`U`h`j`Y`a`Y`b`ñs` refusals to interrogate contemporary assumptions about tribal Í` h`f`U`X`]h]cbÍ` h`h`U`h`g`Y`f`Y`V`c`[`b`n`Y`g`U`g`h`c`c`]g`a`]U`f`h`c`h`U`h`Í`k`f`]h`Y`b`]b` \`]g`h`c`f`m`V`c`_`g`V`m`k` \`]h`Y`a` Y`bÍ` f`%`L`""`<`Y`f`d`c`Y`a` `U`X`j`c`W`U`h`g`Z`c`f`_`b`c`k` `Y`X`[`Y`h`U`h`g` \`Y`Í`k`U`g` V`f`c`i` [\`h`i`d`h`]b_]b[Í`]b`k` \`]W`g` \`Y`h`c`c`k`U`g`Í`gd`Y`W`U`U`b`X`[`c`c`X`Í` f`%`L`""`

Similarly, 8`Y`V`f`U`G`k`U`ck`ñj`d`c`Y`a` in the volume takes up the subject of Native organizing during this period and focuses on women as foundational to its success and maintenance. Her poem reads as a list of tasks that women in the Í`a`c`j`Ya`Y`b`h`Í` managed to accomplish on little sleep, with little money and less support. The list is a breathless one replicating the relentless pace of work for women in the Native rights a`c`j`Ya`Y`b`h`Í` : cf`Y`i`U`a`d`Y`ž`g`Y`k`f`]h`Y`g`ž`Í`g`Y`Y`d]b[`V`U`[`g`#`Y`[`U`d`U`X`g`#`f`[`c`h`U`w`r`i`t`e` h`c`a`c`f`f`c`k`ñj`d`f`Y`g`g`f`Y`Y`U`g`Y`#`c`f`[`U`b`n]b[]f`U`Y`g`ž`g`]X`Y`g` \`c`k`g`#`G`d`Y`U`_]b[`Z`c`f`i`a`g`ž`d`c`k` `k`c`k`g`ž`Z`Y`U`g`h]j` f`%`L`""`H` \`Y`g`j`a`d`Y`f` \`m`a`Y`g`W`Y`a`Y`U`so contributes to feelings of redundancy and a sense of expectation h`h`U`h`U`W`c`a`d`U`b`]Y`g`Í`k` ca` Y`b`ñj`k`cf`_`Í`

K` \`]Y`G`k`U`ck`ñj`d`c`em does not openly critique sexist practices within the Native rights movement, her list sheds light on the contributions and leadership of Native women in the movement. As the list develops, the tasks seem more and more

impossible and all consuming. In particular, the focus on the literal cost of such commitment is reflected as an emotional cost as well. The list notes the material cost of [Ug'a cbYmždcgrU[YžU]f ZUFYžWV ZUFYÍ 'as well as the intellectual energy required to [OYUW h\Y'W] XfYb UbX 'their parents the/1868 treaty and Leonard Peltier, the IRA-6-5Í 'f&%*É" H\Y Z]bU'']bYg'cZ h\Y' dcYa 'i bXYfgVt fY h\ UhÍ k ca Yb Nj] 'fc`Y]b`h\]g' movement is framed as complete sacrifice and unpaid labor. Í GdYbX`mci f'a cbYmcb h\Y' movement/But keep a dime for the p\cbYž#]h]k cfh\ U`Uk mYf`mci ` _bck "#K ca Yb Nj] k cf_]g]bYj Yf`XcbYÍ 'f&%*É" H\Y]fcbmicZ h\Y`Ugh`]bY]b`Gk U`ck Nj]dcYa `VYtk YYb h\Y' W``cei]U`a Yub]b[`cZ`Í k ca Yb Nj]k cf_] UbX h\Y'fc`Yg`B Uhj] Yk ca Yb Z]`YX`]b`h\Y' movement resonate with later representations of the era, most notably depicted in Mary Brave Bird Nj]V]c[fUd\]W` UWt`i bh]b` *Lakota Woman* (1990), elaborated further in *Ohitika Woman* (1993)" "HfUWg`cZB Uhj] Yk ca Yb Nj] Wt`b f]Vi h]cb`UbX h\Y`gYI]ga` k \]W` h\YmZUWX` serve as the backdrop to the only movement ncj Y`cb h\Y`dYf]cXž>UbbYH` 5 fa grfcb[Nj] *Slash* (1985).

Contemporary Reflections

↳ DUhf]WU`DYbb`<]`XYb Nj] % -) `a Ya c]f *When Nickels were Indians*, she narrates her dYfgcbU``ci fbYm`h`fci [\] Uf]ci g`Y`Ya Ybhg`h`UhWt`b f]Vi h`Y`tc`cbY Nj] X Yb h]mžffUWU`ž political, cultural); elements that converge, sometimes contradict, but nevertheless shape the lives of most urban Native peoples. One W`Ud`h`fžÍ 8 Y-7 c`cb]n]b[`h\Y`fK ca Yb Nj] A]bXž` ZcW`gYg`df]a Uf]`micb`ZYa]b]gh`h`ci [\ h`UbX` UW]j]ga` `h`Uh]b`Zcfa YX`<]`XYb Nj] polit]W` Wt`bg`V]ci gbYgg]b`h\Y`+\$Nj]UbX`, \$Nj]. Hilden notes the contested relationship between mainstream feminists and Native and working-class women activists existed to be sure, but she also remembers a diverse Native feminist and anti-sexist activist community. She writes, that though there were and still are women who turn to more exclusively race-VUgYX`cf[Ub]n]b[žÍ 5 h`h\Y`gUa Y`h]a Yž`h`YfY`UfY`ZYa]b]grg]` albeit with carefully nuanced positionsÍ]b`↳X]Ub`7 ci b`h`m` f`% -É" C ZWt`i fgYžg`Y`dc]b]h`g`ci h`h`Uh` identifying as feminist within militant Native organizations or communities during this time was not always welcome, yet necessary. She writes:

Only when feminism arose among Native women did theyÍ wel` began to elicit serious male attention. And often in those early days, or so it seemed to me, it was primarily negative. Like our African-American, Latina, and European-American working-class sisters, Native feminists in a mVfWY`k YfY`Z`Yei Ybh`m`tc`X`h`Uh`h`Y`k ca Yb Nj]a`cj Ya Ybhk Ugk \]h` and middle-class, useless for the struggles of Indian women. (168)

In this same chapter, Hilden points out that Native feminist activism then, as now, was unique from mainstream articulations of feminism because of an adherence to community values which fYa U]b`Í]bW] gj] Yž` echoing the words of both LaDuke and McCloud. G`Y`k f]h]g`Í 7 ca a i b]m`VUgYX` YZc`f`h]ž]b`_YYd]b[`k]h` B Uhj] Y`h`UX]h]cbžUfY` marked by their willingness to hear various points of viewÍ from women in tribes where traditions differ considerably as well as from women from indigenous Wt`a a i b]h]Yg`U``cj Yf`h\Y` [`cVYÍ f`% -É" <]`XYb`dcg]h]g`h`Uh`h`]g]a` c`fY`]bW] gj] Y` feminismÍ `h`Uh`V`fci [\ h`tc[Y`h`Yf`↳X][Ybci g`k ca Yb`UW`cgg`h]VU`b`Uh]cbgžÍ may arise

from the . . . widespread awareness that certain gender relations were brought across the ocean from Europe and imposed on unwilling Native populations . . . through overt government policies that always excluded women from decision-making (160).

Hilden acknowledges multiple perspectives on feminism, but asserts, however, that there is also a simple historical point to be made in terms of the dismissals of feminist-oriented activism and thought in these years. . . . Mainstream feminism, felt throughout the United States in the 19th century, would not come from an unlikely place however. It would not be from men in the movement nor non-Native gatekeepers; it would come from the work produced by Native women scholars defining their own nationalist politics. . . . As these activist scholars sought to differentiate their politics from gender-based, . . . articulation of Native nationalist or sovereigntist discourse, they asserted more openly their political allegiance to Native organizing rather than feminism which perhaps had become less meaningful and less radical as Native Studies became more institutionalized and became the gatekeeper to academic feminist thought.

What this brief overview reveals is a consistent relationship between two separate political goals: a commitment to anti-sexist politics, and a commitment to the self-determination struggles of tribal nations. In the end, this small set of examples, from the IWW, to the publication of *A Gathering of Spirit*, demonstrate an active engagement with anti-sexist organizing by Native women on their own terms and as a part of their own movement. The fact that this history remains largely neglected speaks to the power of defining this era only through the male-dominated Red Power movement or through the mainstream feminist movement, even when such spaces are available. This dissertation certainly cannot fill this gap either. However, I chose to begin this project in this manner, because I believe it serves to remind contemporary Indigenous feminists of the necessity to insist on feminist theorizing as just as essential to sustaining a critical conversation on gender in Native Studies. What is clear about this period is that Native women found real power in coming together as a Native feminist community (whether they employed the term or not) located a counter-discourse to the oppressive constructions of what Indian and woman meant to the colonizer in their rediscovery of or corrective understanding of Indigenous feminisms and organize as Indigenous feminist women in the first decade of the 21st century would reinvigorate a stalled conversation, at least in the context of Native studies. This return of Indigenous feminist organizing provides the context for my own contribution to the field of Native literary studies and cultural analysis. I turn now to a brief description of the chapters to follow.

Chapter Four moves from the genre of non-fiction and the % & \$ ŋ Uggja] Uh]cb` dYf]cX`tc` h\Y`[YbfY`cZ`h\Y`W`bhYa` dcfUfmig\cfhg]c]fmUbX`h\Y`%) \$ŋ hYfa`]bUh]cb`YfU`"b` particular, this chapter examines the short fiction of Janet Campbell Hale placed in conversation with an earlier representation of Native women Ī W]a`]bUg] found in 8 ŋ fWnA` VB`]W`Yŋ`%` *`bcj`Y`Z`*The Surrounded*. While critics are more familiar with < U`Yŋ`fYdfYgYbUh]cb`cZ`W`bhYa` dcfUfmB`Uhj`Y`k`ca`Yb`UbX`W]a`]bU`XYj`]UbW`]b`h\Y` novel, *The Jailing of Cecilia Capture*, I am interested in how the themes of criminality and escape are developed in her collection titled *Women on the Run* (1999). Certainly the subject of violence is a key focus for Indigenous feminist organizing, but another common thread is the criminalization of Native women reflected in the overrepresentation of Native women in prison and other institutions. While the social reality of such trends is discussed as a result of colonial and racist policies and practices,]b`<`U`Yŋ`k`cf_, she often uses the subject of criminality as a way to show how Native W`a`a`i`b]hYg`Uj`Y`]bhYfbU`]nYX`gYl`]ghdfU]W]Wgk` \]W`gYbX`k`ca`Yb`Ī`cb`h\Y`fi`bĪ`Z`fca` their own homes and families. From a red feminist perspective, Hale's short fiction is important as it brings together 1) how colonial policy and state institutions produce criminal women and 2) how Native communities are complicit with such practices of discipline and patriarchal violence when we refuse to make space for women returned/displaced by such policies.

Finally, Chapter Five brings together the themes of violence and criminality h\fc] [\`U`WcgY`fYUX]b[`cZ`@]bXU`<`c[`Ubŋ`*Power*. My analysis of this novel explores \ck`U`XYW`dhj`Y`mg]a`d`YĪ`]XYbh]mĪ`bUffUhj`Y`XYj`Y`cdg`Ub`]bWYX]V`m`Y`Y[`UbhUbX` sophisticated critique of colonial discourses which serve to disempower Native women. In order to do so, the story centers on the young female bUffUhc]fŋ`W`a`]b[`h`i`bXYfghUbX` how power is maintained and articulated through the Western discourses of patriarchal Christianity, knowledge (historical and scientific) and the law. Ultimately this novel is a story of Ī un-learningĪ those discourses upon which the violence of colonialism relies and also perpetuates. However, what is particularly interesting to me about this story is its equally astute critique of the ways those discourses of power are taken up by Native rights movements at the expense of Native women, the land and a network of relations that traditional knowledge depends.

In the end, the development of my own understanding of Native feminist practice is one that is related to a particular community of Indigenous women scholars who have guided my research over the last ten years. In particular, I am indebted to the group of Native women who came together under the label of the Red Feminist Collective (RFC) in the spring of 2003" C Vj`]ci`g`mh\Y`W`"W]j`Yŋ`bUa`Y`]g`U`hYfa` `=Vcfrow to represent my Indigenous feminist reading practices and theorizing. It is not a reference to a Marxist analysis. It is, however, my way to pay respect to the women who have helped me think through what constitutes an ethical approach to engaging W`bhYa` dcfUfmB`Uhj`Y`k`ca`Yb`ŋ`k`f]h]b[for its insights into: 1) describing the gendered conditions of colonial violence and 2) articulating an anti-sexist and decolonial politics. This approach I call UĪ red feministĪ literary criticism, not as a gimmickry neologism or in the hopes of other critics taking up the term. It is a metaphorical and relational

gesture that I hope does justice to, and conveys the respect I have for, the women of the RFC.

¹ For an overview of key historical moments in the Red Power era, see Alvin Josephy et al. *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1999. For recent literary analysis of the era, see Sean Teuton, *Red Land, Red Power: Grounding Knowledge in the American Indian Novel*. Durham: Duke U P, 2008.

² *Native Feminisms without Apology Symposium*. April 28, 2006, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

³ It is not surprising that the Indian Act before the passage of Bill C-31. For a review of this history, see Janet Silman, *Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out*. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987.

⁴ The ICRA for federal review, and less about whether US recognition of tribal sovereignty trumped [the] discrimination under the Indian Act before the passage of Bill C-31. For a review of this history, see Janet Silman, *Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out*. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987.

⁵ For an overview of the history of Native American literature, see *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2009.

Chapter Two

Red Feminist Literary Analysis: On the Intersections of Indigenous Feminisms and an Ethical Native Literary Criticism

It is within the growing context of violence against women and the concomitant lowering of our status among Native Americans that I teach and write. Certainly I could not locate the mechanisms of colonization that have led to the virulent rise of woman-hating . . . without a secure and determined feminism.

! Paula Gunn Allen *The Sacred Hoop* (1986)

We must do this work because we are involved in a constant battle to be seen and heard too easily subsume our stories within what they perceive as a more important battle for recognition of indigenous rights. Our stories cannot be implied in a larger story of our people, nor can we be simply portrayed as selfless, strong women without losing the very real experiences of indigenous women in all parts of our lives, including the political.

--J]Wc f]U'6ca VYffmĀ 6`ccXžF VVY`cb`UbX`A`cĤ\Yf\ccX`]b`Ĥ\Y`Dc`]h]W`
=a U[]bUh]cb`cZ`=X][]bci g`DYcd`YĪ`f&\$\$)Ē

We are alive.

--The Red Feminist Collective (2003)

H\Y%- \$Ńg UFY`a UF_YX`VmU`grfcb[]gh]W`U[U]bgh]ZYa]b]ga`VmB`Utive women gWc`Ufg`VYgh]YĪ Ya`d`]Z]YX`VmĀ`"5`bbYĤY`>]Ja`Yg`UbX`H\YfYgU`<`U`gYmŃg`YggUmcb` Indigenous women, which equated feminism with assimilation (1992), followed by < i`UbUb]?`UmHfUg_Ńg`X]ga`]ggU`cZ]ZYa`]b]ga`]b`Z]j`cf`cZ`bUh]cbU`]ga`f`*Signs* 1996), through t\Y`Wcg]b[]cZ`Ĥ\Y`XYWXY`k`]Ĥ`@UĪ`fU`Hc\YŃgĪ`H\YfYŃg`B`c`K`cf`X`Zcf`Ya`]b]ga`]b`a`mĪ` @Ub[i`U[YĪ`f`*Wicazo Sa Review* 2000). As previously noted, these three essays have been effectively challenged by Native scholars in defense of recent resurgences of Indigenous feminist thought and practice, including Native feminists such as Shari Huhndorf, Cheryl Suzack, and Andrea Smith as well as literary nationalists Craig Womack, Robert Warrior and others. In order to avoid rehashing now familiar critiques, I only wish to adXfYgg`<`i`UbUb]?`UmHfUg_Ńg`YggUmcb`Ĥ\Y`gi`V`Y`MĪ`cZ]ZYa`]b]gh`Ĥ`Ycfm`UbX`<`Uk`U]]`Ub` bUh]cbU`]ga`"A`mU]a`]gb`chĤc`XYZY`bX`ZYa`]b]ga`Z`fca`HfUg_Ńg`W]h]ei`YgžVi`hĤc` XYa`cb`ghf`UĤY`Ĥ`UĤ`Ug`g\Y`Uf[i`Yg`U[U]bgh`Ĥ`Y`j`U`i`Y`cZĪ`5`a`Yf]W`UbĪ`ZYa`]b]ga`ž`g\Y`U`MĪ`U`m` demonstrates the need for a Native feminist position, especially in terms of Native nationalist movements.

HfUg_ŋYggUm Ĩ : Ya]b]ga `UbX`-bX][Ybci g< Uk U]]Ub`B Uh]cbU]ga ,Ĩ `was published as a part of a volume on the relationship between feminist theory and practice for the mainstream feminist journal *SIGNS*. In her contribution to this issue, Trask takes the opportunity to be the dissenting voice on the efficacy of mainstream feminist *theory* in relation to decolonial *practice* for Indigenous peoples. G\Y`k f]hYgĨ UQg for feminist theory, I rarely think about it . . . The request for this article occasioned the first moment in many years that I have seriously considered the relationship between feminist theory and feminist praxis. More than a feminist, I am a nationalist Ĩ`f`%Ĩ`< ck Yj Yfž]b` explaining her nationalist position as the more appealing politics, she is forced to define feminism in very specific terms. In order to do so, she limits the initial subject of ZYa]b]ghh YcfmĨc`Uj Yfm`]VYfU Ĩ 5 a Yf]WbĨ `UbX k \ite academic feminism she YbVĨi bhYfYX`k \]`Y`Ub`i bXYf[fUXi UH`Xi f]b[`h\Y`% +\$ŋ` 5 ggi W\Z\Yf`W]h]ei Yg`cb`h\Y` value of feminism have to be considered within that specific discursive terrain and not within the multiple arenas of multicultural feminisms or any radical articulation of such a theory or practice.

Yet even in her fY`YW]cb`cZĨ 5 a Yf]WbĨ feminist theory, she notes that American feminism, as she experienced it as a young undergraduate in Michigan, was initially appealing. She describes being drawb`hc`ZYa]b]ga ŋg`WYUhj]hmUbX`Ufhg]practice where g\YĨ ZcW gYX`cb`h\Y`[fck]b[`Z]Y`X`cZYa]b]gh]dcYf`m`""Ug`h\Y`VYghYI dfYgg]cb`cZUb` U`hYfbUhj] Y`j]g]cb`cZgc`VYmĨ`f`\$, Ĩ : cf`HfUg_`h\YĨ ZYa]b]gh]a U[]bUh]cbĨ`k \]W` produced such poetry reflected hef`ck`b`j`U`i`Yg]b`k \]W`Ĩ life was honored and power reshaped into an enabling force for the protection of both the human and the natural k`cf`XĨ`f`\$, Ĩ`"In addition, she notes that feminist thought seemed in line with her own understanding that Ĩ`h\Y`cddfYgg]cn of women is connected to larger cultural postures regarding the value of life, of the lij]b[`YUfh`žUbX`h\Y`Vci bhmĨ`f`\$, Ĩ`"H\i`g`Zcf`HfUg_`ž` ZYa]b]gh]dcYf`m`UbX`k \Uhig`Y`X`YgW]VYg`Ug`UĨ ZYa]b]gh]9fcgi`k]h]b`gi`W`WYUhj`Y`k`cf`_` provided a space for her to h]b`_`h`fci`[\`k`UhUb`Ĩ`U`hYfbUhj] Y`j]g]cbĨ`cZgc`WU`f`Y`Uh]cbg` a][\`h`YbVĨa`dUggž`Ug`k`Y``Ug`h\Y`dfc`Wgg`Yg`k]h]b`k \]W`h`cgYĨ`Uf[Yf`W`h`fU`dcgĨi`fYgĨ` produced gender oppression. Thus within the context of American academia, feminist art practice (outside of theory) provided that space through which Trask could develop her own Indigenous feminist critique and articulate her politics.

However, as Trask notes, when she returned home, American feminism did not translate to the political efforts and organizing of her Hawaiian community. Yet, this failing seems to be more the result of her definition of feminism in the limited terms within which she encountered such politics. For Trask, what she rejects is an American, or more specifically a liberal, feminism. For Trask given the particular genealogy of `]VYfU`ZYa]b]ghh`Ycfmž`ZYa]b]ghh`YcfmĨ`ci`X`bchdfcXi`W`Ub`Ĩ`U`hYfbUhj] Y`j]g]cbĨ`Zcf`B`Uhj] Y`<`Uk`U]]Ub`g`""`-b`d`Ufh]W`Uf`g\Y`bchYg`h`Uh`Ub`Ĩ`AmericanĨ` feminist position depended on the existence of America, capitalist imperialism and in particular the nation-state which was produced through the dispossession of Native peoples. What h`]g`gd`YW]Z]W_]bX`cZYa]b]ga`cZ`YfYX`k`UgĨ`ZfYXca`Ĩ`XYZ]bYX`]b`f][\hg`X]gWĨi`fgYž` granted from a sovereign that held no legitimacy in the eyes of Native Hawaiians.

remained a cohesive body of tribal knowledge which offered alternative ways of being and could serve as the roots of contemporary resistance and social change (2). Her third principle (written in her characteristic style of essentialist generalizations) notes that "I have sought to write in a way that is both respectful and honest. I have sought to write in a way that is both respectful and honest. I have sought to write in a way that is both respectful and honest." Though this claim warrants qualification and certainly more specific description, it serves as the basis to her overall call to conduct a more ethical cultural criticism and activist politics by focusing on gender.

Despite the limitations of her overly generalizing descriptions or idealistic interpretations, what remains is her insistence that reading contemporary Native literature necessitated a tribal approach. She writes, "I approach it from a strongly tribal posture, and when I am dealing with American Indian literature, history, culture, or philosophy I approach it from a tribal posture." (83). Articulated in this way, the limitations of her model of literary critique are its positioning of feminism and tribal identity as two distinct conceptual frames which, a critic may take up at various moments and for various subjects of cultural critique. It is not a critical perspective that derives its theoretical perspective from an Indigenous feminist point of view, which is the focus of this project. Whatever the shortcomings of this model, however, one cannot discount the importance of her argument that a feminist approach in the early years of the study of Native peoples and their cultural traditions, as she points out, in terms of the study of Native peoples and their cultural traditions, this area has been dominated by paternalistic, male-centered approaches for too long (83). Specifically, she argues that the mechanism by which that bias has affected traditional literary materials and the mechanism by which that bias has affected

critique, literary studies would remain largely a conversation whose political investments were hard to connect to the social reality of contemporary Native struggle. In order to address this gap, Womack's *Red on Red: Native Literary Separatism*, published over a decade later (1999), would argue for a similar rethinking of Native literary criticism needed a tribal nationalist perspective and methodology. She writes, "Native literature, and the criticism that surrounds it, needs to see more attention. This tribal nationalist criticism would turn to the issue of sovereignty. . . . In so doing, the field would make a space for Native scholars and a tribal nationalist perspective and methodology." (10)

movements against colonialism, confronts racism, discusses sovereignty and Native nationalism, seeks connections between literature and liberation struggles, and, finally *Red on Red* stands as a critical turning point in the field of Native literary studies for once again linking culturally responsible criticism with re-centering tribal knowledge as the basis for analysis.

Shari Huhndorf cautions against the nationalist turn in Native literary studies in her 2005 assessment of the field of Native studies. In particular her emphasis on the cultural distinctiveness embodied in oral traditions constitutes the primary foundation for sovereign nationalism. Anthropological approaches that reify and depoliticize [such] traditions, Huhndorf writes:

Kauai cautions against the politicized forum for teaching the distinct worldviews and histories on which tribal identities are based for political critique by revising European conceptions of nationhood. (1624)

The critical interventions made by Womack and the literary nationalists to follow, Huhndorf argues, do not accommodate such projects (1625). However, she also points out that this nationalist turn, and its tribally specific foundations, forecloses other considerations which might fall outside of nationalist readings, such as those more in line with a transnational or comparative indigenous approach.

However, in the area of the field [of Native American Studies] she notes that the reasons for this approach to articulate a politics and social criticism amenable to the specific circumstances of Native peoples and colonization. She writes:

Yet in Native America, the systematic disempowerment of women and institutionalization of patriarchy have been fundamental elements of colonialism, and Native women thus experience the violence and marginalization . . . that compelled the emergence of feminism in other social groups. Here, too, academia constitutes a microcosm of broader social relations. As my own account [of the field] suggests . . . Native American Studies (unlike Native literature) remains heavily represented by men. (1625)

As Huhndorf points out, there remains an absence in critical discourse which addresses cultural politics in general, an

observation that Paula Gunn Allen made almost 20 years earlier. Clearly, as Huhndorf and others in particular, have consistently ignored gender as an essential category for cultural critique (at least from a Native perspective), but not because ethical considerations, politicized analysis or even feminism have been off the radar in these fields. However, this absence has as much to do with the policing of Indigenous feminist engagement in Native politics of which I named at the beginning of this chapter. In these critiques, Native nationalisms seemed to be the preferred label from which Native women articulated their politics (at least in the published literature). This is not to say however that anti-sexist politics did not find expression even in such positioning. Yet, Native feminists and feminist theorizing would see a resurgence in the first part of the 21st century made visible and organized in very similar ways to previous practices in the 70s and 80s. This resurgence was not to say however that anti-sexist politics did not find expression even in such positioning. Yet, Native feminists and feminist theorizing would see a resurgence in the first part of the 21st century made visible and organized in very similar ways to previous practices in the 70s and 80s. This resurgence was not to say however that anti-sexist politics did not find expression even in such positioning. Yet, Native feminists and feminist theorizing would see a resurgence in the first part of the 21st century made visible and organized in very similar ways to previous practices in the 70s and 80s.

Indeed in 1999, the US Bureau of Justice Statistics would release its report *American Indians and Crime* that found Native women to hold the highest rate of violent crime. Of course, Native women did not need a government statistics bureau to reveal what they already understood as a part of their life experience and historical memory. Whatever the reasons, political or historic, the reinvented Native feminism for its own necessity, but also differentiate itself as inherently an Indigenous project. For the remainder of this chapter, I turn to these most recent articulations of Indigenous feminisms in order to ground my concluding discussion of what constitutes this Indigenous feminist literary analysis or critical reading approach.

Indigenous Feminisms at the turn of the 21st Century

The proliferation of Indigenous feminist scholarship in recent years is often cited as marking significant moments in the contemporary discourse on Indigenous feminisms: the Aboriginal Feminism Symposium, University of Regina (2002), the Indigenous Women and Feminism: Culture, Activism, Politics Conference, University of Alberta (2005), and the Native Feminisms without Apology Symposium, University of Illinois (2006). It should be noted the University of Alberta conference came on the heels of earlier discussions at the Indigenous Feminism Symposium, Kenyon College (2002), organized by Janet McAdams. This particular symposium would lead to the formation of the Red Feminist Collective (RFC) in 2003. Each of these conferences reflect a reinvigoration of Native feminism published in various formats following each meeting. I should note that, up until this

point, my dissertation has been fairly chronological; this section reverses the expected order of that trend. I choose to end with the earliest document, the Red Feminist 7c`YWŋj YŋjA UbjZyhcž]b`cfXYf`hc`Ya d\Ug]nY`]hg]a dcfhUbW`hc`a mick b`dUfhjW`Uf` project or a red feminist literary practice.

Making Space for Indigenous Feminism: Rethinking Tradition and the Importance of Global Relationships amongst Native Women

The 2002 University of Regina conference resulted in a collection of essays entitled *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, published in 2007. While many of the essays focus on specific issues around which Aboriginal feminist activists organized in 7UbUXU`fL YbW`h`Y`i gY`cZ`h`Y`h`fa` Ĩ 5 Vcf][]bU`ZYa]b]ga Ĩ Ł, the collection also includes a section devoted to theorizing Indigenous feminisms more broadly. However, a major h`Ya`Y`h`fci [\ci h`h`Y`W`c`Y`W]cb`]g`f`Y`Z`Y`W`X`]b`h`Y`j`c`i`a`Y`ŋ`h`h`Y`U`V`ci`h`Ĩ`a`U`_`]b[`gd`U`W`Ĩ` In the context of the debates in Canada regarding discriminatory provisions in the Indian Act and the]bW] g]cb`c`Z`5`Vcf][]bU`k`ca`Yb`ŋ`f][\hg]b`h`Y`7`cbg]h`h]cb`UbX`h`Y` Charter of Rights and Freedoms, debates which deeply divided mainstream Native k`ca`Yb`ŋ`cf[Ub]nU]h]cbg`UbX`h`Y`a`cfY`a`U`Y`-dominated political leadership over gender]ggj`Ygž`h`Y`fc`Y`c`Z`Ĩ`U`V`cf][]bU`ZYa]b]ga Ĩ`k`Ug`d`U`f`h]W`U`f`m`V`b`h`Y`g`h`Y`X`³ Green points to a bi`a`V`Y`f`c`Z`Ĩ`X]g`W`d`]b`U`f`m`h`U`W]V`g`h`U`h`U`j`Y`V`Y`b`X`Y`d`c`m`Y`X`]b`X]ga]gg]b[`cf`g]`Y`b`V`b[` Native feminists in this context. Of course, these disciplinary methods are quite familiar to all feminist women of color, including the most persistent tactic: questioning their W`h`i`f`U`c`m`U`h`m`UbX`]X`Y`b`h]mž`UbX`h`Y`f`Y`Z`c`f`Y`d`c`]h]W`ž`Ĩ`U`i`h`Y`b`h]V`m`i`f&(`Ł`

Given this particular tactic and the social context from which she writes, it is not surprising that her framing of Aboriginal feminism focuses on issues of identity and an Ĩ`U`i`h`Y`b`h]W`d`c`]h]V`g`::`cf`Y`i`U`a`d`Y`ž`:`f`Y`Y`b`X`Y`g`W]V`Y`g`h`Y`Ĩ`d`ck`Y`f`c`Z`5`Vcf][]bU`ZYa]b]ga Ĩ` as:

... an authentic expression of political analysis and political will by those who express it, who are self-consciously aware of their identities as *Aboriginal women*Ĩ with emphasis on the unity of both words. Aboriginal feminism interrogates power structures and practices between and among Aboriginal and dominant institutions. It leads to praxisĨ theoretically informed, politically self-conscious activism. (25)

H`Y`f`Y`d`Y`U`h`Y`X`h`f`a` Ĩ`g`Y`Z`W`c`b`g`W]ci`g]`d`Y`f`U`d`g`Y`W`c`Y`g`H`U]U]U`_`Y`5`Z`F`Y`X`ŋ`W`c`b`W`d`h`c`Z`Ĩ`g`Y`Z`W`c`b`g`W]ci`g`h`f`U`X]h]cb`U`]ga Ĩ`k` \]W`U`f`[i`Y`g`Z`c`f`U`W]h]W`U`d`d`f`c`U`W`h`c`h`Y`k`U`m`g`h`f`U`X]h]cb`]g` redeployed in contemporary contexts.⁴ More important than the origins of the term are ;`f`Y`Y`b`ŋ`]b`g]g`h`Y`b`W`h`U`h`5`Vcf][]bU`ZYa]b]ga`ŋ`g`d`ck`Y`f`]Y`g`k`]h`]b`]h`g]U`]h]m`h`c`d`f`c`X`i`W`U`i`b]ei`Y`g`Y`h`c`Z`W]h]ei`Y`g`Ĩ`V`Y`k`Y`Y`b`U`b`X`U`a`cb[Ĩ`B`U`h]j`Y`U`b`X`b`c`b`-Native structures or institutions of power. This point is critically important as Native feminist theorizing cannot address the impacts of colonialism or the subject of violence without understanding the multiple layers and directions of such relationships. In other words, the value of Native feminist theorizing is the analysis it can offer of both those systems c`Z`h`Y`Ĩ`W`c`b]n`Y`f`Ĩ`U`g`k`Y`c`U`g`h`c`g`Y`X`Y`g`W]V`Y`X`h`f`ci`[\`h`Y`d`f`c`W`g`Y`g`c`Z`Ĩ`]b`h`Y`b`U`

Wé`cb]U`]ga ĩ `cf`hUhk \]W \UgVYWéa YYa VYXXYX`]b`WébhYa dcfUfmB Uhj Yk Umg`cZ being that produce and perpetuate harm against our own people.

A few essays continue to explore the disciplinary discourses of anti-traditionalism and inauthenticity. Yet at the same time that these scholars problematize how ĩ hfUX]h]cbĩ `]g`deployed in Native political circles, they also insist on the importance of traditional Indigenous conceptions of gender relations to their own feminist politics. However, they make this claim with a self-reflexive and more nuanced approach than earlier scholars such as Paula Gunn Allen. For example, Sami scholars Rauna Kuokkanen and Jorunn Eikjok interrogate the deployment of the trope of Native k ca Yb`Ugĩ g]fcb[`k ca Ybĩ `cf`hfUX]h]cbU`a Uhf]UfWg in their respective contributions to the collection. Both point out that these narratives serve to differentiate Native communities and cultural values from Western society in politically useful ways; however, these same narratives have also been used to conceal the contemporary reality cZB Uhj Y`k ca Yb]g`ĩ]j Yg`i bXYf`dUhf]UfW U`Wé`cb]U`]ga ""`9j Yb`a cfY`X]sturbing for the authors is how such narratives are used to discipline contemporary Indigenous feminist perspectives and critiques. For example, Kuokkanen writes:

I have no doubt that there are traditionally strong Sami women left everywhere in Sami society. However to use the notion . . . to dismiss issues and concerns critical and important to Sami women, to bash or trivialize women and their initiatives . . . in the struggle for self-determination is short-sighted, selfish and deleterious to Sami society. (86)

In both essays, Kuokkanen and Eikjok stress the importance of Indigenous feminist perspectives in order to unmask how such narratives perpetuate gender oppression within Indigenous communities and politics. Both point to how these myths ignore rYU]h]Yg`cZgYi ĩ U`j]c`YbWz]g`YbW \]g]cf]Yg`cZGua]k ca Yb]g`fc`Yg]b` contemporary dc`h]WU`a cj Ya Yb]g]zUbX`X]g]cf]hĩ hfUX]h]cbĩ `]b`h`Y`bUa Y`cZgc`]XUf]m between Sami men and women.

Eikjok adds an important dimension to theorizing gender from Indigenous perspectives requires an ability to accept that for Native peoples, gender difference is often a source of specific and valuable kinds of knowledge. One of the most important distinctions that Native feminists have made between majority feminist movements and h`Y]f`ck b`]g`k \Uh9]_`é_`WU`g`h`Yĩ f] [\h`c`VY`X]ZYfYbĩ `f%&%"": cf`9]_`é_` [YbXYf` difference does not necessarily produce conditions of patriarchy. On the contrary, she Uf[ĩ Yg`h`Uh`h`Yĩ g]dch][\hbYYXg`h`c`VY`ZcW`gYX`i dcb`-`bX][Ybci`g`k ca Yb]g`Yi dYfience, ways of understanding and perspectives to encourage new knowledge about difference UbX`W`Ub[Y]b`-`bX][Ybci`g`gc`WYmĩ `f%&%"`DfcV`Ya g`Uf]gYz`ck Yj Yfz`k \Yb`Wé`bhYa dcfUfm` discourses on Native womanhood essentialize that difference in ways which undermine Vch`-`bX][Ybci`g`k cf`Xj]Yk`g`UbX`k ca Yb]g`ZYfYXca ""`G\Y`XYgW]VYg`h`Y`XYd`cma YbhcZ ĩ a`ch`Yf`Yuf`hĩ`X]g]W`i fg`Y`Ug`Ub`Yi Ua`d`Y.

K \YfY]g'hYA ch\Yf'9Ufh\]Xyc`c[m]b`U` h]g3""""DH\YA ch\YfgNcZ
 Indigenous worldview are being taken out of their original context and
 d`UVWX`]b`h`Y`[`cVU` W`b`h`I` h`c`Z`h`c`X`U`m`]b`U`g`l`c`k` `c`Z`f`Y`g`]g`h`U`b`W`U`[`U`]b`g`h`DH\Y`
 k`Y`g`h`Y`f`b`"N`H`Y`d`f`c`V`Ya`]g`h`U`h`h`Y`X`Y`Z`]b`]h`c`b`c`Z`k` ca` Ub`V`Y`W`a` Y`g`b`U`f`f`c`k`
 and loses any potential for change. (118)

Metis feminist Emma LaRocque launches a similar line of critique against
 W`b`W`d`h`]c`b`g`c`Z`B`U`h`j` Y`k` ca` Ub`l`c`c`X`h`U`h`c`W`h`Y`g`h`U`h` g`U`b`X`d`c`k` Y`f`]b`I`h`c`h`U`]n`]b`[`U`b`X`
 Y`I`W`i`g`]c`b`U`f`m`i` `U`b`X`I`Y`h`Y`f`c`g`Y`I`]g`h`Z`f`U`a` Y`k` c`f`_`Q`Q` (63). In particular, she critiques the
 W`Y`V`f`U`h`]c`b`c`Z`I`a` ch\Yf\ccXÍ`U`g`h`Y`e`i`]b`h`Y`g`g`Y`b`h`U`]`W`U`f`U`W`Y`f`]g`h`W`c`Z`B`U`h`j` Y`w`o`m`a`n`h`o`o`d`.
 Although she acknowledges such claims seek to recover a certain kind of ethic drawn
 from the acts of nurturing, teaching and healing, these activities often become the only
 g`U`b`W`i`c`b`Y`X`f`c`Y`g`Z`c`f`B`U`h`j` Y`k` ca` Y`b`h`g`d`U`f`h`W`d`U`h`]c`b`]b`d`c`]h`W`a` c`j` Ya` Y`b`h`s` and/or
 community life. She acknowledges, like Kuokkanen and Eikjok that this narrative of
 I`l`c`b`c`f`Y`X`I`k` ca` Ub`#`a` ch\Yf`g`Y`f`j` Y`g`U`n` important rhetorical function for Native
 b`U`h`]c`b`U`]g`h`i`a` c`j` Ya` Y`b`h`g`N`b`Y`Y`X`h`c`Y`g`h`U`V`]g`l`I`X`]Z`Z`Y`f`Y`b`W`"i`" <`c`k` Y`j` Y`f`g`l`Y`k` U`f`b`g`h`U`h`h`]g`
 political strategy often leads to an uncritical acceptance (even by Native women) of
 I`h`f`U`X`]h`]c`b`i` `U`g`X`Y`Z`]b`Y`X`V`m`i`U`W`b`h`Y`a` d`c`f`U`f`m`b`U`h`]c`b`U`]g`h`Y`U`X`Y`f`g`l`]d`k` l`c`V`Y`b`Y`Z`]h`Z`f`c`a` `h`Y`
 consolidation of power through claims to cultural difference:

B`U`h`j` Y`k` ca` Y`b`U`f`Y`I`l`c`b`c`i` f`Y`X`I` `U`g`I`_`Y`Y`d`Y`f`g`i` `c`Z`h`f`U`X`]h`]c`b`Z`X`Y`Z`]b`Y`X` `U`g`
 nurturing/healing, while Native men control political power. What
 concerns me even more is that in the interest of being markers of
 difference, many non-western women are apparently willing to accept
 certain proscriptions, even fundamental inequalities. (66)

K`l`]`Y`W`h`i` f`U`X`]Z`Z`Y`f`Y`b`W`]g`]b`X`Y`Y`X`f`Y`U` `U`b`X`]a` d`c`f`h`U`b`h`z`@`U`F`c`e`i` Y`U`f`[`i` Y`g`]h`]g`i`a` i`W`a` c`f`Y`
 dynamic, diverse, complex, and nuanced than what the popularized and stereotyped
 DH`h`i` f`U`X`]Z`Z`Y`f`Y`b`W`N`X`]g`W`i` f`g`Y`g`i` []`Y`g`h`i` (66). In the same manner, she argues that the
 issues Native women confront today require an equally nuanced and complex approach
 which Indigenous feminists could offer.

The final contribution to the section on Indigenous feminist theory turns from
 the strategic and productive space of difference (cultural or gendered) to the impacts of
 globalization for Indigenous women. Maori scholar Makere Stewart-Harawira discusses
 the importance of Indigenous feminist interventions in linking the local struggle for self-
 determination with the global struggle against new forms of imperialism and global
 W`d`]h`U`]g`a` ""G`l`Y`k` f`]h`Y`g`z`I` I` am` convinced` the` most` critical` decolonization` agenda` goes
 beyond the reclaiming of Indigenous self-determination to the reclaiming of the whole
 [`c`V`Y`Z`f`c`a` `h`Y`[`f`]d`c`Z`]b`g`U`b`]m`Z` Y`Y`X`V`m`f`i` h`l`Y`g`g`[`f`Y`Y`X` `U`b`X` `U`a` V`]h`]c`b`i` `f`%` (`E`"":` c`f`
 Stewart-<`U`f`U`k`]f`U`z`-`b`X`][`Y`b`c`i` g`k` ca` Y`b`h`g`W`]h`W` `W`b`h`f`]V`i` h`]c`b`h`c`[`c`V`U` g`f`i` []`Y`g`]g`h`Y`f`
 specialized knowledge of the sacred U`g`k` Y`"U`g`-`b`X`][`Y`b`c`i` g`k` ca` Y`b`h`g`_`b`c`k` `Y`X`[`Y`c`Z`h`Y`f`
 forms of governance.

G`l`Y`b`c`h`Y`g`h`U`h`k` l`]`Y`-`b`X`][`Y`b`c`i` g`k` ca` Y`b`U`f`Y`h`Y`a` c`g`h`i` c`j` Y`f`-`V`i` f`X`Y`b`Y`X`I` `U`b`X`
 I`g`i` Z`Z`Y`f`h`Y`a` c`g`h`l`c`f`f`Y`b`X`c`i` g`Z`c`f`a` g`c`Z`c`d`d`f`Y`g`g`]c`b` . . . some of us are in positions of

df]j]Y[Yí f%)É" H\YgY'k ca Yb'k]H Í fY'Uhj Y'df]j]Y[Yí 'UfY'h'cgY'gW'c`Ufs such as Stewart-Harawira who have the time to write and theorize the direction, scope and practice of Indigenous feminisms (135). As such, she argues that an Indigenous ZYa]b]ga Ng'a cghí i f[YbhXYWé`cb]n]b['dfc'YVH']g'hc'Í XYWé`cb]nY'h'Y`cW'Í]b'cfXYf'to Í hfUbgZcfa 'h'Y'['`cVU'Í f% *É" G\Y'k f]H'g.

Indigenous women who are in positions of privilege are called upon to j] [cfci g'mfYZí h'VWd]HJ]ga Ng'Yi WggYg'UbX'Í fYX/h'fYZí gY'h'Y'Xca]bUhf' politics of power-over; to refuse to give up our sons and daughters . . . to the warmongering that is now called democracy; to reject the greed that is now called freedom; and to stand firmly in the intersection of the politics of local and global. 136

While it remains unclear if it is Indigenous women who carry the sole responsibility to make such a stand or, as she puts it, Í hc'fY-k YUj Y'h'Y'ZUVf]WéZVY]b[]b'h'Y'k cf`XÍ' (which would be quite problematic), her overall contribution is to add the crucial dimensions of global economic power to a subject often contained within the geographical boundaries of community or nation. Further, she insists that Indigenous feminisms can produce/recover knowledge essential to global struggles for freedom (136).

A consistent theme in all of these essays is the idea that Indigenous feminism as a dc`]h]W'`UbX']b'h'`YVH' U`dfc'YVH'Í a U_Yg'gdUW'Í Zcf'B Uhj Y'k ca YbNg'Yi dYf]YbW'Ug'U' source of knowledge. As such, these women argue that no decolonial political movement or articulation of self-determination will be successful without feminist analysis from an Indigenous perspective and using such analysis as a critical foundation for transformative practice. For these Indigenous feminists, gender has been both a structure through which power is enacted as a dominating oppressive force, but also as a structure through which Native womanhood is defined as an affirmative and liberatory space.

Native Feminisms without Apology: Against the State and Hetero-Patriarchy

A second collection of essays borne out of the Í Native Feminisms without Apology SymposiumÍ in 2006 also interrogate common assumptions about Native women and politics. Although the book-length collection is forthcoming, a preview of some these works has been published in the American Studies Association journal *American Quarterly* (2008) along with some essays reissued in the Native Studies publication *Wicazo Sa Review* (2009). 5 bXfYU'Ga]h'`UbX'`>"? Y\Ui``Ub]`? Ui Ubi]Ng' introduction to the *American Quarterly* edition underscore the ways Native feminisms can contribute to complicating sovereignty discourse, problematizing the concept of nation (on Indigenous terms) against the concept of the nation-state and highlighting the global dimensions of social justice:

B Uhj Y'ZYa]b]ga g'[c`VYmcbX'g]a d`mUXXfYgg]b['k ca YbNg'gh'g'cf`W'Í]b[for the inc'i g]cb`cZ]bX][Ybci g'k ca YbNg'j c]Wg"FU'h'YfzB Uhj Y'ZYa]b]ga g'

Deborah Miranda, Ginny Carney, Janice Gould, Chadwick Allen, and Cheryl Suzack representing a wide range of disciplines and expertise. At Kenyon, the group came together to discuss the ways feminism described their own positions as Native women scholars, activists or writers. While some in the group raised important critiques of Waccjib[hY hYfa i ZYa]b]ga i hc fYdfYsent the main objective, most came to the conclusion that such a term was applicable to their own politics. As Cheryl Suzack noted, feminism had been theorized and reformulated by many women of color, and as in the case of African American scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins, Audre Lorde and bell hooks, who were we to say such important work had been naïve or irrelevant to their own experience.

As a result of the Kenyon conference, a small group gathered again both at the University of California Berkeley and Stanford University in the spring of 2003, with additional participants such as Beth Piatote, Victoria Bomberry, and others. The resulting Red Feminist Collective met briefly over the next year as new members came aboard and others fell away; however, a small manifesto was formulated out of the key theme taken at the Kenyon conference. This manifesto, though brief and yet to develop, serves as the backdrop and inspiration for the work in this dissertation, and as such, I want to end with a small discussion of its importance for my own theorizing on a red feminist literary theory or analysis.

The RFC manifesto begins with the simple statement: *We are alive*. For Native women, colonialism is marked by a constant and pervasive gendered violence.⁵ As in the often quoted words of Audre Lorde and echoed by Creek poet Joy Harjo, for many B Uhj Y'k ca Yb hY YfY]g'rfi h]b hY ghUhYa Ybh h Uh i k Y'k YfY'bYj Yf'a YUb h'c'gi fj Jj Y"i⁶ Yet despite the devastating impacts of colonial violence, Native women activists, poets and scholars have described the injustices that faced their families and their communities in clear and direct terms. Early activists and writers, such as Nancy Ward, Sarah Winnemucca, and Zitkala-Sa, spoke and wrote about the gendered and violent nature of colonization in speeches, letters and autobiographical literature.

For example, Sarah Winnemucca writes in her 1883 hYi hZi Q Oy people have been so unhappy for a long time they wish now to *disincrease*, instead of multiply. The mothers are afraid to have more children, for fear they will have daughters, who are not gUZY Yj Yb]b hY]f'a ch Yf h d fYgYb W i (48). K]bbYa i WU h X Y g W d h]c b'c Z \ Y f' d Y c d' Y h g unhappiness is more devastating given its placement immediately after an account of spring ceremonies in her Paiute community. In describing the flower ceremony she k f] h g z i Y U W girl . . . singing of herself . . . is not a girl any more,--she is a flower singing. She sings of herself, and her sweetheart, dancing along by her side, helps her s]b[hY gcb[g Y'a U_Yg i f(+L" H Y' Ua Ybh Zcf' U'gd U W'k \]W' i b X Y f g W' f Y g B Uhj Y [] f' g n self-worth, transformation, and place within the community are set against the violence of colonization. As a scholar, being a red feminist is to work to break the grip of violence against women, to eliminate its seeming inevitability and to challenge the impunity given to those who perpetuate it. This is a decolonial imperative, as red feminist scholars recognize the link between colonial violence and the interpersonal violence plaguing contemporary communities.

One of the most important tenets of the RFC manifesto requires that red feminist gWc`UfgĀ VēbbYVW ffYbhZYa]b]ghdfUW]Wg'rc`h`Y]f'fccrg]b`]bX][Ybci g'k ca Yb]g' Vēbh]bi ci g'grfi [[`YgĀ VēbhYa dcfUf]`m]UbX`h`fci [hout history. In this dissertation, I argue that a necessary part of a red feminist foundation is the literary legacy of Native women activists and writers such as Winnemucca and others who have documented and witnessed colonial violence against Indigenous women. Echoing the original cdYb]b[``]bY`cZ`h`Y`F: 7`a`Ub]ZygrcZĪ k`Y`UfY`U`]j`YĪ`]b`bc`ga`U``dUfhzVYVWli`gY`h`YgY`YUf`mi women chose to speak out about the gendered nature of colonial violence. As a red feminist literary scholar, then, a central part of this project is to recover those activist texts, speeches, pamphlets, etc. of early Native women, and in particular for this dissertation, the writing of Zitkala-Sa.

At the same time, the desire to evaluate scholarly production only through a lens cZĪ Udd`icabilityzĪ or praxis, often creates a dominant discourse of authenticity, and a silencing of intellectual projects whose subjects are deemed overly discursive, irrelevant or out of touch. As the two other collections have noted, a major disciplinary strategy against Native feminisms has been to insist that those who focus on internal critiques or even focus an external critique around gendered concerns has been to accuse Native women of not being truly part of the community. In order to address the relationship between theory and praxis, or the complex nature of identity claims and Native communities, the RFC manifesto advocates for an inclusive scholarly practice amongst]hg'a Ya VYfg``b`UXX]h]cb`rc`Ī`Ufh]W`U]h]b[`]bX][Ybci g`ZYa]b]ga`g`h`Uh]UfY`]bW] g]j`YzĪ the manifesto states that red feminist collective scholars must also Ī`YgrUv`]g\`fY`Uh]cbg\]dg` with non-B Uh]j`Y`Vēa`a`i`b]h]Yg`cZk`ca`Yb`Vēa`a`]hYX`rc`h`Y`[`cU`gĀ`cZ`bX][Ybci g` feminism. By writing into the manifesto the need for inclusivity, solidarity, and plufU`n]b[`Ī`ZYa]b]ga`gĪ` the group hoped to cast a wide net acknowledging common goals yet respecting difference. At the same time, this tenet of the manifesto is a fYVW]cb`cZ`h`Y`UggYfh]cbg`h`UhĪ`ZYa]b]ga`Ī`]g`bch]U`B`Uh]j`e`project. It also rejects impermeable boundaries between red feminist aims and those of other groups of women in terms of common goals, ideas and friendships.

Along these same lines, the manifesto ends by rejecting false tests of authenticity for its members--whether measured by blood quantum, membership status, off-fYgYfj`Uh]cb`i`dVf]b[]b[gZcf`UWVgg'rc`gdYU_]b[`cbY]g`B`Uh]j`Y`Ub[`i`U[`Y`` As the work of Smith and others describe in their collection, citizenship and nation are terms that are too often under-theorized as they are applied to Native sovereignty efforts or forms of self-governance. In light of these issues, the RFC wanted to underscore that as a group, a collective foundation that recognized the distortions which settler colonialism had wrought on notions of belonging and subjectivity for Native women. We were not in the business of reifying those divisions under the auspices of false quantifications of experience and identity.

This is not to say, however, that *who* speaks from this perspective is an irrelevant subject. The manifesto also asserts the necessity that Indigenous feminist theory and dfUW]W`VYĪ`gdYVZ]Wrc`h`Y`b`YXg`cZ`B`Uh]j`Y`Vēa`a`i`b]h]YgĪ`UbX`h`]g`df]bW]d`Y`fYei`]fYg`_bck`YX[`Y`Z`ca`YĪ`dYf]YbWz`Vch`Ug`U`B`Uh]j`Y`k`ca`Ub`UbX`Ug`U`dUfhcZ`cbY]g`Vēa`a`i`b]h]m`.....

In this project, my approach to the literature, at its core, is to articulate how Native women write from experience which articulates both a necessary critique of the gendered impacts of settler colonialism as well as the sources from which to challenge the totality of such dehumanizing structures.

Conclusion

For a red feminist literary analysis, the project takes on the following dimensions. First red feminist literary analysis offers context specific political readings of Native literature that prioritize historical specificity and experience as a field of knowledge. It is a critical approach that recognizes that culturally specific understandings of gender exist and are a part of indigenous knowledge systems. This approach acknowledges that Native peoples do not live in a vacuum; we influence and are influenced by the non-Native world. For sure, this critical approach is not anti-intellectual and does not ignore the critical questions offered by literary texts and authors. Finally, I see red feminist literary criticism as parallel in many ways to the aims of Native nationalist criticism with each arena providing important checks on one another. In borrowing from those critics and in *American Indian Literary Nationalisms* 244), and like Warrior and Womack assert for literary nationalism, it is not a fundamentalist project but an *methodology* that is open to divergent sets of opinions yet which at their core are committed to the overall project of gender justice and self-determination.

In a related definitive gesture, I end this chapter with a discussion of the use of the term *Red Zone*. In *From a Red Zone, Critical Perspectives on Race, Politics and Culture*, RFC member Patricia Penn Hilden argues that the term *Red Zone*, are at the center of a red feminist literary analysis of scholarly analyses steeped in Eurocentric practices and tradition to an indigenous consciousness, not simply a racial or ethnic identity. In the field of Native literature, the *Red Zone* is a dynamic and politically active space that can ground transnational as well as local. *Red Zone* is a *politically* informed literary analysis done well underscores that the gendered politics of Native women

writers is critical to the ongoing conversations about ethical analysis and activism. It takes as a foundational principle that when others have failed—be it scholars, activists, leaders or governing bodies—Native women writers have always theorized the contours of gender justice in their decolonial imaginings through the stories they write from their nations.

¹ Womack notes that the criticism of Gunn Allen's text should note the text was published during the shift in feminist scholarship generally from recovering women's political and cultural contributions to those works that theorized the constructed nature of gender (22). In addition he argues that while her "monolithic treatment" of the West and Native America is problematic, scholars are much more readily accepting of the same tendencies in works like Vine Deloria's *God is Red* (28).

² Indeed, Native feminists and literary scholars Shari Huhndorf and Cheryl Suzack both make note of Gunn Allen's text in their reading of Native women's contemporary literature and drama.

³ These debates are quite complex in terms of the various issues at stake, and I am not able to do justice to such history as a part of this project. For an analysis of these particular issues, see Kathleen Jamieson, "Sex Discrimination and the Indian Act." *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization*. Edited by J.R. Ponting. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986. See also Joanne Barker, "Gender, Sovereignty, and the Discourse of Rights in Native Women's Activism." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, 7: 1 (2006).

⁴ See Taiaiake Alfred's, *Peace, Power and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1999.

⁵ See Andrea Smith *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. See also Luana Ross *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality*.

⁶ Audre Lorde, "The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action," *Sister Outsider*. Trumansberg NY: Crossing Press, 1984. 42.

Chapter Three

Human Rights Discourse and Reading the Red Roots of Red Feminism in Zitkala-Guŋ Non Fiction Prose: 1919-1926

Too often non-Native critics want their Natives to be Squanto [or] . . . la Malinche, . . . or Pocahontas, sacrificing her body and her health on the altar of mediation They prefer Sarah Winnemucca to Red Cloud, Gertrude Bonnin to Richard Fields.

Ī Jace Weaver, *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (2006)

Critical considerations of Dakota writer and activist Zitkala-Guŋ literary contributions have for the most part focused on her creative and semi-autobiographical work published in *Old Indian Legends* (1901), in magazines such as *Harpers* and *Atlantic Monthly* (1900-02) and in her last book-length collection *American Indian Stories* (1921). Considerably less attention has been paid to the period of Zitkala-Guŋ k cf_]b k \JW she turned to the more political genres of activist journalism, pamphlet and speech writing which reflected her more grass-roots and autonomous activist travels and political organizing following her departure from the national pan-Indian organization, the *Society of American Indians* (SAI). Ada Norris claims this lack of critical attention is reflective of a general neglect on the part of contemporary scholars who address the assimilation era either by focusing on the early years of this period following the various Allotment legislative acts or the years immediately prior to the passage of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act. She argues that historians of the assimilation period ignore the years between 1920 and 1933""B cff]g' bchYg'h\UhYj Yb 'F cVYfhK Uff]cfŋj UggYgga Ybh'cZ this same period in his important work on American Indian intellectual history in *Tribal Secrets* (1995) curiously skips over the years 1916-1925. She writes that this particular span of time was:

. . . a crucial period for the development of indigenous activism . . .

Zitkala-Sa in particular played a major role in transforming tribal and pan-Indian activism from a responsive, subordinate role to the assimilating US government into an increasingly self-determined movement. (212)

H\]gĪ WĪ WŪ' dYf]cXĪ]b '5 a Yf]WŪb 'bX]Ūb \]g'c'f'm'U'g'c' W']b'V'X'Y'g'k]h' N']h_U-U-GUŋ dYf]cX' Ug'YX]rc'f'c'Z'h\Y'G5 =ŋj *American Indian Magazine* and later marks the transition from her fc'Y']b h\Y'G5 =hc'cbY'c'Z'a cfY'Ī Z'Y'Y'Ūb'W' U'W]j]g'h'k cf_Ī 'f&%&L'"" =h]g'h']g'a cfY' autonomous activist period that I find compelling in considering the role Zitkala-Sa d'Um]]b 'B U'h]j Y']b'h'Y''Y'WĪ U' \]g'c'f'm'Ūb'X']b' d'U'f'h]W' 'U'f'z']b 'B U'h]j Y'k ca Yb'ŋj Z'a]b]g'h' history.

In this chapter, I consider a number of texts from the period of Zitkala-Guŋk cf_ from 1916-1926. In particular, I examine a speech and an editorial from her years in the SAI as an elected officer and as the editor of *AIM* (1919), followed by a reading of a series of articles she wrote on California (U' bX]Ub 'hf]VYgŋZ] [\ htc' gYY_ fYXfYgg Zfca 'h\Y'I G' government over the so-W' \YX Ī `cgh'fYUh]Yg] 'f% &&-1924), and I end with an analysis of her contributions to the pamphlet *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: An Orgy of Graft and Exploitation of the Five Civilized Tribes, Legalized Robbery* (hereafter referred to as the Oklahoma pamphlet) which she co-wrote with Charles Fabens and Matthew Sniffen (1926).

My reading of this period ends with the Oklahoma pamphlet for two reasons. First, this pamphlet takes as its focus a particular history, the Oklahoma probate court gWUbXU'g'cZ'h\Y' % &\$ŋk \]W']bj c`j YX'a i fXYfžgYi i U' UggUi 'hUbX'fUa dUbhZfUi X'cZc] - rich Oklahoma tribal members, mostly Native women. This story is one which connects the dispossession of allotment era policy, and in particular, policy that relied on a U]bH]b]b['B Uhj Y'dYcd'YgŋrUhi g'Ug'k UfXg'cZ'h\Y'ZYXfU' [c] Yfba Ybžk]h' h\Y'cdYb' and unchecked violence against Native women, the most critical issue for contemporary Indigenous feminist organizing and critique. Secondly, I want to insist that this particular text has been too easily dismissed by critics who have either analyzed it through literary sentimentality or simply not at all. In my early imaginings of this chapter, the Oklahoma pamphlet was my specific interest, but one that quickly developed into a broader interest in the period of Zitkala-Guŋk f]h]b[``YUX]b['i d'hc'h\g] pamphlet. In reading the work that leads up to the publication of the pamphlet, I came to notice Zitkala-Guŋk fYdeated turn towards the language of human rights, invoking a political discourse through which to read her contributions to the Oklahoma pamphlet rather than only through the constructs of sentimental literature. While the roots of human rights discourse in the West is intertwined with the moral claims which underpin American sentimental literature, I argue that Zitkala-Guŋk YI dYf]YbW' Ug'U' Dakota woman might complicate the philosophical genealogy of such discourse in her own writing.²

In my analysis of the texts in this chapter, I attempt to make visible the ways Zitkala-Guŋk h\Ya YgžWU]a g'UbX' f\Yrcf]W' W'c]Wg'WUb 'VY'fYUX' Ug'YUf' m]hYfUh]cbg'cZUb' Indigenous feminist critique of violence through the discourse of human rights. Yet in reading the critical literature on her writing, it must be noted that most critics have XYVYX' m'fY'YVW'X' \Yf'k cf_ Ug'Ī ZYa]b]gñ']b'cf]YbH]h]cbžYj Yb'gc'ZUf'Ug'hc'a U_Y'h\Y'WU]a she was unconcerned with considerations of gender at all. The period within which she was writing (assimilation, red progressivism, first-wave feminism, etc) perhaps are what makes it difficult to categorize her work. In the section that follows, I examine some of the ways contemporary criticism has been limited in negotiating the various complexit]Yg'cZ\Yf''Z]ŋk cf_ "

Zitkala-Sa as Mediator, Paradox, Sentimentalist and Race Activist

D'' \JbY' < UZYbŋg'XYgW]dh]cb'cZn]h_U'U-GUŋk f]h]b[]bžĪ N]h_U'U-Sa, Sentimentality UbX'Gc] YfY] [bmr] 'g]U'fYdfYgYbH]h] Y'YI Ua d`Y'cZ'h\Y'bY[ch]Uh]cbg'W]h]Vg'cZ]Yb'a U_e in

fYUX]b['N]h_U'GUŋVcXmcZk cf_""< UZYb'UF[i Yg'h UhU'hci [\ 'N]h_U-U-Sa wrote h'fci [\ 'h'Y'g'fi W' fYg'cZdcdi 'UF'gYb]a YbhU]mž ']b'cfXYf'hc' [UfbYf'Ya dUhmZ'ca ' \ Yf' non-B Uhj' Y'Ui X]YbWž'UHf'YggUmg' also represent the tribal nationalism that is the foundation of American Indian]bhY'`YW' U' 'fUX]h]cbgj' 'fl &. In coming to this conclusion, Hafen runs through what I argue are four of the most common critical themes in contemporary readings of Zitkala-Sa which overall create a limiting discourse of critical apology. These four themes focus on Zitkala-GUŋ'k f]h]b['Ug'fYdFYgYbUhj] Y'cZ' American Indian cultural accommodation, of a conflicted and enigmatic soul, of early h'k Ybh]Yh' Wbh' fmk ca Ybŋ']h'fUfmgYb]a YbhU]mUbx'cZfUWU' i d']Zhd']h]Vg'k \]W' exclude considerations of gender. All four of these themes can be found in the overview which Hafen provides in her essay. She writes:

The paradoxes of Zitkala-GUŋ']ZY'UVci bX''H'ci [\ 'U'k ca Ub'k f]h'fžg'Y' creates male voices and heroes, emphasizing race over gender. She criticizes forced education and assimilation, yet allies with . . . Richard Pratt of the Carlisle Indian School in the legislative battle to outlaw peyote. She accuses Christianity while participating in Christian religions . . . Despite high emotion and the sentimentality of popular culture, Zitkala-Sa remains faithful to the Yankton sources of her work, presenting an amalgam of traditional culture and contemporary accommodations. (40)

The first theme the above quote identifies is to read Zitkala-GUŋ']h'fUfmiYl h'g' h'fci [\ 'h'Y'`Ybg'cZ' UW'ca a cXUh]cb' 'cf'hc' UggYfh'Yf'fc'Y'Ug'U' W' 'hi fU' 'a YX]Uhc'f' 'UV'Y' hc' UXcdh'UbX' UXUdh'h'Y' f'Y'hc'f]WUbx']X'Yc'c['micZ'h'Y'W'cb]nYfg' 'f(\$'5' 'h'ci [\ 'h']g' particular critical approach has several incarnations, it generally focuses on her writing as a function of hybridity, performance or bicultural identity. To be sure, while the critical work that reads Zitkala-GU'Ug' W' 'hi fU' 'a YX]Uhc'f']g'b'hc'j Yf'hmbY[Uh]]ž' readings that play on this theme often lead to an indictment of her writing as easily co-opted by a liberal desire for reconciliation rather than serve Native claims for self-determination. For example in *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, Jace Weaver lists the interest in Zitkala-Sa and other historical figures as representative of a colonialist desire for the cultural mediator and accessible Native other. He writes:

Too often non-Native critics want their Natives to be Squanto [or] . . . la Malinche, . . . or Pocahontas, sacrificing her body and her health on the altar of mediation . . . They prefer Sarah Winnemucca to Red Cloud, Gertrude Bonnin to Richard Fields. (2)

K YUj Yfŋ'k cfXg' \ YfY'U'gc'gYf] Y'Ug'h'Y'cdYb]b['Yd][fUd' \ Zcf'h']g'W'Udh'f'Zcf'U'ZYk ' reasons. First, the above statement represents a certain approach to nationalist criticism which defines Native resistance in delimiting ways which create a false binary, the militant warrior against the accommodationist Native woman. Secondly, while the discourse on American Indian literary nationalisms makes central the subject of cultural sovereignty and the critical importance of tribally specific readings, this statement points to its current limitations in dealing with historical figures such as Zitkala-Sa, whose

political efforts often moved trans-tribally and across Native national borders; or, in this specific case, activists who had to negotiate the intersections of race, class and gender. As Shari Huhndorf has effectively argued, a focus on the transnational is of particular importance (VYWI gY'B Uhj Y'k ca YbŋZYa]b]gdc`h]Vg UFY cZyb'dfcXi WX'h'fci [\ ']a U[]b]b['h'Y['cVU'U'cb[g]XY'h'Y`cW'"" < i \bXcfZk f]hYg'h'Uh' 7 cbWbhfUh]b['cb'h'Y' connections that tie indigenous communities together rather than on the boundaries that separate them allows me to raise questions about gender, imperialism, class, and the k cf'Xk]XY'W'W' Uh]cb'cZW' 'h' fY'""'f' f*Mapping the Americas* 2). In addition she points ci h'h'Uh' K \]'Y'h'Y'f'UbgbUh]cbU']bX][Ybci g'a cj Ya Ybh]g`Uf[Y'mVci bX'hc'h'Y`cW'ž even national, concerns, it brings to the fore issues that extend beyond the tribal. K ca Ybŋcf[Ub]n]b[žZcf'YI Ua d'Yž\Ug[U]bYX'g][b]Z]Wb'ha ca Yb'hi a]'b'h'g]bYk' constellation of relationships . . . suggesting the possibilities that transnationalism created for ind][Ybci g'ZYa]b]ga 'f'%'L''

Hc'VY'ZU]fžK YUj Yfŋ'ei ch'Y'Uh'Ya dh'g'hc'XYgW]VY'h'Y'k Umg'bc'b-Natives co-opt Native women such as Winnemucca and Zitkala-Sa for their own purposes; however, by i g]b['h'Y'Īk Uff]cf'Ī'Z][i fY'Ug'h'Y'Ī fYU'Ī' fYdfYgYb'h]h] Y'cZB Uh]j Y'fYg]gtance, he actually reifies the sexist and racist assumptions that underlie such co-optation. Moreover, in terms of Zitkala-GUŋ'UbX'GU'U'K]bbYa i WUŋ'U'U' d'c`]h]W'k cf' _UbX'VcXmcZk f]h]b[ž his inference that these two women are the kinder, gentler version of Native activism is just simply wrong.

Related to the critical lens of the cultural mediator is the second critical framework that reads Zitkala-GUŋ]ZY'Ug'Ī Yb][a Uh]W' _UbX'Z'cW'gYg'cb'h'Y'V'cb'fUX]W]cbg]b' her political viewpoints. This critical thYa Y]g'fYdfYgYb'h]X']b' < UZYbŋ'cj Yfj]Yk 'cZ' Zitkala-GUŋ'k cf'_k \Yb'g\Y'g'UhYg'h'Uh'h'Y'Ī d'U'fUX'cl Yg'cZ'dN]h'_U'U'GUŋ'g']ZY'U'Vci bX'Ī' . . . For example, most critics agree that Zitkala-Sa fought consistently for Native self-determination. However, many of these same critics are made anxious by Zitkala-GUŋ' anti-peyote stance or her idealistic celebration of American democracy in her arguments for American Indian citizenship. These conflicting elements of her writing lead to readings which are more of a contemporary apology for her more assimilationist positions rather than seeking out the ways her writing reflects a certain political context or historical negotiation. Or worse, as Ada Norris has points out, many critics simply ignore the development of her thinking on these subjects over time. This point leads into the third critical theme which reads Zitkala-GUŋ'k f]h]b['k]h]b' h'Y'UYgh'Yh]W' conventions of sentimental literature or popular sentimentality.

Sentimental literary styles have long been associated with 'k ca Ybŋ'UbX'd'Ycd'Y' cZ'V'c'f'ŋ'k f]h]b['cZ'h'Y'b]b'Y'h'Yb'h' _UbX'YU'f'm'k Yb]h]Y'h' W'bh' fm'"" < ck Yj Yfžk \Uh' constitutes the sentimental and its implications as a genre in terms of gender, race and class remains somewhat of an open question. As Nina Baym writesžĪ]bXYdYbXYbhcZ' whether one admires sentimentalism or scorns it, sentimentalism is always in the VY\c'XYfŋ'Ym'Ī 'f'Ī' +L'""Hc'Vc'ffck 'U'XYZ]b'ition of the sentimental from Joanne Dobson she writes:

We can recognize sentimental literature by its concern with subject matter that privileges affectional ties, and by conventions and tropes designed to convey the primary vision of human connection in a dehumanized world. An emphasis on accessible language . . . defines an aesthetic whose primary quality of transparency is generated by a valorization of connection, an impulse toward communication with as wide an audience as possible. (268)

From this definition, anyone familiar with Zitkala-Gunakota's work will recognize the designation for much of her work as sentimental. As a result, her work has been designated as sentimental. The margins have appropriated the style to make their claims. Indeed, in her analysis of early Native American autobiography of the 19th century, Laura Mielke articulates how the tropes of sentimentality were appropriated by writers such as William Apess in his autobiography *A Son of the Forest*. However, Mielke argues that one must be critical in describing Apess work as simply conventional in its use of sentimentality as sentimental culture did not subvert racial hierarchies but in fact depended on them for readerly sympathy. Euro-American readers to sympathize with Native Americans but also to establish a connection through sentiment was a form of imperialist sympathy with the Native other, not a critical kind of empathy that would require seeing Native Americans while he uses the popular form of sentimentality, he does so in a way which also calls for a critical reading of her work. In her analysis of the later period of Zitkala-Gunakota's work, she argues that her work is a form of imperialist sympathy with the Native other, not a critical kind of empathy that would require seeing Native Americans while he uses the popular form of sentimentality, he does so in a way which also calls for a critical reading of her work.

As Norris has pointed out critics reading the later period of Zitkala-Gunakota's work in the sentimental register, a project that requires understanding her stories in their indigenous traditional stories or her invocation of treaty discourse or the political discourse of law and policy.

The final and fourth critical theme that will be challenged in this chapter is the critical assertion that Zitkala-Gunakota should not be read as a part of feminist intellectual history. The work of Zitkala-Gunakota is a form of imperialist sympathy with the Native other, not a critical kind of empathy that would require seeing Native Americans while he uses the popular form of sentimentality, he does so in a way which also calls for a critical reading of her work. In her analysis of the later period of Zitkala-Gunakota's work, she argues that her work is a form of imperialist sympathy with the Native other, not a critical kind of empathy that would require seeing Native Americans while he uses the popular form of sentimentality, he does so in a way which also calls for a critical reading of her work.

approach which incorporates concepts of balance and reciprocity from an indigenous point of view, the application of this concept, much like earlier criticisms of Paula Gunn 5 ``Ybŋk cf_ hYbXg'hc flatten the political force of such gendered critique in ways that dfca chY'hY'Z fH'Yf'a Uf[]bU'nUh]cb 'UbX'Ja dUW'icZB Uhj Y'k ca Ybŋ'cf[Ub]n]b['UbX' dc`]h]W' W`hi fY'": cfz]b`h'Y'YbXz< c`fU'ŋ'Uf[i a Ybh]g'bcha i W'Z' fH'Yf'fYa cj YX'Z'ca` the more fundamentalist and damaging argument that what Native women really need is to support a basic tribal nationalism in order to be restored to their rightful place in contemporary society.

For example, Hollrah offers the following quote, which seems to challenge her own argument that Zitkala-Sa was ultimately unconcerned with a separate gender politics. In a 1901 letter to her then fiancé Carlos Montezuma, Zitkala-Sa chastises Montezuma for failing to include Native women in political organizing efforts:

For spite, I feel like putting my hand forward and simply wiping the ÷X]Ub'a Ybŋ'7ca a]hY'Y]b'hc'bck \YfY'""B cÍ I should not really do such a thing. Only I do not understand why your organization does not include Indian women. Am I not an Indian woman as capable to think in serious matters and as thoroughly interested in the race as any one or two of you men put together? Why do you dare to leave us out? Why? (qtd in Hollrah 44)

For Hollrah, this quote demonstrates Zitkala-GUŋ'U`Y[]UbW'hc`[YbXYf'W'a d`Ya YbhUf]m' rat\Yf'h'Ub'Z'Ya]b]ghgYbh]a Ybh'z'VYW'li g'Y'g\Y'XcYg'bchU[fYY'hc`Í ghUf'f' U'gYdUfU'Y'B Uhj Y' k ca Ybŋ'dc`]h]W' [fci d'""K]h]b'< c`fU'ŋ'Z'Ua Yk cf_zN]h_U-U-GUŋ'XYgfY'hc'VY' included is due to her tribal understanding of the importance of gender balance rather thab'Ub'Yi d`]Vh'W'cb'W'fb'Zcf'B Uhj Y'k ca Ybŋ'a Uf[]bU'nUh]cb'"" ÷'Ubch'Yf'Yi Ua d`Yz' Hollrah provides an analysis of the Oklahoma pamphlet. Once again, she argues that the text documents Zitkala-GUŋ'W'a a]ha Ybh'hc`[YbXYf'W'a d`Ya YbhUf]m'fU'h'Yf'h'Ub'U' feminist politics, because Zitkala-GUŋ'W'cb'f]Vi h]cb'hc'h]g]bj Ygh[Uh]cb'gYfj Yg'Ug'h'Y' Z'Ya]b]bY'Í VU'UbW'Í 'hc'h'cgY'cZ\Yf'a U'Y'W'ci bh'fdUf'hgz'7\Uf'Yg': UVYbg'UbX'A U'h'Yk` Sniffen. Of course, Hollrah supports her claim by asserting that Zitkala-Sa is able to be the feminine balance by writing through the literary convention of sentimentality, dUfh]W'Uf'm'h'Y'Í gYXi W]cb'bUffUhj] Y'Í' < c`fU'k f]h'Yg.'"

The wonderful irony about how well Zitkala-Sa uses the English language is that she manipulates the language of the oppressor to further the rights of Indians. Thus, in a subtle way she creates resistance and liberation literature with sentimentalism. Her core beliefs however are situated within the context of gender complementarity. She sees her writing and work as necessary with that of men to make for a complete whole. (51)

The problems with the above quote underscore the resistance to both reading Zitkala-GUŋ'k cf_ Z'ca 'Ub']bX][Ybci g'Z'Ya]b]ghdc]bhcZj]Yk`cf'Z'ca`ci hg]XY'cZ'h'Y'gYbh]a YbhU'` lens of American literature. Part of that resistance lies with the desire to make Zitkala

GUŋgdc`j]hW` j]Yk g`Z]hbYUhm k]h]b`U`a cFY`bU]cbU`]ghX]gVti fgY`h`Uhz]ZVt`bWfbYX`k]h` gender at all, is only concerned with the subject insofar as it about the very liberal notion of eqi U`fYdfYgYbH]cbz`YfY`f]VU`]nYX`Ugĭ VU`UbW`ĭ`5 g`h`Y`dfYj]ci g`V`UdHYf` demonstrates, Indigenous feminists have asserted that their feminist politics are more Vt`a d`Yi`h`U`b`c`f`U`h`g`Vt`bWdh]g`UV`Y`h`X`Yg`V]VY"

The context within which I want to place Zitkala-GUŋg k f]h]b[`]gk]h]b`U` discussion of violence and the gendered impact of colonization on women in regards to kinship and knowledgeġ two spaces from which to read the affective nature of her work cZ]hb`X`Yg`V]VYX`Ugĭ gYbh]a YbH]jga "ĭ`k` \]Y`h`Y`UVcj e themes are common enough in literary analysis of Zitkala-GUŋg k cf`z`h`YfY`UfY`g`V`c`Uf`g`k` \c` \Uj`Y`Ud`f`c`U`V`X` \Yf` writing from more compelling standpoints and in terms which prove more useful in my UbU`mg]g`c`Z` \Yf`U`HYf`k` cf`_`5`X`U`B`c`f`]g`ŋ`k` cf`_`Z`c`f`Yi`Ua`d`Y` asserts the importance of reading Zitkala-GUŋg k f]h]b[`k]h`Ub`Ym`h`ck`Uf`X`g` \Yf`V`X`Ub[]b[`U`V]j]gh]bhYfYg`g`UbX` more autonomous political organizing under her own organization, the NCAI. Theoretically, Norris advances the claim that Zitkala-GUŋg g`c`f]Yg`fYdfYgYbhĭ U`Vt`a`d`Y`]b[`dc`j]h]Vg`UbX` \]g`c`f`m`c`Z]b`X][YbY]mĭ`f`Zitkala-Sa`%\$Z`k`]h`ĭ`]b`X][YbY]mĭ`c`Z`Yf]b[`U`a`c`f`Y` i`g`Zi` `V`h]W`Z`Ua`Y`U`g`k`Y`"`"B`c`f`]g`X`Y`g`V]VY`g`h`]g`ĭ`dc`j]h]Vg`c`Z]b`X][YbY]mĭ`U`g`c`b`Y`h`U`h`ĭ` [fci bXg`U`f]VU`k` cf`X-view in such a way as to increase the depth and range of tribal alliances; instead of pan-Indian [read SAI] . . . indigeneity supports a trans-tribal dc`j]h]Vg`i`f`&\$`"B`c`f`]g`ŋ`i`g`Y`c`Z`h`]g`Vt`b`W`d`h`U`c`k`g` \Yf`h`c`a`c`f`Y`Z` `m`X`Y`g`V]VY`h`Y`U`HYf` period of Zitkala-GUŋg U`V]j]ghk`cf`_`h`U`h`]g`V`X`U`f`U`V`Y`f]n`Y`X`V`mĭ`Y`b[U[]b[`cb`h`Y`c`W`"Y`Y`k`]h`f]VU`Vt`a`a`i`b]h]Yg`k` \]Y`k`f]h]b[`Ub`X`k`cf`_]b[`Z`c`f`U`f[Y`b`U`h]c`b`U`U`V]j]gh`b`Y`h`k`cf`_g`" Norris correctly points out that after Zitkala-Sa leaves the SAI, that she rejected the a`Y`h`c`X`c`Zĭ]a`d`cg]b[`U`Z]i`Y`X`V`u`r`e`a`u`c`r`a`t`i`c` s`t`r`u`c`t`u`r`e, she responded to the specific needs c`Z`f]VU`Ub`X`b`X]U`b`Vt`a`a`i`b]h]Yg`Ub`X`U`h`Y`a`d`h`Y`h`c`k`cf`_`Z`c`a`h`Y`[fci`b`X`i`dĭ`f`&\$`&`.

Similarly, literary scholar Lucy Maddox argues for the historically situated nature of Zitkala-GUŋg k f]h]b[`Ug`U`unique contribution to American Indian intellectual history and political activism of the reform period, and in particular, during the later years of the SAI. In *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race and Reform*, Maddox sees Zitkala-GUŋg k fitting during her tenure at the SAI as representative of her lifelong political goal to end further dispossession of Native lands through policy reform and grass-fcch`g`c`f[Ub]n]b["": i`f`h`Y`f`g`Y`]b]g]g`h`U`h`h`Y`d`c`j]h]W`U`ja`g`c`Z`N]h`U`U`GUŋg` writing are consistently articulated through a political philosophy firmly grounded in her Dakota values. In this vein, Maddox argues that Zitkala-GUŋg k cf`_`k`U`g`Z`c`W`g`Y`c`b`Y`X`i`W`h]b[`k` \]h`Y`5`a`Y`f]W`b`g`U`V`c`i`h`B`U`h]j`Y`d`Y`c`d`Y`g`"A`U`X`X`c`l`k`f]h]Y`g`h`U`hĭ]h`k`U`g`b`X]U`b` voices . . . [Zitkala Sa] wished to translate to a white audience . . . [and] Unlike many of her SAI colleagues, . . . [she] continued to put the reservations and traditional Sioux Y`h`c`g`U`h`h`Y`W`b`h`Y`f`c`Z` \Y`f`d` \]`c`g`c`d` \mĭ`f`&\$`&`"

What is significant about both Norris and MUX`X`c`l`ŋ`f`Y`U`X]b[g]g`b`ch`g]a`d`m`h`Y]f` insistence that historical contexts matter, but that the historical period of Zitkala-GUŋg activism reveals important ways in which she did not comfortably fit with other SAI B`U`h]j`Y`]b`h`Y`Y`V`h`U`g`ŋ`U`d`d`f`c`U`V`h`c`f`Y`Z`c`f`a`" "ġ is Zitkala-GUŋg f`Y`Z`i`g`U`c`Z`h`Y`d`U`b`-Indian trajectory of the progressive movement alongside her trans-tribal/national rhetoric and

[fUggfcchgUMj]ga `k \jWk Vca d`jWUHY h\YĀ a YX]Urcfĭ `cfĭ Yb][a Uĭ `ZfUa Yk cf_g`h\Uh reduces critical discourse to a conversation focused on mixed-blood angst, a crisis of tribal modernity or the manipulation of white desires for access to Indian pathos. In the sections that follow, I choose to read Zitkala-GUNg bcb-fiction writing from the critical perspective of red feminism which would allow for the multiple layers of her experience and politics more significance than that afforded by other approaches. Two of the most critical conversations missing from the discourse, I argue are the ways she did engage in a Native feminist critique of the period as well as the ways in which her use of what we might read as sentiment is actually her deployment of the rhetoric of human rights.

The Rhetoric of Human Rights and ‘Where are the women?’: Zitkala-Sa’s Red Feminist Writing 1919-1926

Much of the critical focus on Zitkala-GUNg`k cf_`Wb`VY`Yi d`U]bYX`]b`gca`Y`k`Umj` by what Norris argues is the common practice of reading Zitkala-GUNg`k cf_`U\]g`hcf]W`m` and without considering the trajectory of her growth as an intellectual and activist author. While many literary critics focus on Zitkala-GUNg`WYUHj`Y`d`Yf]cX`YbX]b[`]b`%`\$&`Z`Yk`Yi`Ua`]bY`\`Yf`UMj`]ghd]YWG`k`f]hYb`]b`h`Y`U`h`Y`b`g`UbX`%`&\$`M`" `b`X`Y`X`Z`U`g`B`c`f`]g` argues, 1916-%`&`]g`U`Ā`W`i`W`U`d`Yf]cX`Z`c`f`h`Y`X`Y`Y`c`da`Y`b`h`c`Z`]b`X][`Y`b`c`i`g`UMj`]ga`Ā`f`212). She goes on to note that in this period Zitkala-GU`f`Y`Z`f`Ua`Yg`\`Yf`Ā`d`Ub-Indian activism from a responsive, subordinate role to the assimilating US government, into an increasingly self-XYH`fa`]b`Y`X`a`c`j`Ya`Y`b`h`ĭ`f`B`%`&`" `H`c`g`i`d`d`c`f`h`\`Y`f`W`U]a`Z`B`c`f`]g`f`Y`U`X`g` through Zitkala-GUNg`U`F`W`j`Y`Z`f`ca`h`]g`Y`f`U`\`][`\`h`]b[`N]h`U`U-GUNg`Z`c`W`g`c`b`h`Y`c`W`ĭ`c`f` grassroots organizing and her turn towards the rhetoric of treaty rights and sovereignty following Zitkala-GUNg`V`f`Y`U`_`k`]h`h`Y`G`5`=]b`%`&`%

h]g`B`c`f`]g`g`U`W`c`i`b`h`c`Z`this later activist period that comes closest to the critical positioning of my own reading of Zitkala-GUNg`k`f`]h`]b[`U`h`h`]g`h`]a`Y`" `a`d`c`f`h`U`b`h`m`z`B`c`f`]g` not only argues against the constant focus on Zitkala-GUNg`U`g`g`]a`]`U`h`]c`b`]g`h`f`\`Y`r`c`f`]W`c`Z`\`Y`f` early life, but she also raises the issue of gender in thinking about how one can read the k`cf_`a`c`g`h`Y`Z`Y`W`h`j`Y`n`ĭ`B`c`f`]g`U`f`[`i`Y`g`h`U`h`Z`Ī`Q`D`\`Y`f`c`k`b`k`U`h`z`N]h`U`U-Sa brought ei`Y`g`h`c`b`g`c`Z`[`Y`b`X`Y`f`]b`h`c`h`Y`g`U`a`Y`g`d`U`W`U`g`U`W`c`a`a`]h`a`Y`b`h`c`\`c`X`]b[`f`f`]V`U`ĭ`U`b`X`g`ĭ`f`B`\$`&`" Unfortunately, Norris does not fully articulate how or what those questions of gender are that come to inform Zitkala-GUNg`UMj`]ga`" `b`h`Y`d`]Y`W`g`=k`]`Y`i`Ua`]b`Y`]b`h`Y` remainder of this chapter, I argue that Zitkala-Sa does more than simply raise the subject of [`Y`b`X`Y`f`/`g`Y`U`f`[`i`Y`g`Ya`d`U`h`]W`m`Z`c`f`B`U`h`j`Y`k`ca`Y`b`h`g`d`U`f`h`]W`d`U`h`]c`b`U`g`U`W`h`]W`ĭ`U`b`X` political necessity for the future of Native self-determination efforts. Moreover, as she di`g`Y`g`Z`c`f`U`a`c`f`Y`Ā`]b`X][`Y`b`c`i`g`ĭ`d`c`]h`]g`U`b`X`Ī`g`Y`Z`X`Y`H`f`a`]b`Y`X`Ī`a`c`j`Ya`Y`b`h`z`U`g`B`c`f`]g` describes it, I believe Zitkala-Sa also invokes the trans-national and emerging critical register of indigenous global politics by turning towards the rhetoric of human rights. These rhetorical strategies and themes will also become important in order to understand the gendered dimension of her critique of violence and impunity in the Oklahoma pamphlet as something more than the tropes of sentimentality.

One of the first examples in which Zitkala-Sa uses the rhetoric of human rights is in an editorial comment she writes on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.

Writing in the capacity of editor of *American Indian Magazine*, Zitkala-Sa is still associated with the SAI at this moment. In this editorial, Zitkala-Sa argues yet again for the necessity of American Indian citizenship in order for Native peoples to have legal standing and therefore control over decisions on their rights and properties. However, she takes a global stance to articulate this position by highlighting the symbolic importance of the Paris Peace conference for all disenfranchised peoples. In earlier war effort gives Zitkala-GU' h'Y'g' h'U'X]b['h']bj c_Y'h'Y'k cf'X'g' [['Y'k]h' 'I'XYa c'W'U'W' 'Ug a human ideal, not just a matter of equal rights. And while most scholars will argue that citizenship and democracy represent a less radical stance than modern Native nationalisms, in Zitkala-GU'g' YfU'Z'k UfX'g'\d' g'Y'Ya YX'h'c' VY'h'Y'cb'm' alternative.

As historian Paul Rosier bch'Y'g]b' \]g'f'Y'g'Y'U'F'W' 'cb'h'Y' 'I']bh'Y'fb'U'h]cb'U' 'I']b' '7'c' 'X' 'K' Uf' era Native politics, Zitkala-GU'g' Ygg'U'm'Z'cf' *American Indian Magazine* is an early example of Native activists engaging international political discourse in the twentieth century. He points out that like other Native activists writing at this time, Zitkala-GU' 'U'd'f'c'd'f]U'h'Y'g' 'K']'g'cb]U'b' 'U'b[i U[Y'h'c' 'X'Ya U'b'X' 'G'b'X]U'b'Q'f][\h'g]'b' 'U'd'c'g'h'K' cf'X' 'K' Uf'='k' cf'X' 'I' 'f'%' '\$&%' specifically the doctrine of self-determination Woodrow Wilson had advanced at the Paris Peace Conference.⁴ In a speech delivered by President Wilson in 1916 and published in *The Washington Post* 'K']'g'cb' 'a' U_Y'g'h'Y'g'h'U'h'Ya Y'bh'h'U'h' 'Y'g' Y'f'm'd'Y'c'd' 'Y' \U'g'U' f][\h'c' 'W' 'c'c'g'Y'h'Y'g'c'j' Y'f'Y][b'h'm'i' b'X'Y'f'k' \]W' 'h' 'Y'm']j' Y'f' ' ' < Y' [c'Y'g'c'b' 'h'c' 'g'U'm'h'U'h' 'h'Y' small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and h'Y'f' 'h'f'f]h'c'f]U']b'h'Y' [f]m'z' 'U' 'h'c'i' [\ 'Y' 'U'X'a']h'g]'b' 'h']g'g'U'a' Y'g'd'Y'Y'W' 'h'U'h'k' \Y'b' 'I' 'W' 'b'f'c' ' 'Y'X' V'm'g'Y' 'Z]g' 'd'U'g'g'c'b'z' 'h'Y' 'I' 'G' \U'g' 'I' c'Z'Y'b'X'Y'X' 'i' 'g'i' 'W' 'd'f]b'W'd' 'Y'g'⁵ When Zitkala-Sa describes h'Y' 'W' 'b'Z'f'Y'b'W']b' 'h']g'Y'g'g'U'm'U'b'X']b' \Y'f' 'c'k' b' 'k' cf'X'g'U'g'U'g'd'U'W' 'k' \Y'f'Y' 'I']h'Y' 'd'Y'c'd' 'Y' 'c'Z' 'h'Y' 'k' cf'X' 'I' 'a' U'm'V'Y' 'I' [f'U'b'h'X' 'h'Y'f'] [\h'c' 'g'Y'Z'X'Y'h'f'a']b'U'h]cb' 'I' 'U'b'X' 'k' \Y'f'Y'U' 'U'f[Y'g'Y'h'c'Z' 'I'X]j' Y'f'g'Y' \i' a' U'b' 'd'Y'h]h]cb'g' 'U'f'Y' \Y'U'f'X' 'X'U']n'z'g' \Y']g'X]f'Y'W' 'h'm'Y'b[U[]b['k']h' 'K']'g'cb' 'I'g' foreign policy pronouncements represented in this earlier speech (189)⁶.

@Y[U' 'g'W'c' 'U'f'Z'A']W' 'U'D'c'a' Y'f'U'b'W' 'b'c'h'Y'g'h'U'h' 'I' 'K']'g'cb' 'I'g' 'Y'd'i' 'H'U'h]cb' 'U'g' 'h'Y' champion of the principle of self-determination rests on the fact that, of all the peacemakers at Versailles, he alone publicly proclaimed the principle as the lodestar of h'Y' 'd'Y'U'W' 'I' 'f'&%' ' 'H' \Y'f'Y'Z'c'f'Y']h']g' 'b'c'h'g'i' 'f'd'f]g]b['h'Y' 'N']h'U'U' 'Sa' would incorporate his f' \Y'c'f]W' 'G' \Y' 'f'Y'W' [b']n'Y'g' 'h'Y']a' d']W'U'h]cb'g'c'Z'D'f'Y'g]X'Y'bh'K']'g'cb' 'I'g' 'Y'm'd'Y'U'W' 'd'f]b'W'd' 'Y'Z'c'f' American Indian citizenship and self-determination. However, what is important in this rhetorical move is that she positions herself in conversation not just with the President, as the leader of the United States but with the leaders of the world. At the conference, an international forum of nation-states would debate such human rights issues and the responsibility of modern nation-states to their citizens.⁷ As historian Erez Manela points out, the Wilsonian principle of self-determination after the conference will resonate for years to come for many colonized peoples, especially for the countries in the East such U'g' 'b'X]U' ' ' < Y'k' f]h'Y'g' 'I' 'h'Y' 'g'd'f]b['c'Z' %' %' 'g'U'k' 'h'Y' ' 'U'i' b'W']b['c'Z'f'Y'j' c' 'h'g'U' [U]b'g'h'Ya' d]f'Y']b' numerous non-European societies and the expansion of anti-colonial nationalism to i' b'd'f'Y'W'X'Y'bh'Y'X']b'h'Y'g]h'm'U'b'X' 'g'W'd'Y' 'I' 'U'b'X' 'h'U'h' 'I' 'cb'W' 'k' Y'f'Ya' c'j' Y' 'h'Y' '9'i' 'f'c'W' 'b'f']W'Y'bg'

df]bWd`Yg'a i ghVY`ZYI]V`Y`Ybci [\ `hc`VY`i b]j YfgU`i` f% &L`" 9a d\Ug]n]b[`h\Y`i b]j YfgU`]hmi of democracy is a common tactic in Zitkala-GUNg`k f]h]b[`YgdYWU`mUg`dUfhcZU`Uf[Yf` argument for the enfranchisement of Native peoples. However, in this piece, she it is bchg]a d`mYI hc`]b[`h\Y`j]fhi Y`cZ`I`XYa cWUWm`i` "G\Y`]g`W`U`Yb[]b[`h\cgY`Uh`h\Y`DUf]g` Peace Conference, President Wilson in particular, and the global community to ensure h\Uh`h\Y`I`Udd`]W]h]cb]`cZ`Z`Y`Y`X`ca` I` and the theorizing of self determination` is open enough to include Native peoples. To be sure, for Zitkala-GU`h\Y`I`j`c]W`cZU`a`i` `h]h`XY` i`b]h`X`Vm`UZZ`]W]h]cb]`]bW`i`XYg`h\Y`j`c]W]g`cZ`5`a`Yf]W]b`"b`X]Ubg`z`k`cf`_Yfg`z`V`UW`g`Ub`X` women. The challenge Zitkala-GUNg`a`U`_Yg`hc`h\Y`k`cf`X`"YUX`Yfg]g`h\Uh`h\Yg`Y`j`c]W]g`UFY` not only recognized but more importantly, *heard* on the world stage. And if Native dYcd`Yg`UFY`i` `h]a`Uh`Y`m`Y`Z`h`i` h`z`g`Y`Ug`_g`I`K` \`Uh`g`U`"k`cf`X`XYa`cWUWm`ia`YUb`hc` \]g` race3]` f% &L`"

H\Y`a`Yh`Ud`cf`cZ`h\Y`YUF`X`cf`I`i`b`YUF`X`I`]g`cb`Y`h\Uh`N]h`_U`U`-Sa` will turn to again and again over the next few decades, in relation to Native peoples as well as Native women. While the 1919 editorial inserts American Indian rights into international debates on self-determination and human rights, I turn now to a speech she delivers the dfY]]ci`g`g]`a`a`Yf`hc`h\Y`Gc`W]h`mcZ`5`a`Yf]W]b`"b`X]Ubg`z`k`cf`_Yfg`z`V`UW`g`Ub`X` of aiming her critique at the American government, in this speech, she urges Native peoples to recognize their own unique gifts and claim human rights for themselves.

“Address by the Secretary-Treasurer, Society of American Indians Annual Convention” Zitkala-Sa, Summer 1919

While the overall focus of this speech is about the need for political organizing, throughout the speech, Zitkala-Sa insists on the importance of Native women to that political project. In the opening of this speech, she thanks the SAI organizers for what their introductory words. But in so doing, she takes the opportunity to chastise the V`b]j`Yb]h]cb`Z`cf`h\Y`"UW`_cZ`k`ca`Yb]h]d`Ufh]W]d`U]h]cb`]b`h\Y`Y`j`Yb`h`"G\Y`h`Y`"g`Yf`a`cgh`m`ia`U`Y` audience:

[I]t fills my heart with joy to hear these encouraging words from my brothers and as they have spoken of their high regard for an Indian sister, I know that it extends to all the Indian women in this country, and I hope my brothers that at the next meeting you will invite your wife to come with you and you will invite your sister to come with you . . . the Indian woman must come to the gatherings, she must listen with her mind open that she may gather the truths to take home to our little ones. (213)

While there may be a critical desire to read her words in this example as shaped by the ideas of domesticity, i.e. the home and the responsibilities of motherhood, I argue that the values of a red feminist criticism insist on recentering the *red* or the political within the rhetoric. Indeed, the critical focus that reads this speech as an example of the f\Y`hc`f]W`cZ`I`UW`c`a`a`c`X`U]h]cb]`]g`b`ch`i`b`W`c`a`a`c`b`"b`"b`<`UZY`b]h]g`U`b`U`mg]g`c`Z`N]h`_U`U`-GUNg` relationship with the sentimental, she argues that this speech is a continuation of the theme of accommodation from Zitkala-GUNg`YUF`]Yf`W]YU]h]j`Y`k`cf`_`"5`h\`ci` [\`<`UZY`b`

acknowledges that much of the speech \Ugĭ fUWU`mUbx`b[i]gh]W`mgdYVZ]W` Y`Ya Ybhg`g\Y`k f]hYg`h Uhĭ UdUfhZfca`h\Y`fYZfYbW`hc`h\Y`i bh]b[`hfU]`g`h]g`gdYYW` Vĕi `X`VY`Zfca`Ubm]bgd]fUh]cbU`gdYU`Yf`cb`j]fhi U`mUbmĥcd]W`fĭ -E`< ck Yj YfZ]h]g`bch` Zfca`ĭ ghĭ Ubm]bgd]fUh]cbU`gdYU`Yfĭ `bcf`]g`h]g`gdYYW`ĭ ghUvci hĭ Ubmĥcd]W`ĭ `b`h`]g` speech, Zitkala-Sa focuses her audience on the political power of claiming human rights not only for their current political issues, but also for their own sense of self-worth, as well as that of the future generations.

In order to do these things successfully however, Zitkala-Sa argues that the success of Native activism depends on the full participation of the community, YgdYVU`mk ca Yb`"b`h`]g`dUggU[YZg`Y`XYgW]VYg`B Uhj Y`k ca Yb`Ug`h`Y`cbYg`k \c`ĭ gather hfi h`g`ĭ`": cf`N]h`U`U`-Sa, in this role, Native women hold the knowledge essential for the *political* gĭ fĭ]j U`cZĭ hi fY`[YbYfUh]cbg`Z`Uj YfmX]ZZfYbhUfh]W`Uh]cb`cZa`ch`Yf`ccX`ĭ social value than one afforded by mainstream ideologies of motherhood and domesticity.

b`Vĕbh]bi]b[`Yf`Uf[i a Ybh`h`Uh`h`Yĭ [fYUhYgh[]Zh]b`"]ZY`]g`VĕbgWci gbYggĭ f&% Ē she asks the convention attendees to consider the value of Native knowledge and experience. And though, as Hafen notes, this particular section is in line with that of any ĩ]bgd]fUh]cbUĭ `gdYU`Yf`h]g`U`gc`U`df]a`Y`Yi`Ua`d`Y`cZ`h`fb]b[`h`Y`Xca`]b`Ub`h`X]g`Vĕi`fg`Y`cZ` fUW`U[U]bgh]hg`Y`Z`": cW`g]b[`cb`h`Yĭ]j]fhi`Ygĭ`cZ`bX]Ub`V`ccX`Z`N]h`U`U`-Sa argues that B Uhj Y`dYcd`Yg`h`fYb[h`g`"]Y`k]h`]b`h`Y]f`ck`b`V`cX]Yg`Z`d`Urticularly their mind and hearts. G\Y`gUmg`ĭ`@Yhi`g`h`UW`ci`f`W`]`X`fYb`h`Uh`h`Y]f`b`X]Ub`V`ccX`g`h`Ub`Xg`Z`f`h`Y`j]fhi`Yg`cZ` h`Y]f`fUWĭ`cZk` \]W`g`Y`X`YgW]VYg`Ugĭ`cb`Ygm`Z`W`Ub`"]j]b[`Z`Ub`X`]b`h`"] [YbWĭ ĭ offering three adjectives that are the antithesis of common Native stereotypes. Another important point is her insistence that while not all in attendance cannot speak English, this fact should not keep them from participating in the convention. She argues that ĩ k`Y`Uj`Y`Vĕa`Y`hc`Vĕa`a`i`b`Y`k`]h`ci`f`a`]b`Xg`Z`k`]h`ci`f`Y`Uf`h]ĭ`Ub`X`h`Y`f`Z`c`f`Y`Y`Y`b` `Ub[i U[Y`X]ZZfYbWg`UfY`bch`U`a`Uh`Yf`cZ]a`dcf`h`Ub`W`Z`cf`Ug`g`Y`gUmg`ĭ`Ub[i U[Y`]g`cb`m`U` Vĕbj`Yb]YbWĭ`f&%Ē`F`Y`Vĕ[b]n]b[`Yf`U`i`X]Yb`W`Z`dfc[fYgg]j`Yg]b`h`Y`G5`Z`ck`Yj`Yf`Z`g`Y` also notes that learning English has been essential for her in arguing for Native rights in white society. These arguments, of the virtues of Indian blood and the value of all voices, are the foundation of her overall argument that as rational, intelligent, human beings, Native people must be afforded the same human rights as all other peoples. She goes on to say that even though:

... we have no voice in Congress . . . we are men and women with minds and hearts . . . We are like other human beings and we should not be afraid to hold up our heads. Let us stand up straight. Let us study conditions; let us give reasons why. . . . We must continue speaking and claiming our human rights to live on this earth that God has made . . . We are rational human beings. Shall we think or shall somebody think of us? (215)

Again, in this section, the significance of voice and having that voice heard is connected to being able to fully access human rights as others have. However, not being

of narfUhhj Y`Wcgi fYžk \]W`]gbñhWcgi fY`UhU`žVi hbUffUhhj Y`Yi dUbg]cbi` f&`%`": cf` B cff]gžh`]gĭ]bX][Ybci gĭ`j Yfg]cb`cZdc`]h]Vg`VYthf`XYgW]VYg`N]h_U`U-GUñg`hf]VU`m centered yet cross-tribal unity she encourages in organizing American Indians nationally t\Ub`h`Y`a` cfY`cZñb`i` gYX`ĭ`DUb`-`bX]Ubi` `XYg][bU]cb`" `b`h`]g`gYf]Yg`cZYggUmžk` \]W`g`Y` writes after being invited to visit with California Indian tribes in 1922, Zitkala-Sa hopes hc`Vf]b[`hc`h`Y`a` U]bghfYUa` `5`a` Yf]WUb`Ui` X]YbW`h`Y`g`h`c`f`m`c`Z`h`Y`ĭ` `c`g`h`f`Y`U`h`]Y`gĭ` in which k` \`c`Y`f`]VYg`k` YfY`X]gYbZfUbW`]gYX`g]a` d`m`h`f`ci` [` \`7`cb[fYggñfYž` gU`hc`fU]ZmifYUhm` U[fYYa` Ybñg`" `h]g`h`]g`ZcW`g`cb`h`Y`ĭ`]bX][Ybci` g`d`c`h` `c`Z`f`Y`U`h`m` \]g`h`f`]Y`g`h`U`h`Z`c`f`B`c`f`f`]g` signals a significant shift in Zitkala-GUñg`dc`]h]WU`UbX`"]hYfUfm]XYbtity (225). In my reading of this series, however, I am more interested in the continuing focus on Indian rights as human rights as well as the gendered nature of her arguments.

In the first installment of her California Indian series, published initially in 1922 in the *San Francisco Bulletin* and later in 1924 in the *California Indian Herald*, Zitkala-Sa opens her essay with the story of a ceremony performed by California Indian women that as an organizing metaphor asserts the presence of ancient Native wca Ybñg` _bck` YX[Y`UbX`h`Y`a` cXYfb`k` cf`Xñgĭ` bk`]`b[bYgg]hc` \YUf`h`c`gY`k` \`c`k` ci` X` \`c`X`gĭ` W` knowledge. She tells the reader about the practice in which a new California Indian a`ch`Yf`d`UWgĭ`Uj` Yfm]bnžgUWYX`hc`_Yb`c`Z`Yf`VUvm]b`U`h`Y`Q`h`c`d`a` c`g`h`g`c`c`h` `c`Z`U` rYXk`ccX`gUd`]b[`U`cb[`k`]h`U`d`f`U`m`f`Z`c`f`h`Y`VUvmñg`k` Y`-being and future. Writing about her visit to the remaining redwood forests of California, Zitkala-Sa contemplates h`Y`g`ĭ`d`f`U`m`f`h`f`Y`Y`gĭ` `U`a` cb[g`h`k` \]W`g`Y`bck` `a` YX]hUhgž`UbX`"]ghYbgĭ`Zc`f`h`Y`-`bX]Ubi` prayYfg`" `h`f`]`Y`X`k`]h`h`Y`ZY`]b[`h`U`h`-`Y`U`f`X`h`Y`a` ĭ` f&`%`" `

Immediately following this quite beautifully rendered scene, she changes the peaceful tone of her narrative by describing the destruction of this sacred space and the language and knowledge it`c`Xg`"G`Y`k` f]hYg`k` \UhUĭ`WUhg]fcd`Y`]h`k` Ug`k` \Yb`V`ch`h`Y` big trees and the ancient race of red men fell under the ax of the nineteenth-century invasion. Could their every wound find tongue, I am sure not only pebbles, but mountains of stone would rise i`d`]b`d`f`c`h`g`h` f&`%`" `b`ZUWžg`Y`a` U`Y`g`h`]g`]b`_`Z`c`f` \`Y`f` fYUXYfg`dc`]b]b[`ci` h`h`U`h`h`Y`U`f`h`ñg`d`f`c`h`g`h`WUb`VY`g`Y`b`]b`h`Y`j`]c`Y`b`h`U`f`h`ei` U`Y`g`UbX` storms in the region. She points out that such a belief, though considered ĭ`gĭ`d`Y`f`g`]h]ci`gĭ` Vm]gca`Y` \Ug`been articulated by venerated Western philosophers such as Henry David Thoreau. This comparison is important in not only emphasizing the similarities between Native and Western worldviews but also because it asserts that the more ancient and rooted philosophy of Native peoples surrounds white Americans. As U`d`U`f`h`c`Z`h`Y`g`c`]ž`h`Y`f`Y`g`UbX`c`j` YfU`" `Ub`X`g`WUd`Yž`h`Y`g`Y`B`U`h`j`Y`k` ca` Ybñg`d`f`U`m`f`g`f`Y`a` U]b` a`cfY`d`ck`Yfž` `h`Ub`k` \]h`Y`a` Ybñg`Uk` `c`f`d`c`]WYg`"G`Y`U`g`c`Ya` d`U`g`j`n`Y`g`k` \Uh]g`U`h`g`h`U`_Y`]b` the continued attack on Native peoples, and women in particular, through the felling of these trees in the name of American progress.

Indeed, this first essay sets up for her mainstream audience the importance of recognizing the voices that fill the forests of California. She reminds her readers that U`h`ci` [`ĭ`b`Yk` "Uk`g` \Uj`Y`gd`fi`b[`i`d`h`c`d`f`c`h`WUž`U`h`Y`U`g`h`z`ci`f`V][`h`f`Y`Y`gĭ` `g`Y`k` cbXYfg` \`ck`Y`j`Yfž`ĭ`k` \Yb`k`]`ci`f` \YUf]b[`VYV`a`Y`g`Y`b`g`]h]j`Y`bci` [`h`c`WUW`h`Y`-`bX]Ubi`a`ch`Y`f`h`g`d`f`U`m`f`k` UZñYX`Vf`c`U`X`WUgh`Vmi`h`Y`Ub`V]Y`b`h`f`Y`Y`gĭ` f&`%`" `b`fY]herating the importance of

gi WX_bck `YX[Yžg\Y'dc]bhr'ci hrc `Yf'a U]bgrfYUa `k \]h'Ui X]YbW'h UhI H\Y' `bX]Ub`]g' c`XYf'h\Ub'h\Y'gd\]bI' f&) &L''`b`ZUW'g\Y'Uf[i Yg'h UhI k Y`Uj Y'U`]]]b[`gd\]bI']b'h\Y'fYX' a UbI' UbX'k \]h'5 a Yf]WUbg'g'ci `X'UW_bck `YX[Y'h\Y'[]Zrg'k hoch Native peoples have given to the world. While this argument is one she has made before, it is important to point out the story she uses to support her point. She proceeds to tell the story of corn,]b'k \]W'Ub'`bX]Ub'k ca Ub`YUfg'h\Y' d]h'ci g'W'm' `cf the corn amongst the stalks. She points out that in saving the corn seed by hearing the cry and in a mothering gesture Wffm]b[]hUk Um]b`Yf'Ufa žh\Y'B Uh]j Y'k ca Ub'h'UW\Yg'U`'hc`VY'I UddfYV]Uh]j Y'cZzcX' []j Yb`Vm'A ch\Yf'9Ufh\I' f&) &L''`h]g'U`Yggcb'h\at beyond environmental stewardship teaches peoples to have respect for all life the land supports.

She closes her first essay in this series by revealing that she used to wonder why `Yf'dYcd`Y'I ZUFYX'gc`VUX`mi bXYf'h\Y'ZcfYa cghXYa cWUh]W]c] Yfba YbhcZ'h\Y'k cf`X'I' (252). In answering her own question, she refuses race as the primary cause, and instead posits that the true reason stems from what could only be described as a death drive and an insatiable greed that has sickened the white race. It is a sickness which she Uf[i Yg]g'U'gc`fYg'dcbg]V'Y'Zcf'h\Y'I' a cbi a YbH'U'hYa dhUhgi]W]XYVm'h\Y'7Ui WUg]Ub' fUW'I']b'dfca i `]Uh]b[`h\Y':]fgh'K cf`X'K Uf''G\Y'Vt'bh]bi Yg'k]h'Z' fh\Yf'YI d`]W]h]cb'cZ' k \Uh]g\Y'W'`g'I'ci f'`bX]Ub'd\]`cgcd`m' (252). She writes:

To an Indian, life is a profound mystery. It is too sacred for us to extinguish it wantonly in ourselves or in others. Again I reiterate, truths and laws of life are universal. They may be seen by those who have eyes to see. The American Indian is far from being blind. (253)

She closes her essay with the call for her white audience to try and hear the voices of the Indian mothers within the now grown redwoods. She writes:

The very next time you spend your vacation among the redwoods or climb old Indian trails in the Yosemite Valley, take your radio set and D]ghYb']b'Ncb'h\Y''ZY'cZ'h\Y'5 a Yf]WU' `bX]Ub'ždUghUbX' d'fYgYbh'`D]j Y'UbX' `Yh`]] Y''(253)

The irony of juxtaposing tourism and leisure technology with the history of dispossession is not unintentional and in many ways thwarts the closure of sentimental narrative. However, what is interesting about this particular essay is her attempt to g]hi UhY'I i b]j Yfg'U' h'fi h'I' UbX'U`i a Ub'f][`h]gd\]`cgcd`miUVci h'h\Y'gUW'YXbYgg'cZ`]ZY' solely within the sphere of American Indian philosophy and traditional knowledge. Additionally, the juxtaposition of democracy and Western philosophy as unable to stop h\Y'I gi]W]XY'I' cZK K `=UbX']b'ZUW'Yb[YbXYf'B Uh]j Y'X]gd'cggYgg]cbžU[U]bgh`Yf'Ufh]W'`Uh]cb' of a more ancient, rooted and life affirming Native philosophy represented by the Indian a ch\Yfg'nd'fUm'f' h'fY'gž]g'Ub']a dcfhUbhVfYU_`Zfca `Yf'W'YVfUh]cb'cZK Ygh'fb`XYa cWUW' and seems to suggest that she views human rights as more in keeping with traditional Native values. Like Thoreau, Zitkala-Sa comes to this subject by contemplating the woods, but in these woods, the voices are specifically Native and female. And although the refrain she argues people will hear may seem at first glance, apolitical and cliché, the

It is taken in the context of a devastating California Indian history whereby conservative estimates document a population decline of 80% in less than 30 years, it is profound enough. By Zitkala-Gullikson writes that within the

As in the 1919 speech to the SAI, Zitkala-Sa invokes human rights to describe this horrific history in the second essay of "The American Indian." She writes that within the same American protect the same American principles of equality when invoking human rights discourse, I argue that this shaming more than seeking to

In addition to emphasizing the consequences of denying human rights to Native peoples, Zitkala-Gullikson writes that within the same American protect the same American principles of equality when invoking human rights discourse, I argue that this shaming more than seeking to

The third essay of this series follows the narrative trajectory of most of her pieces, one many critics are familiar with. The formula goes something like this: Tell a story exalting the virtue of Native peoples, followed by the story of extreme injustice, and end with a call for justice in which the now shamed white audience can participate.

But along with the language of treaty discourse, by viewing the story she tells through the another global register of human rights, in particular the international debates on the meaning of self-determination, other details become important to highlight. Specifically, in this third installment, Zitkala-Sa points to the impact of

refusing to afford the basic human right of self-determination. She points to the lack of medical aid and care, the lack of access to education, and the exploitation of California Indian seasonal farmworkers in the fields of Lake County. She asks her readers if they k Ubhlc VY`]_Y`h`Y`T` Uk` `Ygg`fi` Z]Ub`c`Z`h`Y`f`U`X]b[`d`U`f`m`i` k` \`c`g`h`f`i` W`_`T`U`a` U`h`X`i` `h`c`h`Y` `T`@`c`g`h`f`Y`U`h]Y`g`i` `c`Z`h`Y`%`)` \$`g`" `C` f`z`X`c` h`Y`m`k` Ub`h`l`c` `X`Y`Z`b`X`T`i` c`i` f`b`U`h]`c`b`U` `c`b`c`f`i` `Z`c`f`U`g`g`Y` f`Y`a`]`b`X`g`h`Y`a` T` h`Y`d`Y`c`d`Y`U`f`Y`h`Y`[` c`j` Y`f`b`a` Y`b`h`i` f`&`),` E`" `b`Y`a` d` \`U`g`j`n]b[`h`Y`T` b`U`h]`c`b`U` ` \`c`b`c`f`i` `c`Z`h`Y`I` G`z`N]h`_`U`-`Sa` is` at` this` moment` placing` h`Y`I` G`c`b`h`Y`k` c`f`X`h`g`h`U`[` Y`c`Z` scrutiny. Only a few years earlier, President Wilson had championed the global human right of self determination, yet Zitkala-Sa points out that such rhetoric has yet to be applied in America. For, as she noted earlier, the sickness of greed had allowed the 5 a Yf]W]b`g`h`c`T` Z`c`f`[` Y`h`h`Y` \`i` a` U`b` f`][` \`h`g`i` `c`Z`7`U`]Z`c`f`b]U`-`b`X]U`b`g`"

↳ h`h`g`"U`g`h]b`g`h`U` `a` Y`b`h`Y`b`h]h`Y`X`T` <` Y`U`f`h`c` <` Y`U`f`h`i` `N]h`_`U`-`Sa` reminds her California Indian hosts of the strong and lasting familial bonds Native peoples have U`k` U`m`g`Y`a` d` \`U`g`j`n]Y`X`]`b`c`f`[` U`b]n]b[`h`Y`j`f` W`z`a` a` i` b]h]Y`g`"7`U`]b[`h`Y`a` ` \`Y`f`T` Z`Y`c`k` `]`b`g`a` Y`b`z`i` g`h`Y`k` f]h`Y`g`.

I was born on the Dakota plains, and had the privilege of living out of X`c`c`f`g` U`b`X`c`Z`_`b`c`k`]`b[`h`U`h`U`b`-`b`X]U`b`h`f]V`Y`j`g`f`Y`U`-`m`U`V][` `Z`U`a`]`m`V`Y`f`W`Y`i` ` adding` thah`i` b`c`f`Y`U` `a` U`b` `W`f`Y`X` `h`c`g`U`j` Y` \`j`a` g`Y`Z`U`c`b`Y`U`b`X` g`Y`h`Y`f`Y`g`h`c`Z` the` Z`c`_`g`X]Y`i` f`l`62)

This manner of invoking Dakota family ties and the shared responsibilities for group survival are not unique to Zitkala-Sa alone. In an essay on Dakota writer Ella Cara DY`c`f]U`z`"j`h`Y`U`f`m`g`W`c`U`f`A` U`f]U`9`i` [` Y`b]U`7`c`h`Y`U`e`i` c`h`Y`g`9`]n`U`V`Y`h` `7`c`c`_`@`m`b`b`h`g]U`f`[` i` a` Y`b`h` h`U`h`i` a` i` W` `c`Z`h`Y`g`W`c`U`f`g` \`d`c`b`8`Y`c`f]U`f`g`k` f]h]b[` \`U`g`g`Y`f]c`i` g`m`a`]`g`i` b`X`Y`f`g`h`c`X`h`Y` `]`a` d`]`W`h]`c`b`g`c`Z` \`Y`f`k` c`f`_`h`c`h`Y`b`U`h]`c`b`U`]g`h`g`h`f`i` [[`Y`Z`c`f`h`f]V`U`g`i` f`j`]`j` U`"i` "G` \`Y`[` c`Y`g`c`b`h`o` g`U`m`h`U`h`7`c`c`_`@`m`b`b`U`f`[` i` Y`g`h`U`h`i` h`Y`]`a` d`c`f`h`U`b`W` `c`Z`h`Y` *tiospaye* concept as a nationalistic Z`c`f`i` a` `Z`c`f`h`Y`d`Y`c`d`Y`N]g`"Y`Z`h`i` b`Y`I` d`c`f`Y`X`]`b`G`c`i` I` "j`h`Y`U`f`m`d`f`U`M]W`g`i` f`),` -59). In this same U`f`h]W`Y`z`7`c`h`Y`U`e`i` c`h`Y`g`8`Y`c`f]U`f`g`X`Y`Z]b]h]c`b`c`Z`h`Y`W`z`b`W`d`h`c`Z`h]c`g`d`U`m`Y` in the Dakota k`c`f`X`j`]`Y`k` z`i` `b` *Speaking of Indians* Ella Deloria defines the *tiospaye* U`g`U`j`[` f`c`i` d`c`Z` families, bound together by blood and marriage ties, that lived side by side in the camp W`Y`f`W`Y`N]i` f`h`\$`L`"

Norris notes that Zitkala-Sa also saw the metaphor of the camp circle as a particularly compelling symbol. She points out that Zitkala-Sa drew the image and used it on the official letterhead of the NCAI. However she does not go so far as to point out its connection to the concept of *tiospaye*. In the last essay from the California Series, declaring her life on the Dakota plains as the origins of her philosophy of what it means to belong to the tribal community and in turn understanding the sanctity of human life, she not only invokes a tribal worldview for a foundation of the human family but also as the basis of humanity or the essential core from which human rights spring forth.

In the paragraph following her definition of a tribal community and its core value in humanity, she privileges this knowledge U`g`h`U`h`k` \`j`W`_`T`]`g`h`Y`j` Y`f`m`Y`g`g`Y`b`W` `c`Z` h`Y`G`Y`f`a` c`b`c`b`h`Y`A` c`i` b`h`c`Z`k` \`j`W`_`c`i` f`k` \`j`h`V`f`c`h`Y`f`g`h`U`_`]`b`h`Y`j`f`a` c`X`Y`f`b`W`i` f`W`Y`g`"T` `

She reminds her audience that Native peoples came to this revelation long before in her own time. Significantly, she closes her essay by asking California Indian peoples if they might have read her Oklahoma report. In this way Zitkala-Gunzberg expands the scope of *tiospaye* from her own particular tribal upbringing, first to the California Indians and then to the Native nations in Oklahoma. What carries over from this series in turning to an analysis of the Oklahoma pamphlet, is the theme of a violation of human rights that is gendered as much as it is racialized.

As Zitkala-Sa has asked us to do in the last essay, I will now turn to the Oklahoma pamphlet, which has for the most part only been given a cursory review by most critics. To be sure, this is due in part to the critical issue that arises in analyzing the pamphlet in literary and Native studies, namely the fact that it is a multiply authored text. Yet it still stands as an essential document in its effectiveness and for me, its significance. Patrice Hollrah has offered perhaps the most prominent literary analysis of the pamphlet, the common critical themes discussed at the beginning of this chapter bind her argument to seeking out the sentimental tropes of Zitkala-Gunzberg's literary designations in this pamphlet. For example Laurie Lisa simply asserts the pamphlet itself lacks sentiment, and Norris argues that in this piece, Zitkala-Sa's transition from activist writing based in a romantic or sentimental tradition to a change in focus began with the California series (232). However, in my own argument regarding the underlying thread of human rights during these years, and the gendered focus of her critiques, I argue that this pamphlet serves as an ancestral text to contemporary critiques of gendered violence.

Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: An Orgy of Graft and Exploitation of the Five Civilized Tribes, Legalized Robbery, Bonnin, Sniffen and Fabens (1924)

In the California series, Zitkala-Sa asks her white readers, who unlike Native peoples have the right to vote, to encourage the passage of a jurisdictional bill through Congress that would allow California tribes to bring their claims to federal court. The irony of such reliance on the federal courts and Congress is not lost in her writing. In the Spring 1919 editorial comment for the *American Indian Magazine*, Zitkala-Sa discusses the need for more autonomy in managing Indian claims in light of two cases: the refusal of her own legal counsel. She points out that Native peoples as non-citizens lack the status of citizens and are thus denied the right to vote. She argues that the federal government's actions are a violation of the rights of Native peoples and that the federal government is responsible for the mistreatment of Native peoples. She calls for a change in the federal government's policies and for the recognition of Native peoples as citizens.

Uddc]bHYX UĀ`Y[U`[i UFX]UbĪ`hc`UXa]b]ghYf`h`Y]f`UZZU]fgzdfca i`[UHYX`U`WWW`cZj]c`YbW` against Native women that is almost unbelievable in its organization and cruelty. It is part of the same story that would inspire the novel *Mean Spirit* by Linda Hogan, and *A Pipe for February* by Charles H Red Corn.

In rethinking the limited way that the pamphlet is read in contemporary scholarship, I examine a small section that becomes the focus for most critics since it is the one we know for sure Zitkala-GU`k fchY`YfgY`Z`-b`h`]g`gYW]cbzgj Vh]hYX Ā F Y[UFX`Ygg` cZGYI`cf`5 [YĪ`žN]h`U`U-Sa recounts the stories of three American Indian women: 18 year old, Millie Neharkey, 7 year old Ledcie Stechie and Martha Axe Roberts. In each of these case histories, Zitkala-Sa interviewed the victims or surviving family members and in the case of Martha Roberts, she attended a court hearing, visited her in her home and]bhYfj]Yk`YX`VUb`_`cZ]VU`g`cb`Yf`UbX`Yf`ZUa]`mġ`VY`U`Z`-b` fact, it is this last case that would lead to a libel suit filed against Zitkala-Sa and her publisher brought by the Judge named in this section of the pamphlet.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, literary critic Patrice Hollrah is one of the few critics to examine this section of the pamphlet. To her credit, Hollrah reminds her fYUXYfg`h`Uh`h`ci [\`gYbh]a`YbHJ`]b`]h]g`fcdYgžh`Y`dUa`d`Y`hĪ`]g`bchZ]W]cbĪ`f(,`L`" However, in assessing the literary tropes of Zitkala-GU`g`WgY`gh`X]Ygž`<`c`fU`Uf[i`Yg`h`Uh` Zitkala-GU`fYd`U`h`Y`m`f`Y`]Yg`cb`g`Ybh]a`YbHJ`Zcfa`i`U`UbX`]b`d`Uf]W`Uf`h`Y`Ī`g`Y`X`i`W]cb` bUffU]j`YĪ`hc`Ī`]bhYbg]Zmġ`h`Y`Ya`ch]cbU`]a`d`UW]cZ`Yf`k`f]h]b[Ī`f(-`L`"Hc`VY`Vf]Yž`h`Y` tropes which Hollrah links to sentimental narrative are the figures of the scandalized]XbUd`j`]W]a`žk`]Xck`žcfd`Ubž`UbX`h`Y`Ī`c`X`ZfU]`[`fU`b`Xa`ch`Y`fĪ`f)`\$L`"b`X`Y`Y`Z`]b`U`h`f`Y`Y` cases in this section of the pamphlet, the American Indian women can be described in these ways. However, in reading these women as tropes of an organizing discourse of white womanhood on which the seduction narrative and sentimental fiction relies, the rhetorical value and power of these case studies is emptied of their critique of racialized and gendered violence.

While Zitkala-GU`bYj`Yf`i`gYg`h`Y`d`fUgY`Ī`i`a`Ub`f][`h]gĪ`]b`h`Y`g`YW]cb`WYX]hYX`hc` \`Yf`]b`h`]g`d`Ua`d`Y`h`Ybh]hYX`Ā`F`Y[`UFX`Ygg`cZGYI`cf`5 [Yž`]b`U`h`f`Y`Y`WgY`gh`X]Yg`g`Y` focuses her audience on the inhumane acts against Native peoples, insisting on their common humanity. In the first case study, Zitkala-Sa begins with the story of Millie Neharkey, an 18-year-old woman, who was kidnapped, raped and defrauded by her appointed legal guardian and his criminal conspirators that included the president of h`Y`;`UXmg`6Y`Y`C`]`Vt`a`d`Ubmž`Hi`g`U`Ī`d]cb`Y`Y`fĪ`];`fU`b`h`7`"Stebbins.¹² Zitkala-Sa relies heavily on a newspaper account of the conspiracy which she follows up with her own g`c`f`m`c`Za`Y`h]b[`h`Y`m`c`i`b[`[`f`"B`c]h]b[`h`Y`Ī`cb[`d`f]j`U`h`W`b`Z`Y`f`Y`b`W`k`]h`h`]g`"h`Y`[`[`fĪ` Zitkala-GU`g`g`c`f`h`X`Y`g`W]d`h]cb`c`Z`h`]g`YĪ`d`Y`f]Y`b`W` is striking. However, the rhetorical effect of keeping that conversation from her audience creates a literary distance that sentimental narrative would not employ. Rather than tell her readers the titillating X`Y`h]`g`g`Y`k`f]h`Y`gžĪ`=[`f`Y`k`X`i`a`V`U`h`h`Y`c`f`f]b`le`things`she`rehearsed`...`There`was` b`c`h`]b[`"Vt`i`X`g`U`mĪ`f`R`*`L`"B`c`f`f]g`d`c]b`h]g`c`i`h`h`U`h]g]Y`b`W`]g`U`Vt`a`a`c`b`f`c`d`Y`]b`N]h`U`U`-`GU`g`k`f]h]b[`k`X`]W`g`Y`i`g`Y`g`h`c`U`j`c]X`g`Y`bh]a`Y`b`HJ`]mġ`U`b`X`hc`_`Y`Y`d`d`f`m]b[`Y`m`Y`g`c`Z`h`Y`d`i`V`]W`

at bay from something only Native peoples could fully understand, in this case the horror of repeated rape.

In addition to keeping her readers at a distance, she notes her own shocked reminds of thea 'cZñY Vfi hU]hmcZñY[]fñg fUdY/gñY k f]ñg Ā A i hñ'm=di ha mUfa g' around her, whose great wealth had made her a victim of an unscrupulous, lawless party, and whose little body, was mutilated by drunken fiends who assaulted her night UZñf'b][\ñi f&*). In this quote, Zitkala-Sa is able to wrap her arms around the young girl, but the readers are asked to participate in another remedy. She tells them that Uñci [\ A]ñg Ā hñff]ZYX gñYUa gVfci [\ hbc \ Y'd ñYbž--but now, as surely as this tale of horror reaches the friends of humanity, swift action must be taken to punish those [i]'hmcZgñ W \ Y]bci gñVi Y'm""ñi f&*E""ñ K \ Uh]gñg][b]ZñWñbñUñci hñ]g'dUggU[Y]gñY k Umñ]ha U_Ygñcgñ k \ c k ci \ X][bcfYñY mci b[k ca UbñgñgñYUa gUg'dYfdYñUñcfcñZ violence and accomplices to that brutality. In witnessing for Millie Neharkey through telling her story in this way, Zitkala-Sa offers not the sensational tale of sexual conquest fñY]gñ Ā Xi a Vñ'cb ñY'gi VñYñZgñY Ug_gZcf fYXfYggñUbX 'ñ ghñVñ UgñY'cb ñU common humanity.

In telling the story of seven year old Ledcie Stechi, the loss of voice and the failure of others to hear are more directly tied to the assimilative policies of the county UbX ZYXfU [cñ Yfba Ybñ'ñ ñ Ā 5 'Gñ] Yb ñYUñ'c \ X 'J]ññ]a Ā ñ]ñ_Uñ-Sa opens with the gñUñYa Ybñž Ā Qñ Y'ga cññYfYX Wñ]YgñcZñY'ñ X]UbñgZcf ñY fYgñW Y'Zfca \ Y[U]ñYX'd ñi bXYñ' Vñ'a Yg]b ñUñcñi gñZfca ñUñ'dUñgñcZñYUñfñb'c \ ñca Uñi fñ*E""ñ ñ hñ]gñgññcb'gñYñ'ñ'gñ @YXWññgñcñmñcZñY]b[ñi bZcfñi bññY Ybci [\ ñc'ck b ñUñ f]ñW 'c] ñ'dfcderty in McCurtain 7ci bññi 'a U_]b[\ Yñ'Uññf[YñcZñY gñññYa 'cZñY[Uñ [i UñX]Ubñgñ]d""ñ]ñ_Uñ-Sa details the k Umñ]hñY UddcñbññX [i UñX]Ubñ]b @YXWññgñ Wñgñ_YdññYñ'UbX \ Yñ'ñ fñUbXa cññYñ'ñ' starvation conditions, refusing to administer more than 15 dollars a month for food and fñUñgdñcfññ]cb""ñ K \ Yb ñi hñcfñ]ñYgñZfca ññY'ñ X]UbñcZñWñZci bñ @YXWññ Ā Ya WññUññXñ 'UbX' k Y][\]b['cbñmñ (+dci bñgñ ññYñdñ UññX \ Yñ'ñ]b K \ Yñ'cñWñ 5 WññYa mñ \ YñY'gñY'a][\ ñi have received better care. However, Zitkala-Sa reports that the guardian pulled the mci b[[]fñ'Zfca ññY'gñWñccñžZñUñ]b[\ Y'a][\ ññ'cgñY \]gñ [fñUgñ'cb \]gñk UñXñi fñ, E""ñ ñ'cbñmñU a cbññgñ]ha Yñ @YXWññ X]Ygñ'UbX VñgñY'cb ññYññbñX]ñ]cbñcZñYñcñmñññY [fñUbXa cññYñ' believes she had been poisoned. Zitkala-Sa narrates this scene:

Greed for ññY[]fñgñ'UbXgñUbX'ñ]ñW 'c] ñ'dfcdYñmñUññ UññX'ññY[fñZññfñgñUbX' made them like beasts surrounding their prey, insensible to the grief and anguish of the white haired grandmother. Feebly, hopelessly she wailed over the little dead body, its baby mouth turned black, little fingernails turned black . . . In vain she asked for an examination of the body, VñY]ñ]b[@YXWññ \ Uñ Vñññ'dc]gñcbYñ""ñ cñi gñ'ñi fñññYñVñcñmññ commanded the legal guardian. (28)

ñ' < cññ fññgññfñYUX]b['cZññ]gñ'dUggU[YžgñY'ZcñWñ gñgñ'cb ññY'a YñUñdñ'cfñcZññ VñYUñgñ' gñ fñci bñ]b[ññY]fñ'dfñmñ 'UgñmññUñbññYñ'ñi Ua dñY'cZññYñfñcdñY'cZa ññY'gñi ñ Uñ U[[fñYggñ]cbñ]b' the seduction narrative. To me, this metaphor places the men outside of humanity

turned so by the greed and death drive which Zitkala-Sa names in her 1919 comment as the root cause of Native genocide in a nation of supposed democratic ideals. The theme of the story is the investigation of the court system and the system of guardianship for the grandmother against her vehement protest. She, too, will go the way of her grandchild, as sheep for slaughter by the ravens. She concludes her narrative by arguing:

Finally in the last case study Zitkala-Sa narrates focuses on Martha Roberts and her family. As yet another horrific example of impoverishment at the hands of a legal guardian, Zitkala-Guardian refused to allow for medical care, a proper living environment and no more than \$1.50 a week. When Martha tries to find remedy in the courts, Zitkala-Sa reports, Sturhill spoke (he was the legal guardian). She concludes her narrative by arguing:

... under the present bias of the County Court, where judge, ex-judge bound and gagged. There is no hope for justice so long as these conditions are permitted to remain. . . . The human cry of this Shawnee woman is a call to America for defense and protection. (32)

Concluding these three case studies by returning to the now familiar trope of a woman's cry for justice, Zitkala-Sa brings her narrative back to the responsibility of all humanity to recognize Native peoples as worthy of human rights. However, what this framework offers rhetorically is the ability to think of these case studies in their full political impact as stories of violence against Native women. Outside the sentimental register and within a more politicized rhetoric of Indigenous human rights, I want to rescue her gendered critique from being simply a particular literary style which does not subvert the status quo but actually relies upon the sentimental register become nothing more than literary elements which accommodate a woman's cry for justice within their own borders that allow such violence against Native women to go unchecked.

here but add that this gesture is one articulated throughout her non-fiction writing Native political claims. The value of recognizing this aspect of her work rescues her writing from a discussion of affective sentimentality (which resonates with the accommodationist narrative of criticism on her work).

Although, as others have asserted, Zitkala-Sa did not overtly address gender in organizations like the SAI would only lead to failure. She would also choose to assert the gendered and violent impact of Bureau paternalism on the Indian women of Eastern Oklahoma. This legacy of violence laid bare in the Oklahoma pamphlet will be echoed in the work of contemporary Native women fiction writers. The stories of violence and resistance will, like Zitkala-Gunick f]h]b[žUthYa dhlc `c`X`UWti bHUV`Y`h`Y`dUrf]UfVXUI force of law and policy. These contemporary stories however will also highlight the criminalization of Native women that goes hand in hand with these histories of violence. This element of red feminist critique, the criminalization of Native women, will be the focus of my next chapter.

¹ While Zitkala-Sa was born Gertrude Simmons and later took on the married name Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, I choose to refer to her as Zitkala-Sa, a name she chose for herself in her literary and public career.

² A recent similar approach to African American literature can be found in John Shuler's dissertation manuscript, *Calling out Liberty: Human Rights Discourse and Early American Literature*. New York: CUNY, 2007.

³ Of course, this commitment to local communities often characterized the tensions in her life, most famously noted as indicative of the rift which ended her engagement with Chicago doctor and fellow Carlisle Boarding School graduate Carlos Montezuma in 1902. She refused to become a Chicago city doctor's wife and Montezuma refused to be a reservation doctor at Zitkala-Sa's request. Her subsequent marriage and the next fourteen years would be spent on the Ute reservation where her husband Raymond Bonnin (also from her tribal community) worked.

⁴ For an overview of history of Indigenous peoples international political efforts, see Ronald Niezen's, *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2003. Niezen begins this history with Six Nations leader Levi General Deskaheh's presentation to the League of Nations in 1923. Zitkala-Sa's editorial does not necessarily complicate this historical narrative, but one issue that may be raised is in regards to Niezen's statement that "the self-evident futility of appealing to the courts and legislatures of the national governments" of nation-states "did not in itself lead to an internationalization of indigenous politics" until after the 60's and 70's (30). Again, Zitkala-Sa's writing and even to some extent the ways she envisioned the NCAI, might have gestured to the international at an earlier point than Niezen names. I realize however that the scope of this potential claim is too large to support given the limited body of work I am reading in this chapter.

⁵ "Nations Must Cooperate in Common Cause, Declares Mr. Wilson, for Impartial Justice." May 28, 1916; ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The Washington Post (1877 - 1991). pg. A6.

⁶ Unless otherwise noted, articles and speeches by Zitkala-Sa in this chapter are from the following edition edited by Ada Norris and Cathleen Davidson: Zitkala-Sa, 1876-1938. *American Indian Stories, Legends, and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin Books, 2003.

⁷ Human rights historians point out that although ultimately the final covenant did not include human rights provisions such as that proposed by Wilson or the delegation from Japan for example, it was an important moment in initiating the global discussion on such issues. For example, human rights scholar Burns Weston writes: “the Covenant establishing the League of Nations (1919), while not formally recognizing ‘the rights of Man’ and while failing to lay down a principle of racial nondiscrimination as requested by Japan (owing mainly to the resistance of Great Britain and the United States), nevertheless committed the League's members to several human rights goals: fair and humane working conditions for men, women and children; the execution of agreements regarding traffic in women and children; the prevention and control of disease in matters of international concern; and the just treatment of native colonial peoples” (270).

⁸ See “Indian Woman to be Speaker: Mrs. Gertrude Bonnin Will Discuss Her Race Before Suffragists” June 2, 1918. *ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The Washington Post* (1877 - 1991), pg. 17. Unfortunately I have not been able to find a copy of the speech itself.

⁹ Although I did not include a reading of the short essay “The Coronation of Chief Powhatan Retold” published in the Winter of 1919, it’s interesting to note that in this essay, Zitkala-Sa tells her readers of Mrs. Wilson’s genealogical link to Pocahontas. She notes that like Pocahontas, Mrs. Wilson is being received with pomp and circumstance along with her husband at the Peace conference. However, she makes the claim that Pocahontas—not the Wilsons—deserves the credit for being the “first emissary of democratic ideas to a caste-ridden Europe” which she brings from the “tribal democracies of the new world” (196).

¹⁰ Norris borrows the definition and concept from Chadwick Allen, *Blood Narrative*.

¹¹ See *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights and the Legal History of Racism in America*. Indigenous Americas. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

¹² “Grant Case Stebbins.” *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*. Oklahoma Historical Society. Accessed March 2007. <<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/S/ST027.html>>

Chapter Three

7 f]a]bU]m]UbX`h\Y`B Uhj Y`K ca Ub`I`C i hUk `I`]b`8`8 fVhA VB]W`Y`ŋ *The Surrounded*
 UbX`d]bYh7Ua dVY`< U`Y`ŋ *Women on the Run*

The most characteristic distinguishing mark is the heavy tempo of adjustment, the autonomy of standards which have been handed down from their ancestors and better times. That many Indians of the older generation believe their values are superior to ours, in the midst of biological and national defeat, of hunger and cold, is a phenomenon affecting even the treatment of delinquency. We learn, for instance, that no particular disgrace is attached to an arrest or conviction; "not infrequently those who suffer the penalties of the law are looked upon as more or less notable characters." We can enforce our laws, but not acceptance of those mightier enforcers, our moral codes.

--< UbGj cb`< Ybh][žI`H\Y`8`Y`]bei YbWñcZ`h\Y`5 a Yf]W]b`-bX]UbI`
 (1945)

Ī`h]g]hcc`XUa b`VUX`mci`dYcd`Y`bYj Yf`YUfb`h\Uhimci`W]bñhifi`b`Uk`Um`-h]g]dUh\Yh]W
 --8`8 fVhA VB]W`Y`ž *The Surrounded*
 (1936)

Ī`H\Ym]c`X`""a`Y`h\Ymk`ci`X`VY`VUW`UbX`]Z`=\]X`mci`]bghYUX`cZFYh`fb]b[`mci`
 hc`h\Ya`h\Ymk`ci`X`cW`h\Y`tk`c`cZi`gi`d`=dfYhYbXYX`=X]Xbñhi`bXYfg]UbX`"Mci`
 _bck`k` \Uh3`-h]g]bchgWfYX`cZ`h\Ya`"B`chgWfYX`cZ`h\Y]f`Uj`Y]h\Yf`I`
 --]bYh7Ua dVY`< U`Y`žI`7`U]fYž` *Women on the Run*
 (1999)

In *Inventing the Savage: The Social Construction of Native American Criminality*, Luana Ross argues that the overrepresentation of Native women in Montana prisons is best understood when considered within the context of the history of federal Indian law and policy. In reviewing the major developments regarding adjudicating and prosecuting crime in Indian country, Ross cites the major acts and legal case history that granted power to state and federal courts. These acts include the General Crimes Act of 1817 (which gave the federal government jurisdiction over inter-racial crime), the Assimilative Crimes Act of 1825, the creation of the Court of Indian Offenses in 1883, and passing of the Major Crimes 5 WñcZ%,)`Zc`ck`]b[`h\Y`Gi`dfYa`Y`7`ci`fh]g]fi`]b[`]b`*Ex Parte Crow Dog* which held that Native tribes had exclusive jurisdiction on crimes committed between tribal members on Indian land. The Major Crimes Act, served as a legislative remedy to *Ex Parte Crow Dog*, extended federal jurisdiction to include intra-racial crimes for seven major crimes, currently extended to fourteen. While these acts transferred jurisdiction from traditional tribal justice systems to the federal government,

in 1953 Public Law 280 (and various other state statutes since) conferred criminal jurisdiction to state courts and law enforcement agencies in five states.¹ Ross points out that an amendment in the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 gave many states the authority to prosecute crimes of violence against Native peoples in Indian country. This amendment addressed jurisdictional issues (25). While this amendment in the ICRA seems to reinstate some federal jurisdiction over crimes of violence against Native peoples in Indian country, the application of PL 280 and other state statutes, has resulted in a jurisdictional nightmare for Native communities.²

As chapter one illustrates, such jurisdictional questions have muddied the waters so much that crimes of violence against Native peoples often go uninvestigated and unprosecuted, creating a culture of impunity for violent perpetrators. In this chapter, I focus on violence and impunity to highlight the fact that the impact of federal Indian law regarding jurisdiction not only contributes to unprosecuted crimes of violence, but these laws also contribute to the high rates of incarceration for Native peoples in Indian country in the twentieth and twenty-first century. As Ross points out, since most tribal police do not have the same resources as Euro-American police, there is an imbalance whereby Euro-American police steadily send Natives to Euro-American courts and jails, while tribal police can only handle minor offenses. This imbalance exists where Euro-American police send Natives to Euro-American courts and jails, while tribal police can only handle minor offenses.

As legal scholars have pointed out, all of these statutes have been upheld by US courts. The basis for these laws is thus linked to the discourse of assimilation. For the most obvious example, the initial purpose of the Court of Indian Offenses was to adjudicate crimes mostly defined by federal Indian law, such as participation in traditional ceremonies. Moreover Ross contends, in the case of Native American women, assimilationist era policies saw women as a special target for this element of colonial surveillance. Ross points to a telling quote from the 1910-1923 period: "The most effective hold-outs blocking the goals of federal Indian policy at the turn of the century and thus should be watched more closely." (Ross 39). Lamenting that Native women are the most effective hold-outs blocking the goals of federal Indian policy at the turn of the century and thus should be watched more closely.

Kelly brings attention to the contemporary overrepresentation of Native peoples in prison, criminalization of contemporary Native peoples is not a new subject of study. In fact, in 1945, criminologist Hans Von Hentig attempted to make sense of the high arrest and incarceration rates of American Indians recorded in the years spanning 1935-1941. In this early study, Von Hentig is alarmed at the large statistical disparities especially given the fact that white criminal deviance had declined during these years, indicating that Native peoples are being criminalized at a much higher rate than white Americans.

k Uf'k cf_l 'Uj U]UV'Y f#) E''5 'h'ci [\ \Y'a U_Yg'h'Y'dUgg]b['Uf[i a Ybh'h UhdYf\ Udg' a]gd'UWX'Í Ubh]-a cb[c`c]Xí 'fUW]ga 'a][\h'VY'U'ZUM'c'f'žk \]W' Yl]ghYX'Xi Y'hc'5 a Yf]W]W] war with Japan, he assertg'h Uhi h'YfY]g'']h'Y V'bg]W]ci g'X]g]W]a]bUh]cb'U[U]bgh'h'Y' -bX]Ub]b'V'ci fh' f#, E''9l cbYfU]b['h'Yl G'† gh]W'gmghYa ŽJ cb < Ybh]['Uf[i Yg]bghYUX h'Uhi American Indian criminality is the result of a variety of biological and cultural factors that predisposY'Í df]a]h] Yí 'dYcd'Yg'hc'XYj]UbW''K \]Y'J cb < Ybh]['W] \mdc'h YgYg'UfY' easy to dismiss as relics of scientific racism, these claims in various forms remain deeply entrenched in the American imagination, particularly the inevitability of American Indian deviance in the modern world.

Moreover, this post Indian New Deal analysis offers important insight not only to the racial ideologies of the times, but also to the gendered assumptions of American -bX]Ub W]a]bU]ImXi f]b['U'dYf]cX V'bg]XYfYX'a cfY'Í d'fc[fYgg]j Yí 'h'Ub'h'Y'dfYj]ci g' decades of assimilation policy. I begin this chapter with an exploration of the ideas in J cb < Ybh]['W] UbU'm]g]b'cfXYf'hc''Um'h'Y'Zci bXUh]cb'Zcf'U'fYX'ZYa]b]ghfYUX]b['cZB Uh] Y' k ca Yb]W]a]bU]Im]b'U'Yh'7 Ua dVY'' < U'Y'W] V'bh'Ya dcfary short fiction collection, aptly titled *Women on the Run*" J cb < Ybh]['W] fUW]gh'UbU'm]g]cZk \Uh'YUXg'hc' B Uh] Y' criminality leads me to first read how Native writers challenged these assumptions by looking at a contemporary text published only nine years YUF']Yf' h'Ub'h']g'gh' X mž8 8 fW]h' A VB]W' Y'W] %' * 'bcj Y' *The Surrounded*" H']g'bcj Y'ž']_Y' < U'Y'W] g'cfhZ]W]cbž'ZcW'gYg'cb'U' Salish community, though his setting is the Flathead Indian reservation in Montana. As one of the earliest representations of crim]bU' B Uh]j Y'k ca Yb'UbX'h'Y'Í ci h'Uk ž' A VB]W' Y'W] bcj Y' d'fcj Yg'hc'VY'bch'cb'm'h'Ya Uh]W] 'm'fY'Yj Ubh'hc' V'ca d'UfY'hc' < U'Y'W] contemporary work, it also seems to be a subconscious source for the ways Hale thinks UVci h'h'Y'Í ci h'Uk 'Í 'UbX'W]a]bU]Im]b'h'Yg'g'hc'f]Yg' While the previous chapter is primarily concerned with the issue of gendered violence, this chapter will add another 'Um'f'hc' B Uh]j Y'k ca Yb]W]dc']h]W]j b'']h'YfU] fYž'U'Um'f' h'Uh'g']Zg'h'Y'W]h]W] 'ZcW'gZ'fca' sexual violence to the violence of forced exile and the severing of kinship bonds resulting from assimilation era policies and the hyper-criminalization of Native peoples and women.

Hans Von Hentig and “The Delinquency of the American Indian” (1945)

6YzcfY'UbU'm]b[' < U'Y'W] g'cfh'g'cf]Yg'h'Uh'Yl d'cre the impact of the legal policies cZfY'cW]h]cb'Ug'k Y'' Ug'h'Y''cgh'g'hc'f]Yg'cZB Uh]j Y'k ca Yb]W]U'W]j]ga]b'h'Y'% * \$W] UbX' + \$W]ž it is important to understand the reality of American Indian criminality in the decades leading up to this period. If there were a silver lining to reading the racist views V'bh]b]YX]b'J cb < Ybh]['W] YUF'm'Í gh' X mž']hk'ci 'X'VY'h'Y'j U'i UV'Y'gh]h]gh]W]]b'Zcfa Uh]cb' he extrapolates from various sources, including the 1934 *Survey of Conditions of the Indians in the United States* conduW]X'Vm'h'Y'ZfYfU' [cj Yfba Ybh'Ub]h]W]dUh]b['h'Y'YfU]W] Indian New Deal reforms. As contemporary criminologists point out, the limited statistics tracked by the Bureau of Justice Statistics often leave out American Indian data or fail to break down populations by gender or race.³ In addition, contemporary crime statistics often rely on self-reporting, or worse, the assumptions of local, county and state officials as to the racial background of incarcerated peoples. Indeed, Von Hentig points out that his research was limited due to the fact that Uniform Crime reports

stopped tracking gender and race data after 1941. Given this narrow data set, Von Hentig reports that between 1936-1941 arrest rates for Native males over the age of 15 are 2510.3 per 100,000 compared to 835.5 for whites. For Native females over the age of 15, arrest rates are 596 per 100,000 compared to 57 per 100,000 for whites (in other words 100 times higher than white women!). The incarceration rates are not much better, with Native males incarcerated almost five times more often than whites and Native women almost *ten* times more often than white women during this five year period (76).

As mentioned previously, Von Hentig refuses to explain these enormous differences as resulting from racial bias, at least not racial bias directed against Native peoples. For Von Hentig, the supposed biological inferiority of Native peoples accounts for most criminal behavior. For example he argues that the high levels of alcohol related crimes can be explained by the high levels of alcohol consumption among Native peoples. Von Hentig also argues that the high levels of alcohol consumption among Native peoples is a result of the "short-circuit-like intensity of the avidity that lin_g\i bhf UbX dfYm\ f] \$L. Perhaps the most doomed in regard to racial [bZYf]cf]mž]g\h Y\ VfYX\ \ck Yj Yf" J cb < Ybh] [dc]bhc\i h\h Uh\ superintendents on reservations point at the fact that outlaws from white society have for generations sought the front]Yf UbX a]b[\YX\k]h\ h\Y\ bX]Ubq" A Ubm\YfYXg\Z\W\i fgY\UFY]\Y[]h]a Uh\W\]XfYb UbX\ fYk i d i bXYf\U\Xci V\Y\UbX]W\di f\, E" < Y\Ugc\ bchYg\h Uh\h\Y\]bX\cZ\ VfYX\ a UhYfg\k \Yh\Yf\ a]l YX\k]h\ k \]h\B cfk Y[]Ub\g\c\W\ cf\A Yl]W\ub\ V\ccX" Interestingly, \ck Yj Yf\Y\ bchYg\h Uh\XYgd]h\ h\Y\ k]X\Ygd\YUX\ cd]b]cb\ h\Uha]l YX\ V\ccXg are more delinquent than full-V\ccXg\ h\]g\ bch]cb\ Q UgObchUddUFYbh\mUdd\]YX\ h\ ZYa U\Yg\ f\, E" b\ch\Yf\k cfXg\U\B Uh] Y\k ca Yb\g\ a]l YX-blood heritage made her more socially acceptable to Bureau authorities, a reflection of attitudes that regarded Native k ca Yb\g\ VcX]Yg\Ug\U\ dUh\ h\ U\YbUh\B Uh] Y\UbXg\h\k\ \]h\ a Yb\Y]h\Yf\ h\ fci [\ a Uff]U\ Y\ or inheritance.⁴ The criminal deviance of Native men is gendered insofar as, according to Von < Ybh] [žUB Uh] Y\ a Ub\g\ fUW\U\ V]c\ [mW\i gYg\]a h\ UW\ci h\Ub\WYbh\i bhYf\UbX\ dfYm]bgh]b\W\g\ \]Y\]g\ a cfYj]c\YbhW]a]bU\ h\YbXYbWYg\UFY\h\YfYg\ h\cZ\ci h\Uk\ i\ blood, or worse yet to Von Hentig, Mexican ancestry. In regard to Native women, Von Hentig\Ub\m\g]Uf[i Yg\h Uh\h\Yf\ W]a Yg\UFY [YbYfU\ m\h\YfYg\ h\cZ\g\i U\ dfca]gW\]m\ and lack of civilized morals. For example, he points out that when asked if there is a gcV\U\ gh] [a U\Zcf\W\]XfYb\ Vcfb\ i ci hcZk YX\cW\ i cf\h\Yf\ a ch\Yfg\B Uh] Y\k ca Yb\g\ a dly laugh at the idea.

Yet what seems at first glance a concession to Native peoples, he comments that Ā a]bcf\Zcfa g\cZgYl\ XY]bei YbW\i\ UFY\Ugc\Zci bX]b\k\ \]h\ dcdi\ Uh]cbg" < ck Yj Yfž]b\U\ Zc\cbch\h\c\] i a]bUh\h\]g\WU]a žJ cb < Ybh] [k f]h\g\Z\ H\Y\7\]XfYb\g\ i fYU\ cZ A]bbYg\h\]g\h\Yg\h\ Uh\ b\cbY\cZ\h\Y\k\ cfgh\cW\]h]Yg\]h]g\g\U]X\ h\Uh\h\Y\k\ \]h\ i a VYf\UW\g\ fY[UFX\h\Y\]h\Y\ bX]Ub []f\g\Ug\ZU]f\ [Ua Y\UbX\Zyk []f\g\Yg\WdY\h\Ya \i f] %&" H\Y\W\g\i U\ nature of this comparison\ B Uh] Y\i W]a Yg\ cZUXi\ h\Yfmc\ f\] Y\]h]a Uh\i\ V]f\h\g\h\c\k\ \]h\ men raping little girls\ is astonishing for any time period. Yet, this footnoted comment speaks to the normalized nature of sexual violence against Native women and girls during this era, a feature of violence against Native women that continues to this day. b\h\]b\]b [\Uvci hN]h\U\GU\g\Y\Zcfhg\h\]bj c_Y\ci fU[Y]b\h\Y\5 a Yf]W\ub\di V\]Wcj Yf\h\Y\

fUdY'UbX'a i fXYf'cZB Uhj Y'k ca Yb]b'hY% &\$fj]h]g'bc'k cbXYf'gi W' YZc'fhg\UX''hY' immediate impact.

Von Hentig concludes his overview of American Indian criminality by offering h'Y'Z]bU'V'cbW' g]cb'hUh' bX]Ub'XY]bei YbVhX]ZZYfg'Zfca' h'UhcZc'h Yf'fUWU' [fci dgi' f] &'H\]g'X]ZZYfYbW' \Y'UggYf'g'h'Y'fYg' 'hcZ'h'Y'fUd]X'dUW'cZ\]g'cfm'UbX'5a Yf]WUb' expectations that would assimilate the unassimilable into modern society. What is at first confusing about his final concluding paragraphs, which take a strange turn to health disparities and statistics on tuberculosis and diabetes, is best understood as a part of the overarching narrative of primitivism he constructs throughout his essay. Within this narrative, Native peoples cannot survive modernity or its organizing structures. In J cb'< Ybh[f]Ub'U'm]g]za' cXYfb''Uk']g'U'X]g'V'i fgy'h'Uh'B Uhj Y'dYcd'Yg'WUb' bYj Yf'fYU'm' comprehend. In his analytical point of view, race is inherent and therefore, the American dream of class uplift (which can save poor whites or at least ensure their good \YU'h'U'W'bbch'g]j Y'B Uhj Y'dYcd'Yg'' bXYX'Z'Y'Uf' i Yg'h'Uh' XYUX'm'Ug'k Ubh'UbX'h'Y' exigencies oZ'h'Y'a UW]bY'U'f'Y'WUb' VY'Z'Uvi bX'Ub'W']g'a' cfY'Z'U'U']UbX'\Y'dc]b'h'g'c'h'Y' f'fci V'Y'c'ZN]h'U'g'GU'f] d'cc'f'f]W' bX]Ub'g']b'9U'g'Yfb' C' _'U'ca' U'hc'd'f'c] Y'\]g'dc]b'h'' : cf' Von Hentig, Native peoples are doomed by the march of progress; therefore, high rates of incarceration and one can assume violence is solely a manifestation of this fact.

K \]Y'J cb'< Ybh[f]V'cbW' g]cb'g'U'V'ci h'5a Yf]WUb' bX]Ub']b'W'f'W'f'U'h]cb'UbX'U'ff'Y'g'h' rates focus on the stereotypes of Native primitivism for an answer, most notably primitive sexualities for Native women, biological deficiencies or uncontrollable racial]b'g'h]b'W'g' Z'cf'B Uhj Y'a Yb'Z'\]g'c] YfU' V'cbW' g]cb'k U'ff'U'bh'g'Z' f'h'Y'f'f'Y] Yk ''=ei ch'Y'X'\]g' final analysis as the opening epigraph of this chapter, because, like most narratives of Native savagery by white men, it can be read against the grain for glimpses of Native fY'g]g'h'Ub'W''< Y'k f]h'Y'g'Z' H'Uh'a' U'bm' bX]Ub'g'c'Z'h'Y'c'XYf' [Yb'Y'f'U'h]cb' V'Y'Y] Y'h'Y'f'j' U'i Yg' are superior to ours, in the midst of biological and national defeat, of hunger and cold, is U'd\Y'b'ca' Y'bc'b' U'ZZ'V'W]b']y' Yb'h'Y'f'Y'U'h'a' Y'bh'c'Z'X'Y]bei Yb'W'h']f']'E''< Y'Z' f'h'Y'f'U'a' Y'bh'g' h'Uh'B Uhj Y'V'ca' a' i' b]h]Y'g'c'Z'h'Y'b' V'cb'g]X'Y'f'h'Y'f'W]a']b'U'g']b'c'h'U'V'Y'W'U'f'U'W'f'g']UbX'h'Uh' h'Y'f'f'V'ca' a' i' b]m'g'h'U'h' g'f'Y'a' U]b'g'i' b'U'Z'Z'V'W'X' V'm'U'd'Y'b]h'Y'bh]U'f'm'h'Y'f'a']f' (E'' b'h'Y'Y'b'X' he g]a' d'm'g'h'U'h'g'h'Uh'k \]h'Y'a' Yb'W'Ub']Yb'Z'c'f'W']h'Y'U'k']Vi' h'bc'h''''''''ci' f'a' cfU' V'cb'XY'g']f']'E''

Although Von Hentig does not understand the colonial critique embedded in 5a Yf]WUb' bX]Ub']b'X]ZZYfYbW'hc']U'd'Y'b]h'Y'bh]U'f'm'h'Y'f'a']cf']b'h'Y'f'c'XYf' [Yb'Y'f'U'h]cb'f]g' belief in the value of their moral code, Native writers of this same period emphasized gi W'W]h]ei Yg'' b'N]h'U'U'GU'f]k' f]h]b['Xi' f]b['h'Y'U'h' &\$f]g'UbX'Y'U'f'm'h']f'h]Y'g'z'g'Y'g'U'k' h']g']gi' d'Y'f]c'f']bX]Ub'a' cfU' V'cb'XY'U'g'U'V'cb'f'f]Vi' h]cb'hc'h'Y'f']c'VU'XY'V'U'h'cb'h'e' meaning of human rights and self-determination, unacknowledged though it may have been. K f]h]b['Xi' f]b['h']g]g'U'a' Y'd'Y'f]c'X'Z'a' Y'h]g'k' f]h'Y'f'8'f'V'h'A' V'B]W'Y'k' ci' X'c'Z'Y'f'Ub'ch'Y'f' argument for self-X'Y'h'Y'f'a']b'U'h]cb']b'\]g'W]h]ei Y'c'Z'h'Y'f'W]a']b'U'f' bX]Ub'z']b']b[]ideas of bX]Ub']XY]bei Yb'W'h']hc'h'Y'dc']h]V'g'c'Z'U'g]a']U'h]cb''''=hi' fb'V'f]Y'Z'm'hc' A' V'B]W'Y'f]g'Z'f'g'h' novel to pull out key themes that are central to understanding the link between colonization and criminal deviance in Native America. In the end, I will argue that Janet 7'U'a' d'V'Y''< U'Y'f]U'Y'g'i' d'h'Y'g'f' _Y'm'h'Y'a' Y'g'Ub'X'Z'U'h'h'Y'g'U'a' Y'h]a' Y'Z'f'Y'k' f]h'Y'g'A' V'B]W'Y'f]g'

Xcca YX W]a]bU`ža U_]b[`WbhfU`B Uhj Y`k ca YbŋW]h]ei Yg`cZħY[YbXYfYX`]a dUWg`cZ colonial control and assimilationist expectations.

Contesting the Savage: D’Arcy McNickle’s *The Surrounded*

↳ %' *ž8 ŋ fWhA VB]W`Yždi V`]g\YX`]\g`Z]fghbcj Y`ž*The Surrounded*, which took nine years to complete and which came out just two years after his appointment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the Indian New Deal administrator John Collier. A VB]W`Yŋ]bcj Y`V\fc]WYg`hY`fYh fb`cZħY`VcUfX]b[`gV\cc`YXi WħYX`5 fV\`XY`@Ycb`hc` his Salish reservation community in Montana, and the novel is set within the devastating period of allotment and assimilation policy of the early 1- \$ŋ⁵ Written to challenge these policies and assert the need for a new policy era of self-determination, hY`g`c`fmcZ5 fV\`XYŋ`ca YW`a]b[]g`Z`U [\hk]h`hYbg]cbgVYhk Yyb`hY`Ugg]a]`Uh]cb]gh` expectations of his boarding school, his church and the state, and his love and growing respect for the traditional people represented by his mother Catherine and the aging V\]YZA cXYgh`@]_Y`N]h_U`U`GUŋ]UW]j]gh`ci fbU`]ga žA VB]W`Yŋ]bcj Y`gYfj YX`Ug`U` warning and testament to the ways assimilationist ideologies ultimately dehumanized Native peoples, only McNickle would turn his creative focus on the constant surveillance of Native peoples by colonial institutions, represented in his novel by the local sheriff, game warden, Indian agent and local priest.

Throughout the text, Archilde and the reader are confronted with the meaning UbX`V`cbgYei YbWg`cZħY`bcj Y`ŋ]i bXYf`m]b[`a YhUd`cf`cZVY]b[`Ī cZħY`fYgYfj Uh]cbĪ`cf` outside the bounds of colonial control and surveillance. This metaphorical space serves two functions in the novel: as a space of potential freedom and as a space of hypervisibility and therefore regulatory violence. In the end, this borderland between fYgYfj Uh]cb`UbX`k` \]h`5`a Yf]W]j]g`hY`gYh]b[`Zcf`5`fV\`XYŋ]UbX`j`Uf]ci`g`Z]Ja`]`mia`Ya`VYfgŋ` ruin at hY`\`UbXg`cZZYXYfU`UbX`g`hY`Uk`YbZc`fW`a`Yb`h`K` \]`Y`hY`hYfa`Ī`cZħY`fYgYfj Uh]cbĪ` \Ug`V`a`a`cb`XYZ]b]h]cbgž`=h`fb`hc`hY`U`hY`DUi`U` ; i`bb`5`Ybŋ]XYgW]d]h]cb`cZ` the theoretical implications of the term:

Ī cZħY`fYgYfj Uh]cbŋ`XYg] [bU`hY`g`ca`YcbY`k` \c`XcYgb`h`V`bZcfa`hc`hY` limits and boundaries of officialdom, who is unpredictable and thus uncontrollable. Such individuals are seen as a threat to the power structure. They are anomalies: mavericks, renegades, queers. (6)

K` \]`Y` ; i`bb`5`Ybŋ]b]h]U`Ugg`ciation is with how an individual embodies the hYfa`žg`Y`a`cj`Yg`h`k`UfXg`k` \Uh`=Ya`d`Ug]nY`]b`hYfa`g`cZA`VB`]W`Yŋ]UbX`U`hYfž`<`U`Yŋ]` writingĪ` the actual implications of the *space* outside reservation borders. She writes, Ī`C`f] []bU`m`hY`hYfa`a`YUbh`U`d`Uf]h]W`Uf`_]bX`cZ`Ī`i`hUk`ž`NU`B`Uhj`Y`d`Yf`g`cb`k` \c`V`cggYX` hY`hYff]h`c]U`V`cfXYfž`W`YX`U`fYgYfj`Y`cf`U`fYgYfj`Uh]cb`"↳`h`cgY`X`Umgž`h`Y`fYgYfj`Uh]cbŋ` g] [b]Z]YX`U`]a`]hYX`gdUW`ž`U`W`a`d`hc`k` \]W`B`Uhj`Y`d`Ycd`Yg`"k`YfY`V`bZ]bYXĪ`f`Ī`↳` moving beyond what it means hc`VY`Ī`cZħY`fYgYfj`Uh]cbĪ`]b`hYfa`g`cZ]bX]j`]Xi`U` identities, I believe both McNickle and Hale theorize the space itself in their writing in V`ch`d`cg]h]j`Y`UbX`bY [Uh]j`Y`k`Umg`"K` \]`Y`hY`B`Uhj`Y`UbXg`Ī`cZħY`fYgYfj`Uh]cbĪ`f`UbX`h`Ym` are Native lands), are cefh]b`m`U`gdUW`cZ`d`chYb]U`ž`fYX`ca`Zcf`A`VB`]W`Yŋ]V\UfUW]fj`

g\ci `X h\YmVcbh]bi Y'hc`Y'i XY'Wdhi fYzh\YgY'f cZZ-fYgYfj Uh]cbI`gdUWg'U'gc`Yb[YbXYf` extreme violence against those individuals who dare to move freely within these spaces. The danger of the reservation border itself is made visible but the hyper-policing of these areas.

K \]Y'A VB]W`YNg]bcj Y`bYj Yf`Yl d`]MhmgUhg'h\Uh\Y'a cghdfca]bYbhgWbYgcZ violence occur literally outside Flathead reservation boundaries, there are hints that the mountainous setting represents that boundary, and to be sure, the mountain trails are heavily policed by state and federal agents personified by game warden and county g\Yf]Z`'`b h\Y Z]fghI cZZ-fYgYfj Uh]cbI`gWbYz' ghVYzcY'5 fW\]XYNg]a ch\Yf`Uj Yb[Yg'h\Y` murder of her son Louis, Archilde encounters the county sheriff on a mountain trail. At h\Y`g[\hcZG\Yf]ZZE i][\`Ymz'5 fW\]XY'h\]b_g`hc`\]a gY`ZzI`-hgYYa YX`h\Uh\Y] Yfmh]a Y`Ub` Indian left the Reservation, he almost certainly ran into the sheriff and had to give an UWV`i bhcz\]a gY`Z' f%&E'"`5 h\]g'a ca Ybh'z'5 fW\]XY`k]g\Yg\YV`ci `X`h`fb`\]g\`cfgy` around as he would normally do to avoid a confrontation with the Sheriff and his questions. Later, in a pivotal scene, another colonial agent, the federal game warden V`ca YgUWV`cgg'h\Y`Z]a]`mNg]W]a d`'"`5 fW\]XY`gUfW]gh]W`m`Ua Ybh'z' h\Y`k` ccXg'gYYa YX`hc` VY`Z' ``cZ'h\Y`[i UfX]Ubg`cZdYUWV` f%&E'"`M'h\Y] Yb`h\ci [\`h\YgY`k` ccXYX`a`ci`bhU]bg`UFY` heavily policed by state and federal law enforcement, these off-reservation spaces are fYdfYgYbhUj] Y`cZ`Ub`c`X`k` UmicZ`Z]Y]b`A`VB`]W`YNg]bcj Y`zUg`k`Y`Ug`Ub`YgWdY`Zfca` colonial surveillance and the expectations of reservation assimilationI` especially for 5 fW\]XYNg]a`ch\Yf`7`Uh\Yf]bY`UbX`\]g:[]f`Z]YbX`9`]gY'"`

It is important that the novel represents the surrounding mountains as this space of possibilities, particularly for the Native women in the text. Setting aside for the moment that these mountains are witness to several tragedies, they are a hopeful space Zcf`A`VB`]W`YNg]ZYa`U`Y`characters when they find themselves in a hopeless situation. In the beginning, it is Catherine who convinces Archilde to take her hunting, one can assume to see (and save) her son Louis, who is hiding in these mountains to avoid being arrested for stealib[\`cfgyg`UbX`]g'h\Y`Z]M]cbU`fYdfYgYbhU]cb`cZ]`cb`<`Ybh]I`Ng\`cfgy`-h\Y]j`]b[]f`VfYX`I`'"`5 fW\]XY`bch'g'h\Y`I`Zcc`]g`bYggj`cZ`7`Uh\Yf]bYNg]fYei`Ygh`[]j`Yb`\Yf`U`[Y` and limited sight and hearing, but he agrees to the trip. Interestingly, as they travel deeper into h\Y`fYgYfj`Uh]cb`VcfXYf`UbX`z'5 fW\]XY`bch'g'h\Y`h\Y`mgYYa`YX`hc`VY`I`fmg]b[]hc` [c`VUW`k`UfX`]b`h]a`Y`fUh\Yf`h\Ub`]b`a`ci`bhU]b`ZUg`bYggj` f%&E'"`c`f`7`Uh\Yf]bYzh\Y`cZZ`-reservation space revitalizes her, and despite meeting Sheriff Quigley early on, she continues to enjoy the mountains and the hunting trip. While Archilde is off tracking XYYfzg`Y`Z]g\`Yg`UbX`V`c_g`h\Y]f`a`YU`h\]b`]b[]hc`\YfgY`Z`I`h\Y`Z]g`hUghYX`ZU]hYf`i`d`\YfY`""`"-h`k`Ug`[`ccX`hc`VY`ci`hcZ`\Yf`W]Ua`dYX`W]V]bI` f%&E'"`K` \]Y`h\Y`a`ca`Ybh]g`Vf]YzZ`for a time in these mountains, Catherine is free.

C`ZV`ci`fgYz]b`h\Y`YbX`z'7`Uh\Yf]bY`UbX`5`fW\]XYNg]`i`bh]b[]f]d`YbXg]b`h`fU`YX`mik`]h` her son Louis murdered by the federal game warden. And though this scene is often read as a turning point for Archilde, initiating his demise, it is also a turning point for Catherine in the text. Her decision to kill the federal game warden in reaction to her ck`b`gcbNg]a`i`fXYfzgYhg`\Yf`cb`U`XYV`c`cb]U`d`Uh`h\Uh`fYg]`hg]b`\Yf`ck`b`fYb`Ua`]b[]f]g\Y` drops Faithful from her name) and her final rejection of the church and state. Archilde

is also reluctantly led down this path, and the internal conflict this journey creates is the

bcj Y'ŋi 'hja UH'ZcW g''5 fW]XY]gZca 'h]g'dc]bhcb'hcfb'VYk YYb 'Xc]b['hY'f]['h
 h]b['Vmhi fb]b['\]a g'Zc] Yf'hc'Ui h'cf]h]YgZcf'\]g'dUfh]b' hY'[Ua Y'k UfXYb]ŋ'a i fXYf'
 cf'fYdi X]U]b['W'cb]U'Ui h'cf]m]b'cfXYf'hc'dfchVh'\]gZJa]'m]UbX'\]g'ck b'ZfYXca ''

This moral conflict comes to represent the cultural war at stake. This cultural war is
 waged through questions of criminal law and authority, yet represent a far deeper
 W'bz]VhVYk YYb hY'Ī a cfU'Ī 'W'XYg'cZYfYX'Vm'W'cb]U']bgh]h]h]cbgZ]b'dUfh]W'Uf'W'i fW'
 and state, and those offered by traditional Salish systems of law and governance
 (represent'X'k '\Uh7 Uh'Yf]bY'fYZf]g'hc'Ug'Ub'U'h'fbUh]j Y'gm]hYa 'cZ'ġ gh]W'cf'hY'Ī k '\]d'
 W'j Yfg'hY'Zui 'h'Ē''

Ultimately, Archilde is unable to completely repudiate colonial authority, but
 what makes this novel so important is the ways the Native women in the text insist on
 that repudiation. Although Catherine does not survive in the text, before she dies, she
 is able to reclaim not only her name, but a Salish perspective on law and religion. In the
 Z]bU'W'Udh'f'z'cbW'U[U]b]h]g'U'k ca Ubz'5 fW]XYŋ[]f'Z]YbX'Elise that raises the
 possibility of escaping colonial control as she leads him and his nephews to the
 surrounding mountains. While Elise is of a new generation who does not know the best
 methods of setting camp or cooking for that matter, she is quite savvy at eluding
 W'dh'fY''K '\Yb'5 fW]XY]g]b'U'gh' dcf'Zc''ck]b['\]g'a ch'Yf]ŋ'XYUh'z]h]g'9']g'k '\c'ĤU_Yg'
 \]a 'Uk Um]b]hc'hY'a ci bh]bg'XYgd]h'5 fW]XYŋ'd'Ub'hc'gi'ffYbXYf'hc'5 [YbhDUF_Yf]b'
 hY'Zc''ck]b['XUm]''H'i g]h]g'9']g'k '\c'ĤU_Yg'Ī hY''YUXz[c]b['gca Yk '\Yf'Ī 'hfUW]b['
 carefully back and forth to confuse authorities (285). Upon awakening from his stupor,
 5 fW]XY]g'Ī U'Ufa YX'Ī 'Uh'hY'ZU'h'Uh'9']g' '\Ug'YX'hYa 'gc'ZUf'ci h'UbX']bg]g'g'\Y'a i gh'
 return and fulfill his promise to the Indian Agent (286). In her attempt to convince him
 hc'W'bh]bi Y'hc'fi b'z'9']g' h'g'\]a z'Ī]Zmci [c'UbX'h'Ī 'h]g'g'hc'fm'h'Ym'Ī 'Xc'hY]f[cX-
 dammedestĪ you seeĪ to stick you for it . . . Look, no; now let me give you my idea. All
 mci '\Uj Y'hc'Xc']g[c'Uk Um'Ī 'f&, 'Ē''

Despite EliseYŋ'fYw[b]h]cb'cZ'hY'k UmV]ja]bU''Uk 'UbX'Ui h'cf]m]UW' U'mk cf_g'
 on the reservation, Archilde remains unconvinced and regains control over the group.
 Archilde mistakenly believes that criminal deviance is determined in a rational way that
 precludes raVU'V]Ug'' 'b'gca Y'k Umz'J cb < Ybh[]ŋ]UbU'm]g]cZ'5 a Yf]W]b' 'bX]Ub'
 W]ja]bU]h]ma]ffcf]g'5 fW]XYŋ'VY]YZ]b'hY'bYi hfU'Udd']W]h]cb'cZ'Uk ''': cf'5 fW]XYz'\]g'
 ZUh']g'Ī cZ]V]U'Vi g]bYggZca 'bck 'cbĪ 'f&, -Ē''Hfi gh]b[]b'hY'5 [Ybh'UbX'W'cb]U''Uk z'
 Archilde 'YUXg'9']g'Ī Uk UmZ'ca 'hY'WYg'hc'Z'hY'f]X[YĪ 'hc'U'Ī g'Y'h'fYX'W'fbYfĪ 'hc'Yg'W'dY'
 the wind (290). Elise had initially led them to the ridge where they held an advantage of
 sight yet could still remain hidden from the colonial gaze. On this ridge, they could
 Ī'cc_Xck b'cb'a]Yg'cZXYg'WbX]b['W'Ī bh'f'm'z'cb'U'V']bX'a UnY'cZ'W]b'mcbgĪ 'f&, +Ē'UbX'
 k '\Yf'Ī]Z'h'Ym'\UX'VYb'k Uh'W]b['Z'ca 'hY'WYg'hc'Z'hY'\]z'h'Ymk ci 'X'\Uj Y'g'Yb'U'f]XYf'
 Ya Yf[Y'Z'ca 'hY'XUf'_W]b'mcb'a UnYĪ 'f&- %Ē''H'Y'f]XYf'cZ'W'Ī fgY']g'G'Yf]Z'E i]['ey. From
 h]g'dc]bhcbz'5 fW]XYŋ'XYW]g]cb'hc'ĤU_Y'hYa 'Uk UmZ'ca 'U'dUfh'c'Z'hY'Ī cZ'fYg'f]j Uh]cbĪ '
 gdUW'h'Uh[Uj Y'hYa 'hY'UX] Ub]U[Y'cZ'Ī ''j]g]cb'hc'U'Ī g'Y'h'fYX'Ī 'gdUW'cZ'W'Ī a Zc'f'h'
]h'fU'm'UbX'Z[i fU]h] Y'm'YUXg'hc'\]g'UbX'9']g'Yŋi 'hja UH'W'dh'fY'' Importantly,
 \ck Yj Yfz'A]_Y'UbX' B UfV]ggY'fYa U]b'Ī cb'hY'fi bĪ 'Uhbcj Y'ŋ]YbX''YUj]b['hY'dcgg]V']mĪ

open that part of this outlaw group of Salish youth may have escaped Archilde and 9]gYŋjWdhi fY"

Understandably, many literary critics have been uneasy with the ambivalence, given the contemporary desire for resistance narratives in Native literature to conclude in fairly utopian ways. Most disturbing perhaps is the fact that the last words of dialogue in the novel are spoken by the once sympathetic Indian agent, Mr. Duf_Yf...7_YUf_mX]ga UmYX Vm5 fWJ_XYŋj XYj]UbH' hi fb_Zfca 'Uggja]UHfX VcUfX]b['gWcc`gi WYgg'hc W]a]bU`ci hUk žDUF_Yf UXa cb]g\Yg'5 fWJ_XY. ŋj hcc XUa b VUX'mci dYcd`YbYj Yf`YUfb hUhmci Wbŋifi b'Uk Um`ŋjdUh Yh]W f&- +E`5 s this quote shows, the Indian Agent, the ultimate signifier of colonial surveillance, is exasperated that his wards refuse to learn the supreme lesson of colonization that there is *nowhere* to run or, as the title of the novel suggests, Native peoples in t\Y'a cXYfb YFUUFYĪ gi ffcī bXYXĪ at every turn. In the end, for Archilde and his people, there is no literal or figurative Ī cZZ-fYgYfj Uh]cbĪ `gdUW`ZfYY`Zfca`h`Y`gfi Vh fY`cZW`cb]U`Uk`UbX`gi`fj`Y]`UbW`bXYXZ the declaration reveals to Archilde and his family that the settler state is essentially a df]gcb W]a d`Zcf`B`Uhj`Y`dYcd`Yg`fU`hf]VU`W]h]ei`Y`dfYXUh]b[: ci W]i`ŋj *Discipline and Punish* by quite a few decades).

While I will not offer a more in-XYdh fYUX]b[`cZA VB]W_Yŋj`bcj Y`ž*The Surrounded* certainly warrants additional critical attention regarding questions of gender UbX`gYi i U]hmhUhUFY`ei]hY`ja dcfhUbhdUfhg`cZh`Y`bcj Y`ŋj`cj YfU`hYfUfmUbX`dc`]h]W`significance.⁶ Hc VY`gi fYž7 Uh Yf]bY`UbX`9]gYŋjX]gXU]b`Zcf`Vt`cb]U`Ui`h`cf]m]b`h`Y`novel emanates from a sense of urgency that being a Native woman engenders. A critical question is to what extent the novel illuminates this aspect of reservation life. 5 fY`h`Yg`k`ca`Yb`ŋj`fYgc`j`Y`a`YfY`mia`Yubh`hc`fYZ`YVh`h`YĪ`ffU]cbUĪ`c`j`Y`c`Za`ch`Yf`cf`loj`Yfžcf`]g`A`VB`]W`Yŋj`hYi`ha`cfY`Uk`UFY`cZ`ck`d`Uf]UfW`m`UbX`Vt`cb]U`]ga`k`cf`together? While, I do not have the space to answer this question, I include an abridged X]gW`gg]cb`cZA`VB`]W`Yŋj`gYa`]bU`bcj`Y`žVYW]i`gY`]h]g`cbY`cZ`h`Y`Z]fgh`WYUhj`Y`k`cf`g`hc`emphasize the connection between multiple legal jurisdictions, colonial expectations, colonial violence and American Indian criminality. At the same time, the novel hints at the possibility of freedom in a space outside of the far-reaching gaze of colonialist agents, a space that I believe Native women writers such as Hale embrace while they also refigure the Native woman outlaw embodied by Catherine and Elise. Yet in these contemporary stories, Native women writers give the Native woman back control over the direction of her narrative.

Women on the Run: "Outlaw" Narratives in Janet Campbell Hale's Short Stories

9Wc]b[`5 [YbhDuf_YfŋjZ]bU`X]U`c[i Y]b`*The Surrounded* in the title to her own short story collection, Janet Campbell Hale chronicles the lives oZg]l `B`Uhj`Y`k`ca`Yb`Ī`cb`h`Y`fi`b`Ī`K`]\`Y`h`Y`h`Ya`Y`cZ]a`df]g`cba`Ybh]g`Vt`a`cb`]b`<`U`Yŋj`Z]W]cbž`this`collection`hU`_Yg`i`d`h`Y`h`Ya`Y`cZĪ`Yg`WdYĪ`h`fci`[`\`h`Y`fcdY`cZ`h`Y`B`Uhj`Y`k`ca`Ub`ci`h`Uk`":`cf`h`Y`purposes of this chapter, I chose to limit my focus to two g`cf]Yg. Ī 7`U]fYĪ`UbX`Ī`K`ca`Yb`cb`h`Y`fi`b`Ī`H`Yg`Y`k`c`g`cf]Yg`a`U`_Y`i`d`h`Y`Vi`_`cZ`Yf`g`cf`h`g`cf`m`Vt``YV]cb`UbX`]\`[\`][`\`h`h`Y]a`dcf`h`Ub`h`Yf`U`cZ`h`Y`%`*`ŋj`UbX`+`ŋj`k`]\`W`UFY`cZ`h`Yb`fYUX`h`fci`[\`a`U`Y`

dominated histories of Red Power.⁸ In the novel, the reservation and reservation a woman writer Lena who, as the narrator, is unwilling to write a truthful story of a Salish woman leader and activist named Bobbi T, a recently captured fugitive and cause- characters challenge gendered expectations of Native criminality and resistance and offer contemporary red feminist politics an important critique of anti-feminist those arguments that deny a need for contemporary Native feminisms or a gendered transcend these boundaries, and therefore emphasize the need for a feminist politics in decolonial contemporary movements.

In the story, Claire, is not the benign wise old woman, revered by family and community. She is the matter-of-fact Native woman who finds herself abandoned by her son (and presumably other children) at the height of one of the most devastating eras of federal Indian policy for Native families, relocation and termination.⁹ Catherine, Claire is faced with the impact of assimilationist federal policy on her own family, and in particular, on her relationship with her son Ozzie. However, unlike Archilde, Ozzie is not conflicted about his responsibility to his mother or his community; he has clearly chosen to turn away from his tribal roots and embrace a political climate characterized by a political climate of survival and self-determination.

In the novel, Claire is sent to Loma Vista by her son who insists she have surveillance as a key function of assimilationist programs such as relocation. When she refuses and invokes the threat of physical violence for widows who live alone on the reservation, she is threatened in her own home by a gang of teenage girls, who like Ozzie represent the callous

disregard for an older generation (5). Manifesting an absence of moral empathy, the teenagY [Jf`g`XYWXY`hc`a i fXYf`A fg`C`gcbZĪ ↑ ghhc`gYY`k \Uh]hZY`h`_]`Y`hc`_]`gca YcbYĪ` (4). Claire notes that the teens had originally decided to kill either a child or an older woman living alone as they would be easy victims. Ozzie is able to manipulate this gdYVUWY`cZj]c`YbW`hc`]bg]ghcb`h`Y`bYWgg]hmcZgi`fj`Y]`UbW`UbX`7`U]fYfY`fY`cW]h]cb`Zcf` her own protection and survival. In a not so subtle detail, Claire remembers that the teen girls stabbed Mrs. Olson in the back, introducing another theme developed throughout the storyĪ the betrayal of the older (and future) generations by contemporary generations who have turned their back on tribal kinship responsibilities UbX`a`cfU`Vt`XYg`H\Y`a`cgicVj`]ci`g`a`Ub]Zygh]h]cb`cZĪ`]g`VYfUmU`]g`C`nn]YfY`XYWg]on to relocate his mother and rent out her reservation home to fund her imprisonment and his own bank account.

While the story never explicitly states that Ozzie participated in the federal Urban Indian Relocation Program himself, the two cities in which he has lived evoke that history. Claire notes his years in college at UCLA, and, of course his current home in Oakland, CaliforniaĪ two of the largest relocation sites during this period. While the gcfmfYj`YUg`]hY`UWci`hC`nn]YfY`]ZY`h`Y`Zk`XYHJ]`g`given represent the promise and limits of assimilationist mandates. The promise of the relocation program had been incorporation into the American dream and access to the economic and educational opportunities of urban life. Ozzie attended UCLA, and was a businessman savvy Ybci [\`hc`fYbh\]g`a`ch`YfYfY`ca`Y`UbX`hU`Y`Vt`bfhc`cZ\`Yf`UggYfY`<`ck`Yj`Yf`7`U]fY` wonders why Ozzie, who had been a promising high school and college athlete, had not a Uff]YX`U`[`]f`Zfca`Ī`VUW`ca`YĪ`cf`cb`Y`cZ\]g`ck`b`WUgga`UhYgZ]bgHUX of choosing to marry a poor white woman, now embittered by her marriage to a Native man. In another subtle detail, Ozzie has a grandson named Buddy but there is no mention of the W`]`X`h]d`UfYbZ`C`nn]YfY`ck`b`gcb`cf`XUi`[\`hYf`H\]g`UVgYbW`gi`[`[`Yg`g`gca`Y`tragedy never explained in the story. It is these little detailsĪ the missing son or daughter, the star athlete ignored by his own classmatesĪ which make visible the impact of colonialism UbX`fUW]ga`cb`C`nn]YfY`]ZY`YĪ`dYf]YbW`MhZk`]\`Y`h`YgY`XYHJ]`g`YbX`some sympathy to \]g`W`UfUW]fZ`Zcf`h`Y`a`cgidUfh`Y`ZĪ`bW]cbg`Ug`h`Y`Vt`cb]U`]bg]XYf`bchi`b`_]`Y`A`VB`]W`YfY` tribal police officer through whom the Indian Agent regulates the reservation. As a regulatory figure, Ozzie is also emboldened with patriarchal authority to make decisions for his mother and her property leaving her with no option but to move to Loma Vista.

Loma Vista itself metaphorically represents the state prison and the mission boarding school system, both essential reform institutions under assimilationist policy fY[`]a`Yg`H\Y`hYĪ`h]b]f`c`Xi`Wg`h`Y`df]gcb`a`YfUd`cf`Zfca`h`Y`cd`Yb]b[`]bY.Ī`5`d`Yf`gcb`\`Ug`hc`k`UhW`\`Yf`ghYd`k`\`Yb`g`Y`]g`Ub`]ba`Uh`c`Z`Ub`c`X`d`Y`cd`YfY`ca`YĪ`fĪ`7`U]fYfY` description of the nursing home is overt in its institutional comparison:

Loma Vista, housed in a dingy grey concrete-block structure, loomed on a high hill, dominating the landscape. In its dark-grey ugliness it could have been a penitentiary . . . A house of detention for those who committed the crime of getting old. (21)

Loma Vista, as a building atop a knoll manifests its key function—surveillance. Like 9]gYfj\[\ \f]X[Y]b *The Surrounded*, Loma Vista occupies a space above the urban \UbXgWdY\hUhUZZcfXg]hg_YYdYfgNXca]bUbW\h\fc i [\ \j]gi U`dfca]bYbW`"5 g'U`resident cZ@ca UJ]ghUk \YfY\h\Y\]ba UH\gk YfYU`cb`XYUH\`fck \`f&%z7`U]fY]gVcbghUbhm under the surveillance of an often abusive and always neglectful staff from whom she \Ug\YUfbYX\`hc`_YYd`ei]YhUbX`Wli`gY`bc`gh]f\`f`E`"H\Y`h\i`hU`gc`a`U`Yg`WYUf`that this survival skill is a behavior Claire learns from another institution—the mission boarding school of her childhood. Indeed, several deaths at the home are depicted as the result of the same neglect and abuse Claire witnessed as a child at school.

The first two tragedies in the nursing home befall an older married couple who WU`Yb[Y\h\Y`gUZZ]Ui`h\cf]m`"Hc`g]`YbW`h\Y`Vti`d`Yz`gUZZ`a`Ya`VYfg`_]XbUd`h\Y`i`gVUbX` in the middle of the night, reminiscent of the kidnappings of young children from their ZJa]`Yg`Vm[`cj`Yfba`YbhU[`Ybhg`"8`ghfUi`[\`hzh\Y`c`X`a`Ub]k`]ZY`A`Ufh\U`Vta`a`]hg`gi`]WXY` Vm\`a`d]b[`cZZ`h\Y`fcc`Zcd`Uh@ca`UJ`]ghU`"G`c`f`h`m`U`Z`h`f`A`Ufh\U`h`gi`]WXY`z7`U]fY`k`UbXYfg` ci`hg]XY`hc`j`]g]h\h\Y`gd`chk`\YfY`\Yf`Zf]YbX`h]VcXm\`UX`"Y`Zi`Ub`]a`dfYgg]cb`]b`the`earth. At this moment, she is reminded of the correlation between staff and mission school hYUW`Yfg`"G\Y`]g\`[`fUVVYX`fci`[\`m\`VmU`bi`fgY`k`\cgY`U[`[`fYgg]`YbYgg`fYa`]bXg`7`U]fY`cZ` h\Y\`bi`bg`k`\Yb`g\Y`k`Ug`U`"h`Y`[`]f`"'"H\Y`bi`bg`h`f`Y`U`h`X`W`]"X`f`Y`b`"]_Y`that,`grabbing,` a`Ub\UbX`]b[`z`g`V`X`]b[`\`f&%z`"7`U]fY]g`X`fU[`[`YX`V`U`W`_]bg]XY`h\Y`Vi`]X]b[`#`d`f]gcb`Vmi`h`Y` bi`fgY`k`\`c`h`"g`Y`f`z\`Mci`_`bck`[`ccX`UbX`k`Y`"mci`h`f`Y`b`ch`U`ck`YX`ci`hg]XY`k`]h`ci`h` gi`dYfj`]g]cb`"`h`[`c]b[`hc`\Uj`Y`hc`Z`]Y`U`f`Y`d`c`f`h`c`b`mci`bck`"'"`"gh`Ubout`had`me`fooled` Vi`h`mci`h`f`Y`""]_Y`U`"h\Y`f`Y`gh`"7`Ub`h`h`f`i`gh`U`cb`Y`c`Z`m`U`N`X`Ua`b`YX`V`c`h`g]`f`V&%z`"b`h`]g`g`W`b`Y`z` 7`U]fY`Z`f`g`h`Y`d`g\`ci`hg]XY`i`h\Y`V`ci`b`X`U`f`]Y`g`c`Z`\`Y`f`a`Y`h`U`d`\`c`f`]W`d`f]gcb`z`Vi`h`]g`ei`]W`m`UbX` violently reminded that the real transgression is goin[\`c`Z`h\Y`f`Y`g`Y`f`j`U`h`cb\`ci`hc`Z` \`gi`d`Y`f`j`]g]cb\`UbX`V`c`b`h`c`"@"_Y`A`VB`]W`_`Y`h`5`[`Y`bh`D`U`f`_`Y`f`z`h\Y`bi`fgY`]g`Y`i`U`g`d`Y`f`U`h`X`V`mi` 7`U]fY`h`g`V`f`Y`U`W`c`Z`h`f`i`gh`UbX`h\Y`Z`U`h`h`U`h`g`Y`k`]"`"U`j`Y`hc`Z`]Y`U`f`Y`d`c`f`h`c`b`7`U]fY`"5`Z`h`f` this interaction, Claire thinks to herself thU`h\`g\Y`b`Y`Y`f`X`f`Y`Ua`YX`g\Y`k`ci`X`g`d`Y`b`X`\`Y`f` old age in the same way she had spent most of her childhood, under lock and key . . . VY]b[`fi`XY`m`g`d`c`_`b`hc`UbX`d`\`m`g]W`"m`U`V`i`g`Y`X`i`f`V&%z`"h`]g`h\Y`Z`f`g`h`]a`Y`]b`h\Y`g`c`f`m`g`Y` hears an inner voice tell her she has to escape. At this moment, she also asks herself a question similar to the one evoked by *The Surrounded's* Ua`V][`i`ci`g`Y`b`X`b[`\`"8]X`U`b`m`c`b`Y` Yj`Y`f`g`W`V`Y`X`]b`fi`bb]b[`U`k`U`m`i`f`V&%z`"

After this confrontation, Claire recalls the second tragic death, that of her roca`a`U`h`A`U`h`X`U`"H\]g`a`Ya`cf`mia`cj`Y`g`\`Y`f`hc`V`Y`[`]b`"Z`Y`U`g`U`i`Z`[`]h`j`Y`i`"7`U]fY` watched Matilda die of fever after the nurses refused to help her or administer a`YX]W]h]cb`U`g`f`Y`f`]Vi`h]cb`Z`c`f`A`U`h`X`U`h`g`i`X`Ya`UbX`g]`Z`c`f`[`ccX`W`f`Y`"":`c`f`g`ca`Y`f`Y`U`X`Y`f`g`z` Claire and Mah`X`U`h`g`d`c][`b`Ub`h`]b`h`f`U`W]cb`]b`h`]g`g`W`b`Y`k`]"`f`Y`g`c`b`U`h`k`]h`h\Y`a`U`b`m` stories of young Native children in boarding schools who left alone, attended and witnessed the deaths of close friends, children who died of disease and fever while at school. After th]g`a`Ya`cf`m`z`7`U]fY`X`W`Y`X`Y`g`hc`h`f`m`UbX`Y`g`W`d`Y`g\`Y`f`Y`U`]n`Y`g`h`Uh` *She* was all g\Y`U`X`i`f`V&%z`"

G][`b]Z]W]b]h]m]z`7`U]fY`Y`g`W`d`Y`g`Z`f`ca`h`]g\`i`c`i`g`Y`c`Z`X`Y`h`b]h]cb\`Vm`W`c`g`g`-dressing as a man and simply walking away from the home—an idea given in part by her eight-year-

old great-grandson Buddy on his last visit. Her *tupiya*, as she calls him, promises to help

\YfYgWdYk \Yb\Y]g'c'X'Ybci [\ "' < Y'hr'g\Yf. Ĩ Ñ' Vfb['U'X]g[i]gY'cZgca Y']bX'"
 K YN' k U' _f][\h'ci h\h'Y'ZfcbhXccf'"H\Yb'k YN' fi b Uk Um'"H\Ym' b'Y] Yf'Z]bX'i g' f' & E'"
 B ch'c'dc]bh'ci h\h'Y'cV]]ci g'z'Vi h'6i XXm'g'bUa Y'bch'cb'mfYdfYgYb'hg'h\Y'VcbXg'cZ
 Zf]YbXg\]d' VY'rk Y'Yb'h\Y'dUghUbX'Z' h' fY' [YbYfU]cb]b'h\Y'g'c'f'n'z'7' U]fY'f'g']bg]ghYbW'h\U'h
 Ozzie and others acknowledge Buddy as her *tupiya* is significant. *Tupiya* is the Salish
 word for both great-grandparent and great-grandchild, further emphasizing the kinship
 importance of their relationship. Ultimately, Claire does not walk out the front door; she
 escapes from an open window dressed in clothes she steals from another male inmate at
 Loma Vista. Before leaving Oakland, however, she makes an attempt to see Buddy on
 his way to school to say goodbye. She fears the one detail that might give her away in
 the city is her long braids, but upon seeing her, Buddy offers his baseball cap. This
 collaboration between great-grandson and great-grandmother is emphasized in one line:
 Ĩ H\Y'c'X'k ca Ub'bck 'X]g[i]gY'X'Ug'U'a Ub'UbX'\Yf'bck 'UfY-headed great grandson held
 \UbXg'Ug'h\Ym'k U' _YX'Vf]g_`mX'ck b'h\Y'g'fY'f'f' f&&E'"'5 g'g\Y'k U'ks Buddy to school she
 h\]b_g'hc '\Yf'g'Z'Z' Gca Y'h]b[[ccX'UbX']a dcfh'Ubh\UX'V'ca Y'ci hcZ'h\Y'7'U']Zcfb]U'Z]Ug'V'Ī'
 f&&E'"'5 g'Ub'U'Y' [cfm'UV'ci hfY'c'W]h]cb'UbX'h\Y'd'f'c' fUa' f'g']a dU'V'icb' B'Uh]j Y'Z]a]']Yg'z'h]g'
 is an important line in the text. As a generational representation of policy history,
 7' U]fY'Z'Vcfb']b'h\Y'Y'U'f'm% , \$f'z'k]b'Y'g'Y'X'h\Y'Z'f'g'h'k Uj Y'g'c'Z'U'g]a]'Uh]cb'dc']V'h'Z'f'g'h'
 \UbX'z'cb'm'hc' VY'W]i [\h'i'd']b'U'b'Y'k 'k Uj Y'c'Z'U'g]a]'Uh]cb']b'h\Y'Y'U'f'm% *\$f'g' 'M'f'z'
 6i XXn'z'k \c'k]' V'ca Y'c'Z'U']Y']b'h\Y'U'h' *\$f'g'UbX' +\$f'g' will witness the passage of the Self
 Determination Act and perhaps participate in the radicalism of the Red Power
 a cj Ya Ybh]b'h\Y'6Um'5 fYU'"Hc'V'cb]bi Y'h\Y'V'ca dU'f]g'cb'k]h'A'VB']W'Y'f'g'bcj Y'z'6i XXm'z'
 like Mike and Narcisse, represents a possible and radical future. However, Claire, a
]h'Y'U'f'm'V'cb'h'Ya dcf'U'f'm'c'Z'9']g'Y'z'U'g'c' fYdfYgYb'hg'U'B'Uh]j Y'k ca Yb'f'g'fYg]g'U'bh'dc']h]V'g'h\U'h
 spans all policy decades.

7' U]fY'f'g'Y'g'WdY'Z'f'ca h\Y'g' f'j Y']'Ub'W'c'Z'h\Y'bi fg]b[\ca Y'd'f]g'cb']g'g'i W'W'g'z' "

because of her great-[fUbX'g'cb'f'g' \Y'd'UbX'\Yf'X'Y'W]g]cb'hc' Ĩ d'U'g'g'Ī' U'g'U'a Ub'"K \U'h'f'g'
 significant about this detail is the fact that her female gender coupled with Native status
 a U'Y'g'\Y'f'a cfY'j]g]V'Y'UbX'h\Y'f'Y'Z'cfY'a cfY'j i 'b'Y'f'U'Y'hc'VY]b['W]i [\h]b'g'i W' Ĩ c'Z'
 fY'g'f'j Uh]cb'Ī'gd'U'W'g'" ÷X'Y'Y'z'k hen waiting for the bus to Portland at the San Francisco
 depot, Claire observes two policemen harass an older homeless woman who they escort
 out of the building but do not arrest. Claire wonders to herself how the homeless
 woman is allowed to live on her own when Claire is not. Of course, the homeless
 woman, without being racialized, is of no importance to the state agents in this scene;
 therefore, she is simply an aesthetic nuisance. Claire is relieved that the policemen
 ignore her altogether and that t\Y'm'Ī'X'cb'f'h'Y'j Yb []j Y'\Y'f'U'g'Y'V'cb'X'cc'Ī']b'\Y'f'c'X'a Ub'
 X]g[i]gY'f&(E'"H'Y'g]b[\Y'f'Ī'Z'f'Y'X'ca Ī'Y'j Yb'a cfY'z'g\Y'j]g]h'g'h\Y'a Yb'f'g'V'U'h'f'cca'k]h'ci h'
 incident.

G] [b]Z]W'bh'm'z']b'h\Y'a Yb'f'g'f'cca z'g\Y'VY' []bg'gd'YU_]b['7'c'Yi f'8'f'5'Y'b'Y'GU']g\ "

again! a moment that symbolinYg'h\Y'i bX'c]b['c'Z'f'Y'c'W]h]cb'f'g'U'g]a]'Uh]cb']ghid'ck Y'f'U'g'
 k Y' U'g'h\Y'd'ck Y'f'g\Y' []bg]b'U'a U'Y'gd'U'W'"7' U]fY'f'g'X]g[i]gY'U'Z'c'f'X'g'\Y'f'g'ca Y'c'Z'h\U'h
 powerĪ' g\Y'W'c'U'g'\Y'f'g'Z']b'd'U'f]U'f'W'U'Ub'cb'ma]h'm' ÷'U'g'Y'bg'Y'z'g\Y'U'g[cb'Y'Ī'c'Z'h\Y'

fYgYfj Uh]cbĭ VmVcbZci bXing gender boundaries. When she contemplates the missing X]Ua cbX`f]b[`cb\Yf\UbX`h Uhg\Y`dUk bYX`tc`Vi m\Yf`Vi`g`h]W_YhZg\Y`h]b_g`h Uhĭ]h showed something important was missing. Nobody looked at her. Nobody at all. It k cf_YX`ĭ`f&`E`K` \]`Y`gca`Y`a`][`h`fYUX`h`Y`ĭ`a`]gg]b[ĭ`h]b[`Ug`U`Ua`Ybhcj`Yf`Yf`XYUX` husband, the text is careful to note that she still has her wedding band. What seems to VYĭ`a`]gg]b[ĭ`h`Yb`]g`h`Y`j`]g]V`]]hmcZYZa`]b]bY`a` Uf_Yfg`h`Uhk`ci` `X` `]a`]h\Yf`a` cV`]]hmĭ`cZZ` h`Y`fYgYfj`Uh]cbĭĭ` a` gendefYX`Vca` a` YbHufmcb`h`Y`\`mdYfj`]g]V`]]hmcZB`Uh]`Y`k`ca`Yb]g` bodies in a colonial and patriarchal society.

Given this new freedom, Claire arrives as a bus stop just outside of the Yakima valley. At this point in her journey, she decides to hike away from the town to spend a few evenings camped by a creek. This pivotal part of the story seems to make the most X]fYVhU`ĭ`g]cb`tc`A`VB`]W_Y]g`VWbcb]W` hYĭ`h`@_Y`A`VB`]W_Y]g`7`Uh`Yf]bYz]b`h`]g`gc`]Hufm` landscape of hills and valleys, Claire feels reinvigorated. S\Y`bchYg`h`Uhĭ`5`h`Ughg\Y`k`Ug` hfi` mzhfi` mZYfYĭ` UbX`h`Uhbcck` ĭ`U`cbY`]b`\Yf`bYk` ZFYXca` ĭ`g`Y`X]X`bch\Uj`Y`tc`ĭ`k`UhW` her step or look over her shoulder for the first time since she left Idaho nearly four years VYZcfYĭ` fl`&`5`bX`_Y`7`Uh`Yf]bY]g`Z]g`žZcX` tastes better here; Claire thinks to herself, ĭ`B`Yj`Yf`\UX`U`gc`XU`dcd`h`UghY`gc`Z]bYĭ`h`Ub`]b`U`gd`UW`k`\YfY`g`Y`\UX`ĭ`ZYg`žZYfY`U]fĭ` fl`&`K`U`_]b[`ZYfY`m]b`h`]g`UbXg`WdY`ZUf`Zfca`h`Y`\][`k`Um]cZĭ`Vj`]nUh]cbž`7`U]fY` decides to remove her disguise and completely undress, bathing in the cold waters of the river. She also completely undoes her long braids, which until this point she had _Ydh\]XXYb`ĭ`bXYf`\Yf`[`fUbXgcb]g`VUgYVU` `Wd`@]hYfU`m]gf]ddYX`Xck`b`tc`\Yf`ĭ`fYU`ĭ` self, Claire contemplates her freedom:

She felt the sun and warm Chinook wind on her naked body and laughed a little to herself. This was so fine, this moment, so fine. All was perfect. Absolutely perfect . . . Despite everything, despite heartache and loss and meanness and unfairness . . . life is good and in these perfect moments we know the goodness. (33)

↳ h`]gĭ`dYfZYVh`a`ca`Ybĭ`7`U]fY`]g`bchcib`m`U`Y`tc`VY`U`cbY`cf`k`]h`ci`hgi`fj`Y`]`UbWžg\Y` is also able to be a woman againĭ`k`]h`ci`h\Yf`ĭ`c`X`a`Ubĭ`WchYg`UbX`k`]h`\Yf`\U]f` down. Th]g`a`ca`YbhcZZYXca`ĭ`cZZ`h`Y`fYgYfj`Uh]cbĭ`ĭ`bXYfg`VcfYg`h`Y`bYWgg]hmcZU` space where Native peoples are free from the colonial gaze. At the same time, it underscores the necessity of that decolonial space for Native women in particular. However, the negative side of this point is the fact that such a space in this scene is completely isolated. Claire may be completely out of sight from the colonial gaze, but she is also alone, and her freedom depends on remaining hidden. Indeed being alone may be her downfall in the end. This loneliness perhaps is what reminds Claire of the time she escaped from the mission school with the help of her great-grandmother. As 7`U]fY`Y]g`cb`h`Y`k`Ufa`fcW`Vm`h`Y`f]j`Yfžg`Y`fYVW`g`h`Y`ĭ`gi`a`a`Yf`cZVcbhYbta`Ybĭ`g\Y` shared with her own *tupiya*, only this time she is referring to her own great grandmother, not her great-grandson Buddy (42).

While surveillance, off-reservation spaces and freedom remain key themes in her recollection of her mission school escape, discipline is a major focus in the beginning of

7`U]fYŋ]a Ya cfm`F YW`]b[`Yf'a]gg]cb'gWcc`mYUfgz7`U]fY`h]b_gUVci hH`Y`UVi gY`gY` suffered at the hands of Catholic nuns and priests who punished her for practicing Salish cultural traditions such as speaking her language. Claire notes that the nuns at `Yf'a]gg]cb'gWcc`UX`UMYX`_]Y`U]`_YYdYfg`""UMYX`a i W`h`Y`k Umih`Y`UHYbXUhgUhi @ca U`J]gH`UMYX`hc`k UFXg`h`cgY`k `c`k YfY`i bXYf`h`Y]f`WfY`UbX`h`Y]f`a YfW`i`f`l` (E`5 bX` like her escape from the jail keepers of Loma Vista, as a young girl, Claire simply walks away from the mission school when the nuns are distracted disciplining others. Once on the run, Claire thinks about certain classmates that would expose her; children who k YfY`h`Y`bi bŋ]Ī dYhg`""di h]bhc`d`cg]h]cbg`cZUi h`cf]mĪ`UbX`k`c`Ī`k`ci`X`U]`Y`ch`Yfg`Uhi h`Y]f`a YfW`i`Ug`h`Y`mik YfY`Uhi`h`Y`a YfW`ic`Z`h`Y`bi bg]`f`l`E`H`Y`]bg]X]ci gbYgg`c`Zgi W`]bg]XYf`gi fj`Y`UbW`z`UbX`h`Y`bYW`gg]hmcZ]hZcf`X]gWd`]bUfmfY[]a Ygz`fYW`g`C`nn]Yŋ] W`a`d`]W`mUgk`Y`Ug`A`VB`]W`Yŋ]s tribal police officer in *The Surrounded*""< U`Yŋ]hYi hi underscores such manipulations when Claire arrives at her village and another child h`g`Yf`h`Uhi`h`Y`Ui h`cf]h]YgĪ`h`X`i`g`Ubm`c`X`m`]X]b[`mci`k`ci`X`VY`di`h]b`U]Ī`f`l`E`"" Indeed when Claire runs to her great-[fUbx`a`ch`Yfŋ]`ci`gY`f`Yf`ck`b`a`ch`Yf`]g`XYUX`UbX` `Yf`ZU`h`Yf`UgĪ`[]j`Yb`\\]a`gY`Z`cj`YfĪ`h`U`V`c`L`Z`Yf`*tupiya* knows quite well the legal W`bg`Yei`Yb`W`g`c`Z`Yf`U`M]cbg`Ī`H`Y`m`h`c`X`a`Y`""Z`=\\]X`mci`]bgh`UX`c`Z`f`Yi`fb]b[`mci`h`c` them they would lock i gi dĪ`f`l`E`""< ck`Yj`Yfz`g`UbX]b[`i`d`Z`f`Yf`[fYU`h`-granddaughter, 7`U]fYŋ] *tupiya* h`g`YfzĪ`Mci`_bck`k`U`h`B`=fa`b`chig`WfYX`c`Z`h`Ya`"B`chg`WfYX`c`Z`h`Y]f`U]` Y]h`YfĪ`f`l`E`""

F`Yi`fb]b[`h`c`h`Y`h`Ya`Y`c`Zgi`fj`Y`]UbW`z7`U]fYŋ] *tupiya* tells her that the authorih]Yg`UX`VYYb`h`c`Yf`ci`gY`VY`Z`cf`Y`Yf`UbX`Ī`cc`_YX`Ufci`bXĪ`f`l`E`""< ck`Yj`Yfz]b`h`]g` part of the scene, this theme is concerned with class and gender in addition to race and h`Y`W`cb]U`ch`Yf`""7`U]fYŋ] *tupiya* dc]bŋ]ci`h`h`Uhi`h`Y`[`cj`Yfba`Ybha`Yb`Ī`k`YfY`X]g[`i`ghYXĪ` VYWi`gY`Yf`[fYU]h[fUbx`a`ch`Yf`X]X`bch`_Yd`UĪ`dfcd`YfĪ`ci`gY`""G`Y`b`ch`g`h`Uhi`h`Y]f` disgust was due to the fact that her great-[fUbx`a`ch`Yf`X]X`b`ch`ck`b`U`bmĪ`k`\\]hY`d`Ycd`Yŋ] `\\]X]b[`d`UW`g`bc`W`cg`Y`g`z`h`U`V`Y`g`z`VYX`g`ŋ]`f`l`E`""H`Y`W`b`Z`f`cb`h]cb`]g`ZĪ`f`h`Yf`[`Yb`X`ered`by` h`Y`X]g]i`f`V`Ub`W`c`Z`h`Y`cb`Y`d]Y`W`c`ZĪ`fb]h`fY`7`U]fYŋ] *tupiya* does possess, a big trunk in k`\\]W`g`Y`g`h`c`f`Y`g`Y`f`W`]X`f`Y`b`g`ŋ]`a`V`]W`]W`V`f`X`g`""5`g`h`Y`Ui`h`cf]h]Yg`X][`h`fci`[`h`Y` contents of the trunk, their actions evoke a history of violence against Salish women and h`Y]f`Z`Ja`]Yg`""7`U]fYŋ] [fYU`h`[fUbx`a`ch`Yf`h`g`Yf`h`YmĪ`8]g]i`f`VYX`a`m`df]j`U`hY` possessions . . . the umbilical cords of all my children, some of them long dead now like mci`f`[fUbx`a`ch`Yf`""=\\]U`h`X`h`Y`a`Z`c`f`X`c]b[`h`U`h`Vi`h`=X]X`b`ŋ]`Y`h`h`Y`m`know`Who`knows` k`\\]U`h`h`Y`mia`][`h`X`c`h`c`a`Y`]Z`h`Y`m`_`b`Yk`ZĪ`f`l`E`""H`Y`X]g]i`f`V`Ub`W`c`Z`h`Y`i`a`V`]W`]W`V`f`X`g`]g` not only a violation specifically targeting motherhood, it is also an action in which the authorities assert control over the history held intact by 7`U]fYŋ] [fYU`h`-grandmother. Yet, XYgd]hY`h`]g`XYa`cbg]f`U]cb`c`Z`W`b`f`c`_`UbX`]bh]a`]X`U]cbz7`U]fYŋ] [fYU`h`-grandmother decides to help Claire escape into the surrounding woods, at least for the summer. Like Archilde, Elise, Mike and Narcisse, Claire and her great-grandmother seek out safety in the reservation borderlands outside of the colonial gaze, or what I consider a Y`h`U`d`c`f]W`]Ī`c`Z`-f`Y`g`Y`fj`U]cbĪ`gd`UW`""M`Y`h`zi`b`]Y`h`Y`Z`U`h`c`Z`A`VB`]W`]W`Yŋ]W`U`f`U`W`Y`f`g`z` Claire and her great-grandmother are successful in their escape, refusing to give themselves over to the fear of colonial violence.

↳ XYXZ h Y] f Yg Wd Y g Y a g h c f Y Z f Y b W h k c] a d c f h U b h g W b Y g] b A V B] W Y h i h i 5 f W] X Y h U h a d h c i g U j Y i U a U F Y U b X \ Y f m c i b [V e h U b X 9] g Y U b X 5 f W] X Y h U Z] b U confrontation with Sheriff Quigley. In the former scene, Archilde encounters an old g_Y Y h U a U F Y U b X V e h i f m] b [h c g i f j] j Y] b h Y X Y g c U H Y U b X g W d Y c Z h Y i V U X U b X g i c b the outskirts of the reservation. The horse was probably left there by an owner who felt she was of no more use. Although the colt is well-fed and healthy, Archilde finds the a U F Y h U d d Y U f U b W f Y j c h] b [U b X X Y W X Y g h c h f m i U b X U h Y U g h i f] a \ Y f a U h Y X U b X h U b \ Y X tail in an effort to ease her suffering. In order to do so, he has to place a rope around her neck, an act the mare refuses to allow resulting in an exhausting chase. At the end of h] g V U g Y z 5 f W] X Y h U d Y f g] g h b h Y Z c f h g W h] W m] b t f Y h Y c X a U F Y z k \] W \ Y \ U g h c shoot, which dooms the colt to a motherless death from starvation. Archilde literally] g h Y a V c h k] h] b X b Y g g "↳ h Y Y b X z h Y a U F Y h U X Y h f a] b U h] c b h c f Y a U j b Z F Y h f i a d g 5 f W] X Y h U X Y g] f Y h c [f c c a c f Y U X \ Y f k] h f c d Y " A V B] W Y h i h i a U Y g W Y U f h U h 5 f W] X Y h U U h] c b g U F Y Z Y Y X a c f Y V m \] g i c k b i c V g Y g g] c b h U b V y any good intentions that guided the pursuit. While the subtext of this scene is obvious to most W h] W z] h] g] a d c f h U b h c d c] b h c i h h U h Y a U F Y h U Z h Y] g U f Y d f Y g Y b h U h] c b c Z h Y W c] W given to Native peoples under assimilation be free and starve or be fettered and live. In *The Surrounded* z h Y Z h]] m c Z g i W U i W c] W i] g Y a d \ U g] n Y X] b c f X Y f h c Y Z Y W i d c] h] W reform in favor of self-determination] b U h] c b d c] W "↳ i 7 U] f Y z < U Y \ U g h Y i i i f m c Z k f] h] b during a period of self-determination policy and can emphasize other aspects of this historic era, in particular the reasons behind those decisions to resist.

↳ < U Y h U g h c f m z U m c i b [7 U] f Y U b X \ Y f [f Y U h g r a n d m o t h e r e s c a p e f r o m [c j Y f b a Y b h c Z Z] W U g V m i U] b [i h Y c X k c a U b h U] Y b h Y a U F Y U b X U g a U m c i b [a i Y i] b h c h Y g i f f c i b X] b [k c c X g f l + e "↳ A V B] W Y h i h i z 5 f W] X Y Y b V e i b h f g U a U F Y U b X \ Y f m c i b [V e h] b h Y g i f f c i b X] b [V U X U b X g "↳ g c a Y k U m g z h] g a U F Y U b X V e h U g relationship, pursuit and death represent Catherine and Archilde, or Catherine and @ c i] g k \ c g Y f Y U h] c b g \] d] g X Y g h c m Y X V m h Y] b h f j Y b h] c b g c Z [c j Y f b a Y b h U] Y b h g i [c c X] b h Y b h] c b g i U b X # c f c V g Y g g] c b k] h a U] b [h Y a V e b Z c f a h c W c b] U Y i d Y W U h] c b g "↳ < U Y h U g h i h i z [f Y U h g r a n d m o t h e r a n d g r e a t g r a n d d a u g h t e r , r e p r e s e n t e d b y t h e o l d g e n t l e m a r e a n d t h e s m a l l y o u n g m u l e , l e a d t h e m s e l v e s i n t o t h e w o o d s a n d n o o n e d a r e s t o] b h f j Y b Y " @] Y h Y c X a U F Y z 7 U] f Y h U t u p i y a f l a u n t s h e r f r e e w i l l t o t h e v i l l a g e r s a l r e a d y k]] b [h c V Y V e a d] W h] b 7 U] f Y h U W d h i f Y " 7 U] f Y f Y a Y a V Y f g z i \ c k \ U d d m i s h e f e l t w h e n s h e a n d h e r Y a - y a r o d e o u t o f t h e v i l l a g e t h a t d a y , a l l t h e n e i g h b o r s , t h e n o s e y w o m a n b Y i h X c c f z h Y W f d d Y X V c m k \ c k U g b h i a U X Y h c U h Y b X a] g g] c b g W c c z Y j Y b 7 U] f Y h U Z h Y f " " " " U g h U F Y X U h h Y a V i h i g U] X b c h] b [i f l + e " < Y f [f Y U h g r a n d m o t h e r v i e w s t h e h f Y U h c Z h Y] f V e a d] W m i U g b c a] b U z i @ Y h h Y a h Y h c g Y a Y b Z f c a h Y [c j Y f b a Y b h (37).

7 U] f Y h U [f Y U h g r a n d m o t h e r t e l l s h e r t h a t n o o n e w i l l f i n d t h e m a n d , i n t h e e n d , s h e i s r i g h t . T h e y s p e n d t h e r e s t o f t h e s u m m e r c a m p i n g i n t h e w o o d s , a n d d u r i n g t h i s h a Y 7 U] f Y h U [f Y U h g r a n d m o t h e r s t r e n g t h e n s t h e b o n d b e t w e e n t h e m . S h e t e l l s C l a i r e t r a d i t i o n a l s t o r i e s a s w e l l a s s t o r i e s a b o u t h e r l i f e b e f o r e a n d a f t e r t h e c o m i n g o f t h e k \] h Y a U b " H \] g i g h c f m h]] b [i Y d] g c X Y i b X Y f g W f Y g h Y X] j Y r s i t y o f n a r r a t i v e s i c u l t u r a l , p o l i t i c a l a n d h i s t o r i c a l i h U h 7 U] f Y h U [f Y U h g r a n d m o t h e r s h a r e s w i t h h e r .

7`UjFYŋ *tupiya* notes that although whites had brought some beneficial technologies, in the end these did not make up for a stunning loss of freedom for the tribe. She tells 7`UjFY h.UhXi f]b[`h`cgY`YUf`Yf`XUmž`h`Y`d`Ycd`Y`Ī`X]Xb`ŋi`_bck`k` \`Uhk`Ug`Vt`a`]b[`.....` how they would come to be under the rule of the white man and have to do everything h`Y`k` \`]h`a` Ub`k` UbhYXĪ`fĪ`-Ē`7`UjFYŋ [fYUh-grandmother also tells her perhaps the most ja`dcf`h`U`b`h`d`U`f`h`c`Z`7`UjFYŋ`g`ck`b` \`]g`c`f`m`Ī` h`Y`c`f`][]b`U`b`Ua`Y`7`UjFYŋ`a`c`h`Y`f` \`U`X`[]j`Y`b` \`Y`f` Uh`V`]f`h`žĪ`G` \`Y`-is`-Z`F`Y`Ī` f`(\$Ē`G` \`Y`h`Y`g` \`Y`f`h`U`h`ž`_`Y`N`]h`_`U`U`-G`U`ŋ`d`f`U`m`Y`f`f`Y`Y`g`ž`h`]g`b`Ua`Y` Ī`YĪ`d`f`Y`g`Y`X`h`Y`a`c`h`Y`f`ŋ` \`c`d`Y`g`Z`c`f` \`Y`f`W`X`]`XĪ`h`ci` [\`ž`g`Y`b`c`h`Y`g`žĪ`k`Y`X`c`b`ŋi`]j`Y`h`Uhk`UmĪ`Ubma`c`f`YĪ`f`(\$Ē`.....`b`g`h`U`X`ž`h`Y`]f`..`]j`Y`g`c`b`h`Y`f`Y`g`Y`f`j`U`h`c`b`U`f`Y`W`U`f`U`W`Y`f`]n`Y`X`V`m`h`U`hĪ`c`g`g`c`Z`Z`F`Y`Y`X`c`a`Ī` \`c`k`Y`j`Y`f`ž`7`UjFYŋ`h`i`d`]m`U`f`Ya`]b`X`g` \`Y`f`h`U`h`žĪ`Q`Q`c`d`Y`g`c`i` \`X`b`c`h` \`U`j`Y`h`c`..`]j`Y`h`]g`k`UmĪ`fĪ`-Ē`

In these woods, Claire and her great-grandmother, as the antithesis to the Xcca YX`a`U`f`Y`U`b`X`W`c`h`Z`f`ca`A`VB`]W`_`Y`ŋ`]bcj`Y`ž`f`Y`g`c`f`Y`U`b`X`g`c`]X`Z`m`U`[`Y`b`Y`f`U`h`c`b`U` connection between women previously interrupted by the interventions of mission school nuns and government officials. In a related sense, their successful sojourn ci`h`j`X`Y`f`Y`g`Y`f`j`U`h`c`b`V`ci`b`X`U`f`]Y`g`d`U`f`h`]U`m`f`Y`k`f`]h`Y`g`9`]g`Y`ŋ`Z`U`h`Y`U`h`h`Y`Y`b`X`c`Z`A`VB`]W`_`Y`ŋ`] novel. Comparatively, Claire and Elise are contemporaries based on historical markers found in both texts. Set around 1914, E]g`Y`]g`U`m`ci`b`[`k`ca`Ub`]b`A`VB`]W`_`Y`ŋ`]bcj`Y`.....`b` <`U`Y`ŋ`]g`c`f`m`ž`7`UjFY`k`ci`X` \`U`j`Y`V`Y`Y`b`&&]b`%`%`ž`a`U`_]b[` \`Y`f`h`Y`g`Ua`Y`U`[`Y`U`g`9`]g`Y`f`Y`U`h`j`Y`m`.....`b`U`X`X`]h`c`b`ž`7`U`h`Y`f`]b`Y`U`b`X`7`UjFYŋ *tupiya* also share similarities both witnessed the invasion of white men to their respective Salish communities. Although somewhat of a literary stretch, it is interesting to think of Claire and her great- [f`U`b`X`a`c`h`Y`f`ŋ`]c`i`f`b`Y`m`]b`c`h`Y`k`c`c`X`g`U`g`U`W`c`b`h`Ya`d`c`f`U`f`m`f`Y`Z`[`i`f`]b[`c`Z`h`Y`_`Y`m`Z`Ya`U`Y`W`U`f`U`W`Y`f`g`Z`f`ca`A`VB`]W`_`Y`ŋ`]bcj`Y`.....`@`_`Y`9`]g`Y`U`b`X`7`U`h`Y`f`]b`Y`ž`7`UjFYŋ [fYUh-grandmother has faith in their ability to survive such a journey and Claire has no fear attempting such Ub`Y`g`W`d`Y`]b`c`h`Y`g`i`f`f`ci`b`X`]b[`U`b`X`g`7`UjFYŋ *tupiya* h`Y`g` \`Y`f`h`U`hĪ`k`Y`ŋ`V`Y`g`U`Z`Y`]b`h`Y`k`c`c`X`g`Z`c`f`U`g`c`b[`U`g`k`Y`k`]g`Ī`U`b`X`7`UjFY`h`]b`_`g`Ī`b`c`a`U`h`Y`f`k` \`U`h`h`Y`m`X`]X`h`c` \`Y`f`Z`c`f`i`b`]b[`U`k`U`h`ž`g`Y`_`b`Y`k`]h`k`U`g`h`Y`f`][`h`h`]b[`h`c` \`U`j`Y`X`c`b`YĪ`fĪ`Ē`M`h`]b`h`Y`g`Y`k`c`c`X`g`ž`7`UjFYŋ *tupiya* is in control of her actions; she is not led there by an indifferent son. Collapsing time, Claire and her *tupiya* have left their indifferent sons behind at this stage in order to protect their future generations.

However, this memory is not an overly idealistic one, and Claire remembers that her summer of freedom ends when the weather turns cold and her great grandmother V`Y`W`t`a`Y`g`a`]`X`m`g`]W`.....`5`h`h`]g`d`c`]b`h`ž`g`Y`X`Y`W`X`Y`g`h`c`d`U`W`_`i`d`h`Y`f`W`a`d`U`b`X`h`Y`g`7`UjFYĪ`=`h`]b`_`]h`g`]h`a`Y`k`Y`k`Y`b`h`V`U`W`_`]b`ž`X`c`b`ŋi`m`ci`žĪ`f`(\$Ē`G` \`Y`a`U`_`Y`g`h`]g`g`h`Y`a`Y`b`h`g`]h`]b[`c`b`U`c`[`Ī`V`Y`g`]X`Y`h`Y`Z`]f`Y`X`f`]b`_`]b[`W`c`Z`Y`Z`f`ca`U`h`]bĪ`f`(\$Ē`This detail, though minor, is reminiscent of the ending of *The Surrounded*. In that scene, Archilde and Elise are caught off-[`i`U`f`X`V`m`G` \`Y`f`]Z`Z`E`i`][`Y`m`ŋ`U`d`d`Y`U`f`U`b`W`Y`Ī`5`f`W`X`Y`Y`ž`g`]h`]b[`W`c`g`g`-legged, with a tin cup of hot coffee in his hand, stared at the Sheriff. . . . Quigley [had always] made him feel that something would be wrong sometime, and that he would be there to demand settlement. And it was so. Archilde held the coffee cup in mid-U]f`U`b`X`g`h`U`f`Y`XĪ`f`&-`%`.....` Again, while this may seem a minor connection, the coffee is a key detail in this final scene as Elise uses this ritual to facilitate killing the Sheriff, using it as a distraction and

k YUdcb'k \Yb'g\YXYW\Xyg'hc'g\cch\]a "'\b'< UYf'g'g'c'f'm'z'7'U]fYf'g' [fYUh-grandmother XYW\Xyg'hc' [c'í VUW]b'í 'cb \Yr own, no one interrupting her morning coffee. Not Yb'h'f'Y'm'c'Z\Yf'ck b'W'c]W'z'h\Y'k YU'h\Yf'UbX'7'U]fYf'g' [fYUh- [fUb'X'a c'h\Yf'g'b'Yk 'V'e'i [\ 'ZUW]h'U'h'g'h\YXYW]g'cb/\ck Yj Yf'z'h\Y'g'i a a Yf'f'Ya U]bg'z]b'7'U]fYf'g'a Ya cfm'í U'Z]b'Y]b'h'f'i XYí 'f'(&E'

The story of that suma Yf'fYdfYgYb'g'h\Y']a d'c'f'h'U'b'W'c'Z'B U'h]j Y'k ca Yb'f'g' knowledge to a resistance politicsí a certain kind of knowledge of a tribal history before UbX'ci h]j]XY'c'Z'V'e'cb]U'g'i f]j Y]'Ub'W'h'U'h'7'U]fYf'g' [fYUh-grandmother still holds. It also emphasizes the importance of kinship responsibilities, a key theme throughout the g'c'f'm''5 g'7'U]fYf'g'a Ya cfm'W'c'g'Y'g'h\Y'X'c'c'f'cb'h']g'a Ya cfm'z'g\Y'hi fbg'hc'h']b'_U'V'ci h\Yf' W'f'f'Y'b'h]g'h' U'h]cb'z'í M'U-m'U'UbX'g\Y'k Yf'Y'Z' []h]j Y'g'h'U'h'g'i a a Yf'U'g'g\Y'k U'g'U'Z' []h]j Y'b'ck í 'f'('E''H\]g'a Ya cfm'g'Ya d\U'g]g'cb'_]bg\]d']g'f'Y]b'Z'c'f'W'X'V'm'7'U]fYf'g'X'f'Y'U'a 'h\Y'Z'c'ck]b[' night that offers her a destinationí \Yf'b'Yd\Yk 'æ'Y'f'g'\ca Y''\b'U'X'X]h]cb'z'æ'Y\U'g'U'm'ci b[' g'cb'k \ca '7'U]fY'c'd'Y'g'hc'\Y'd'f'U]g'Y''G\Y'Y'j Yb'h']b'_g'd'Y'f\U'd'g'í g\Y'V'e'i 'X' [Y'h'æ'Y'hc' h'U'_Y' them all campin[í 'k \Yf'Y'7'U]fY'W'U'b' h'Y''\Yf'b'Yd\Yk 'f'U'X]h]cb'U'g'c'f]Y'g'']_Y\Yf'ck b' *tupiya* had years before.

7'U]fYf'g' 'ci fb'Y'm'V'e'b'h]bi Y'g'U'Z'Y'f'g\Y'V'f'Y'U'_g'W'U'a d'\Y'f'g'Y'Z'f'Y'X'f'Y'g'g'Y'g'U'g'U'a Ub'UbX' \Y'U'X'g'V'U'W'_hc'h\Y'X'Y'd'c'h'k \Y'f'Y'g\Y'W'U'h'W'Y'g'U'f]X'Y'k]h'U'f'i W'Y'f'hc'7'ci Y'f'8'N'5'Y'b'Y'Z'Idaho. She spends much of the trip nursing her own cold, now a fever, and thinks of all the a Yb']b'\Yf'']Z'Y'h'U'h\U'j Y''Y'Z'h\Y'f'V'Y\]b'X'Z'Y]h'Y'f'h'f'ci [\ 'X'Y'U'h'c'f'z]b'\Y'f'g'cb'g'N'W'U'g'Y'g'z' neglect. She reveals that her other son Ernie lives in San Francisco and never visited her U'h'ca'U'j]g'h'U'z'g'Y'b'X]b['Z'ck Y'f'g'cb'm'ic'b'A c'h\Y'f'g'8'U'm'í 'H\Y'Z'U'W'h'U'h'7'U]fY']g'U'cb'Y'U'h' this moment in her life, reminds her of the loss of her only daughter, who Claire believes would have understood the importance of kinship responsibilities. She thinks to herself what may have been different if Clairice had livedí h'U'h'í X'U'i [\ h'f'g'X'cb'N'U'ck 'h\Y'f' a c'h\Y'f'g'hc'V'Y'd'i h'ci h'í 'f')&E''

However with the loss of her great-grandmother and baby girl, her latest fugitive effort now depends on her nep\Yk' f'g'V'e'c'd'Y'f'U'h]cb'UbX'U'W'W'd'U'b'W'í an important detail that would reinstate a fractured relationship between a Native woman and her a U'Y'_]b''\b'h\Y''U'g'h'Y' ['c'Z\Y'f' 'ci fb'Y'm'z'7'U]fY'f'g']h'W']_Y'g'U'f]X'Y'hc'\Y'f'b'Yd\Yk' f'g'\ca Y'z' where she plans on helping him recover from alcohol and assist in the raising of his í a c'h\Y'f'Y'g'g'W']'X'í 'í < ck Yj Yf'z'h\Y'X'f]j Y'f'k U'f'bg'\Y'f'z'í m'ci 'g\ci 'X'b'N'h'V'Y'\]h'W']_]b[']g'f' "" ""]h'g'j Y'f'm'X'U'b [Y'f'ci g''5'k ca Ub'f'g'V'c'X'm'k U'g'Z'ci b'X']b'h\Y'k c'c'X'g'í g'h'ci h'c'Z'7'c'Y'i f' 8'N'5'Y'b'Y'i 'f')&E'' H\Y'g'Y'k c'c'X'g'k ci 'X'V'Y' the same ones she had escaped to as a young girl with her great-grandmother. However, in this moment, these woods are the dumping [f'ci b'X'g'Z'c'f'B U'h]j Y'k ca Ub'f'g'V'c'X']Y'g'z'f'Ya]b'X]b['7'U]fY'c'Z'h\Y'f'Y'U' h'f'Y'U'h'c'Z'j]c'Y'b'W' against women who dare cross these reservah]cb'V'ci b'X'U'f]Y'g''7'U]fY'f'g']b'_g'í g\Y'_b'Yk '\Y'k U'g'f] [\ h'U'b'X'g\Y'k ci 'X'b'Y'j Y'f'\]h'W' U'f]X'Y'U' [U]b'í 'f')'E''H\]g'Z]b'U'Y'b'V'e'i b'h'f'cb'h\Y'ci h]j]f'g'c'Z\ca Y'z'c'f'h\Y'í c'Z'f'Y'g'Y'f'j U'h]cb'í 'V'c'f'Y'f'Ub'X'g'Ya d\U'g]h'Y'g'h\Y'Xi U' b'U'h' f'Y'c'Z' the space. At times it is a space where B U'h]j Y'k ca Ub'f'g'_b'ck 'Y'X' [Y'c'Z'h\Y'Ub'X'g'W'd'Y'Ub'X' history aid in successfully evading colonial authorities. However, it is also a space of hypervisibility for Native peoples, a hypervisibility that often results in violence in both A V'B]W'_Y'f'g'Ub'X' < U'Y'f'g'g'c'f'ies.

↳ UXX]h]cbž]b' < U'Yŋ]g]h]c]f]m]ž]h]YfY'U'Y'U'c]h]c]Z'a]gg]b['cf'XYUX'k ca Yb'h]fci [\ci h h]Y'h]i hž]b]W] X]b['A fg''C'gcbžA Uh]XU'UbX'A Ufh]Už]UbX'a Ya VYfg'cZ7'U]fYŋ]ck b'Z]a]'m] gi W'Ug'7'U]f]W]ž'7'U]fYŋ]a ch]Yfž'Yf'bYd\Yk ŋ]k]Zž]UbX'dYf\Ud]g'6i XXm]ŋ]a ch]Yf. As a part of the gendered critique offered by the story, women are victimized by unchecked physical violence and de facto incarceration. However, it is important to point out that the Native men in the text are also victimized in different ways. Men]b'7'U]fYŋ]]Z]Y'U'F'Y' victimized by the psychological impacts of such violence— widowers suffering from alcoholism, distant sons psychologically exiled by policy, racism and homophobia. Pointing out these differences depicted in the story is not to minimize the very real violence Native men face in contemporary society or the high level of incarceration rates for Native men, but these differences in the text underscore that violence is not always gendered in obvious ways. In mainstream consciousness, one could argue that]b]W]f]W]f]U]h]cb'UbX'd\m]g]W]]c'Yb]W'U'F'Y'U]gg]c]W]U]h]Y'X'a cfYgc'k]h'a Yb]ŋ]Y] dYf]Yb]W]g]k]h' racism while psychological violence is gendered female.

6ch'A VB]W]Y'UbX' < U'Yŋ]h]i h]g]W]U'Yb[Y'h]Yg]Y] dY]W]U]h]cb]g'' < ck Yj Yfž A VB]W]Yŋ]h]i h]Xc]Yg'b]ch]represent the violence Native women experience in favor of focusing on the psychological impact of assimilationist expectations on Archilde. In < U'Yŋ]g]h]c]f]m]ž'7'U]fY'Y] dYf]Yb]W]g]U'F'Y'b]ch]U]b]h]h]Y]h]W] 'h'c'A VB]W]Yŋ]g]h]c]f]m]ž'Vi h]h]Y'c]h]Yf' side of a gendered history of colonial violence. In addition, it is the other side of gendered resistance narratives as well, as Claire takes on the identity of female outlaw.

↳ XYXZ7'U]fYŋ] 'ci fb]Ym]Ug]Ub'ci h]Uk 'Yb]X]g]k \Yb'g]Y'Uff]j Yg]U]h\Yf'XYg]h]b]U]h]cbž \Yf'b]Yd\Yk ŋ]ca Y'cn the reservation. While she successfully evades capture, like A VB]W]Yŋ]U]g]h]g]W]b]Yž'Yf'g]h]c]f]m]g]Y]Z]h]U]a V][i ci g]b'h]Y'Yb]X''H\Y'f]Y]U]X]Yf']g]i b]g]i f]Y]Z'Y]f] nephew will welcome her or return her to authorities, or if her new fever will claim her life. Howej Yfž]X]Y]g]d]h]Y'h]Y''cca]b['g]Y]b]g]Y'c]Z]X]cca 'h]U]h]h]Y]Z]j Yf'Y] c_Ygž'æ]Yŋ]U]m]cb]g' seem to suggest he might not betray her. In the end scene, there are two important details. First, Joe is alerted by his three dogs that Claire is walking up the driveway. These h]f]Y]X]c[gž]U'ga U' h]ff]Y]f]ž]Ub'ŋ] U]f]h]f]h]h]W]c'X''U]V' 'UbX'h]Y'X]c]V]Y]fa Ub'h]U]h]7'U]f]Y'\U]X' 'Y]Z]h]b'\]g]W]f]Y]ž]X]Ya cb]g]f]U]h]U'k]'']b[b]Y]g]g]cb'æ]Yŋ]d]U]f]h]c' h]U]Y]b'UbX'W]f]Y'Z]c]f'']j]b[' V]Y]b[g]c]h]Y]f]g]ŋ]a][\ h]f]Y]Y]W]i''H\Y'g]Y]V]c]b]X'X]Y]h]U]j' V]c]b]h]f]U]X]W]g]h]Y'cb'm]h]]b['h]Y'f]Y]ader knows about Joe up until this point— that he is an alcoholic father. The text reveals that æ]Y]g]U]Y]f]h]Y'X'V]m]h]Y'X]c[g]U]Z]h]f'\Y]ŋ]\U]X'ŋ] g]h]f]Y]h] fb]Y]X'Z]f]ca 'X]f]j]b['6]'m]h]c'g]W]cc'ŋ]'UbX' k \]Y'\Y]ŋ]g]h]c]X'U]h]h]Y'_]h]W]Y]b'g]b'_k Ug]b['X]g]Y]g]ŋ]'f] ('L''';]j Yb'h]Y'V]c]ntext of men in h]Y'g]h]c]f]m]k \c'\U]j Y'b]Y['Y]W]Y]X'_]b]g]\d'f]Y]g]d]cb]g]V]]h]Y]g]ž]h]Y]g]Y]ŋ]X]ca Y]g]h]W'U]m]cb]g' demonstrate an ethic of care for the next generation regardless of gendered expectations.

To be sure, the gendered assumptions made by Von Hentig about late 19th-century American Indian crime statistics rely upon the expectations of assimilationist mandates at the turn of the 20th century. These assimilationist mandates that dominated policy V]Y]h] Y]b'h]Y'% , \$ŋ]Ub]X'h]Y'% ' \$ŋ]k]'' V]Y'f]Y]]j Y]X']b'h]Y'%) \$ŋ]Ub]X' * \$ŋ]ŋ] both eras that V]cc_Y]b]X'7'U]f]Y]ŋ]]Z]Y'' ↳]c]b' < Y]b]h] [ŋ]Ub]U'm]g]gž]B U]h]j Y]W]ja]b]U]]m]g]Ub']b\Y]f]Y]b]h]f]U]W]U' characteristic that manifests itself differently depending on the gender of the criminal deviant. Von Hentig argues that Native men, especially mixed-blood men, are hard- k]f]Y]X'h' V]c]a a]h]d]f]c]d]Y]f]m]W]ja Y]g]Ub]X']c'Y]b]h]U]m]g]V]Y]W]i] g]Y'c]Z]h]Y]f]k U]f]f]c]f]ŋ]']b]g]h]b]W]g]''

B Uhj Y'k ca YbŋXYj]UbhVY\Uj]cfžcb`hY`chYf`UbXž]g`hY`fYgi`hcZ`hY]f`glj U[Y` passionsí refusing to become proper domesticated women. In taking crime statistics ci hcZ\]g`cf]W`V`b`hYi`h`UbX`k`]h`ci`h`Ub`i`b`XYf`g`h`UbX`]b[`cZ`V`c`b]U]ga`ŋ`fY[i`U`h`c`f`m` structures, Von Hentig can only rely on accepted assumptions of scientific racism, in this WgYžfYdYgYb`h`Y`U`g`d`f]a`]h]j`Y`g`Uj`U[Y`f`m`K` \`Uh<`U`Y`UbX`A` VB`]W`Y`ŋ`fiction offers is the historical context that underscores the social construction of criminal deviance for Native peoples in a colonial society. Implicated in both texts, is the social policy of assimilation as one of the most violent impositions of colonial control, because its success depends on the constant surveillance and control of every aspect of Native dYcd`Y`ŋ`]j`Yg`" `b`d`U`f`h]W`U`f`ž`B`Uhj`Y`Z`Ja`]`Y`g`UbX`f`U`X]h]c`b`U`_]`b`g`d`d`g`f`i`V`i`f`Y`g`U`f`Y` specifically targeted.

As such, the most effective regulatory structure becomes the reservation agency and law enforcement; institutions which police reservation boundaries and off-reservation spaces constantly, not to stop crime but to maintain colonial power. In addition, assimilation policy relies on imposing patriarchy in order to devalue Native k ca Ybŋ_bck`YX[Y`c`Z[Y`b`Y`U`c[]W`UbX`d`c`]h]W` \`]g`c`f]Y`g`ž`f`U`X]h]c`b`U`g`c`f]Y`g`ž`UbX` language and ensure such knowledge is deemed irrelevant in a contemporary society. K` \`]`Y`h`]g`W`]h`e`i`Y`]g`Y`j`]X`Y`b`h]b`A` VB`]W`Y`ŋ`h`Yi`h`ž<`U`Y`ŋ`g`c`f`h`g`c`f`m`Z`Y`U`i`f`Y`g`h`Y` generational impact of federal Indian law and policy on Native women in particular. 5`X`X]b[`h`c`A` VB`]W`Y`ŋ`Ya`d`U`g]g`c`b`h`Y`\`m`d`Y`f`j`]g]V`]`h`m`UbX`g`i`f`j`Y`]`Ub`W`c`Z`B`Uhj`Y` dYcd`Y`ŋ`c`Z`h`Y`f`Y`g`Y`f`j`U`h]c`b`ž<`U`Y`U`X`X`g`h`Y`W`i`W`U`Y`Ya`Y`nt`of`gender`in`complicating` these`themes.` Thus, her story offers much to a red feminist literary analysis in terms of how to interpret the prevalence of Native women outlaws in contemporary fiction. In gca`Y`k`U`m`g`ž`h`Y`ŋ`i`ci`h`U`k`i`W`U`f`U`W`Y`f`]g`b`c`h`c`b`m`U`V`Y`to`move`outside`the`law`,`she`is`also` directly`challenging`gendered`assumptions`of`Native`criminal`deviance`and`resistance` \`]g`c`f]Y`g`U`h`h`Y`g`U`a`Y`h]a`Y`" `6`i`]`X`]b[`c`b`h`Y`U`h`Y`f`ž<`U`Y`ŋ`g`c`f`h`g`c`f`m`i`K` ca`Y`b`c`b`h`Y` F`i`b`i`W`U`Y`b[Y`g`h`Y`k`U`m`g`B`Uhj`Y`k`f`]h`Y`f`g`UbX`\`]g`h`o`r`i`a`n`s`d`i`s`p`l`a`c`e`w`o`m`e`n`i`n`n`a`r`r`a`t`i`v`e`s` U`V`c`i`h`h`Y`a`c`g`h`U`X]W`U`b`X`U`W`]j`]g`h`X`Y`W`X`Y`g`ž`h`Y`%`*`\$`ŋ`UbX`+`\$`ŋ`"

The “Word According to Bobbi”: On the Impossibilities of Native Women’s Resistance History in Hale’s short story “Women on the Run”

K` \`]`Y`ŋ`7`U]fYi`]g`g`Y`h`a`g`a`i`n`s`t`the`turmoil`of`the`termination`and`relocation`era`,` <`U`Y`ŋ`h]h`U`f`g`c`f`m`ž`i`K` ca`Y`b`c`b`h`Y`F`i`b`i`]g`g`Y`h]b`h`Y`f`Y`U`h]j`Y`m`i`f`W`b`h`d`U`g`h`c`Z`h`Y`U`h`Y` %`,\$`ŋ`ž`U`h`c`i`[\`]`h`g`b`U`f`f`U`h]j`Y`c`c`_`g`V`U`W`_`c`b`h`Y`d`f`c`h`Y`g`h`i`a`c`j`Ya`Y`b`h`g`c`Z`h`Y`%`*`\$`ŋ`UbX` +`\$`ŋ`" `H`Y`g`Y`h`f`Y`Y`X`Y`W`a`ades`would`be`marked`by`the`development`of`an`urban`Indian` population, resurgence in pan-Indian political protest, a literary renaissance and more notably, shifts in federal Indian policy from assimilation to self-determination. While histories of American Indian social movements of this era are still minimal in number, the majority of these historical narratives focus on the experiences and voices of Native men. Donna Hightower`@`Ub[`g`h`c`b`ŋ`U`f`h]W`Y`ž`i`5`a`Y`f]W`b`b`X]Ub`K` ca`Y`b`ŋ`5`W`h]j`]ga`]`b`h`Y` %`*`\$`ŋ`UbX`%`+`\$`ŋ`j`]g`c`b`Y`c`Z`h`Y`Z`Y`k`d`]Y`W`g`h`c`Y`i`U`a`]b`Y`k`ca`Y`b`ŋ`U`W`]j`]ga`]`b`h`Y`Y`X`Y`W`X`Y`g`ŋ` a`U`c`f`a`c`j`Ya`Y`b`h`g`ž`]b`d`U`f`h]W`U`f`h`Y`%`*`-`c`W`W`d`U`h]c`b`c`Z`5`W`h`f`U`n`ž`h`Y`%`*`\$`ŋ`Z`]g`l`-`i`n`s`i`n` Washington`State`and`the`1973`occupation`of`Wounded`Knee.` Cherokee`scholar`Susan` Applegate`Kraug`Y`U`f`[`i`Y`g`h`U`h`c`Z`h`Y`j`Y`f`m`Z`Y`k`V`c`c`_`g`c`b`h`]g`Y`f`U`ž`i`a`c`g`h`c`Z`h`Y`g`Y`g`h`i`X]Y`g`

have focused on the very visible, public figures of the Red Power movement, virtually sustaining Indian communities, particularly in urban areas, and to maintaining the a ca Ybh a 'VY[i b]b h\Y\YUXmXUmg'cZ\h\Y% *\$g'UbX % +\$g' f) ' ' L'' <]g'rcf]Yg'cZ\h\Yg' decades also tend to focus solely on the Red Power movement while no sustained treatment has been published of the Washington State fish-ins. Hightower-Langston notes that women were often the majority at the protests and were also the major leaders of this movement, particularly Tulalip activist Janet McCloud and 1971-78 Puyallap tribal chairwoman Ramona Bennett, co-founders of the Survival of the American Indians Association.¹¹ While I do not intend to write a historical overview of this movement, I mention this history (or the absence of it) briefly, because the story *not* h'c'X]b'Ā K ca Yb' cb'h\Y'F i bĪ 'VY'omes the most significant theme in the narrative.

Indeed, the story of the fish-in protests and the women who participated in them UfY'Ub]a dcfhUbhVUW_Xfcd' h'c'h\Y'a cghidfca]bYbh'W UfUWYf'g']Z'g'rcf'm' ' ' b'h\]g'g'rcf'm'z'h\Y' narrative focuses on the life of Roberta Trumaine, or Bobbi TĪ a well-known fugitive whose notoriety stems from her activist past, her once-tremendous wealth, as well as the sensational rumors that link her to the Mafia among other things.¹² Most sensational however is the scandalous nature of the main criminal charge against Bobbi TĪ hiring a hit man to murder her ex-\i gVUbX'g' 'c'j Yf' ' ' b'h\]b['6cVV] 'H'g'g'rcf'm'z'h\Y' h'i h'V'eb'f'U'g'g' Z]f'ghidYf'g'cb U'W'ci b'g'cZ'6cVV] 'H'g']Z'U'g'U'Z []h'j Y'k]h' h\Y' 'ci fbU'cZ\h\Y'df]a Ufm narrator Lena, a strugg']b['B U'h'j Y'bc'j Y]g'h'k \c']g'Ā XYgdYf'U'h' 'h'c'k' f]h'YĪ 'g'YU'f'W]b['Z'cf'h\Y' next big idea and whose journal entries are often tedious and self-absorbed sketches of her next book project (72).

The story opens with a short first-person account from Bobbi T, which introduces Ub'ch\Y'f]a dcfhUbh'h\Y'a Y'W'uff]YX'c'j Yf'Z'fca 'h\Y'Z]f'gh'g'rcf'mĪ 7'U]f'Y'Ī ' 'H\]g'h\Y'a Y']b'h'f'fc[U'h'g'h\Y'g'h'Y'cZĪ V'c'a a i b]mĪ 'UbX']bg\]d'Y'h]W]b'h\Y'k U_Y'cZ'X'Y'W'X'Y'g'c'Z'c'f'W'X' assimilation policies and institutions. In this story, the setting is the U'h'Y', \$'g'z'h\Y'Z]f'gh' full decade under a new era of self-determination policy and a decade noted for its extravagance and celebration of self-interest. In this opening section, Bobbi T reveals she has been actively on the run for five years, stopping for a moment in Detroit, A]W] [Ub' ' ' b'8 Y'f'c]h'z'g'ca Y'cb'Y' \U'g'g'rc'Y'b \Y'f'k]b'h'f' V'c'U'h'UbX'g' \Y'X'Y'W'X'Y'g' 'c'Z]b'X'Ub' ' b'X]Ub' V'U'fĪ 'g'c'g'Y'k cb'Ī'h\U'j Y' 'h'c' V'Y'U'cb'Y'cb' B'Y'k 'M'Y'U'f'g' '9' Y'f' 'h' ' 'C' b' \Y'f'k U'm'hc'h\Y' bar, she encounters another Native man who is homeless and an alcoholic. Despite _b'ck]b['h\U'h\Y'f'g'Ī V'Y'Y'b' 'h'c'c'Vi g'm'X'f]b_]b['h'c'h\]b_ 'U'V'ci h'Y'U'h]b['Z' '6cVV] 'H' []j Y'g' \]a ' \Y'f' 'U'gh'V]h'c'Z'W'Ub [Y. Ā =W'Ub'gd'U'f'Y'bc'h\]b['Vi h' =f'Y'U'W]b'hc'a m'Y'U'bg'd'c'W'Y'h'UbX'Z]b'X'U' quarter, a dime, and a nickel and give them to him. He smiles and h'Ub_g'a Y' 'Ā' U'dd'm' B'Y'k 'M'Y'U'f'z'G]g'h'f'fĪ 'f' 'h' ' ' '5'g'U'V'c'a a Y'b'U'f'm'c'b' V'c'a a i b]m'V'c'bb'Y'W]cb'z'h\]g'Y'i W'Ub [Y' i b'X'Y'f'g'V'c'f'Y'g'U'g'Y'bg'Y'c'Z_]bg\]d' V'Y'h' Y'Y'b' '6cVV] 'H'UbX' \Y'f' B'U'h'j Y'Ī V'f'ch\Y'fĪ ' \c'k Y'j Y'f' a]b'cf' ' 'M'Y'h'zĪ 'h']a U'h' 'm'h\]g'Ī _]bg\]dĪ]g'f'Y'X'i W'X' 'h'c' U'f'Y'i W'Ub'h'Y'i W'Ub [Y'c'Z'money. ' b'X'Y'X'ZĪ V'c'a a i b]mĪ ']b' '6cVV] 'H'g' 'a c'bc'c' [i Y']g'f'Y'X'i W'X' 'h'c' h\Y' ' b'X]Ub' V'U'f'UbX' h\]g' anonymous encounter.

H\Y'k f]h'Y'f' @Y'b'U'f'g'c'd'Y'b]b['g'Y'W]cb' V'c'bh]bi Y'g'h\]g'h\Y'a Y'c'Z'V'c'a a i b]mĪ disintegration revealing her own deep depression borne out of a life of rejection, most

notably from that of her own family. In her monologue, Lena details her latest novel idea which is clearly taken from her own experience. In this story, her main character is di V]Wmg\Ua YX k \Yb \Yf'g]ghYf'UbX'b]YW'dfYhYbX'h\YmXcbNhi_bck'her in the local gj dYfa Uf_YH''H\]g]bWXYb'h'YUXg'hc'h\Y'a U]b'W\UFUWf'f'g'XYWg]cb'hc'î fi b'Uk UmZ'fca' Seattle . . . She wants to go to a place where she will have to run into neither relatives or exes, will never have to hear anything about them. Indian communities are always so ga U'î'f'f'-E''@_Y'6cVV]'H'z'@YbU'g]cdYb]b['a cbc'c[i Y'ZcW'gYg'cb'h\Y''UW_cZ'a YUb]b[Z' . . . V'bbYW]cbgVY'hk Yyb'\YfgY'Z'\Yf'ck b'ZJa]'mUbX'h\Y''Uf[Yf'B Uh]j Y'W'a a i b]m'î'@YbU'g] fictitious character, like Lena, exiles herself to Vancouver, British Columbia to start a bYk ''Z]Uk UmZ'fca 'h\Y'î ga U'bYggj'cZdYcd'YgN\YUf'f'g''

In Vancouver, Lena is still depressed however, and she is quickly losing faith in her career as a writer. Despite the relative success of one of her earlier novels, she k f]hYg'h\U'h\Yf''UH'ghbcj Y'k Ug'\][\m'W]h]VhYX'Zcf'VY]b['hc'î Ui hcV]c[fUd\]W]î'f'f'-E'' H\Y'g'f'cm'h'i g'cdYbg'k]h'@YbU'g]ck b'k f]h]b['Ua V]h]cb'ghU''YX'k]h' di V]g\Yfg'bc' longer interested in her pitches— particularly one of short fiction, which publishers see as a successful possibility only for more well-known white authors. Disillusioned and XYdfYggYX'Vm'h\Y'dfcXi W]cb'dfcW'ggz'@YbU'k f]hYg'î 5 h]hg'VYg'h'k f]h]b['is a spiritual dfUW]W''D'YUgY'XcbNhi'Yha Y'gY'Y]hUg'U'XYUXYbX'h\Y'k Um=W]a Y'hc'g'Y'g'cV]U'k cf'î'f]'%' : cf'hi bUH'î'mZc'f'@YbU'z'6cVV]'H'g]UffYg'h[]j Yg'\Yf'Ub'cddcf'hi b]h'm'hc'f'Yj]j Y'\Yf'W'f'Yf'f'' @YbU'ei]W'_m\cbYg]b'cb'h\Y'gYbgU]h]cbU'b'Uhi fY'cZ'6cVV]'H'g]a U]bgr'f'Y'Ua 'UddYU'z'X'f]j Yb' by her successful twenty year run as a fugitive from the FBI'': cf'@YbU'z'6cVV]'H'g]UffYg'h' U'gc'Ybgi fYg'U'\Y'Z'mUXj UbW'Z'fca 'di V]g\Yfg''G\Y'k f]hYg'î H\Y'bYk g'UV'ci h'6cVV]'H'' perked me up. *More.* Excited me. I saw possibilities\$ [sic]. Here she was this famous (or *infamous*—Z []h]j Y'UbX'='_bYk '\Yf'U''a m'î]Z'î'f] (E. As a member of her former community, Lena sees a way to exploit that connection for her own profit and personal [U]b'z'gca Y'h]b['g\Y'f]Yg'\Uf'X'hc'î'g'h]Z'm''b'Z'U'm]Ug'g\Y''YUf'bg'cZ'6cVV]'H'g]W]d'hi fY'z'g\Y' Yl WU]a g]b'\Yf'î'ci fbU'î'a Um'Y'z'î'g'ha Um'Y'z'a mX'U'ys of poverty are coming to an end . . . B ch]b['k fcb['k]h'a U_]b['a cbYm''5'k f]h'f'z'î b']_Y'U'd'f]Yg'h'U_Y'g'bc'j ck 'cZdcj Yf'm'î' (86).

K \UhigY'h'6cVV]'H'g]a cbc'c[i Yg'UdUf'h]Z'fca '@YbU'g]î'ci fbU'g]g'b'ch]g]a d'm'h\Y' subject matter but the authenticity of Bobbi T'g]b'Uff'U'h]j Y'j Yfgi g'h\Y']bgY'W'fY'UbX'gY'Z]g\ fi a]bU]h]cbg]b'@YbU'g]î'ci fbU''6cVV]'H'g]g'W]cbg'cZ'h\Y'g'f'cm'UfY']hU']V'hYX']bbYf' monologues chronicling her isolated and mundane existence as a fugitive, the eventual betrayal of the Micmac family who had housed her, and most importantly the contours of her love with her secretary Alice which is not sexual but deeply intimate. All of Bobbi H'g]g'Y'W]cbg'UfY']hU']V'hYX'g]j [bU]b['Ub']b'h'f'fbU'X]U'c[i Y'z'Vi ha cf'Y'W'f'h]b'm'Ub'î bk f]h'Yb' narrative. In contrast, LenU'g]g'W]cbg'UfY'W'Uf'm'UVY'YX'Ug'î'ci fbU'Yb'f]Yg'k]h'Z' . . . XUH'g'UbX'gh'UbX'Uf'X'h'Y'h''b'6cVV]'H'g]b'Uff'U'h]j Y'h\Y'fYUXYf''YUf'bg'h\U'h]g\Y'U]f'f'Y'g'hc'a Y'Yh' k]h'@YbU'z'VY'W]i gY'î'@YbU'k]''k f]h'U'V'cc'_h\U'hk]''gY'h]b['g'f] [\h''HY''a m]j Yfg]cb'cZ' the story. H\Y'k cf'X'U'W'f'X]b['hc'6cVV]'î'f')E'' : cf'6cVV]'H'z'î gY'h]b['h]b['g'f] [\h'k]''VY' telling a story that will not only exonerate her but also voice her critiques about the government and its motivations and the ways women are exploited.

molesting their child. Lena betrays Bobbi T as well by giving up on her story and a cj]b['cb'hc'XYj Y'cd '@YbUhg'byI h'dfc YWz'U'a i fXYf'a mghYfmU'Vci h'U'gcVWU'k cf_Yf'k \c' kills men guilty of various acts of abuse against women and children. While the social worker plot makes a notable gesture at critiquing male violence against women, the fYUXYf']g''YZhX]gUddc]bHYX'h'Uh@YbU'k]''bch'k f]h' h'Y'f'K cfX'UWV'fX]b['hc'6cVV]'f' Instead Lena posits writing either a money-a U_]b['a i fXYf'a mghYf'm'c'f'k f]h]b['6cVV]'Hf'g' story as a stock romance. In this new treatment, Lena plans to rewrite Bobbi T as a man]b'cfXYf'hc'U'ck 'Zcf'h'Y'f'V'z'bgj a a Uh]cb'f'cZ\Yf'fY'Uh]cbg\]d'k]h' '5']W'UbX'gc'h'Uh'h'Y' a cfY'gYbgU]cbU'Y'Ya Yb]g'cZ'6cVV]'Hf'g']Z'W'b VY'h'Y'ZcW'g''G\Y'U'gc'fYV' [b]nYg'h'Uh' non-fiction is something most publishers are not interested in when it comes to Native writing.

K \]Y'h'W'b VY'Uf[i YX'h']g'Z]W]cbU]nYX'h'fYU'a YbhcZ'6cVV]'Hf'g']Z'Y'a U_Yg'U' [Yg'h' fY'h'ck UfXg'fYd'fYgYb]b['gca Y'Ugd'YW'g'cZ\Yf'g'c'f'm'z'=VY']Y' Y' < U'Y'g'h'Y' h'fU]gYg'h'Y' question as to what is representable and unrepresentable for Native women in mainstream narratives, whether fiction or non-Z]W]cb'' < U'Y'g'a Yh'U-critique here gives us a Native author who is unwilling (and to be fair, unable) to write the political history surrounding BoVV]'Hf'g'W'a]bU'dYf'g'W'h]cbz'VYW'li g'Y'h'k]''bch'i fb'Ub'UWV'd'U'V'Y'd'fcZ]h'' Lena knows the general public, and therefore the publishing house, prefers to read only those crime dramas about women motivated by a psychotic righteousness or a subconscious ra[Y''5' B Uh]j Y'k ca Ub'f'ci h'Uk'f'f' whose story critiques state institutions of power, challenges categories of acceptable love among women, and lays bare the failures of both Native and non-Native communities in protecting girl children from violence and sexual abuse. is not lucrative or sellable. What Lena is able to write is fiction instead of non-Z]W]cbz'a n'h'c'c[m]bg'h'UX'c'ZK cfX'z'UbX'g] [b]Z]W'b'h'm'z'U'a Ub'g' g'c'f'm'z'bch'U'k ca Ub'g'' b'h'Y'YbX'z'B Uh]j Y'k ca Yb'g'UW]j]g'h'c'f'fYg]g'UbW'\]g'c'f'm'VYV'a Yg' the deviant si V'Y'W'z'VYW'li g'Y'h'fYd'fYgYb]g'U'k ca Ub'g'd'ck Yf'UbX'dc']h]g'h'Uh]g'b'ch' properly domesticated.

: cf'Vch'7'U]fY'UbX'6cVV]'H'z'h'Y'f'f'f'Z' []h]j Y'f'g'U'h'g']g']b'd'U'f'h'Xi Y'hc'h'Y'f' transgressions of assimilationist expectations of gender. For Claire, she commits the crime of independence from patriarchal and colonial authority. as a young woman and Ub'Y] [\h'm'm'U'f'c'X'k ca Ub'' a d'c'f'h'U'b'h'n'z'7'U]fY'g'g'c'f'm'']b_g'h'Y'Ugg]a]'Uh]cb]g'h'dc']W'Y'g' of the allotment era to the urban center in the period of termination and relocation. And k \]Y'f'Ugg]a]'Uh]cb'f']g'h'Y'b'U'f'U'h]j Y'h'fYUX'Zcf'h'Y'g'Y'\]g'c'f']W'f'd'Y'f'c'X'g'z'7'U]fY'g']Z'Y'g'c'f'm' insists that such a history is marked by gendered violence. Such violence manifests itself in those moments she dares to escape colonial surveillance. [c]b['f'cZ'h'Y' fY'g'f'j Uh]cb'f'f' a space filled with the bodies of Native women. However, unlike Archilde, Claire is able to remain on the run from colonial authorities and other regulatory figures, because she understands how gender works in this hypervisible way. b'X'Y'X'z'k ca Yb'g'V'c'X]Y'g'VYV'a Y'f'XYj]Ub'h']b'a c'X'Y'f'b'g'c'V'Y'm'f' symbolized by the X]g'U]b'U'i h'c'f'h]g'Y'g'\ Uj Y'Zcf'\Y'f' [f'Ub'X'a ch'Y'f'g'V'c''Y'W]cb'c'Z'i a V]]W'f'V'f'X'g'z'V'm'h'Y' a]gg]b['UbX'a i f'X'Y'f'Y'X'k ca Yb']b'h'Y'h'Y' h'UbX'Y'j Yb'V'm'7'U]fY'g'X'Y'W]g]cb'hc'V'c'g'g'-dress in cfXYf'hc'VY'Z'f'Y']b'Ub'f'cZ'f'Y'g'f'j Uh]cb'f'f'g'd'UW''

↳ ƒ K ca Yb'cb'h'Y'Fi b'ž 'U'a cfY'cj Yfh'W'bbY'W'cb'j'g'a UX'Y'V'Y'hk Y'Yb'f'Y'g'g'U'W' UbX'W'ja]bU']m'ž'm'Y'h'6'c'V'V']H'Ń'g'rc'fm]g'b'c'h'g'c' \c'd'Y'Z' '""↳ V'ch'g'rc'f]Y'g'X]g'W'gg'Y'X' \Y'F'Y'ž Hale depicts the breakdown of kinship and community amongst tribal members who Z'U'j'c'f'd'f'c'Z]h'c'j'Y'f'Z'U'a]'m'""5'g'U'g'rc'f'm'c'Z'h'Y'f'U'X]W' 'X'Y'W'X'Y'g'c'Z'h'Y' *\$'Ń'g'U'X' +\$'Ń'g'z'c'b'Y'W'U]a stands out¹ that Native women leaders of this era were betrayed sometimes by members of their own community¹ though that betrayal is engendered by the long legacy of governmental control and manipulation. From a red feminist perspective, this g'rc'f'm]b'g]g'g'h'U'h'B'U'h'j'Y'k'ca'Y'b'Ń'g'f'Y'g'g'U'W' \]g'rc'f'm'U'X' [Y'b'X'Y'f'Y'X'd'c']h]W'g'exist despite contemporary silence on the subject. Perhaps, like Bobbi T. those stories can be found in h'c'g'Y'Ī'W'ja]bU'Ī'gd'U'W'g'ž]b'd'f]g'c'b'g'c'f'c'b'h'Y'fi b'""

↳ h'Y'Y'b'X'ž < U'Y'Ń'g'c'f'h'g'rc'f'm'V'c'""Y'W'cb'V'c'b'h'Ya d'U'h'g'h'U'h'k \]W'g'Y'b'X'g'B'U'h'j'Y' k'ca'Y'b'Ī'c'b'h'Y'fi b'ž' h'Y'd'U'h'f]U'f'W'U'U'Ub'X'd'U'h'f'b'U'g'h]W'Y[U'W'ic'Z'j']c'Y'b'W'U'X'V'c'b]a] law that Zitkala-Sa named decades earlier. In her writing she urges a return to a Native Ī'a'c'f'U'V'c'X'Y'Ī' h'U'h'k \]W'j'c'b' < Y'b'h] ['g'U'k' 'U'g'h'Y'f'c'c'h'ic'Z'↳X]U'b'W'ja]bU'X'Y'j'U'b'W'""K \]Y' < U'Y'Ń'g'c'f'h'g'rc'f'm'V'c'""Y'W'cb']g'i' b'U'Y'hc'V'c'b'h'Ya d'U'h'g'i'W'U'f'U'X]W' 'h'f'b'ž'Y'f'Ī'c'i' h'U'k'Ī' k'ca'U'b'c'b'h'Y'fi b'g'Y'Ya'g'X'Y'h'Y'fa]b'Y'X'hc'fi'b']b'h'U'h'X]f'Y'W'cb'""6'c'h'k'ca'Y'b'Ń'g'k'f]h]b[g' emphasize however the limitations of self-determination policy as the shift that would set things in order. For instance, the Indian Citizenship Act, or those U'g'g'Y'f'h]c'b'g'c'Z'Ī'g'Y'Z' X'Y'h'Y'fa]b'U'h]c'b'Ī' h'U'h'k'c'i'X'Z'c'ck']h'W'U'b'Y'j'Y'f'f'Y'U' 'm'Y' []g'U'h'U'b'Y'b'X'hc'Z'Y'X'Y'f'U' guardianship; therefore, paternalism remains the plane on which the state negotiates its relationship with Native peoples. It is little wonder why incarceration rates of and violence against Native peoples exists in such disproportionate numbers in the contemporary moment. Such a devastating fact requires a truly radical rethinking of decolonial/indigenous/feminist politics. In order to contemplate such a radical X'Y'd'U'f'h'i'f'Y'ž'ca'U'Z'c'W'g'c'b'd'c']W'h'U'X'g'h'U'h'g'ž' =h'f'b'b'c'k'hc'@]b'X'U' < c[U'b'Ń'g'bc'j'Y' *Power*. In this novel, Hogan will focus her critique on the more philosophical foundations that lead to the criminalization of Native peoples and the violence against Native women. These foundations are the colonial discourses of Christian patriarchy and Native g'U'j'U'f'Y'f'm'k \]W'ja d'U'W'h'b'c'h'c'b'm' \c'k'U'B'U'h'j'Y'k'ca'U'b'Ń'g'f'Y'g'g'U'W'g'rc'f'm]g'hc'X'ž'Vi' h'U'g'c' how it is interpreted by the next generation of Native women and youth.

¹ States under the original PL280 act include Alaska, Nebraska, California, Minnesota, Oregon, and Wisconsin. “Optional-280” states include: Arizona, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Washington.

² Although current Department of Justice statistics fail to break down incarceration rates by gender, the impact of competing jurisdictions can be seen in the statistics of Indian prisoners when separated out between tribal, state and federal institutions. In 2008, the Department of Justice reported that a “total of 28,400 American Indians were in jail or prison at midyear 2008. More than half (14,264) were held in state prison, and about 1 in 10 was held in federal prison (2,989). The remaining 11,135 American Indians were confined in Indian country jails (2,135) and local jails (9,000)” (“Jails in Indian Country” 2). In other words, tribal institutions held authority over only 7.5% of all American Indians nationally. Of course, tribal institutions are barred from supervising any non-Indian prisoner. Moreover, the DOJ reports that in 2008, the “incarceration rate for American Indians was about 21% higher than the overall national incarceration rate” (2).

³ Julie Abril found that “Native American women in particular are underrepresented in governmental statistics” based on her study of an Ohio prison. In their official records, they recorded only two incarcerated Native women. However when Abril, conducted a survey, 255 women self-identified that they were American Indian.

⁴ For an example of the ways federal Indian case law reflects this attitude, see Bethany Berger’s “After Pocahontas: Indian Women and the Law, 1830 to 1934.” *Am. Ind. L. Rev.* 21.1 (1997): 1-60.

⁵ Allotment came to the Flathead Indian Reservation in April of 1904. The novel opens “a decade” afterwards. In total the Flathead saw 664,372 acres alienated by 1934 according to the Indian Land Tenure website.

⁶ Robert Dale Parker offers an important reading of masculinity and class in *The Surrounded* in his book *The Invention of Native American Literature*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2003.

⁷ Hale’s more widely read full-length novel *The Jailing of Cecelia Capture* chronicles the various kinds of imprisonment facing a contemporary urban Indian woman in Berkeley, California. See also Hale’s personal memoir *Bloodlines, Odyssey of a Native Daughter*.

⁸ The four other stories in this collection include: “Dora Lee in Love,” “Alice Fay,” “Deborah and her Snakes (A Cautionary Tale) and “Alma.” While themes of abandonment, domestic abuse, and other interpersonal violence lead to the women in these stories “running away” for a moment, they are not quite as developed in terms of their critiques of colonial policy and are in some ways, simply poorly written. For these reasons, I do not include these stories as a part of this chapter’s literary analysis.

⁹ The federal Urban Indian Relocation Program began in 1948 and ended in 1980. Termination began as an act of Congress in 1953 (HR 108) and officially ended with the passage of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. In popular histories however, Termination and Relocation is generally associated with the 1950’s and 60’s.

¹⁰ While the date is never given in the story, Claire reads a newspaper referencing the political tensions rising between President Kennedy and the Soviet Union just before the Cuban Missile crisis of 1962.

¹¹ Langston-Hightower’s article is poorly cited and I have found at least one error in cross-checking some of her claims. In this instance, I found many sources that credit McCloud and Bennett as founders. Some sources give credit to Hank Adams, who was president of the SAIA during the height of its activism.

¹² While I think there is quite a compelling connection between Bobbi T’s name here and Bobbi Lee’s name from Lee Maracle’s autobiographical text *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* (1975), the focus of this chapter really does not warrant a more overt comparative reading of these two texts. Certainly themes of activism and the setting of Vancouver, BC Canada are present in both texts and future comparative analyses of these two works might prove fruitful. *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel* is one of a few “movement” first-hand accounts but Maracle has written a follow-up to this text in order to reclaim the narrative she notes was moreso in the voice of Don Barnett who helped her produce the first edition. Maracle’s story is more fully her own in the 1988 text *I am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism*.

Chapter Five

Í =k]`bc`cb[Yf`VY`X]ggc`j YX`gU`hÍ l dfcch]b[`8]gWti fgYg`cZ8]gYa dck Yfa Ybh
]b`@]bXU`< c[Ub]g]bcj Y`Power

Even if we no longer believe in the religious dimension of Genesis 2] 3, this interpretation of its picture of the relative positions of men and women expresses what many believe to be innately true. It matters little whether that innate hierarchy is thought to originate with God or genetics! the point is that according to such points of view it is innate, and there is nothing that can be done about it.

--8 YVcfU\ F cc_YZÍ : Ya]b]gh7 f]h]W]ga `cZ\h`Y`C`X`HYghUa YbhÍ

After leaving I became their enemy. It was always this way for those who tried to escape. I will be their other side, the shadow they cast, invisible, dark, dangerous. . . . But I will no longer be dissolved salt.

--Linda Hogan, *Power*

5 gh`Y`dfYj]ci g`k`c`W`UdhYfg`Uj Y`g`ck b`zk ca Yb]g]V`bH`Ya dcfUfmk f]h]b[` serves as an important critique of colonial violence, yet it is not enough to consider such violence only in terms of physical death or confinement; for many Native women, it is also experienced as an attack on the sacred. In considering the criminalization of Native peoples, it is clear that gender, class and race are not the only organizing social g`fi W`i fYg`"5 g`J cb`< Ybh] []g]UbU`mthical assumptions discussed in the previous chapter reveal, Native criminal deviance is based upon the colonial myth that Native peoples, at their core, are savage or, to the language of Christian imperialism, heathens. Further, Von Hentig argued, Native k`ca Yb]g]W`]a]bU`XYj]UbW`]g`Z` bXUa YbhU`mU`Z` bW]cb`cZU` Í XYj]UbÍ`gYi U`]Imh`Uha i gh`VY`V`bH]bYX`h`fci [\ `]a dcg]b[`U`dU`f]UfW`U`ZJa]`micfXYf`" A fundamental critique of many Native women intellectuals is the ways in which colonial agents reoriented NUh]j Y`k`ca Yb]g]c`Wc-political status through the erasure of the feminine sacred in Native knowledge traditions or through the rearticulation of feminine sacred figures as primitive representations of their Christian counterparts.¹

This erasure or rearticulation happens in the realm of discourse and is a part of h`Y`W`cb]nYf]g]Í fY[]a Y`cZ]fi h`Z` `hc`Vcffck `U`d`fUgY`Zfca `: ci W]i `h² It is a colonial fY[]a Y`h`Uhi `h]a Uh`m`fYbXYfg`B`Uh]j Y`k`ca Yb]g]_bck `YX[Y`UbX`dck Yf`zk `]W] `]g`cZ]Yb` articulated through sacred narratives of Native oral traditions, as deviant and dangerous. Understanding how this regime of truth maintains itself and continues to]a dUW]B`Uh]j Y`k`ca Yb`]g`U`W]h]W`ZcW`g`]b`7`]W]UgUk `k`f]hYf`@]bXU`< c[Ub]g]h`]fX`bcj Y`Z` *Power*.

In this novel, the narrative dilemma can be described as a crisis of faith and a disciplinary function of narrative itself. The importance of this formal distinction is important because if the novel is easily overlooked.

The contribution of post-colonial critics such as Maria Helena Lima is conventional bildungsroman . . . duplicates in literary form a cohesive set of cultural codes whose primary function is to govern social integration . . . For this integration to take place, . . . the novel must convey a social order that appears legitimate. . . argues that such a conventional model is unsatisfactory for writing. . . inability to connect with two elements of her origins: her mother and her homeland. As [missing] something the lost mother/stolen land as a reaction to the homelessness

In *Power* and in a similar manner seeks to recover a sense of place. However, in this novel, . . . mother and her homeland. . . the diasporic crisis is not the same here. In this text, Omishto seeks a way to uncover the . . . her very name signifies this role for in the first chapter, we are told Omishto means the

In the pages to follow, I argue that Omishto comes to see the disempowering ways three disciplinary institutions and their discursive counterparts the church and the discourse of patriarchy, the school and the discourses of Western science and history, and the state and the discourse of law work together to produce the deviant

Í fYV]fHÍ 'cZUbchYf''-bXYYX < UfX]b'dc]bhg'ci hñUha i W'cZ'a U]bgfYUa '5a Yf]WUb' \]ghc'fmZfUa Yg'5 a Yf]WUb' -bX]Ub'Yi dYf]YbW']b'Í Ud'cW' mdh]Wñfa gí 'f% +E'' < Y'k f]hYg.

The problems with apocalyptic language are that it moves culpability from the human to the supernatural and it moves events from the historic to the mythic; mythic and supernatural language allows Europeans and Euro-Americans to shirk responsibility. (137)

< UfX]b'WU]a g'hñU< c[Ubñg]bcj Y' hñYfYzcfY Uj c]Xg'hñYXi U']sm of such mythic narrative in order to subvert the imperatives of progress and the elision of human agency. He argues that Hogan appropriates the biblical figures of John the Revelator and Jesus Christ in order to rewrite the function of such icons shifting the representation of Christ Ug'U'Z] [i fY'cZ; ccXžhc'cbY'k \]W'ghU'Xg'Ug'Ub'Ua V]j U'YbhZ] [i fY'UbX U'Í V'i ff]b['cZ Xi U]h]Ygí 'f% (, E''5 W'fX]b['hc' < UfX]b'ñg'fYUX]b[žhñY'mci b['bUffUhc'f'Ca]g'hñž']_Y'æ\ b' hñY'F Yj Y'Uhc'fz]g'hñY'fYUXYfñg'Ub'X'hñY'hñi hñg'Í k]hñYggí 'hc'hñY'Í i bj Y']b['Í cZU'fYbYk YX' world around her. As Christ figures, Hardin suggests Omishto and her Aunt Ama also serve as savior figures, and at different moments in the text, they both re-enact a key a ca Ybh'cZ7 \f]ghñg']Zž\]g'VUdh]ga 'Ub'X'W'i W]Z]xion in particular (148). Yet, for Hardin, the important difference is that Omishto does not have to experience a bodily death; hñYfYzcfYž]b'\]g'UggYgga Ybhžg\Y'g'Í U'7 \f]ghia nñ'k]hñci hñY'Xi U']ga 'Í cZUdcW' mdh]W myth.

I am indebted to both Hardin abX'5 fbc'X'Zcf'hñY]f']bg] [\hcb' < c[Ubñg'W]hñei Yg' of Christian dogma and Western narratives of progress. However, I argue that *Power* moves beyond the somewhat syncretic model that Arnold identifies in *Solar Storms* and I respectfully suggest that, instead of a reformulation of a Christ myth, as Hardin proposes, *Power* actually asserts a wholly *indigenous* and woman-centered articulation of hñY'g'UWYX'Ub'X'UWñ U'mfYWU]a g'hñY'dck Yf'cZÍ a nñ']W' bUffUH]j Y³ for indigenous peoples, rather than reject the form. In this text, the Judeo-Christian God is not Í a Yf[YXÍ 'k]hñ]bX] [Ybci g'gd]f]hñ U' _bck 'YX[Y/\Y']g'c] Yfñ'fck b'VmUb'c'XYf'Ub'X'a cfY' dck YfZÍ 'ZcfW'' -b'cfXYf'Zcf'Ca]g'hñ'hc'gYY'hñ]g'Í hñ' \ck Yj Yfžg\Y'a i gh'UWVdhñU' indigenous knowledge and its mythic counh'fdUfhfk \Uhgca Y'a] [\hW' 'Í cfU' hfUX]hñcbí E'\c'Xg'hñU']_bX'cZdck Yf''

Indeed, by rejecting the patriarchal imperative of Christian fundamentalism, gdYV]Z]W' mñhñY'6]V']W' bUffUH]j Yg'cZk ca Ybñg'fU'X'hñY'bUhi fU'k cf'X'ñg' Va]gg]cb'hc'U' supreme PatriarWžCa]g'hñ']g'UW'Y'hc'W'a Y'hc'hñfa g'k]hñ'hñY'bcj Y'ñg'c] YfUfW]b['a cfU' ei Ygh]cb'U'Vci hñYf'5 i bh'5 a Uñg'g'UW]Z]VU' _]'']b['cZUb'YbXUb[YfYX'dUb'hñYf'' -b'hñY' opening scene of the novel, Omishto, a member of a fictional Taiga tribe,⁴ is confronted by the spiritual conflict between an indigenous conception of the sacred and the patriarchal symbols of Christian fundamentalism. The novel begins with an awakening Ca]g'hñ'k \c' \Ug'Í ghgdYbhñY'b] [\hñ'cbY']b' \Yf'ZU'hñYfñg'VcU'Ub'W'cfYX']b'hñY'a]XX'Y' of a lake. Th]g'cdYb]b[']a U[Y']g'U'dck YfZÍ 'cbY'hñUhg] [bU'g'hñY'bcj Y'ñg'ZcW'g'cb'fYV]fH' Ub'X'U'W'a]b['hc' _bck 'YX[Y. Í -ñg'Ug']Z=Ua 'W'f'YX']bg]XY'Ub'cdYb]b[''YUZ]b'hñ]g'VcU' W'j YfYX'k]hñ U' [UYžUg']Z=Ua 'Í gh'VY[]bb]b['hc'']j Yí 'f%'' 5 hñhñY'gUa Y'h]a YžhñY'Ub'Xg'W'dY Ufci bX'\Yf']g'ca]bci g'Ub'X'g\Y'ZYUf'g'hñY'XUf'_bYgg'cZ'hñY'fYfYg'Ub'X'hñY'k Uñfñg'XYdhñg''

G] [b]Z]Wbhmz'Ug'g'Y'WfY'Ygg'midi hg'\Yf'\UbX']b' h'Y'k' UHYfzU'k' UHYf'gbU_YzU'a' c'WU]g]b'f' h'f]Yg'hc'W]a' V']b'\Yf'VcUhf&L'"G\Y'h']b'_g'hc'\Yfg'Zzei']W'_mfYVt']b['Uh' h']g'h']b'']ZY' h'Uh']g' h'c' U']j' Y'UbX'ei']W']' Zcf'\Yf'"G\Y'dfcWU]a' g'h'Uh' =Ua' 'UZFU]X'cZgbU_Yg'"=di' g']h' Uk' Um' f&L'"H\Y'gbU_Y'g'UHYa' dh'hc' VtbbY'W'k']h' 'Ca']g'h'c'Y'j' c_Yg'U']j'g'W'fU'ZYUf'h'Uh' seems odd for a young girl brave enough to sleep alone in a swamp. Yet this innate fear recalls the snake as a symbol of Christian evil.

Immediately following this fearful moment, however, Omishto feels a presence watching her from the shadows of the trees. In thinking about this presence, she remembers that this lanX']g'd'Ub'h'Yf' h'f]f]hc'fm' h'Y'UbX'cZ' h'Y'W'h' 'k' \c' \Yf'5' i' bh5' a' U']VY']Y' Yg']b'z'"'"]b' h'Y'c'X'k' Um' 'f' l'"H\Y'Dub'h'Yf']g'Y' d'U']b'YX']b' h'Y'bcj' Y' 'Ug'h'Y'HU] [U'g' cf] []bU' _]b' UbX' h'Y'Z'f'gh'fY'Uh'j' Y']h'c' Y'b'h'f' h'Y'k' c'f'X']b' HU] [U'f'UX']h'cb'z'UbX'k' \c'k' Y' learn later, also has a significant encounter with a human woman known as Panther Woman (15). Both animals, the snake and the Panther, will show up again and again in the novel to stand in for competing myths of spirituality— Christian versus Taiga— and k' ca' Yb'g'd'U'ce within that realm of sacred knowledge. These competing narratives represent two very different origin myths which depend on female agency— the Genesis story of Eve and the Taiga story of Panther Woman. In this opening scene, Ama is clearly aligned wit\ h'Y'HU] [U'g'hc'fm'Ug'g'Y']g'h'Y'cb'Y'k' \c'VY']Y' Yg']b' h'Y'c'X'k' Um' 'cf']b' h'Y'd'ck' Yf'c'ZHU] [U'g'hc'fm' _b'ck' YX' [Y'"Ca']g'h'c'g' 'ci' fb'Y'm'h'f'ci' [\ci' h'h'Y'f'Y'gh'c'Z'h'Y' bcj' Y'k']'']bj' c'j' Y'f'Y'Vt'W']b['h'Uh' c'X'k' Um' 'k']h' h'Y'g'Y'a']b['m]a' a' c'j' YUV'Y'UbX' irrefutable narratives of Christian fundamentalism and American imperial power.

In the second chapter, this conflict between these two belief systems is fYdfYgYbh'X' Ug'U' _m'Y'Ya' Ybh']b''] [\hc'Z'Ca']g'h'c'g'gd'Y'W'U']g] [b]Z]Wb'W' Ug'h'Y'b'Uff'U'hc'f'c'Z' the text. At birth she is giv'Yb' h'Y'b'Ua' Y'Ca']g'h'c'cf'h'Y']C' b'Y'k' \c'K' UH'X'Yg']V'Y'W']g' g'Y']k' UH'X'Yg'Y' Yf'm'h']b['UbX'g'Y'Y'g'X'Y'd']b'hc'k' \U'h'g'U'f'ci' b'X']f' (L'"H\]g'f'c'Y'Ug']k']h'Y'gg']< Uf'X']b']dc']bh'g'ci' h']g'U' _]b' hc' h'Y'fc'Y'c'Z'X']g'W'd'Y'g']b' h'Y'6']V'Y'k' \c'VY'W' a' Y'h'Y' writers of key texts. However, ih'g']ci' \X'VY'b'ch'X'Ca']g'h'c'g'7' \f']gh']Ub' 'a' ch'Y'f']X'Y'h']Z'Y'g' Ca']g'h'c'g'U']]m'Ug']h'f'ci' V'Y']i' b'X'Y'f'g'W'f']b['h'Y'X'Ub' [Yf'c'Z'W'c'gg']b[[]Y'X'Y'f'X'UbX' racialized boundaries of Christian power and place (4). A somewhat literal embodiment c'Z'Z'a']b']gh'U'f'h']W']h']cb'g'c'Z']d']gh'Y'a']W'd'f']j']Y']Y']Ca']g'h'c'g']a' Uf' []bU']n'Y'X']dc']gh']cb']Ug'U' k' ca' Ub'UbX'U'B'Uh'j' Y'd'Y'f'g'cb']g'd'Y'f'U'd'g'd'U'f'hc'Z'k' \U'h'a' U_Y'g'\Y'f']g'Y'X'Y'd']b'hc'k' \U'h'g'U'f'ci' b'X']f' (L'\ck' Y'j' Yf'z']b' h'Y'V'Y' []bb']b['c'Z'h'Y'bcj' Y']g'Y'X'c'Y'g'b'ch'Y'W'gg'U'f']mi' b'X'Y'f'g'UbX' the implications of such privilege. Instead, she is increasingly unsettled by the instability of certain Western myths and their symbols. In addition, she is troubled by the possibility that Taiga knowledge may not only be powerful but relevant.

Importantly, the first event that challenges Omishto to reconsider the dominance c'Z'K' Y'gh'Y'f'7' \f']gh']Ub']m']g'U'g'c' b'Y' h'Uh'h' f'Y'U'h'Y'bg'h'Y']h'f' h']c'Z'k' c'5' a' Y'f']W'b' discourses: manifest destiny and patriarchal social order. It is also an event that links both of these discourses to its genealogical origin in the Book of Genesis and the story of 5'V'f'U'U'a' z'h'Y'V']V']W']Z'U'h'Y'f'c'Z'b'U'h']cb'g']UbX' h'f'Y'a' U'c'f'f'Y'] []cb'g']X'U']ga' z' Christianity and Islam. In the novel, the biblical Abraham is represented by the lesser man, Abraham Swallow, a Taiga man who Omishto and her sister Donna see and speak to moments before his death. Abraham Swallow is said to have been executed by Taiga

YXYfgk \c`j YUVcj Y?]]gk Ua d`k \c`Uj YVWcgYb`hc`]] Y`UdUfhZfca` h`YĀ a cXYfbĪ` world in favor of maintaining indigenous knowledge and ways of life in an isolated part cZHUJ[U`UbX`5 g`Ca]g`hc`k U`_g`hc`5 a Uġ\`ci gY`]b`h`Y`gYVt`bX`VW`UdhYfžg`Y`dcbXYfg` 5 VfU\Ua` ġ`XYUH`UbX`]hg`i`b`]_Y`m`WĪ` gYĪ` an execution carried out through a song sent by the Taiga elders at Kili. Unable to comprehend what she and her sister had been k`]hb`Ygg`hc`žVch`C`a`]g`hc`UbX`8`cbb`U`W`ccgY`hc`d`fYhYbX`h`Uh`h`YmĪ`bYj`Yf`k`U`h`W`YX` 5 VfU\Ua`Gk`U`ck`ž`h`Y`XYUX`a`Ub`žfi`b`Uk`Um`Zfca`h`Y`k`]b`XĪ`f%`Ē`<`ck`Yj`Yfž`5`a`U`Zc`f`Wg` Omishto to explain what it is she saw, a year after that dayĪ` emphasizing how long 5 VfU\Ua` ġ`XYUH`U`g`h`ci`V`YX`C`a`]g`hc`

Forced to give an explanation, Omishto argues that the death can be explained cb`mk`]h`]b`tk`c`]bhYfdYh]j`Y`Zf`Ua`Yk`cf`_g`Ī`C`X`a`Ub`Gk`U`ck`X`]YX`Y`]h`Yf`Vmia`U`[]Wcf`ZYUf`""""=WUb`ġ`gUmk` \]W`cbY`=VY`Yj`YĪ`f`Ē`H`Y`gY`WUHy`[cf]Yg`fYj`YU`h`Y`]bhYfdYh]j`Y`W`]g`g`c`Z`h`Y`bcj`Y`G`]b`WĪ`a`U`[]W`g`h`Ub`Xg`]b`Zc`f`HUJ[U`_bck`YX`[YžbUa`]b`[]hĪ`a`U`[]W`i`b`XYfgVt`fYg`C`a`]g`hc`ġ`]b`UV`]]hm`hc`Z`m`X`Yg`W`]VY`gi`W`U`g`m`gh`Ya`c`Z`_bck`YX`[Y`k`]h`ci`h` demoting it to the realm of Z`Ub`Ug`m`Ub`X`h`Y`Ī`i`b`fYU`Ī`9ei`U`m`Ug`]bhYfYg`]b`[ž`X`m`]b`[c`Z`Ī`ZYUfĪ`]g`h`Y`a`c`fY`f`U`h`cb`U`YĪ`d`Ub`U`h`cb`f`X`Y`X`Yg`c`Z`U`Y`U`f`h`U`h`U`W`Ē`ž`Vi`h`h`]g`]bhYfdYh]j`cb` associates rational thought with the power of the disembodied mind to stop the heart. In this early pafhc`Z`h`Y`bcj`Y`žg`Y`fY`V`W`g`Ī`a`U`[]W`Ug`]`c`[]W`Y`j`Yb`h`ci`[\`]h`U`h`i`U`m`Z`]hg`VYg`h`]h`k` \`U`hg`Y` \`Ug`k`]hb`Ygg`YX`""C`b`h`Uh`X`Umž`g`Y`g`Uk`Ī`U`k` \`f`k`]b`X`c`Z`Xi`gh`Zc`ck`]b`VY`]b`X` \`a`Ī`Ub`X`5`Vf`U`Ua`h`Y`g`Y`f`hc`g`h`Um`Uk`Umž`h`UhĪ`H`Y`m`U`j`Y`_]`YX`a`YĪ`f%`Ē`H`Y` whirlwind of dust signifies the presence of Oni which is the Taiga spiritual deity Uggc`W`U`h`X`k`]h`h`Y`k`]b`X`""C`b`]g`U`gc`Ī`cb`Y`c`Z`h`Y`h`f`Vi`Y`bh`i`c`X`gĪ`h`Y`d`Ub`h`Yf`[]j`Yg`U`b`Ua`Y`hc`f%`Ē`Ē`Ub`X`Ug`gi`W`k`ci`X`W`U`f`m`h`Y`Y`X`Y`f`ġ`X`Y`U`h`g`Y`b`h`Y`b`W`gi`a`a`cb`YX`V`m`U`g`cb`[""Oa`]g`hc`]g`i`b`UV`Y`hc`VY`Yj`Y`]b`gi`W`Ub`]b`Vt`a`d`fY`Y`bg`]V`Y`d`ck`Yf`/g`Y`Uf`[i`YgžĪ`k` \`c`Vt`i`X`VY`Yj`Y`h`Y`f`Y`k`Ug`gi`W`U`g`cb`[`k`]h`h`Y`d`ck`Yf`hc`_]`c`f`i`f`h`U`d`Y`f`g`cb`ž`f%`Ē`H`]g` rhetorical question will prove ironic over the course of the novel as Omishto becomes all too familiar with the disciplinary power of certain forms of narrative.

⇒ Vt`bg`XYf`]b`[5 VfU\Ua` ġ`WĪ` gY`c`Z`X`Y`U`h`ž`C`a`]g`hc`i`h`ja`U`h`m`f`Y`V`W`g`h`Y`Ī`HUJ[U`g`h`c`f`]YgĪ`VY`WĪ`gY`g`Y`W`b`b`chĪ`VY`Yj`Y`]b`a`U`[]W`]b`h`Y`k`U`m`g`Y`f`5`i`bh`5`a`U`X`c`Y`g`f%`Ē`<`b` this early section of the novel, Omishto explains that her understanding of the world is a c`fY`g`cd` \`g`h`]W`h`Y`X`h`Ub`5`a`U`ġ`.

=Xcb`ġ`h`VY`Yj`Y`VY`WĪ`gY`U`hg`W`cc`="YUfb`h`Y`fY`]g`U`fY`U`g`cb`Zc`f`Yj`Yf`m`h`]b`["" This is what separates me from Aunt Ama, that as smart as she is she never went to high school that even though she reads, she still swears by old time beliefs, and she believes in all the Taiga stories, that they are true, that they are real. (13)

K` \`j`Y`]h`]g`U`W`]W`f`Zc`f`k`f`]h`Y`f`g`hc`i`b`XYfgVt`fY`h`Y`Ī`d`ck`Yf`c`Z`g`h`c`f`]YgžĪ`]b`h`is`novel,`the`aim`]g`hc`i`b`XYfgVt`fY` \`ck`U`g`h`c`f`m`ġ`d`ck`Yf`]g`g`U`d`YX`V`m`_bck`YX`[Y`WU`]a`g`Ub`X`h`Y`Ī`fY`[]a`Y`c`Z`h`fi`h`Ī`h`Uh`W`b`j`U`]X`U`h`c`f`]b`j`U`]X`U`h`]hg`Ī`h`fi`h`Ī`c`f`W`U`g`g`]Z`m`gi`W`g`h`c`f`]Yg`U`gĪ`fY`UĪ`c`f`Ī`a`U`[]WĪ`5`g`ci`WĪ`h` \`U`g`d`c`]b`h`Y`X`ci`h`ž`UĪ`fY`[]a`Y`c`Z`h`fi`h`Ī`a`U`]b`tains`its`power`through`Ī`h`Y`h`W`b`]ei`Yg`Ub`X`d`f`c`W`X`i`fY`g`U`W`Vt`f`Y`X`j`U`i`Y`]b`h`Y`U`W`i`]g`h`]cb`c`Z`h`fi`h`Ī`f%`Ē`5`a`U`

has not been properly educated in such techniques or procedures, or so Omishto claims, therefore she is duped by the fantastic power of false stories.

The story of Abraham in the novel is not only significant as representative of competing knowledge claims, it is also significant as a repudiation, indeed the death of, a prominent symbol of Christian nationalism. As Najat Rahman argues, the story of 5 VfUa Ua žZU\Yf'cZ=ġ'Ua ž: XU]ga 'UbX'7\ f]gh]Ub]Imž]g'U'ghc'fmĭ h\Uh\ Ug'f'Ubg'UH'X to d'fcZ'UbY'bUh]cbU]gh]UbX'Z' bXUa YbHU]gh'V'cbZ]i fUh]cbg'cZ]XYb]h]mĭ 'fĭ \$%'"G\Y'YI d'U]bg.

The divine promises to Abraham of land and of paternity over many nations are the key moments in Genesis, a link that nationalism also makes. While the Bible is too heterogeneous to provide unambiguous XYa UfWUh]cbg'cZU'EbUh]cb'N'cf'U'Ed'Ycd'Y'N'bcbyh\Y'Ygg]h\Ug'V'YYb'hc'c'cZ'h'Ui h'cf]nYX'Ug'U'Eb Ubi U'Zcf'dc'j]h]Vg'N'fĭ \$%.

The sigb]Z]WbW'cZ'h\Y'Z]i fY'cZ'5 VfUa Ua 'jg'fY'UH'X'hc'fk'c'_Ymia'ca Yb'hg]'b'h\Y'V]V'Y'Nj'\]ghc'f]W' b'Uff'Uh]j'Y'h\Y'W'gh]b['ci'hc'Z'\]g'V'cbW'V]bY'UbX'k']ZY'GUFU'Nj'9[m'h]Ub'g'Uj'Y' Hagar (and their son Ishmael), and the submission of Abraham to God the Father in his wil']b[bYgg'hc'gUW]Z]W'\]g'f'UbX'GUFU'Nj'g'cb'gUW'5 g'5 VfUa Ua 'jg'g'Yb'Ug'h\Y': U'h\Yf'cZ' Nations and three major religions, that those nations/religions were founded at the expense of a slave woman, and on the assertion of patriarchal authority (Isaac is AbfUa Ua 'Nj'hc'gUW]Z]W'g'Zcf'a UbmW]h]Vg'N'h\Y'a cghXUa U[]b['Y[U'W'Zcf'V'cbh\Y'a dcfU'fm'Z' bXUa YbHU]gh]bUh]cbU]ga g'"'b'h\Yfa'g'cZ'7\ f]gh]Ub' bUh]cbU]ga ž'5 VfUa Ua 'Nj'ghc'fm'U'gc' gYfj'YX'Ug'YUf'm'f' gh]Z]W]h]cb'Zcf'V'cb'nUh]cb'"5 g'cbY'\]ghc'f]Ub'bchY'g'Zĭ UX]c'W'U'h]g'of' V'cb'nUh]cb]i'cZ'h'Y'fY'YX'cb'h\Y'b'Uff'Uh]j'Y'cZ'h\Y'c'X'HY'gh'Ua Yb'v/]b'd'Uf]h]W'Uf'h\Y'ghc'f]Y'g'Zci' bX'j'b'; YbY'g]g'z'bW' X]b['h\Y'f'W'']b['cZ'5 VfUa Ua 'ci'hc'Z]i'f'hc'Zci' bX'U'bYk' 'bUh]cb'fĭ Yb'%'&%'f'k'Uff]g'cb' 'E'cZ'V'ei'fgY'Z'k'\]Y'F'U'a'Ub'UbX'ch\Y'fg'\Uj'Y'bchYX'5 VfUa Ua 'Nj' story in relationship to contemporary nationalisms and as justification for continued colonization, this story is also noted as a model for social relations, particularly within families and along lines of gender. As Carol Delaney argues, the story of Abraham ĩ'YI'Ya'd']Z]Y'g'UbX''Y[]h]a'Uh'g'U'\]Y'f'U'f'W]W'g'f'i'W'fY'cZ'U'i'h'cf]m'ž'U'gd'Y'W]Z]W'Zcf'a'cZ' family, definitions of gender, and the value of obedience that are simultaneously the fountain-\YUX'cZ'Z]h'UbX'h\Y'VYX'fc'W'cZ'gc'W]Y'mĭ'f'f%+-18). Delaney further notes the X]g'W'd']b'U'f'm'd'ck'Yf'cZ'h'jg'ghc'fm]g'h\U'ĭ]h\Ug'W'Y'UH'X'Ub'Ybj']f'cba'Yb'h\Uh\Ug'a'UXY'h'g'Y'a'g'UW]Y[]ci'g'hc'ei'Ygh]cb'h\Y'g'Y'ggj'Y'gĭ'f'f% 'E'

ġ'Z' bXUa YbHU]gh'7\ f]gh]Ub]Imž'a Ubm'cc'_hc'GUFU'Nj'cVYX]YbW'f'k'Yf'k']'']b[bYgg' to offer her slave anX'\Yf'ck' b'g'cb'g'UW'Z'Ug'h\Y'a'cXY'cZ'U'ĭ [ccX'k']ZY'ĭ'f'Y'] [ci'g' 'YUX'Yfg'ei'ch'Y'h\Y'5 d'cgh'Y'DY'h'f'Nj'f'Y'Z'f'Yb'W'hc'GUFU']b'\]g'YX]V'hc'b'h\Y'd'f'cd'Yf'fc'Y'cZ' wives and the importance of their submission and obedience.⁵ ġ' < c[Ub'Nj'bcj'Y'ž' 5 VfUa Ua 'Gk'U'ck']g'U'ĭ'VYb'ha'Ub'ĭ'k']h'ci'hĭ'U'_]bX'V'cbY'j'b'\]g'V'cX'mĭ'k'\c']g'_b'ck' b'Zcf' his cruelty against woman and animals (5). While only small details about his life are offered in the text that would directly link him to the Genesis figure, his story is told in a chapter that is littered with Biblical references, and in particular, the Patriarchal genealogy of the Old Testament. Moreover his death sentence is punishment for violently asserting his authority over his wives and children through physical abuse, a

sermons as justification for colonizing the Americas; their covenants with God a biblical justification for the secular elements of the doctrine of discovery, and later its secular American counterpart manifest destiny (Harrison 10)⁶.⁷ 5 g'cbY'\]ghc]Ub' bchYg. Ā A cgh' importantly in the biblically inspired arguments for colonies was the injunction XY'j] YfYX'j]b'h'Y'Z]fgh'W'UdhYf'cZ; YbYg]g' 'E'Y'Zi']hZ' 'UbX'a i' 'h]d'mžZ'' 'h'Y'YUf'h' 'UbX' g' VXi' Y']h' 7 (4). This injunction, originally delivered to Adam and Eve, is echoed in B cU' 'UbX' 5 VfU'Ua' 'Ń]Včj' YbUbhUg'k' Y''⁸

These biblical Patriarchs, beyond offering divine justification for agents of colonization, also serve to justify patriarchal dominion over women and animals. In cfXYf'hc'gi' Vj' Yfh]g' W' bUffU'h] Ygž' < c[Ub'Ń]bcj' Y' cZYZfg'Ub' U'hYfbU'h] Y'gY'hcZ]ghc]Yg' derived from Taiga sacred knowledge. However, Omishto wrestles throughout the novel to believe that such indigenous myths can still have power in the contemporary world of the American Southeast. It is her Aunt Ama who becomes the center of C a]g'hc'Ń]Včj']b['hc' VY']Yj' Y']b'h'Uhd'ck' Yf''A' cfY'h'Ub' 'ghU'Ī' VY']Yj' Yf' 'cZ]bX][Ybci' g' knowledge, I argue that Ama is an anti-Eve figure and more importantly, the mythic embodiment of Taiga sacred woman, the Panther Woman.

The Power of Oni and Uprooting the Patriarchs

One of the most important events Omishto witnesses is a hurricane, a scene that opens the first section of the book and creates the conditions which sets her Aunt Ama on a her journey to track and kill a Florida panther. Before the storm, Omishto not only XYgW']VYg'h'Y' 'UbX'g'WdY'g] f'fci' bX]b['\Yf' 5 i' bh'5 a U'Ń] 'ci' g'Y'k']h' 'h'Y' 'UbX'a' Uf_g'cZ' colonial and patriarchal legacies, but she also describes Ama herself as a counterpoint to h'Yg' bUffU'h] Yg'' 5 a U'Ń] 'ci' g'Y'gma' Vc']W' 'm]g'Ī' Uh'h'Yj' Yfm'YX[Y'cZ'ci' f' HU][U' 'UbX'Ī' 'UbX' 'gh'Ī']b' Z'fca' 'Ń]Y'h'f'Y'YOA' Y'h'i' g'Y'U'Ī' 'f' 'L'' '@_Y'h'Y'h'f'Y'Yž'5 a U'g'Y'a' g'hc' 'Uj' Y'Ī' X'f'c'dd'YX' 'ci' h' cZ]h'a' Y' 'UbX' '\Yf' 'ci' g'Y'g]h]g']b'Ī' U'd' U'W' 'cZ'a']']cb-year-old rivers and sloughs and jagged 'ja' Yg'hc'bY' 'f] 'L'' < ck' Yj' Yfž'Ug'U'k' ca' Ub'k' 'c' W'ccg'Yg'hc' ''j] Y'U'cbY'f]]h'fU' 'mcb' h'Y'Ī' YX[Y' 'cZ'h'Y' [c] Yfba' Ybh]a' d'cg'X' V'cf'XYf' VY'h'k' Y'Yb' h'Y'Ī' a' cXYfb'Ī' 5 a Yf]W'b' 'hc' b' 'UbX' HU][U' land), Omishto notes that Ama is often the subject of public disdain and ridicule.

↳ d'Ufh]W' 'Ufž'Ca']g'hc'Ń]Včj' a' ch'Yf']g'k' Uf'mcZ'h'Y'a' cXY' 'cZ'k' ca' Ub' 'ccX' 5 a U' fYdfYg'Yb'h]g'hc' '\Yf' 'mci' b['XU' ['\h'f''C a]g'hc' f'Ya' Ya' VYfg' 'ck' Ī' '\Yf' 'a' Ua' U'cb'W'W' 'YX' 'Ń] a' UQU' 'i' a' Ub' 'fi']bž'Vi' h']h'Ń] 'gh' h' Uhg' Y'Xc'Yg'b'h'Z]h'A' Ua' U'Ń]]XYU'cZ'k' \Uh'U'k' ca' Ub' should VY'Ī' 'f' 'L'' < Yf' 'a' ch'Yf' Včj' a' d'U]bg'h'U'h'5 a U']g'Ī' b'ch'Ua' Y'Ybci' ['\hc' VY'U'k']Z'Y' 'f' 'L' 'UbX'Ī' g'Y'h']b_g'5 a U'9U'hc'b' VY']Yj' Yg']_Y'Ub' 'c' X'k' ca' Ubž']b' 'c' X' 'h']b[gž'UbX']h'Ń] d'f'c'VU'V'm' U'g]bž'k' \Uhg'Y'VY']Yj' Yg'Ī' 'f' 'L'' < ck' 'cf'k' \Uh'5 a U'VY']Yj' Yg']g'b'ch'gca' Y'h']b['h'U'h' Omishto accepts but she is drawn to her fearlessness nonetheless. Unlike her own a' ch'Yfž'5 a U'fYdfYg'Yb'h]g'gca' YcbY'Ī'k' 'c' VY']Yj' Yg']b' '\Yf'g'Y' Z'Ī' 'UbX' f'Y'Y'W'g'h'Y'X']g'Wd']b'Uf'm' version of womanhood offered by the submissive ideal in Genesis. Her strength is also what makes the community afraid of her, despite their ridicule. Omishto notes that this strength is something Ama is said to have developed after disappearing for a short time at the age of twelve.⁹ Although this period is probably when Ama lived with the old peopl'Y'U'W'c] Y?]]g'k' Ua' dž'Ca']g'hc'Ń]Včj' a' ch'Yf'gd'Y'W' 'U'h'Y'g'h'U'h'5 a U'Ń] f'Y'h'Y'U'h]b'hc' 'h'Y' swamps is symbolic of something more sinister. She wonders what Ama could

Í dcccjV`m\Uj Y`YUHyb`]b`U` h`Uh]a Yí` Ug`h`Y`gk Ua dgĀ k YfY`U`Z` ``cZdc]gcbđ` UbX`g`Y` k UgĀ gi` fY`h`Uhbc cbY`fYa Ya VYfYX`k` \`Uhk`]`X`h`]b[gk YfY`[ccX`hc` YUhf&` E`C`a`]g`hc`ŋ` a` ch`Yf`ŋ`ZYUf`cZk` \`Uh5` a` U`knows` linked to what she has eaten is highly evocative of 9j Yŋ`g]bĀ` eating from the tree of knowledge. Indeed the overt link of Ama to Eve is made further obvious by her name A-m-a (E-v-Y`UbX`Ā`U`a` ch`YfĀ` E`UbX` \`Yf`Ugh`b`Ua` Y` Eaton (eaten/Eden).

As for her mother, Omishto describes her as a woman who has submitted to 7\`f]gh]Ub`Xi` hm`UbX`h`Y`X]gVci` fgY`cZVY]b[` UĀ` [` ccX`k`]ZY`Ā` <`ck` Yj` Yfž`h`YfY`]g`gca` Y` evidence that this had not always been so, and that she had been disciplined into such a fc`Y`H`Y`fYUXYf`]g`hc`X`h`UhC`a`]g`hc`ŋ`ghYdZU`h`Yf`<` Yfa` `cbW` \`UX` \`Yf`a` ch`Yf`Vta` a`]h`X` so he could have a relationship with another woman. Herm is the abusive stepfather k` \`c`]g`U`gc`Ā`gi`gd`]V]ci` gĀ` cZ5` a` U`Ug`U`h`fYUhc` \`]g`UĀ` h`cf]m`Ā`@]_Y5` VfU`Ua` Gk` U`ck` ž` <`Yfa` ŋ`dUf]UfV`U` UĀ` h`cf]m`]gVci` d`YX`k`]h` U`a`]gc`[` mb]gh]Vj`]c`YbW`h`Uh`Y`X]fYVg`hc` Vch` \`]g`k`]Z`UbX`C`a`]g`hc`Ā` b`X`YX`ž`g`Y`gd`Yb`X`g`a` i` V`cZ`Yf`h`a` Y`Uh5` a` Uŋ` \`ci` gY`hc` avoid the way her shYdZU`h`Yf`cc`g`Uh`Yf`k`]h` Ā` i` b[` fmĀ` YmYg`Ā`5` a` U`h`Y`g`Yf`h`UhĀ` \`Yŋ` Ub`U`h`U`w`k` U]h]b[` hc` \`Udd`YbĀ` UbX`hc`Ā` ghUmci` hcZ` \`]g`k` UmĀ` f%` E`Ā`5` a` U]g`h`YfYz`c`f`Y`a` c`f`Y` than an alternative model of womanhood, she provides a safe space for Omishto from the threat of sexual violence.

5` a` Uŋ`cd]b]cb`cZ`gb`U`_Yg`]g`U`gc` \`[` \`migma` Vc`]WcZk` ca` Ub` \`ccX`ci` hg]XY`h`Y` X]gVd`]b`Ufmb`Uff`U]h]` Y`cZ`9j` Y`K` \`]`Y`C`a`]g`hc`ŋ`UZ`U]X`cZ`h`Y`k` UhYf`a` cVWUg]b`]b`h`Y` cdYb]b[` gVYb`Y`cZ`h`Y`bcj` Y`ž`g`Y`h`g`h`Y`fYUXYf`h`Uh5` a` UVY`]Yj` Yg`gb`U`_YgĀ` a` i` ghbe important creatures to have so many natural, god-[`]j` Yb`k` YUdcbgĀ` f&` E`Ā`H`Y`VtbbYV]cb` VYh` Yb`5` a` U`UbX`gb`U`_Yg`]g`a` UXY`U[` U]b`Xi` f]b[` UbX`UZ`Yf`h`Y`ghc`fa` Ā`5` gĀ`h`]g`k` c`f`X`]g` h`fb]b[`]b`hc`Ub`ch`Yf`cb`Yž`]b`d`fYd`UfU]h]cb`Zc`f`h`Y`Vta`]b[` g`h`c`fa` ž`C`a`]g`hc`b`ch]VWg` rathYgb`U`_Yg`a` U_]b[` h`Y]f`k` Umhck` UfXg`5` a` Uŋ` \`ci` gY`Ā`5` a` U`h`]Yg`hc` W`a` `C`a`]g`hc`ŋ`ZYUf`g` Vm`h`Ā`]b[` \`Yf`h`Uh`h`Y`gb`U`_YgĀ` b`YX`g`Y`h`f`hc`Ā` fĀ` &E`Ā`

While the snakes seek shelter with Ama, Omishto significantly decides that she must secure her own shelterĀ` her fat`Yf`ŋ`Vc`UĀ`Ā`G`Y`X`Y`V`Y`g`h`Uh`h`Y`Ā`g`U`Z`gĀ`Ā`d`Ub`]g`hc` secure the boat to MethuselahĀ` a tree she believes will surely survive the storm. After tying down the boat, however, she soon finds herself caught in the full force of the storm. She worries that she a` Um`VY`Ub`ch`Yf`Ā`V`cc`X`g`UW]Z]WĀ` U`ZYUf`h`Uh`f`Y`Z`f`Y`b`W`g` 5`Vf`U`Ua` ŋ`Vtj` Yb`Ub`h`f`UbX`b`YUf`g`UW]Z]W`cZ` \`]g`g`cb`g`U`W`Ā` b`h`]g`a` ca` Yb`h`ž`g`Y`h` fbg`VUW` h`ck` UfX`g`a` Yh`i` gY`U`Zc`f`g`Y`h`f`G`Y`h`]b`_gĀ` fĀ` VY`g`U`Z`]Z`cb`m`=W`b`[` Yh`VUW`hc`h`Y`fc`ch`g` of Methuselah . . . Please, I say to something, as if I believe in God and am wanting his \`Y`d`D`Y`U`g`Ā`A` Um`VY`=g`Um`h`]g`hc`h`Y`k`]b`XĀ` fĀ` (E`Ā` b`h`]g`d`U`g`U[` Yž`C`a`]g`hc`]b`UV`]m`h`c` name the force she seeks protection from underscores the divide between indigenous knowledge of the sacred and Christian dogma. It also reveals her ambivalenceĀ` she h`]b`_g`h`Uh]Z`g`Y`W`b`[` Yh`hc`h`Y`Ā`fc`ch`gĀ`c`Z`a` Yh`i` gY`U`g`Y`k`]`VY`g`U`Z`Ā`C`Z`Vt`i` fg`Yž`h`]g` assumption would also mean seeking safety from a patriarchal genealogy represented by the trY`Ā`<` Yf`d`f`Um`f`cb`h`Y`ch`Yf` \`UbX`]g`hc`Ā`h`Y`k`]b`XĀ`c`f`h`Y`HU[`U`Vt`b`W`d`h`c`Z`C`b]Ā`Ā` b`h`Y`Z`c`ck`]b[` `a` ca` Yb`h`ž`C`a`]g`hc`g`Y`g`5` a` U`d`]b`b`YX`U[` U]b`gh`h`Y` \`ci` gY`Ā`]_Y`g`Y`]g`b`U]`YX` h`Y`f`Yž`WĀ` V]Z]YXĀ`k`]h` U`gb`U`_Y`h`f`ck` b`U[` U]b`gh` \`Yf`Vc`X`mž`]b]`c_]b[` h`Y`V`cc`X`g`UW]Z]W`cZ` Vch` 7\`f]gh]Ub`X`9j` Y`Ā` b`h`]g`a` ca` Yb`h`ž`5` a` Uŋ` VĀ` V]Z]YX`Vc`X`mž`c`f`Y`g`U`X`ck` g`Y`f`ck` b`

sacrifice in killing the panther as well as the attempts to both explain and condemn her actions as the fallen woman who oversteps her place.

However, the storm also foreshadows the possibility that other ways of interpreting her actions might prove more powerful. As Omishto loses sight of Ama, g\Yk]hbYggYgk \Uhig\Y\ci [\hg\Yk ci `X`bYj Yf`gY`A Yh\i gY`U\`ZU`g`UbX`k \Uh\Ug` lasted this long is being taken down now as if it were nothing . . . This tree planted by h\Y`GdUb]g\`zVcbW]j YX`cb`Ubch\Yf`Vcb]bYbH`Umg`h\YfY`V`UW`UbX`i dfcchYX`f`l , E` What the tree represents: an invasion, colonial history, Christian patriarchy--all seemingly intractable from the Americas has been taken down by the Taiga force of Oni. Of course, Omishto at this moment in the text is not able to understand the significance of such an event, but it is clear to her that something has shifted dramatically.

H\Y]a U[YfmcZC a]g\hc`g]gf [[`Y`h\fc [\ the mud and rain to reach safety is also an overt portrayal of childbirth. Omishto is faced with what all Christians are faced with at birth-- original sin and its symbolic counterpart-- the naked body. After struggling through the mud and surviving, a stunned Omishto wanders around and gYgk \Uhig\Y`h]b_g]g`U`k ca Ub`Ub []b []b`h\Y`fY`U`Vcj Y`Yf`z`m`h`Ub`ch`Y`f`ja U[Y`c`Z` sacrifice, but more importantly, lynching. She quickly realizes, however, that it is only a dress-- there is literally no body inside it. The dress is actually her own and she quickly fYU`nYg`g`Y`]g`b`U`_`Y`X`" `b` < UfX]b`h`Ub`U`mg]g`z`Y`g`Y`g`h`]g`a ca YbhUg`]bX]W]h] Y`c`Z` C a]g\hc`g]gf W]i W]Z]]cbz`]b_]b [`Vch` `5 a U`UbX`C a]g\hc`hc`7`f]gh`"K` \)`Y`=U[fY]b`h`Y` a Yf]hg`c`Z` < UfX]b`h`Ub`U`mg]g`z`=U`gc`fYUX`h`]g`g`W`b`Y`U`g`U`W`U`f`fY`Z`fY`b`W`hc`9`j`Y`h`ck`b` Uk`U`_`Y`b]b [`U`Z`f`Y`U`h]b [`Z`ca`h`Y`f`fY`c`Z`_`bck` `YX`[`Y` `]b` ; YbYg]g`"5`Z`h`f`Y`U`h]b [`h`Y`Z`f`]hc`Z` this tree, a new view of the world is revealed to Eve and she sees her nakedness. But, importantly, Omishto also witness to her own body stripped bare, is not ashamed. In ZUWz`g`Y`h]b_g]g`6`i`h]b`h`Y`k`U`_`Y`c`Z`h`Y`g`h`fa`]h`X`c`Y`g`b`h`ia`U`h`f`h`U`h`=Ua`b`U`_`Y`X`"B`ch`hc`Y`h`Y`f`c`Z`i`g`f`l`-`E`" `b`U`X`X]h]cbz`U`g`Ub`ja`U[Y`c`Z`n`b`W]b [z`h`Y`X`f`Y`g`U`gc`Y`j`c`_`Y`g`h`Y` disciplinary threat of misogynistic and racial violence that Omishto and Ama both face from white men later in the novel.

After the storm Omishto sees Ama at the top of her steps with snakes surrounding her. Again confronted with imagery associated with the biblical Eve and original g]bz`C a]g\hc`h`]b_g]g`hc` \Yfg`Z`Z`h`Y`d`f`Y`U`W`Y`f`k`ci`X`g`U`m`h`]g`]g`U`V`U`X`]g`[b`z`g`b`U`_`Y`g` Uh`U`k`ca`Ub`h]g`Z`Y`h`z`Vi`h`5`a`U`X`c`Y`g`b`h`V`Y`]Y`Y`]b`h`Y`d`f`Y`U`W`Y`f`"G`Y`V`Y`]Y`Y`g`c`X`U`b`]Y`G`ch` and Annie Hide and the old women would say the snakes are a sign of God, . . . They *are* ; cX`f`(\$`E`" `b`h`]g`f`Y`j`Y`U`h`c`f`m`ia`ca`Y`b`h`z`C`a`]g\hc`V`Y`[]b`g`hc`a`c`f`Y`c`j`Y`f`h`m`W]h]e`i`Y`h`Y` ; cX`c`Z` \Y`f`a`c`h`Y`f`h]g`Z`b`X`U`a`Y`b`h`U`]g`h`W`i`f`W`"C`j`Y`f` \Y`U`X`z`g`Y`g`Y`g`U`V`]f`X`k`]h`U`Z`g`]b`]h`g` a`ci`h`Ub`X`h`]b_g]g`h`]g`]g` \ck` ; cX`f`Y`W]j`Y`g`i`g`" " < Y`Y`U`h]g`i`g`z`a`m`ia`c`h`Y`f`h]g`God. The d`f`Y`U`W`Y`f`h`]b_g]g`h`Y`g`b`U`_`Y`]g`h`Y`X`Y`j`]"H`Y`c`X`c`b`Y`g`h`]b_]h]g`U` ; cX`f`(\$`E`"A`c`f`Y`c`j`Y`f`z` g`Y`f`Y`U`]n`Y`g`h`U`h`Y`f`a`c`h`Y`f`h]g`W`i`f`W`T`X`c`Y`g`b`h`V`Y`]Y`Y`]b`k` \U`h]g`cb`9`U`f`h`c`f`V`]f`X`g`i`Ub`X` h`U`h`Y`U`f`h`]g`i`U`a`]g`Y`U`V`Y`d`U`W]i`h`Y`W`c`g`Y`b`k`]"`cb`Y`X`U`m`Y`g`W`d`Y`" Hhe storm, and more importantly this meditation on snakes, makes Omishto come to the realization that she i`g`Y`X`hc`V`Y`]Y`Y`]b`h`Y`d`f`Y`U`W`Y`f`z`Vi`h`k` \Y`b`]h`V`ca`Y`g`hc`h`]g_]b`X`c`Z`h`]b [`=W`b`h]g`U`m`k` \U`h` =V`Y`]Y`Y`U`b`m`a`c`f`Y`i`f`(\$`E`"H`Y`k`c`f`X`U`f`ci`b`X` \Y`f`]g`g`c`i`hc`Z`order, she simply notes: i` < Y`U`j`Y`b` \U`g`Z`U`Y`b`i`f`(*`E`"

tells Omishto to keep secret however is the fact that the panther had been in such poor
 \YU h'': YY]b['C a]g\hc'ŋ'↑ X[a YbhcZ\Yf]b'h]g'gWbYz5 a U'h'`g'C a]g\hc' h'UhVYzcfY'
 she judges hYf'h Uhg\Y'g\ci `X'↑ @cc_`Uh\]g'cfm'UbX'gUmih]g'g'V`ccXmcf'h]g'g'XYUH "'
 Look at time, then tell me, because it is true as the stories say that this is everything the
 k cf'X'hi fbg'cbI' f'f'&L'': cf'5 a Uz\Yf'UW'h]g'bchU'W]a Y/h'Y'W]a Y'cZV`ccX'UbX'XYUH is
 cbY'k \]W' VY'cb[g'hc'Ubch'Yf'_]bX'cZ\]g'cfm'`C a]g\hc' bch'g'h'Uh'h]g'ī \]g'cfm]g'h'Y'
 place where the Spanish cut off the hands of my ancestors. The Spanish who laughed at
 ci f'XYgdYfUh]cb'UbX'Xm]b['ī' f'f' L'`C a]g\hc' U'Xa]hg'h'Uh'h]g'g'U'ī \]g'cfm'U'U'U'U'U'U'
 hYff]Z]Yg'UbX'\Ui bhg'a Y'O'""mYh'Q'ca Y\ck žU[U]bgh'h'Y]f'k]`'=g'hc'Y'h'fci [\ī' f'f' L'`C b'h'Y'
 novel, history is not only materially represented by the landscape | Methuselah, kudzu
 j]bYg'z'dc`i h'Y'g'f'Y'Ua g'z'Y'h'z]h]g'U'g'c'U'ī d'U'W'ī' k]h' U[\cgh'm'Ubd ghastly presence
 k \]W' V'cb]bi Yg'hc' \Ui bh'C a]g\hc'ŋ'Xf'Y'Ua g'`"

This representation of history as a narrative of progress is powerfully
 fYd'fYg'Yb'h'X' Vm'h'Y'XYUX' Gd'Ub]g\ `c'fg'Y'h'Uh'`]Yg]b'5 a U'ŋ'm'U'f'X' U'Z'h'f'h'Y'g'cf'a "'`C a]g\hc'
 is preoccupied for much of the beginning half of the novel with burying the carcass as its
 presence is made uncanny by the fact that the horse seems to be merely sleeping and
 statue-like, rather than dead. As a symbol a history of conquest, burying the horse takes
 on special meaning. After the sheriff comes to arrest Ama, Omishto begins to notice that
 the kudzu vines are starting to take hold again and she sees her dress still suspended in a
 tree. Moreover, she sees a footprint in the ground near the house and she fears the boys
 who once threatened Ama, Omishto and the panther at gunpoint might return to harass
 her. All these symbols of misogynistic violence compel her to literally bury the past that
 gave impunity to such violence symbolized by the Spanish horse. Her only worry is that
 h'Y'\c'fg'Y'cb'W'Vi f]YX'a][\ h'ī'Z'`]b'hc'k U'h'f'V'Yb'Y'U'h'`]a Yg'hc'b'Y'UbX'`""""k Ug\i d'
 g'ca Yk \Yf'ī' f] %&UbX' b'ch'g'U'm'Vi f]YX'`K \]Y'g'Y'a U_Y'g'g'Y] YfU' U'h'Y'a dh'g'hc'Vi f'm'h'Y'
 horse, the final attempt is the most significant. In this scene, Omishto spends all
 aftefbccb'f'm]b['hc'X]['U'\c'Y'XYyd'Ybci [\Z'cf'h'Y'W'f'W'g'g'h'Uh'ī \Ug\U'f'X'm'g'U'f'h'Y'hc'
 XYW'm' f'f' *L'`C b'h'f'Y'g]b[`m'z'g\Y'X][g'ī X'ck b'@U'g'h'Q'W'bi f]Yg'hc'k U'f'X'k \Uh]g'`c'gh'UbX'
 V'z] Yf'YX' i d'ī' f'Yd'Y'U'h]b['Y'U'f']Y'f'`Ub[i U[Y'h'Uh'c' a]g\hc' i g'YX'hc' X'Y'g'W'V'Y'h'Uh'k \Uh\]g'cfm'
 had sacrificed, lost and covered up | Taiga knowledge and history can be excavated.
 When Omishto finally manages to create a large enough opening, the horse
 unexpectedly shifts and both she and the horse fall in, the horse almost landing on top of
 her. At the last second, she manages to pull herself out barely making it out alive. She
 b'ch'g'g'ī' ↑ gh'h'Y'b'z'h'Y'V]f'X'g'U'` V'ca Y'Uk U_Y'U'h'c'b'W' UbX'h'Y'm'ia U_Y'g'ī' W' U'W'U'h'f'z'U'bc]g'Y'
 of life, that I, who have had trouble hearing since the storm, I hear them clear and g\U'fd'ī'
 (97).

The significance of this scene is as a critique of a certain kind of history | one that
 is top down, oppressive and written by the victors. Conversely, the Native woman
 X][[]b['U'fci b'X'UbX' i b'XYf'h'Uh\]g'cfm'Z'cf'h'Uh'ī'k \]W']g'b'ch'm'Y'h'V'z] Yf'YX' i d'ī']g'
 representative of both a way of locating alternative history (and a method--excavation)
 and a way of thinking about history materially present beneath our feet | in the land
 itself. At the same time, this scene underscores the material and violent power of the
 V'cb]n'Y'f'ŋ\]g'cfm'U'g']h'ŋ'U'f'W']j U' d'f'Y'g'Y'b'W' f'h'Y'Gd'Ub]g\ `c'fg'Y'L'`]h'Y'f'U'`m'h'f'Y'U'h'Y'g'hc'Vi f'm

Omishito along with itself. Freeing herself from this oppressive history, Omishito
 Yi dYf]YbWg'UbchYf'fY-V]fh'g]bW'hY'g'cfa'Vi'h'h]g'h]a'Y\Yf'UV]lity to listen is
 restored more fully' g\Y'Wb'bck'\YUf'h'Y'V]fXg'f'gcb[g'XYg'WbX]b['hc'hc'W'a'Yi'f'f'f'
 G][b]Z]Wbhmz'UZHYf'Yg'Wd]b['h]g'bYUf'XYU'h'Vm\]g'c'f'mz'g\Y[cYg]bg]XY'5 a'U'g'\ci'g'Y'hc'
 I'di'hc'b'5 a'U'g'V'c'ch]i'f' hers are lost under the horse carcass. This symbolic moment
 signals her shift to seeing and *being* in the world with a new perspective' one more in
 ']bY'k']h'\Yf'5 i'bh'5 a'U'g'_bck'`YX[Y'UbX'g'Ybg'cZ'g'Y'Z'

To clarify what is at stake here in the meaning of this scene, it is perhaps useful
 to turn to the work of Haitian historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot in *Silencing the Past:
 Power and the Production of History*. Trouillot points out that History as it has been
 conceived since the 19th Wb'h' fm]b'h'Y'K' Ygh'YX'hc'f'h'Y'W'Ugg]Z]W]h]cb'cZ'U'`'bcb-
 Westerners as fundamentally non-\]g'c'f]W]f'U'bx'h'g'W'Ugg]Z]W]h]cb'`k' Ug'f'h]YX'hc'h'Y'
 assumption that history requires a linear and cumulative sense of time that allows the
 cVgYf] Yf'hc']gc'U'h'hc'Y'd'Ugh'Ug'U'X]gh]b'W'Yb]h]m'f'f'f'`H\i'g'k'\Yb'V'cb'Z'cb'h]X'k']h'
 alternative theories of time and space, or rather, when not able to discern a recognizable
 sense of chronological time in Indigenous knowledge systems and traditions, the West
 could dismiss entire groups of people (and their history-making) as primitive and thus
 I'k']h'ci'h'\]g'c'f'm'U'bx'V'cb'g'Ye'i'Yb'h'm'a'cf'Y'U'X'Ye'i'U'h'`m'k']h']b'h'Y'f'Y'U'a'c'Z'Z]W]cb'cf'a'm'h'
 (7-8). Moreover, this led to the assumption that Native peoples did not have a way to
 XY'h'fa']bY'k'\]W'b'Uff'U]j'Yg'k'Yf'Y'a'cf'Y'f'f'i'h'Z'`i'h'U'b'ch'Y'fg'f' they had not evaluative
 or ib'h'Y'f'd'f'Y'U]cb'U'`gcd'\]gh]W]h]cb'Ug'f'd'f]a']h]j'Yi'd'Y'cd'Y'g'`H\i'g'h'Y'h'fa'g'c'Z'\]g'c'f'm'f'U'bx'
 its claims to truth/knowledge) which are offered Omishito by her Western education
 fundamentally relegate her people to a space which Western historiography must bury
 in order to maintain its own narrative power. This recognition is why Trouillot argues
 Z'cf'U'b'U'h'f'f'U]j'Y'V'cb'W'd]h]cb'c'Z'h'Y'f'U'f'W]j'Yi'`ci']g]X'Y'c'Z'h'Y'V'cb']U'`k' f]h'Y'b'f'Y'V'cf'X'z'
 seeking evidence in stories, buildings, places, etc as well as a methodology of history
 that considers how history works:

For what history is changes with time and place, or better said, history
 reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives. What
 matters most are the process and conditions of production of such
 narratives. Only a focus on that process can uncover the ways in which
 the two sides of historicity [the material and the narratives constructed]
 intertwine in a particular context. (25)

DYf\Udg'h]g]g'k'\m'<c[Ub'f]b'Uff'U]j'Yg'c'Z'h'Y'b'V'cb'W'f'b'h'Ya'g'Y'j'Yg'k']h'\]g'tory-
 a'U_]b['U'bx'h'Y'f'Y'U]cb'g'\d'hc'd'ck'Yf'`b'6U'f'V'U'f'U'7'cc_'f]Y'U'X]b['c'Z'*Solar Storms* and
Mean Spirit she argues that Hogan attempts to not only address disempowering
 narratives of history but also attempts to legitimize Indigenous conceptions of where
 history is materially contained as well as which narratives are credible representations of
 bX][Ybci'g'\]g'c'f'm'`G\Y'U'f[i'Yg'h'U'h'<c[Ub'f'g'Y'Y'g'Z]W]cb'Ug'f'U]j'Yf'h]W'`X'Y'g'W'b'h'`U'X'f'cd'
 into an event or into history or into the depths of some kind of meaning in order to
 understand humans, and to somehow decipher what history speaks, the story beneath
 h'Y'g'c'f'm'`f'l',`f'`H\i'g'k'\U'h]g'Y'g'Y'g'U'g'\]g'c'f'm]g'b'ch'U'V'cb'a'd'Y'h'm'f'Y'U]j']gh'f'U'h'f'f'U]j'Yi'
 history or pure constructivism but the interplay between the material and the story

locating power is an act of excavation, or put another way, not being buried underneath
ch YfgNgcf]Yg UbX`a Uhf]U`hfUWg"

Following this experience with History (of the colonizer), Omishto is able to more fully form a critique of other disciplinary discourses, represented by two institutions--\Yf`a ch YfNg]Z bXUa YbH]ghWxi fW UbX` \Yf`gWcc`" H\Y W]h]ei Y`cZ`Yf` a ch YfNg]Wxi fW` \Ug`a i` h]d`Y`Y`Ya YbhzVi h`Yf`W]h]ei Y`cZ`h`Y`dc`]h]Vg]cZ`Zcf[]j YbYgg]g` particularly compelling. In the opening paragraph of an aptly titled chapter $\bar{I} \rightarrow X[a Yb\bar{h} \bar{C} a]g\bar{h}c\bar{N}g\bar{a} ch Yf\bar{h}U_Yg\bar{\backslash}Yf\bar{h}c\bar{W}xi fW\bar{Z}cf\bar{U}gdYVU\bar{g}Yfj]W\bar{]}b\bar{k} \bar{\backslash}W\bar{g}\bar{Y}\bar{\backslash}cdYg\bar{h}c\bar{[} UfbYf\bar{h}Y\bar{W}c\bar{a} i\bar{b}]m\bar{N}g\bar{Z}cf[]j YbYgg\bar{Z}cf\bar{\backslash}Y\bar{X}U\bar{i} [\bar{\backslash}h\bar{Y}f\bar{N}g\bar{d}Uf\bar{h}V\bar{d}U\bar{h}cb\bar{]}b\bar{5} a U\bar{N}g\bar{crime. Omishto goes with her mother, because s\bar{Y}]g\bar{U}b\bar{I} cVYX]Yb\bar{h}\bar{X}U\bar{i} [\bar{\backslash}h\bar{Y}f\bar{z}bch\bar{V}Y\bar{W}i\bar{g}\bar{Y}\bar{g}\bar{Y}\bar{I} V\bar{Y}]Yj Y\bar{Q}Q\bar{]}b\bar{Z}cf[]j YbYgg\bar{]}f\bar{-}E\bar{}`Hc\bar{C} a]g\bar{h}c\bar{z}Zcf[]j YbYgg]g\bar{U}\bar{Z}U\bar{g}\bar{Y} U\bar{W}\bar{h}U\bar{b}X\bar{}` an empty promise about the nature of sin:$

Forgiveness means that whatever the sin was, you will never do it again, and that others will stop judging you. It means you are pardoned by hYa`UbX`mci`_bck`h`Y`Yf`cf`c`Z`mci`f`k`Um`" hNg`U`[]Zh`h`Ym`c`Z`Yf`mci`I` (99).

As a false act, she knows it does not necessarily perform its said function: as an acceptance of discipline (one will never do the act again) and as an end to the process of discipline (an end to the process of judging). In this explanation of forgiveness Omishto Ugc`VcbZ`Uhg`h`Y`I` []Zh`c`Z`Y`F`Y`X`V`m`h`Y`Z`U`g`Y`U`W`h`c`Z`Z`c`f` []j YbYgg`k`]h`]hg`V`c`i` b`h`f`d`U`f`h`]b`h`Y` discourse of lawl` to VY`I`d`U`f`X`c`b`Y`X`I`I` further linking the logic of Christian nationalism k`]h` h`Y`b`U`h`c`b`g`U`h`N`g`a` c`f`Y`f`Y`W`c` [b`n`U`W`Y`X`]g`W`d`]b`U`f`m`]b`g`h`i` h`c`b`I` the criminal justice gm`h`Y`a` " " b`h`Y`a` c`g`h`U`V`g`f`U`W`h`g`Y`b`g`Y`z`Z`F`Y`Y`X`c`a`]hg`Y`Z`]g`U`I` []Zh`h`U`h`c`b`m`h`Y`W`c`b`]U`U`[Y`b`h` has the power to offer, underscoring the role of both institutions in maintaining colonial dck`Yf`"5`h`h`Y`g`U`a`Y`h`j`a`Y`z`Z`c`f`C`a`]g`h`c`h`c`U`W`W`d`h`h`Y`I` []Zh`c`Z`Y`F`Y`X`V`m`h`Y`Z`U`g`Y`U`W`h`c`Z`Z`c`f` []j YbYgg`k` c`i` X`V`Y`h`c`V`Y`W`c`a`d`]V`h`]b` \`Y`f`c`k` b`c`d`d`f`Y`g`]c`b`/h`Y`f`Y`Z`c`f`Y`z`g`Y`I`X`f`U`k` Q`Q` backI`Z`f`c`a`h`Y`k`c`a`Y`b`c`Z`h`Y`W`i`f`W`U`b`X`"]Y`g`h`c` \`Y`f`a`ch`Y`f`U`V`c`i`h`I`Z`Y`]b`[`V`Y`h`Y`f`I`U`Z`Y`f` the service.¹¹

GYY]b[`h`f`c`i` [\ `h`Y`Z`U`g`Y`I` []Zh`c`Z`Z`c`f` []j YbYgg`U`gc`"Y`U`X`g`h`c`C`a`]g`h`c`f`Y`U`g`Y`g`]b`[` what the church has to offer women in this scene. Throughout the service, Omishto bch]W`g`h`U`h`h`Y`k`c`a`Y`b`c`Z`h`Y`W`i`f`W`g`Y`Y`_`I`U`c`j`Y`c`Z`U`b`c`h`Y`f`_]b`X`h`U`b`k` \`U`h`h`Y`m`k`]g`h`Z`c`f`U`h`c`a`Y`I` f`%\$&L`"H`Y`m`g`Y`Y`_`U`g`Y`Z`love that, unlike the disappointments of romantic love, can bring them happiness. However, Omishto points out that the women have VYYb`I`g`U`j`Y`X`I`V`m`U`I`g`d`U`f`Y` ; c`X`z`g`v`c`f`h`c`b`c`c`Y`z`h`]b`c`b`W`c`a`d`U`g`]c`b`z`g`f`c`b`[`c`b`^`X`[`a`Y`b`h`I` f`%\$&L`/h`]g`U` ; c`X`h`U`h` \`U`g`U`f`Y`U`X`m`^`X`[`Y`X`k`c`a`Y`b`U`g`h`Y`k`c`f`X`N`g`Z`]f`g`h`]b`b`Y`f`g`" < U`j`]b`[` k`]h`Y`g`Y`X`h`Y`Z`U`g`Y`d`f`c`a`]g`Y`g`c`Z`V`c`h`Z`c`f` []j YbYgg`U`b`X`"c`j`Y`c`Z`Y`F`Y`X`V`m`h`]g`I`g`d`U`f`Y` ; c`X`z`I`C`a`]g`h`c`]g`l`a`d`m`V`c`b`W`i`X`Y`g`I`H`Y`]f`g`]g`U`Z`U`Y`b` ; c`X`z`U`h`Y`U`g`h`]b`a`m`Y`m`g`I` f`%\$&L`" " b`h`Y`f`g`h`]b`[`n`z`U`Z`Y`f`h`]g`I`Z`U`I`C`a`]g`h`c`f`Y`h`f`b`g`h`c`5`a`U`N`g`U`b`X`b`c`h`]W`g`h`Y`X`Y`U`X`G`d`U`b`]g`h` horse is gone, further evidence perhaps that she is free from such disciplinary forces. However, she still has to face the judgment of her classmates and teachers at school. < Y`f`Y`]g`k` \`Y`f`Y`h`Y`b`c`j`Y`h`i`f`b`g`]h`g`W`]h`W`i`Y`m`Y`h`c`h`Y`I`a`]g`Y`X`i`W`h`]c`b`I`c`Z`h`Y`c`d`d`f`Y`g`Y`X`V`m`

The factual detail the state trial must determine is whether or not Ama killed the dUbhYf'cb'Ī' bX]Ub'UbXĪ']b'k \]W' WUgY' f]gX]W]cb'k ci' X' VY'hUhcZ'hY'f]VU' Vēi bW'Ng' What is interesting is that the critique here is not only directed at the state but also aimed at a contemporary Native politics which locates sovereignty through the colonial ghU'Ng'fYVē[b]h]cb'cZ'hff]tory. In court, Omishto testifies that she knew they were on Ī' bX]Ub'UbXĪ' VY'WĪ' gY'g'Y'Ī' fYVē[b]nYX']h'Ī' a different kind of recognition which is experienced a connection to the space and its living environment (131). Such an answer, even though empirically based, is disregarded by the court as insufficient evidence of h'Y'f'i h' B'c'cZ]VU' ghU'Y'Ui h'cf]m'Wb'j' U]XU'Y' C'a]g'h'c'Ng'U'Wēi b'h' C'a]g'h'c'U'g'c' comes to see that this concept of jurisdiction and land as territory is invoked to absolve colonial respobg]V']]mhc' dfchY'V'h'Y'dUbhYf'U'U' C'a]g'h'c' b'chY'g'h'U'h' h'Y'W'U'h'b'Y' Yf']j'YX'V'm'Q'a Yf]W'U'b'Q'Uk' 'UbX' b'Y' Yf' _Yd'h'c' h'Y'V'ci' bX'U'f'm']b'Y'g'c'Z'a Uda U_Y'f'g'Ī' f'%, & therefore, she wonders why Native protesters outside the courthouse see these ways of making the land known to the colonizer is also how they frame political power. C'a]g'h'c' i' b'X'Y'f'g'U'b'X'g'h'U'h' h'Y'dc']b'h'h'Y'mk' U'b'h'c' a' U_Y']g'U'b'U'f' [i' a' Y'b'h'Z'f'c'i' f'f'] [\h'g'Ī' Vi' h'g'Y'k' U'b'h'g'c' h'Y' h'Y'a' h'U'h'Ī']h'Ng' b'c'c'b'Y'Ng'f'] [\h'c' h'U_Y'c'b'Y'c'Z'h'c'g'Y' [cX-damned poor animals, and k' \c']b' h']g'd' U'W'k']' 'gd'YU_ 'ci' h'Z'c'f' h'Y'dUbhYf'Ī' f'%, & "H'Y'f'f]VU' W'U]fa' Ub' U'g'c' h'Y'g'h'Z]Y'g'c'b' '5 a' U'Ng' VY' \U'Z']b' c'f'X'Y'f'c' dfchY'V'h'g' W' f'] [\h'g' C'a]g'h'c' d'c']b'h'g'c'i' h'h'U'h' \Y' Ī']g'gd'YU_]b' ['Z'c'f' \]a' g'Y'Z'c'b' d'f']b'W'd' Y'z'ci' h'c'Z'k' \U'h'k']' \U'dd'Y'b']Z'g'Y']g'Z'ci' b'X' [i']' h'y, k' \U'h'k']' VY'V'f'c' _Y'b'Ī' f'%, & "G' \Y' b'ch'Y'g'h'U'h' \Y'Ī' \U'g'U'g'h'U_Y']b' h']g'U'b'X' h']g'z'h'c'z']g'k' f'c'b' [' Y'j' Y'b'k' \]'Y']h'Ng'f'] [\h'U'b'X' 'Ī' gh'U'W'c'f'X']b' ['h'c'k' f']h'Y'b' \U'k' Ī' f'%, & "K' \]'Y' h'Y'bc'j' Y']g'W'f'Y'Z' ' not to undermine the value of treaties, its overall point is that such rights discourse, i' h'ja' U'h' m'V'U'g'Y'X' c'b' B'U'h'j' Y'X']g'd'c'g'Y'g'g']c'b'z'i' d' \c' X'g'h'Y'Z']W]cb' h'U'h'Vē' c'b']U' Ī' k' f']h'Y'b' \U'k' Ī' is meant to protect what is important to Native peoples survival. In this case, the panther represents many things | indigenouse knowledge, the environment, the feminine g'U'W'Y'X'Z'Ub'X' U'g'c' B'U'h'j' Y'k' ca' Y'b' h'Y'a' g'Y']g' "H'Y'f'Y'Z'c'f'Y'Z'c'a]g'h'c'Ng'ei' Y'g']c'b' h'c' \Y'f'c'k' b' d'Y'c'd' Y'Z'Ī' k' \c']b' h']g'd' U'W'k']' 'gd'YU_ 'ci' h'Z'c'f' h'Y'dUbhYf'Z'Ī']b'j' c_Y'g'h'Y'g'Y'U'g'k' Y' "

The second point of fact the court reviews moves the focus from treaty rights to civil rights | k' \Y'h'Y'f'c'f' b'ch'5 a' U'Ng'Ī' f'Y'] []c'b'Ī']a' d'U'W'g' h'Y'W'U'g'Y'c'f' b'c'h' " < c'k' Y'j' Y'f'z'k' \U'h' g'Y'a' g'h'c' VY'U'h'Z'f'g'h' ['Ub'W' U'X'Y'Z'Y'b'g'Y'c'Z'5 a' U'Ng' VY']Y'Z'g'm'h'Y'a' 'U'g'Ī' f'Y'] []c'i' g'Z'f'Y'X'c'a' Ī' quickly devolves into something much more cynical. What her lawyer ultimately argues]g'h'U'h'5 a' U'Ng' gh'U'Y'X' VY']Y'Z'g'Y'i' d'c'g'Y'U'd'f']a']h'j' Y'a']b'X'g'Y'h'U'b'X' h' Y'f'Y'Z'c'f'Y'f'Y'd'f'Y'g'Y'b'h'U' diminished capacity to know right from wrong. Moreover, Omishto notes that, in the k' U'm' \Y'X'Y']j' Y'f'g'h']g']b'Y'c'Z'X'Y'Z'Y'b'g'Y'Z'5 a' U'Ng' U'k' m'Y'f']b'X']W'g'U' 'h'f']VU' _b'c'k' ledge. She h']b' _g' Ī' =X'c'b' h'i']_Y' h'Y'k' U'm'h'Y' \U'k' m'Y'f' g'U'm'g' h' \Y'f'k' c'f' X'N' " "]g'X']Z'Y'f'Y'b'h'U' b'ē' i' f'g'N' meaning the one he and others like him have been shaped by . . . He tries to make us X']Z'Y'f'Y'b'h' " " " " W'U'n'm'Ī' f'%, *Ī' C'Z'Vē'i' f'g'Y'Z']b' c'f'X'Y'f'c' U'g'g'Y'f'h'g'i' W' U'claim, the lawyer consults U'b'h'f'c'd'c'c' []g'h'c' Y'i' d'U']b' '5 a' U'Ng' U'W]c'bg'z'k' \]W' \Y'U'f' [i' Y'g']g'V'U'g'Y'X' c'b' U'VY']Y'Z'Ī']b' VU'U'b'W']b' h'Y'i' b'j' Y'f'g'Y'i' f'%,) Ī' "K' \]'Y' h'Y'f'Y']g'U'b' Y'Y'a' Y'b'h'c'Z'f'i' h' VY' \]b'X' \]g'U'f' [i' a' Y'b'h'z' C'a]g'h'c' d'c']b'h'g'c'i' h'h'U'h'Ī' g'd'c' _Y'b']b' Vē'i' f'h'z']h'g'c'i' b'X'g'g'h' d']d' and childlike, not at all what]h'f'YU' m']g'Ī' f'%,) Ī' "K' \ U'h'h'Y' \U'k' m'Y'f']g'c'Z'Y'f']b' ['h'Y'Ī' U'i' X']Y'b'W'Ī']g'U'k' U'm'c'Z'g'Y'Y']b' ['5 a' U'Ng' VY']Y'Z'g'U'g'U'h'VY'g'z' d'f']a']h'j' Y'm'b'U']j' Y'U'b'X' U'h'k' c'f'g'z']b'g'U'b'Y' " C'a]g'h'c' b'ch'Y'g'h'U'h'h']g'Ī' a' U_Y'g' [Ama] want to be guilty, I see this on her Z'U'W'Ī' f'%, *Ī' "

:]bU`mžhYVđi fh'i fbg'hc`hY'a cghZi bXUa YbHJ`Í ZUWđi]b`XYHYfa]b]b[`]ZUWđi]a Y`
 \UX`VYYb`Vđa a]HhYX.k Ug'hY'dUbhYf`Uđi fYUđi`di fYVfYX`Wđh3`7`YUf`mđi di f]mđi`]b`h.]g`
 instance is alluding to blood quantum as a function of imperialist nostalgia which
 depends on the genocide of Native peoples. Omishto observes that if the cat is proven
 hc`VY`U`mVf]X`gdVWYgZđi hUk ci`X`cdYb`i d`hY`Uk gza U`Y`U`c`Y`]b`hY`Uk`hUk Ug'hc`
 dfchVđi`f%&%E`G`Y`dc]bhg`ci hihUhh`Y`V]c`c[]ghW`YX`hc`hYgh]Zmđi Wđb`higUmik`YhYf`cf`bch`
 this panther might not have come from the union of a cougar or mountain lion . . . Who
]g'hc`gUm3`5 bmt]b[`Vđi`X`k UbXYf`]bđi`f%&%E`6UgYX`cb`h.]g`hYgh]a cbmžhY'dUbhYf`hY`]ZY`
 is only important if science can prove it has not been corrupted by others. Conversely, if
 it is corrupted, then the law cannot protect it from being killed. The implication of this
 `c[]W]g]cbY`k`\\]W`Y`W`c`Yg`5 bXfYU`Ga]h`hY`Uf`i a YbhiUVci hđi]a di fYVcX]Ygđi`UbX`hY`
 violence allowed to be done to such bodies.

↳ h`Y`Y`b`X`ž`h`Y`g`hY`hY`W`g`Y`f`Y`g`i`h`g`]b`U`a`]g`f`]U`U`g`h`Y`V`đi`fh`]g`i`bk`]`b[`hc`
 consider the implications of all these arguments, and Ama is unwilling to be saved by
 them. Omishto argues that if Ama had been convicted, the jurors and the judge would
 be ebhYf]b[`Í`h`Y`d`UW`V`Y`k`Y`b`U`k`gđi`f%`E`k`\\f`Y`h`Y`m`k`ci`X`V`Y`Z`c`f`W`X`hc`Í`Z`Y`h`Y`
 k`Y][`\\`hc`Z`h`Y`f`ck`b`]g`]b`g`h`f`ci`[`\\`\\]g`h`c`f`m`ž`c`Z`h`Y`f`ck`b`d`f`Y`X`]W`ž`h`U`h`h`Y`m`U`f`Y`f`U`W`g`h`
 f%`*`E`F`Y`j`YU`]b[`h`.]g`\\`m`c`W`]g`mž`h`Y`bcj`Y`Y`j`]g`W`f`U`h`g`Z`]b`X`]b[`Í`h`fi`h`đi`U`g`h`Y`Z`b`W`h`cb`cf`
 the state court. Indeed, the trial is simply a stage from which to demonstrate state
 power, as Omishto observes:

H`Y`f`Y`h`Y`U`V`đi`X`d`ck`Y`f`]b`h`.]g`f`cca`""""""h`]g`f`YU`ma`UXY`i`d`c`Z`h`c`g`Y`k`\\`c`V`Y`]Y`j`Y`]b`
 secrets and twists of truth, but call for honesty. They believe in silences and
 ca`]gg`]cb`g`Vi`h`k`Ub`hi`g`hc`gd`YU`c`Z`h`]b[`g`h`Y`m`X`cb`h`V`Y`]Y`j`Y`]b`ž`hc`h`Y`h`Y`a`]g`h`c`f`]Y`g`
 h`Y`m`W`b`h`i`b`X`Y`f`g`]b`X`""""""5`b`X`]h`k`U`g`]b`h`.]g`j`Y`f`m`Vi`]`X`]b[`c`Z`d`ck`Y`f`h`U`h`ci`f`
 land and lives were signed away not that long ago. . . (136)

Understanding the relationship between truth, the law and power in the scene, Omishto
 begins to consider where she might be safe from the violence protected and enacted by
 the legal fictions presented in the court. However, a troubling aspect of this novel is that
 the state court does not ultimately convict Ama; the tribal elders do. Even more
 VđbZ`g]b[`Zcf`C`a`]g`h`c`ž`h`Y`Y`X`Y`f`g`Y`Ya`hc`Í`V`U`b`]g`đi`5`a`U`Z`ca`H`U][`U`U`b`X`U`b`X`h`Y`f`Y`Z`c`f`Y`
 enact the same punishment against her that was given to Eve by the patriarchal God of
 the Old Testament. In the end, in order to rescue Ama from such fate, Omishto must
 reconsider the power of the Panther Woman story and truly reject the power of the
 Christian narrative of patriarchy.

No Longer a Pillar of Dissolved Salt

Unlike the state trial, when Omishto arrives to speak to the elders at Kili, she
 _bck`g`h`U`h`\\`Y`f`Í`k`cf`X`g`k`]`V`Y`]a`d`c`f`h`U`b`h`hc`h`Y`a`Í`f%`\$`E`G`Y`U`gc`_bck`g`h`U`h`Í`h`Y`c`X`
 d`Y`cd`Y`_bck`h`Y`U`k`g`c`Z`h`]g`d`U`W`ž`h`]g`k`cf`X`ž`U`k`g`h`c`b[`Y`f`U`b`X`c`X`Y`f`h`U`b`5`a`Y`f`]W`đi`
 (160). In th]g`g`Y`h`]b[`g`Y`W`b`h`Y`gh]Z`m`U`g`hc`k`\\`U`h`U`d`d`Y`b`Y`X`h`U`h`X`U`m`đi`]b`U`X`]Z`Z`Y`f`Y`b`h`k`U`m`
 h`U`b`""""""]b`h`Y`V`đi`fh`ci`g`Yđi`f%`\$`E`G`Y`f`Y`U`gc`b`g`h`U`h`g`Y`W`b`Í`h`Y`]h`a`c`f`Y`h`fi`Yđi`U`X`]b[`
 details the state court would have found of no value, such as the way the storm

(110). A panther who is dying of sickness, tells the woman that she must sacrifice the cat to the world and to restore the animals in that dying world to health. When the woman completes the sacrifice, the panther returns to wholeness, and the woman returns to her own world but transforms herself into a panther as well. Here we learn from Omishto that the world that perpetuates colonial violence and provides a system of law that will not change is a final reference to the wife of Lo turned to a pillar of salt for disobeying the God of the patriarchy, but necessary for the restoration of the world as well.

In an important moment near the end, when Omishto is walking towards Kili, she tells her mother that she must sacrifice the cat to the world and to restore the animals in that dying world to health. When she completes the sacrifice, she returns to wholeness, and she transforms herself into a panther as well. Here we learn from Omishto that the world that perpetuates colonial violence and provides a system of law that will not change is a final reference to the wife of Lo turned to a pillar of salt for disobeying the God of the patriarchy, but necessary for the restoration of the world as well.

Her mother tries making amends with Omishto by telling her that things will be different if Omishto returns to the family. Her mother will not be able to keep such a promise because she is still enmeshed in the discourses of dominance, particularly the one offered by her fundamentalist Christian church. Indeed, her mother warns her, "Knowledge can be such a sad thing." Her mother also reveals she once lived at Kili with the elders following being abandoned by her first husband. They had taken in both her and Omishto. However she tells Omishto she chose to leave out of fear of being hated by the outside world. For her the story means something altogether different to Omishto. She realizes that the knowledge of the world is a final reference to the wife of Lo turned to a pillar of salt for disobeying the God of the patriarchy, but necessary for the restoration of the world as well.

By the time Omishto meets with her mother for the last time, she has already told her that she must sacrifice the cat to the world and to restore the animals in that dying world to health. When she completes the sacrifice, she returns to wholeness, and she transforms herself into a panther as well. Here we learn from Omishto that the world that perpetuates colonial violence and provides a system of law that will not change is a final reference to the wife of Lo turned to a pillar of salt for disobeying the God of the patriarchy, but necessary for the restoration of the world as well.

Wabw XYghUhí hYjF`Uk`k`j`bchdfchWia Y`UbX`h`Jg`_bck`YX[Y`ZU`g`]_Y`U`g`h`c`b`Y`
]bg]XYí`f&\$)É`"bXYXžhY`Uk`]g`cb`<`Yfa`Ng]XY`UZZcfX]b[`\]a`Wta`d`Yh`Ui`h`cf]Imicj`Yf`
 Ca`]g`h`c`Ng`ZfYXca`""Ca`]g`h`c`]g`h`c`X`VmVch`\\Yf`a`ch`Yf`UbX`\\Yf`glghf`h`Uh<`Yfa`]g`
 mobilizing legal authority to have Omishto committed to a hospital for psychiatric
 evaluation, the same disciplinary method he used on her mother many years ago. In the
 YbXž<`Yfa`Uff]j`Yg`Uh5`a`U`Ng`\\ci`g`Y`h`Vf]b[`Ca`]g`h`c`\\ca`Y`\\]a`g`Y`Zj`]c`Ybhm]Z`Y`\\Ug`h`c`"
 Ca`]g`h`c`"cW`g`\\Yfg`Y`Z]b`5`a`U`Ng`W`]W`Yb`W`cd`h`c`g`Umici`hc`Z`\\]g`f`Y`U`W`""G`Y`_`bck`g`h`Uh`
 Í`\\Y`k`ci`X`\\]h`a`Y`]Z`Y`W`i`X`Í`m`Y`h`U`Z`Y`f`\\Y`Y`Uj`Yg`g`Y`k`c`ff]Yg`h`U`h`a`Um`V`Y`g`\\Y`g`\\ci`X`V`Y`
 more kind to him. However she also recalls the abuse:

: cf`U`a`ca`Ybh`=h`]b`_`a`Um`V`Y`\\Y`Ng`b`ch`g`c`V`U`X`""6i`h`h`Yb`]h`W`a`Yg`V`U`W`_`h`c`
 me, the time he made me strip naked and lean against a wall while he
 beat me with his belt and I tried to cover myself with my hands, cover my
 breasts, my private body, even though the buckle was breaking my skin,
 leaving its designs like snakeskin. . . (209)

H`\\]g`a`Ya`cfm`c`Z`\\]h`f`U`Í`X`]g`W`d`]b`U`f`m`Í`j`]c`Yb`W`]g`U`g`c`U`g`W`b`Y`of sexual violence. This
 W`"U`d`g`]b[`c`Z`h`Y`d`U`f`]U`f`W`U`Í`X`]g`W`d`]b`Y`Í`k`]h`g`Y`I`U`j`]c`Yb`W`]g`Ya`d`U`g`h`Y`X`h`f`c`i`[`\`
 Ca`]g`h`c`Ng`Um`Ya`d`h`g`h`c`\\]X`Y`\\Y`fg`Y`Z`Ub`X`d`f`ch`W`h`\\Y`f`Í`d`f`]U`h`V`c`X`m`Í`":`i`f`h`Y`fa`c`f`Y`ž`h`Y`
 novel links such acts of violence not only to a general patf]U`f`W`m`ž`Vi`h`U`g`c`""]b`_`g`<`Yfa`Ng`
 violence to the stories of Christian fundamentalismÍ`<`Yfa`Ng`U`g`\\`Y`Uj`Yg`Í`X`Y`g`[`bg`""]_`Y`
 gb`U`_`Y`g`_]b`Í`cb`Ca`]g`h`c`Ng`V`c`X`m`ž`Y`c`_]b[`gb`U`_`Y`g`cb`W`U`[`U`]b`U`g`U`g`ma`V`c`"c`Z`k`ca`Yb`Ng`
 deviance and need to be controlled.

The novel ends with Omishto leaving this violent and disempowering world to
 ĉ]b`h`Y`k`ca`Yb`c`Z?`]j`""5`g`g`Y`ĉ]bg`h`Y`k`ca`Yb`]b`U`X`Ub`W`]b`h`Y`bcj`Y`Ng`W`c`g`]b[`g`W`b`Y`ž`
 g`\\Y`b`ch`Y`g`]b`h`Y`"U`gh`]b`Y`c`Z`h`Y`bcj`Y`h`Uh`Í`g`ca`Y`cb`Y`g`]b[`g`h`Y`g`cb[`h`Uh`g`U`m`g`h`Y`k`c`f`X`
 k`]""[`c`cb`""]j`]b[`ž`f&`)"É`" In the beginning of the novel, Omishto did not believe such a
 h`]b[`W`i`X`Y`I`]gh`]b`h`Y`Í`f`Y`U`Í`k`c`f`X`""G`Y`\\U`X`V`Y`b`h`U`i`[`\\]h`c`g`Y`h`Uh`k`c`f`X`Z`f`ca`U`
 particular hermeneutic perspective that would dismiss the power of song which conveys
 both Native knowledge and ways of being as a productive and life-giving narrative. In
 reclaiming the power of tribal knowledge, its sacred narratives and systems of
]b`h`Y`d`f`Y`U`h`]c`b`ž`Ca`]g`h`c`]g`U`g`c`U`V`Y`h`c`f`Y`g`c`f`Y`\\Y`f`5`i`bh`5`a`U`Ng`g`c`f`m`U`g`c`b`Y`U`V`c`i`h`
 b`X`[`Y`b`c`i`g`k`ca`Yb`Ng`d`c`k`Y`f`b`ch`U`story of exile (either as a sinner or as victim of
 primitive punishment). In the end, Ama is the Panther Woman who restores the Taiga
 k`c`f`X`h`c`Ca`]g`h`c`Ub`X`a`c`f`Y`]a`d`c`f`h`U`b`h`m`ž`Y`U`X`g`h`c`Ca`]g`h`c`Ng`Y`g`W`d`Y`Z`f`ca`h`Y`X`]g`W`i`f`g`Y`g`
 c`Z`X`ca`]b`Ub`W`Ub`X`5`a`Y`f`]W`Ub`Í`f`Y`[`]a`Y`g`c`Z`h`f`i`h`"Í`G`i`W`U`d`c`k`Y`f`Z`"bcj`Y`U`g`h`]g`c`b`Y`]g`U`
 fitting way to close the body of this dissertation, but not because it offers a utopian
 ending for this community of Native women. What Zitkala-GU`Ng`k`c`f`_`ž`_]b`Y`h`7`U`a`d`V`Y`"
 <`U`Y`Ng`g`c`f`h`Z`W`]c`b`Ub`X`Y`j`Y`b`8`f`W`h`A`VB`]W`Y`Ng`*The Surrounded* have in common is a
 somewhat open-ended question directed at who will intervene in the injustices and
 continued violence that face Native women and peoples generally under colonialism.
 K`\\Y`b`d`U`W`X`U`[`U`]b`gh`A`VB`]W`Y`Ng`W`c`g`]b[`""]b`e, the power of her story reveals itself. In
*The Surrounded*ž`k`Y`U`f`Y`f`Ya`]b`X`Y`X`V`m`h`Y`b`X`]Ub`5`[`Y`b`h`h`Uh`Í`h`Ng`h`c`X`U`a`b`V`U`X`m`c`i`
 d`Y`c`d`Y`b`Y`j`Y`f`"Y`U`f`b`h`Uh`m`c`i`W`Ub`h`i`f`i`b`U`k`Um`Í`U`g`5`f`W`]`X`Y`c`Z`Y`f`g`\\]g`\\Ub`X`g`h`c`V`Y`g`\\U`W`_`Y`X`
 f`A`VB`]W`Y`&`+É`"K`\\Uh`<`c`[`Ub`Ng`bcj`Y`"Y`Uj`Yg`its readers with,]g`b`ch`h`Uh`c`b`Y`W`Ub`Í`f`i`b`

Uk Umī Zfca ḥlYWēbhYa dcfUfmk cfX, but that one can inhabit a different space and
_bck `YX[YhfUX]h]cb`k \YFY`gca YcbY`WUb Ā g]b[ḥlY`gcb[ḥlUh]gays the world will go on
livingī `UbX]h\Ug`fYU `a YUbb[`UbX`dck Yf"5 g]b`a UbmicZ< c[Ubḥj`ch\Yf`bcj Y`gžh\Uhi
Ā X]ZZYfYbhī `gdUW`]g:cbY]g[i UfXYX `UbX`i bXYfghccX`Vmiḥ\Y`k ca Ybī not because of their
inherent biology as women, but because they have had the most to lose under
Wē`cb]U]ga ḥj`X]gc`f]Ybh]b[`UbX`X]gYa dck Yf]b[`dfc`YVḥcZarticulating its power through
the gendered discourses of dominance and its many forms of violence.

¹ See Paula Gunn Allen's *The Sacred Hoop*.

² From Foucault's *Power/Knowledge*: "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics of truth': that is the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (131).

³ Perhaps it should be noted that I am using the term "myth" for its formal rather than common meaning. As a literary form, myth is a "sacred narrative" that explain a truth about origins and human relationships in the world (Dundes 1). It is not a folktale or legend but to be regarded as a representation of sacred knowledge believed to be true and relevant.

⁴ The fictional tribe in the novel shares cultural connections to real Native nations in the area particularly the Seminole. Indeed, the novel is loosely based on the trial of Seminole tribal chairman James Billy. He was charged with violating the Endangered Species Act for killing a Florida Panther. He was later exonerated when the jury deadlocked. See "Jury is Tied in Killing of Panther" *New York Times*. 27 August 1987. <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0DE0DC113BF934A1575BC0A961948260>

⁵ "like Sarah, who obeyed Abraham and called him her master" (1 Pet 3:6 NIV).

⁶ Peter Harrison's essay "Fill the Earth and Subdue it Biblical Warrants for Colonization in Seventeenth Century England" argues among other things that even secular ideas such as Locke's theory of private property were "inadvertently grounded in specific elements of the Judaeo-Christian tradition"²³. He quotes from Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*: "God, when he gave the world in common to all mankind, commanded man also to labour, and the penury of his condition required it of him. God and his reason commanded him to subdue the earth"(18). Hence Harrison links the justification of taking land from indigenous peoples with the usurpation of the property rights that unravels the separation of the secular and religious thought in the colonization of the Americas.

⁷ The full passage reads: "God blessed them, and God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.'" (Gen 1:28). *New Revised Standard* (NRS).

⁸ "God blessed Noah and his sons, and said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth'" (Gen 9:1) NRS. Also God to Abraham: "I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come from you" (Gen 17:6) NRS.

⁹ This is also most likely a detail meant to be reminiscent of the last episode recorded in the Bible of Jesus' youth at age twelve. After this reference, Jesus' narrative begins with his life as an adult. The gap is often referred to as Jesus' missing years.

¹⁰ Rosaldo, Renato. *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

¹¹ This critique of the politics of forgiveness also invokes contemporary critiques of "reconciliation" politics. For example see Jeff Corntassel and Cindy Holder, "Who's Sorry Now? Government Apologies, Truth Commissions, and Indigenous Self-Determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and Peru." *Human Rights Review*, 9.4 (2008): 465-89.

Conclusion

I began this dissertation with a brief history of contemporary Indigenous or B Uhj Y`Zya]b]ghYZZcfhg]gbW`h\Y% +\$Nj" < ck Yj Yfzk \Uh=\cdY this dissertation impresses upon those that read it is the inherent red feminist critique and politics that can be found in the imaginative and activist writings of Native women probably since print culture was taken up by Native peoples writing in English. It is my hope that the subjects of violence, criminality, and the other gendered ideologies which continue to uphold patriarchal colonialism are further interrogated by cultural critics who seek an ethical approach to literary analysis of contemporary Native literatures. To this end, my gYVtbX WXUdhYf`Uf[i YX`h UhXYgd]hY`hY`W]h]W` j c]Wg`cZ`h\Y% - \$Nj k \]W`X]ga]ggYX` a U]b]ghfYUa`Zya]b]ga Nj`Udd`]WV]`]ImZcf`B Uhj Y`k ca YbNj`dc`]h]Vz`h\Y`X]gVei fgY`k \]W` Ya Yf[YX`Ua cb[`B Uhj Y`Zya]b]g]b`h\Y`&\$\$\$Nj`cZYred important interventions in the nationalist turn in Native literary studies as well as in decolonial politics. What Indigenous feminists have since insisted upon is the inextricable link between W`cb]U]ga Nj`fYcfXYf]b[`cZ`B Uhj Y`k cf`Xg`bchcb`mh`fci [h ideologies of race and culture but also through the impositions of gendered norms which pushed Native women to the margins of their own communities and left them exposed to the impunity of settler violence.

Chapter Three turned to the early twentieth century activist journalism of Zitkala-Sa in order to bring her writing into a discussion of violence as a result of such a reordering. While many literary critics choose to read her writing through the discourse of sentimentality in useful and politicized ways, I argue that her turn to an early articulation of human rights rhetoric offers a more appropriate framework to read her later work. First and foremost, this more human rights oriented discourse places her political writings of this period more in context with her political efforts following the G5`Nj`X]gVUbX]b[`UbX`\Yf`a cfY`]bXYdYbXYbhiUW]j]ghfUj Y`g" `b`h`YgY`UhYf`mYUfg`\Yf` pamphlet writing and journalistic endeavors sought to expose the legacies of colonial paternalism that left Native peoples victims to greed and progress and especially exposed Native women to sexual violence given their status as wards without protection Zfca `Ubm]gcj YfY][b] ` Native or otherwise. Additionally, Zitkala-GUNj`i a Ub`f][`hg` rhetoric which preceded the contemporary human rights movement offers a moment for red feminist literary analysis to consider the ways in which Native women have sought the global community to engage in a conversation about gender justice and indigenous peoples human rights claims. Indeed the limitations in her articulations of such human f][`hgYZZcfhgUgXYdYbXYbhi dcb`U`[`cVU`Wta a i b]m]g`c`X]b[`5a Yf]WUWti bHUV` XYa cb]ghfUh]gVch`gi`W`U`ghfUH[m]g]XYU]gh]Wdfca]gY`Ug]hi bXYfgVtfYg]hg`a]h]h]cbg" `

My fourth chapter considered JanYh7 Ua dVY" < UYNg`g`cfh]Z]W]cb]b`Wcbj YfgU]h]cb` k]h`Ub`YUf`]Yf`h]i hz8 N5 fVhA VB]W`YNg`W]bcb]W`bcj Y`z`*The Surrounded*, which underscores the connection between assimilation ideology and the criminalization of B Uhj Y`dYcd`Yg" `K` \]`YA VB]W`YNg`% `*`bcj Y` impressed upon its readers the ways in k \]W`B Uhj Y`dYcd`YNg`W`hi fU`Ui`h`cbca m`UX`VYyb`U`gci fW`cZ`ZfYXca `VYzcfY`h`Y`

such cultural autonomy also offered Native women freedom in gender specific ways. In her short fiction, I argued that the criminal woman represents not only the marginalization of Native women in mainstream contexts but also the marginalization of Native women within their own families and communities through the mechanisms of settler colonialism. In her work, she asks the question as to who is marginalized by our own histories of resistance and the stories that we tell about the past, even the most recent.

Finally, my last chapter turned to the novel *Power* by Linda Hogan and her imaginative and sophisticated articulation of a red feminist/decolonial politics that is at once rooted in Native epistemologies and yet not an overly simplified cultural nationalism that ignores the complex ways in which settler colonialism has set the terms of our world. We limit ourselves in the theorizing decolonial politics by seeking to protect a limited state-granted sovereignty instead of protecting the relationships which have sustained Native worlds, peoples and knowledge systems. Her culturally ambiguous work is a call for Native women to be held accountable for exposing the inconsistencies of such politics in their insistence on considerations of all forms of justice, gender, environmental, or otherwise in tribal political efforts for freedom.

In all of these chapters, my analysis cannot do justice to the sophistication of these three authors. That this dissertation offers a way into reading their work and other contemporary Native literature from a perspective that does not ignore the gendered nature of settler colonialism and its very real impacts on the lives of all Native peoples. More importantly however I hope that Indigenous feminisms as a theoretical discourse and political movement continue to pursue an end to the epidemics of violence and incarceration that continue to shape the lives of Native women throughout the world.

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