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This dissertation is dedicated to the Indigenous Peoples of Louisiana be they federally recognized, state recognized, or struggling for recognition…

The completing of writing of a dissertation is a community-building activity. It is assuredly an act of cooperation, negotiation, and family-making. My ability to weave from a multiplicity of communities, to make meaning from them in languages known, forgotten, alphanumerical, sung, tactile, material, and silenced would not be possible without the people and communities that have surrounded me. These people have come together from academia, homespaces, Gulf-shores, bayous, prairies, Southern plains, Pacific coasts (from the relocation diaspora), Great Lakes, and in the whispered words of memory (from ancestors who have walked on). I take this time to thank them now.

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Abstract

Post devastation of hurricanes Katrina and Rita, Louisiana has again become a popular exoticized presence in the American entertainment machine. As a result, scholarly studies have renewed interest in the historic ethnic diversity of Louisiana's complex chronicles and the Southern gothic tropes associated with the state. However, few have sought to connect the Indigenous diasporas of Louisiana's Native and Creole peoples with its textual productions, unveiling, or unsilencing our own narratives about ourselves as Indigenous peoples: Native, Creole, and/or Cajun. Partly in response to renewed sensationalism surrounding the Pelican State, yet mostly driven from Indigenous ties to land and preservation of culture in the face of continued erasure—this project focuses on issues of reinserting Louisiana Indigenous presence into texts of Southern literary expression in the modern era. In the broadest sense, it addresses issues of Indigenous (Choctaw/Caddo/ Houma/Chitimacha/Tunica-Biloxi) tribal peoples, within the Southern diaspora and their relationships with Louisiana Creole (primarily) and Cajun (secondarily) Indigeneity as manifested through textual representations. This research locates Louisiana Creoles as mestiza/os whose culture rises out of an Indigenous experience through a similar history of dominance as Mexican/Chicana/o culture, and other mestiza/o peoples of the Caribbean and Gulf of Mexico Latinidad through applying a lens of Indigenous cultural theory, regional studies, history, and critical mixed race studies. Starting with uncovering the emblematic problem of assumptive Indigenous absence in popular Southern fiction, highlighting *Gone with the Wind* as a seminal text which assumes Indigenous narratives of absence. In response to assumptions of absence I offer a counter narrative examining issues of survivance through physics definition of friction and theoretical applications of place-centered

story, applying this analysis through self-reflexivity and highlighting established and emerging poets within Louisiana. The text continues to explore complexities of survivance and place-centered story in the face of Indigenous marginalization and federal erasure for Louisiana Indians in Geary Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos* and within the material culture of baskets and beadwork within Louisiana landbase. Next, a historiography of Red/Black rhetorics offers an overview of key African American and Native American texts, Red/Black authors, and publications. This establishes the complex history of African/Native cooperation, contestation, and co-authorship needed when negotiating the history of Louisiana Creoles; people who are members of both the African and Native diaspora. Next, the text moves to modern literary and cultural Red/Black rhetorical repercussions of trauma, Choctawan landbase, and violence evidenced in LeAnne Howe's *Miko Kings* and Jeremy Love's *Bayou*. Lastly, tracing the ways in which tribe, nation, Peoplehood, race, and travel have impacted both land and literary migrations, the final section ends with contemporary transnational or trans-Peoplehood Indigenous intertextualities, dialoguing works by Carolyn Dunn, LeAnne Howe, Sybil Kein, MonaLisa Saloy, Coco Robicheaux, and Roger Stouff. This allows an overall examination of Indian identity in the face of racial law, tribal/federal recognition within the state of Louisiana, and the complex histories of mestizo/métis Indigenous descended communities in the state through racial segregation as resulting from Jim Crow, which is at odds with the history of Louisiana pre-statehood. These works illustrate the geographic space called Louisiana, as Gulf, Caribbean, Southern, Indigenous, Mexican, French, Spanish and American. In doing so, it highlights both the historic complexities of Louisiana's Indigenous diaspora as well as the ways that

Louisiana’s Indigenous literatures are transracial and transnational in their dialogues. Finally, I assert that by challenging notions of Indigenous absence and Indigeneity, addressing complex transnational and transracial Indigenous histories and land ties, and asserting more traditional ways of connectivity such as the Peoplehood matrix, allows for clearer possibilities of kin-ties and community negotiation between sovereign nations and Indigenous descended communities fostering (Native and Creole) voices in the Southern literary canon. In this way, the very present and real community voices of Indigenous, Indigenous-descended peoples, including Creoles, are unsilenced as viable voices and Indigenous/mestiz@ presences in the American South, vibrant alive, still struggling for recognition while continuing cultural continuity.

Chapter 1Binary Basketry: Absent Indians Done Gone

"Georgia is a dirty laundry what needs a washing" (Randall 19)

—Alice Randall, *The Wind Done Gone*

Black and White Baskets: Reweaving Indigeneity in Southern Mythos

Weaving is art that like anything else takes time and practice to perfect. Learning to balance and manipulate the materials is a study in theory as much as in practice. What I mean is, weaving is not only aesthetic, it is didactic and therefore theoretical, a way by which we make story, history, and knowledge. When I was first leaning to weave, before cattail or palm frond mats entered my story. I was given three distinct and separate strands. It was important to see and feel the difference in the strands. The alternating of the colors or textures as I worked braiding pattern made the interlocking weave; where every meeting point, every under-lap and overlap, every contact had meaning. In weaving, the spaces in-between are as present as the pattern, and allow for the study of the meshing, merging and silences of cultural survivals as readily as the bolder statement of patterned presence. [1] It's not that beautiful baskets made from a single color in a single pattern don't exist, but in my experience, much basketry in the Southeast uses three colors, patterns or materials to form distinct baskets that tell unique stories, woven together, like three voices into one narrative.

My first weaving lessons (a process I am still acquiring), I was given three separate colors or three separate materials. I still have to learn to harmonize those voices so they exist together, rather than in stark contrast or in binary opposition to one another—it is the same for literary expression. When I look at a text like *Gone with the*

Wind, I am struck by the starkness between white and black. The basket woven from these words is a narrative in black and white, and therefore is a basket that has only allowed for one story; the triumph of white over black and the *seeming* erasure of Indians.

It is hard for many of us familiar with either the book *Gone with the Wind* or the 1939 film adaptation to imagine the title and not envision a raven-haired Scarlett O'Hara running across a green hill in Georgia with the stately plantation Tara in the background. Moreover, with the success of the film adaptation starring Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable, the iconic status of *Gone with the Wind* in popular culture crosses generations, class, race, languages and national boundaries, from Barbie and Ken as Scarlett and Rhett, to "Went with the Wind" on the 1970s *Carol Burnett Show*, and the more recent "writing back" by African Americans on the text, such as Alice Randall's *The Wind Done Gone*, billed as an "unauthorized parody." While heralded as the best-selling and most popular novel of the Southern Renaissance for its message of strong triumphant women, *Gone with the Wind* has also been degraded due to its romanticism, blatant racism and justification of the Ku Klux Klan. Either way, both the movie and the text are ingrained in the culture of America. It is not only a Pulitzer prize-winning, best-selling novel and an Oscar-winning movie, it is a piece of American popular culture that just keeps the mythos of the antebellum South alive. A South of slaves and plantation owners, where class systems, economic structures and an aristocracy all its own exists in a land where… well—where have all the Indians gone?

Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* is a narrative that creates a mythos of the American South, which writes over and around the presence of Indigenous peoples, through maintaining a white/black binary structure. In doing so, this solidifies the ideas of white land claim (Tara) and the myth of the South as a white/black binary construction. Mitchell's seeming absence of Indigenous peoples helps foster a Southern mythos, or consumption of the antebellum South, which is readily digested by the American public, a South full of plantations, simpering Southern belles, black mammies, and dapper gentlemen (whose social justice might be questionable, but whose chivalry is romantic). Indians, miscegenation, and all the realities of land claims, mixedbloods and mulattoes are lost under the cover of black words on a white page. In disrupting or erasing the binary opposition of black/white, which negates Indian experience, I argue for a space to understand what Anishinabe theorist Gerald Vizenor (drawing from Jean Baudrillard and Mikhail Bakhtin) calls the "absent presence of Indians" in America's perceptions of popular Southern literature.[2] In this essay, I maintain that the seeming absence of Indians speaks as loudly as presences, and that if we situate *Gone with the Wind* as a seminal text or "gateway" text to the American South, we can see a literary construction that writes over or around Indian presence in favor of the white/black binary structure that is imposed throughout the South and Southern literature in general. Mitchell, unlike some of her predecessors (Kate Chopin) or contemporaries, does not erase Indians altogether, despite their seeming absence from her narrative, but rather writes over and around them, situating Indians within history, acts of horror (i.e., violence and savagery), and as a metaphor for the trope of savage vs. civilized. In this construction, Indians haunt the peripheral vision and history of the text, neither fully present nor completely absent. Unweaving the text from its white/black binary draws attention to the haunting presence of Indians on the margin which disrupts binary structures in much the same way that the very existence of Indigenous peoples and the Indigenous diaspora disrupts the mythos of the American South.

Peripheral Indians: Removals, Histories and Savage Presences

In her book, *Removals: Nineteenth Century American Literature and Politics of Indian Affairs,* Lucy Maddox makes the argument that Indian presence is a necessary foundational reality in American literature, not just an absence, but bound by the history of the nation and the literature of its occupants. Rather than “documenting an absence,” Maddox rereads nineteenth century American literature to “take seriously the presence of the American Indians as a factor in the shaping of the literature” (174). To do so, she focuses partially on the historiography of Indian verses European presence; this influences the literature, and the discourse of the time in which the literature is written. In short, histories co-author the literature of the American canon, and America’s history is a history of colonization, genocide and disenfranchisement [3] of Indigenous peoples, whether or not a writers of the time wrote explicitly about the presence of Indians, historically they were present. In *Gone With the Wind*, the land, or Georgia, former Cherokee and Mvskoke (Creek) homelands, factors at the center of the text. Rather than assume Georgia as a blank canvas, Mitchell does allude to the original peoples of the land, through historic references cloaked in a language of banality set in a “distant” past and remembered through Indigenous violence against white occupants.

This separation of Indians from Mitchell’s “modern” Atlanta text removes Indigenous so that the first mention of Indians appears like a fleeting apparition in reference to histories of violence. Mitchell’s narrator claims that Southerners are “born with guns in their hands" (Mitchell 19). The vast array of firearms are catalogued, succinctly and matter of factly, and in reference to not only survival (hunting), but the violence and conquering this weaponry brought to securing the colonial project in North America: "mussel-loaders[4] that had claimed many an Indian when Georgia was new, horse pistols that had seen service in 1812, the Seminole Wars and in Mexico" (19). The First Seminole War was from 1817 to 1818, in which Andrew Jackson led the U.S. Army into Spanish-occupied Florida, wherein Jackson executed Indians and slaves and sought to break rebellion alliances between Seminoles and Africans while forcing "the question of the sale of the Floridas to the United States" (Knetsch 7). The Second Seminole War from 1835 to 1842 was a deliberate resistance on the part of the Indians to the forced exile and removal of their Peoples to Indian Territory (the later state of Oklahoma). Lasting over seven years, the body count was massive on both sides, yet the overwhelming American losses served to "damage the reputation of almost every commanding officer to serve in it" (8). The persistence of alliances between Mvskogean people, Seminoles in particular, runaway slaves, and African maroons caused not only hostility towards Indians who dared to continue to occupy their homelands, but the fear of a territory where slaves might be "free and armed" (8). The Second Seminole war was particularly successful in capturing and removing Seminoles to Indian Territory. The Third Seminole War from 1855 to 1858, "was one of the more contrived affairs in the history of white-Native American relations" with Seminoles numbering less than two-hundred to the two-thousand men in the U.S. Army and Florida militia, in which U.S. forces sought to "search and destroy…capture, if possible remove" remaining Seminoles from Florida (8). In total, the Seminole Wars encompassed eleven years of battle and resistance wherein "…the Seminole fought a guerilla war in the swamps of Florida against United States troops to avoid being sent to the Indian Territory" (Holm 26). In the *Gone with the Wind*, this resistance by Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean Southeast, wherein the survival of Indigenous presence pitted itself against the colonizing project, is no more than reference to a firearm, despite being less than a decade before the beginning of *Gone with the Wind's* storyline. Aside from Mitchell's casual reference to the war with Mexico, which was a war against Indigenous mestiz@s, as much as the Spanish, over colonial occupation and land, the both physically close and historically close Seminole Wars are referenced merely as yet another protective duty for "mussel-loaders" and "horse pistols." Seminole resistance is no more than a gesture, a fleeting apparition on the periphery of text, wherein the loaded memory of violence against Seminoles hangs heavy in its absence.

Mitchell's use of language repeatedly writes around the reality of the violence of ripping Indians from their homelands. Part two, chapter eight, notes that when Gerald O'Hara, Scarlett's father, moved to North Georgia "wilderness rolled over the site. But the next year in 1836, the State had authorized the building of a railroad northwest through territory which Cherokees had recently ceded" (Mitchell 141). This banal, matter of fact language, "ceded" is used to refer to the forced removal of Cherokees (along with the other Southern tribes). This land from which springs Atlanta was "opened up" through the Indian Removal Act as a result of the Treaty of Removal or Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which seized lands from Cherokees in Tennessee, Alabama and Georgia. As James Taylor Carson notes, to refer to the expulsion of Cherokees, as well as Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and other Indigenous peoples from the Southeast as a removal is to “sanitize it, to banalize it, to avoid confronting it, for what the citizens of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi [I would add the Carolinas, Tennessee, and other unmentioned Southern states] in fact undertook was nothing less than the complete dismemberment, the ethnic cleansing, of the society and the place they [Indians] had inhabited” (10). Writing during the mid 1920s to 1930s, the reality of Georgia’s existence based on the exploitation and “ethnic cleansing” of Indigenous peoples is purposely erased, or eradicated in the language and societal attitudes, of racial hierarchy (i.e., whites as superior) of the time in which Mitchell constructs her narrative.

In May of 1862, a widowed Scarlett comes to Atlanta with her son Wade by her dead husband, Charles Hamilton (Melanie Hamilton Wilkes’ brother), to visit Melanie and her Aunt Pittypat. The narrator notes that like Scarlett, Atlanta grew, became a “bustling city” full of “fine homes” on streets “along the high ridge of land on which countless generations of moccasined Indian feet had beaten a path called the Peachtree trail” (Mitchell 142). This trail, Peachtree Street is a central space of society in the text and historically in Atlanta society, as well as having roots within the Indigenous societies of Creek and Cherokee peoples themselves before the birth of Scarlett or Atlanta. However, colonial discourse assumes authorship writing over the presence and history of Indigenous peoples claiming Atlanta, or “the territory…as the colonizer’s own…It appropriates territory, while it also appropriates the means by which such acts of appropriation are to be understood” (Spurr 28). Peach Tree Trail, forged by Creeks and Cherokees, stretched from northeast Georgia to the Creek town of Standing Pitch/Peach Tree along the Chattahoochee River (“Relating to the Boundary Line”).

Even the river named Chattahoochee bears the mark of Indian presence, but this too is lost. The name is never questioned, or explained as resulting from the original inhabitants of the land. Atlanta was built on Creek lands, but the history of Mvskoke (Creek) peoples is written over as buildings signify civilized progress over Indian land and ultimately overwrites Creek presence and history, so it is no more in Mitchell's account than a peripheral remembrance of "moccasined" feet. The land itself and its history is at the center of the text again and again, whether it is the through the struggle of asserting U.S. or colonial dominance, erasing tribal presence, or through the very language of the land itself.

In *The Rhetoric of Empire*, David Spurr draws from Mary Louise Pratt and Michel de Certeau in his analysis of travel narratives of colonizers and their erasure and writing over of colonized peoples. Spurr notes: "The problem of the colonizer is in some sense the problem of the writer: in the face of what may appear a vast cultural blankness, colonization is a form of self-inscription onto the lives of a people who are conceived of as an extension of the landscape" (Spurr 7). The pen of the colonizing project must first erase those who occupy land in order to reinscribe its own narrative, to erase an occupied land, violence must first be enacted; in the case of *Gone with the Wind*, this violence plays out through history, and a memory that privileges white survival and civilization over the "savagery" of Indian resistance. In chapter sixteen, Scarlett goes to see her "Grandma" who in actuality is Dr. Fontaine's wife, a close motherly friend to her father, and a grandma-like figure to Scarlett. Scarlett spills out her pain on love, Tara, the war, and other fears and frustrations to Grandma Fontaine who then responds with her own narrative of survival. This survival narrative invokes

Indians as removed, only historically present, and filled with violence. Grandma Fontaine confronted her worst fears as a young woman "caught in the Creek Uprising, right after the Fort Mims massacre…over fifty years ago" (Mitchell 452). Grandma Fontaine relates her tale, saying, "I lay there and saw our house burn and I saw the Indians scalp my brothers and sisters…they dragged Mother out and killed her about twenty-feet from where I was lying. And scalped her too. And ever so often one Indian would go back to her and sink his tommyhawk into her skull again" (452). She describes running through "the swamps and the Indians…thought I'd lose my mind." And ever since she has never been afraid of anything, saying, "because I'd known the worst that could happen to me," with her eyes glazed, "looking back over half a century" (453). Grandma Fontaine is caught up exploring her past, and for the reader, reinforcing the stereotype of the Indian as savage, an idea that enables "white Americans to exercise multiple kinds of power over multiple kinds of Indians" (Deloria 9). As Roy Harvey Pearce notes in the seminal *Savagism and Civilization: The Study of the Indian and the American Mind,* the idea of the Indian as savage, violent, and uncivilized, came with the European, and was an image that evolved, metamorphosed, and grew in reflection and awareness to the dominant discourse around it. Taking its cues from the colonial project, the discourse of savagery and civilization, and the mantle of the "Indian" as uncivilized— savage, heathen-pagan-killer, impoverished— evolved through removal to become the need to civilize the Noble Savage and was a process of evolution in the mindset of the popular consensus of America in specific Moments of history. What is important to remember is this binary of savagism, meaning Indian, and civilized, meaning white, is that it persisted in Mitchell's time, as is reflected in the violence of the memories of Grandma Fontaine, which exist outside of the actual historical context of the Creek Civil War.

During the nineteenth century, individual Creeks, or Creek factions, would sign treaties that sold Creek lands to the U.S. government without consulting the Creek Confederacy. Issues of assimilation, intermarriage, religion and land loss would pull the Mvskoke (Creek) confederacy into upheaval resulting in the Red Stick uprising or "Creek Civil War." In 1812 Creek leaders sought to end dissent, punishing young Creek warriors engaged in political uprisings. This "steered the nation away from the religious renewal sweeping through Indian peoples in the early nineteenth century," started by Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, The Prophet (Saunt 249). When a faction of Creek traditionalists fought back against the Creek government, the Red Stick War, or civil war, began. Creek politicians who had aligned themselves with U.S. governing policies found themselves answering to those who sought to return to former Mvskoke (Creek) ways. Attacks encompassed Creek on Creek and Indian/non-Indian peoples. Andrew Jackson in 1814 struck the decisive blow to the Red Stick resistance at Horseshoe Bend. As the war ended, the way in which the Creek dissenters would pay would be in land cessions. The Treaty of Fort Jackson "formally concluded hostilities between the Creeks and the United States" and forced the Confederacy to cede more than half of its remaining territories (271-272). According to Kathryn Braund, the Treaty of Fort Jackson was "clearly designed to destroy Musogulge [Mvskoke] power in the Southeast" (Braund 187). As Vizenor addresses, Indians were "simulated as savages" in the cultural binary of "savagism and civilization…American civilization was a cultural manifest, and a religious covenant over bogus savagism" (*Native Liberty*

197). This new image of Mvskoke Creek helped to reinforce the savagism vs. civilization binary, wherein the triumph of civilizing whiteness overcomes the brutality of Indian heathens. This trope and the land loss devastated the Creek land base, having already ceded land in the Treaty of Washington and Treaty of New York. This image of Creeks resulting from a very politically and spiritually driven civil unrest, brought to the boiling point by continuous assimilation and pressure from the colonizing U.S. government, sparks the scenario in *Gone with the Wind*, wherein the violence of Indigenous presences haunts the memory of Grandma Fontaine.

After the Red Stick war, the Creeks were cast in a different light, and as a people they submitted to U.S. domination and punishment, "dispirited and broken" (Debo 84). Immense loss of life and ceding of land as retribution for Creek violence left both a disillusioned effect on Creeks and white Americans alike. The Red Stick uprising itself helped to create a new American opinion of the Creeks, one not of farmers and traders, but as violent, as evidenced in the unnecessary violence of the image: "And ever so often one Indian would go back to her and sink his tommyhawk into her skull again" (Mitchell 452). Mitchell invokes a common trope in the fleeting historic imagery of Indians in the text, which only serves to reflect both the dominant discourse on Indigenous peoples and the histories written about them. "History promises to explain why things are and how they came to be…history is always about who is telling the stories and to whom the storyteller is speaking" (Smith 53). Images of savagery, horror and violence are not uncommon for the ways in which Indigenous peoples of the Americas are portrayed through literary, visual and cultural representations. Therefore, the text not only maintains the white/black binary so common in Southern literature, by focusing mainly on the slave/master narrative, but also upholds the savage vs. civilized binary imposed upon Natives themselves through the violence of memory and language: “sink his tommyhawk into her skull again” (Mitchell 452). The actuality of complex societal, capitalistic, political, and colonized intersections in the Southeast is homogenized, silenced and reworked to reflect the white/black binary and triumph of whites in the South. It is not only through historic imaginings that Indians haunt the memory of *Gone with the Wind*, but in the very blood and characterizations of the people themselves. Indians, mixedbloods, mulattoes and seemingly dapper Southern gentlemen who simmer with the danger of Indian barbarism are shimmery apparitions in the text where miscegenation and savagery find themselves played out in the characters of Dilcey and Rhett Butler.

Seduction and Savagery: Markers of Miscegenation, Masculinity and the Untamed

In Alice Randall’s 2001 re-imagining of *Gone with the Wind*, titled, *The Wind Done Gone*, told from the perspective of Scarlett’s half- sister Cynara,[5] a “mulatto.” The book faced an injunction before finally being allowed publication by Houghton Mifflin, so long as the title was billed: *The Wind Done Gone: The Unauthorized Parody* (Donaldson 270). Such was the state of the institution of *Gone with the Wind* as mythic text, and I would argue the historic institution of miscegenation, that tarnishing the fictional reputation of Gerald O’Hara, and by extension the South’s beloved Scarlett and Rhett (with whom Cynara carries on her lifetime affair), was as much an affront to the Mitchell estate as any intellectual property rights. For assuredly, Carol Burnett did not find herself in court for her parody “Went with the Wind,” nor the owner of Angry Alien Productions, Jennifer Shiman, who produced *Gone with the Wind in 30 Seconds* *(and re-enacted by Bunnies).* While certainly seeking to erase realities of racial mixing, between whites and Indians and whites and Blacks, the very text of *Gone with the Wind* itself is a site for the history of miscegenation. The fears that accompany Mitchell's characters' Southern sensibilities as regards racial mixing rise up, becoming definitive factors in the characterizations of Dilcey, Scarlett's half-black, half-Indian house slave, and in the character of Rhett Butler himself.

The singular living Indian presence in the *Gone with the Wind* is masked under the complexity of miscegenation in the post -Jim Crow 1920 and 1930s Southern renaissance in which Mitchell is writing-- the height of segregation, blues, and lynching in the American South. This further complicates the removed or vanished Indian presence by merging it alongside the always-subservient slave presence; so while the Indian is there, the central white/black hierarchy of slavery overshadows it in the text. Dilcey, a mixed Black/Indian slave, moves to Tara, because Scarlett believes Pork, Gerald's first slave and valet, should have his wife and daughter living with him at Tara rather than at the adjacent plantation. Dilcey is described as "tall" and bearing "herself erectly. She might have been any age from thirty-to-sixty, so unlined was her immobile bronze face. Indian blood was plain in her features, overbalancing the Negroid characteristics. The red color of her skin, narrow high forehead, prominent cheekbones and the hawk-bridged nose which flattened at the end above thick negro lips, all showed the mixture of two races" (Mitchell 62). Mitchell conflates African and Indian into a singular image of "other" where each race stands in stark contrast and is almost grotesque in its description. Her body is erect and stoic, red-skinned, with "prominent cheekbones" and "hawk-bridge nose" which flattens widely into a stereotypically

African shape over an equally racist descriptor of African or “[N]egro lips.” In this description, Mitchell draws unflattering phenotypic stereotypes of Indians and Blacks, while simultaneously invoking an image that is commodified therefore sexualized as slave, meaning the image is one of reproductive property (slave) and also stoic (the “better Indian”), removed absent non-threatening Indigenous female. Dilcey is calm and dignified, as if the stoicism of her Indian blood had tamed slightly, the “Negro.” The hierarchy of color in the South was a changing process, while whites always remained on top, historically Indians and Blacks shifted hierarchies in the South, Indians once on bottom rose as Blacks fell. “Not surprisingly, the theory that the white race was genetically destined to inherit the earth (especially the Native American portion of the earth) found strong support in the American South, since the white supremacy argument allowed Southerners to justify both keeping their slaves and getting ‘rid of their’ Indians” (Maddox 32). The “Indian threat” no longer present after Removal is significant to the character of Dilcey, the only Indian physically in the novel must be tainted with the tar brush, as there can *never* be acknowledged white Indian miscegenation in Mitchell’s Jim Crow South. Dilcey’s African slave status keeps her down in the hierarchy, and her removed Indianness disempowers her as a threat, so the Native is again present, yet *not fully embodied* within text.

In the novel, Dilcey is constructed within the same subjectifying gaze that colonized both African and Indigenous bodies in the colonial project; she is without agency and constructed without her own historic voice or land-cultural ties. She exists as a result of the colonial project through miscegenation and is constructed through the same scopophilic imagings through Mitchell’s text to which other African and

Indigenous women have been subjected. Despite Mitchell's supposed liberated or spirited white female characters, Scarlett and Belle Watling, the text "aided and abetted widespread historical and popular silences about slavery and its harsh realities well into the late twentieth century" (Donaldson 269). After Sherman's march through Atlanta, and Melanie giving birth, Scarlett returns to Tara, where she encounters the slave Dilcey for the first time in years. Dilcey has assumed the role of wet nurse to Melanie's newborn son. She brings Scarlett whiskey while tending the newborn white child. Dilcey holds Melanie's baby "to her breast, the gourd of whiskey in her hand…she seemed thinner….and the Indian blood was more evident in her face. The high cheekbones were more prominent, the hawk-bridged nose was sharper and her copper skin gleamed a brighter hue….calico dress open to the waist and her large bronze breast exposed…Melanie's baby pressed his pale rosebud mouth greedily to the dark nipple, sucking, greedily…" (Mitchell 414). After the trauma of Atlanta burning, and Melanie suffering the indignity of childbirth (a reference to the base nature of human exposure and indelicacy not to be subjected to by a lady—who don't subject themselves to baseness of breastfeeding) — the dark mother emerges to care for the white women and their offspring. The image is at once evocative of early travel iconography of the "New World" wherein the colonial period "often depicted America as a fecund and mysterious Indian woman, who both beckoned and threatened white settlers" (Bergland 54). As Dilcey nourishes the child, she simultaneously tempts Scarlett with alcohol--whiskey, the decadent vice of her father. In the physical descriptors, "copper skin," "high cheekbones…more prominent," Dilcey transforms further away from being African, the significance being Blackness taints the whiteness of the Wilkes heir, while as

Indigenous she is mother nourishing a new generation, akin to early pictographs of Native women in the Americas, exposed breasts and suckling infants, wherein the milk of the Indian becomes the sustenance of the land. In this case, it is the only way an Indian can be present— enslaved and nourishing the white colonizer— with the miscegenation of her Blackness obscured, meaning she remains a slave because of her Africanness, but is exalted because of her stoic Pocahontas savior-like quality, which invokes the early images of Indigenous mothers. However, the tie that binds her Blackness, is still not lost, as this image also echoes the legacies of mammies who for generations suckled the white children of elite planters in the South (hooks 61-62), until Reconstruction's miscegenation fears of the tar brush overshadowed affluent whites' own close past with Blackness (those who once suckled now could not even touch), despite the reinforcement of Mitchell's racist markers of Indian phenotype, "hawk-bridge," "copper skin," and "bronze breast."

In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, bell hooks forces readers to acknowledge that a Black woman's sexuality reproductive abilities are intrinsically tied to white consumptive practices. Likewise, in *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*, Jennifer Morgan locates the dependence of slavery on "exploited" African women. Using travel accounts, Morgan explores language that delineates a specific beastly language establishing a rhetorical precedent that places Africans, and particularly African women, as inferior and sexualized, much as hooks uses both visual and written media tying it to histories of dominance and white inscriptions of representations of Black bodies. Historically, the "interplay between slaveoweners' conceptualization of African women's bodies and the development of racial slavery illuminates the evolving relationship between slaveowners' expectations and the realities of enslavements for black women" as enacted through commodification, capitalistic labor, sexploitation and violence (Morgan 7). The sexploitation and rhetorical dominance of slavery and its iconography allowed for exploitation of African women in the nineteenth century, thus instilling a narrative of sexualization of Black women, which persisted well into the present era (hooks 62), as most assuredly it was present in Mitchell's time. The rhetoric and language of race has influenced the physical body and the conceptions of the physical body. As de Certeau asserts, ways in which all bodies, including bodies of land are written have created a narrative whereby we are constructed in opposition to each other, in a scheme of dominance and language of the dominant, "the conqueror will write the body of the other and trace there his own history"(*The Writing of History* xxv). The bodies of color both physically and the bodies of color as connected to land are historically colonized, erased, and rewritten. These constructions are binaries, ones in which Black or Indian is consumed, or subjugated by whiteness, and the language of dominance, and the body and history of the conqueror is written over in its place. Indian women are typically caught in the tropes of whore/seductive deer women or Princess savior á la Pocahontas/Sacagawea/ La Malinche. In much literature and iconography of the Americas, Indigenous women were "constructed to perpetuate unrealistic, derogatory ideals which consequently foster attitudes which legitimize rape and other kids of violence" (Acoose 71). Likewise, Indianness is constructed through a similar hegemonic binary of good/bad or useful/useless as African women wherein Indigenous people are disempowered, their women sexualized, and their bodies rewritten. Through

Dilcey, it so happens that a double gaze of inscription occurs, one in which she is cast through the lenses of both African and Indian subjugation. One gaze serves to keep her in her place as slave, and one to occasionally raise her up when needed as stereotypical Pocahontas savior acting as fertile Indigenous mother.

In a scene similar in construction, Dilcey's Africanness is again obscured as the Indian threat has been removed; the "double-mindedness" [6] of the Noble Savage emerges to highlight her Indian nobility in almost Pocahontas myth-like loyalty. Scarlett has taken to working in the fields alongside former slaves Dilcey and her daughter Prissy. Scarlett's sisters have proven too weak-willed for the work. Scarlett thinks to herself that Dilcey is "worth her weight in gold" because she "works tirelessly, like a machine" (Mitchell 456). The reference to gold, ownership and slavery cannot be lost, the very real commodity of human flesh as capital in the statement invokes Dilcey's Blackness. However, upon thanking Dilcey, who is pictured very much as an African field hand, the image of her as Indian comes up again: Dilcey is stoic, "immobile," her face full of "dignity" as she says, "I is part Indian and Indians doan forgit them as is good to them" (456). Her Indianness elevates her from mere chattel slave to potential stoic Indian mother again. Mitchell imagines the Indian at once inhabiting violence, as evidenced in the tale of Grandma Fontaine and nourishment or stoicism through the character of Dilcey. The Indian, never realized thoroughly, is caught in its own binary construction of stereotypes that continue through an invocation of male savagery in the representation of the dapper, yet dark, Rhett Butler.

While in Atlanta visiting Melanie Hamilton Wilkes and her aunt Pittypat with her son Wade, newly widowed Scarlett meets Rhett at a ball to benefit "the Cause"

(Confederacy). She has not seen him since the Wilkes barbeque at Twelve Oaks. Rhett is described as a man who engages Scarlett's sight flirtatiously. This is the first time she has seen Rhett since she professed love to Ashley at the Wilkes barbeque the day the states went to war. Rhett is "taller" and more "manly" than the other men, his fine tailored clothing at odds with his "powerful and latently dangerous body" (Mitchell 179). His hair and mustache are jet black, he looks "almost foreign" or ethnic, compared to the mealy pale dandies, a man of "lusty and unashamed appetites," as he moves towards Scarlett with a "peculiarly Indian-like gait" (179). Rhett is not like other men; he is powerful, dark, almost "foreign" and blatantly sexual, all of this summed up in the invocation of the word "Indian." The significance of his Indian moniker marks him as savage, untamed and potentially dangerous to the white Scarlett. Later in the novel, Rhett's appraisal and appearance are again aligned with Indianness. Described again as tall and walking "with a light Indian-like tread," Rhett looks "manly" dashing and his teeth "gleamed startlingly against his brown face as his bold eyes raked her" (620). Rhett appears to become significantly darker, his teeth flashing predatory in his "brown" face, as his sexual appetites and desire increases, or rather as his base, or savage, instincts become more apparent. For all intents and purposes he is a predator, a wolf, and Scarlett the prey, or he is a savage and Scarlett a maiden, he the Indian raiding party and Scarlett the fort. Like Metacom (King Phillip), whose education and diplomatic skill only proved a veneer to white colonials (after all they did feel justified in putting his head on a stake for defending his lands and people), or the scintillating sizzle of restrained savagery rippling under the tanned buckskin clad men on a Cassie Edwards novel, Rhett Butler is the guise of dapper gentility of Southern civilization belying the original darkness of the American savage frontier.

After Scarlett and Rhett marry, some of the most cloaked violent scenes of savagery in the novel occur. Mitchell's use of language, which much like her writing around Indian presence, writes around or alludes to markers of miscegenation in the descriptions of Rhett Butler, evokes an image of Indian savagery metaphorically without ever crossing that dirty little line of actual White/Indian miscegenation that would be so very repulsive in the segregated South. Once married, Rhett's barbarism begins to infiltrate Scarlett, and she herself is treated to the first allusions of metaphorical miscegenation descriptors. During their honeymoon in France, she buys extravagant gifts for the family, and a special hairpiece of ringlets to wear in her hair under the pert hats fashionable in Paris: "False curls to augment her knot of Indian-straight hair" (Mitchell 851). However, Rhett burns the curls, leaving her with her "Indian-straight hair," a sign of her wantonness or savageness, which emerges through her association with Rhett. While her hair is described earlier in the novel, never before is her hair "Indian straight." As her sexual appetites are awakened by Rhett during their honeymoon, so also is wantonness, that which is untamed. As Rhett becomes more violent, he becomes *more* Indian. After accidentally knocking Scarlett down a staircase, which induces a miscarriage, Scarlett sees him in her fever-induced haze. Rhett's face "dark as an Indian's and his teeth were white in a jeer. She wanted him and he didn't want her" (963). Scarlett longs for him, yet is repelled by him and those fears are in turn projected onto Rhett wherein he is both desired as "other," meaning Indian, she "wanted him," as he looms big, strong, and "dark as an Indian," yet feared him as savage, meaning Indian, his teeth jeering (963). Sex and violence collide in one of the most famous scenes of both the novel and the film. This infamous scene is played as an explosion of passion, which starts as a pseudo-rape scene between Scarlett and Rhett.

In Part Five of the novel, chapters fifty-three through fifty-four, Ashley and Scarlett reminisce over the past. Scarlett comes to the realization of all that has occurred—the fall of the South, Reconstruction, and Ashley's own melancholia over his loss of identity, wherein she realizes her passion for Ashley has died, replaced by only nostalgia for what used to be, a Georgia of plantations, simpering Southern belles, black mammies, and dapper gentlemen. Ashley takes her into his arms, hugging her in comfort, whereupon Ashley's sister India, who is a long-standing enemy of Scarlett spies them. Rumors swiftly circulate about Scarlett hugging Ashley Wilkes, but Rhett insists Scarlett attend the party wearing a daring adulterous red dress. Later that night, under influence of alcohol, Rhett embraces his savage nature, and runs "lightly as an Indian" grabbing Scarlett, swings her into his arms, kisses her savagely. Scarlett, frightened, is carried into the darkness where she succumbs to the "savagery" and "wild thrill" of his kiss (939). The fear that drove Mitchell and other Ku Klux Klan sympathizers in her era, as in during Reconstruction, was a fear that the new-found equality or liberty of people of color would free the sexually libidinous character of slaves, and in this case the savage Indian, because ultimately the safety of white women from the rape of men of color was at the heart of the issue of miscegenation (Railton 53). Rhett coming upon Scarlett, again with his stealthy, sneaky Indian gait, kisses her savagely, brutalizes her mouth in Mitchell's description, yet in the end of this savage act of sexual domination, Scarlett succumbs to the darkness of his seduction, only reinforcing the deepest fears of white Southern men, that underneath the cool Southern gentility of their women, the dark savagery of male “other” could awaken latent, wanton, untamed passions in their women.

While much literature has sought to cast Rhett and Ashley in their own binary construction of Old South vs. New, or Agrarian and Progressive, few have sought to explore the intricacies within the construction of the character of Rhett himself. Ben Rialton explores the role of race and the dangers, or rather fears of racial mixing, in the text of *Gone with the Wind*. As well as through a comparative study of Faulkner in his essay, “’What Else Could a Southern Gentleman Do?’: Quenton Compson, Rhett Butler and Miscegenation.” Railton locates his analysis of Rhett as not structured in binary opposition to Ashley. Railton notes Rhett’s intricacies as complex, being defiant to the old South yet in support of Antebellum ideologies, particularly those that supported Mitchell’s segregationist agenda, such as Rhett’s killing of a Black man for being “uppity” to a white woman. In this vein as regards the language, fears and markers of miscegenation and the historic record of Reconstruction, Mitchell was influenced by Thomas Dixon’s *The Clansman* (1905), and its film version, D.W. Griffith’s, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), each of which offers a “simple reading of the War and Reconstruction that is closely followed by Mitchell” (Taylor 3). The allusions to miscegenation in the language of *Gone with the Wind’s* descriptors of Rhett rhetorically invoke Indianness or savagery without crossing the line of miscegenation. In doing so, the savage vs. civilized binary is maintained, though completely inaccurate in its reflection of history. What is ultimately at odds with the markers of miscegenation in the text is Mitchell’s own stance, the reality that for Mitchell “the ultimate tragedy of the South…was miscegenation” (Railton 53), as if white and Indians did not form both political and marriage contracts. The reality of complex histories of racial mixing in the American South is evidenced in the mixedrace leaders of the nineteenth century, Native populations today, not to mention the reality of the Indigenous presence and diaspora in the American South.[7] In her latest work, *The House on Diamond Hill*, Tiya Miles constructs a narrative of the Vann Cherokee plantation in Georgia that is in stark historical opposition to the fictional world espoused within *Gone with the Wind*, that espouses a narrative wherein never a white/red nor black/red body existed as a property owner in the antebellum South, dominant discourse of white/black binary[8]. Yet these realities and Indigenous presences are part of the removal or absences that haunt Mitchell's narrative, written over, and around, seeping into the text from memory or corners of the language, rising up from the narrative of land itself

Land Rises Up: Unweaving the Rhetoric of Cultural Dominance

Renée L. Bergland, in *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects*, examines the phenomenon of early American literature and nation building through the manifestations of the inclusion of Indian ghosts, which "requires that citizens be haunted, and that American nationalism is sustained by writings that conjure forth spectral Native Americans. In American letters, and in the American imagination…" (4). Bergland focuses on the very real ghosts (as characters, apparitions, spirits) that haunt American literature, from Lydia Maria Child and Nathanial Hawthorne, to Stephen King and Leslie Marmon Silko, "spectral Indians appear everywhere in our national literature" (159). I have argued, and am still doing so that this haunting extends beyond Indian ghost characters in fiction, but is rather systemic of an over-all absent presence of Indians through history and literature, one wherein

Indigenous peoples exist through removed peripheral imaginings, allusions, land names and historic references. This creates a state wherein Indigenous peoples are neither present nor fully removed, but rather an apparition, spectral allusions, disembodied but fleetingly referenced through American experience, memory, language and imagination. It is in this premise that Indian presence manifests itself rising up and hovering over the text, haunting the narrative by connecting the history of the colonizing project to the very land, Georgia, and the plantation Tara, on which Mitchell's narrative plays out. In essence, the land rises up and calls forth the presence of its original tenants.

To disconnect Indigenous presence from land is to sever inherent memory. In doing so, the violence of the act creates a haunting that infiltrates the text, one that assumes Natives active historically rather than presently [an issue I will take up in the following chapters of this text]. "Native traditions account for the relation of the people to the land, their connection to America is to a geography that is historically theirs in a way that it is not for those" who are not Indigenous, and so the U.S. "is not an origin or an inevitability but rather an event in time— catastrophic, but still an event in time" on Indigenous land (Konkle 2). Mitchell's movement through land and time, Georgia, allusions to Indian Removal, the Civil War and Reconstruction is disconnected from the active participation of the Original peoples. At one point in the novel, in the midst of Civil War, Ashley has been captured, and Rhett informs Melanie and Scarlett he has turned down a chance of freedom when offered to be released if he will join the Yankee's fighting the Indians on the Western frontier, but Ashley has refused (Mitchell 286). In fact, Indians never enter "The Cause;" they are talked about when it comes to the Western Indian wars, but never mentioned as significant in the factions that split, choosing sides with the Confederacy and the North in Indian territory, nor are famous Indian Confederate soldiers such as Cherokee Confederate General Stand Watie mentioned. As Vizenor explores, Indian Removal followed by the Civil War, wherein many Indians were forced into conscription, Reconstruction and Jim Crow (both of which laid foundational laws concerning education that influenced the Indian boarding school systems) were equally significant in the "unmaking of Indianness" (*Native Liberty* 57-58). Mitchell follows the American persistence to compartmentalize elements of history as if Indian removal was not connected to the Civil War and it, not connected to the Indian Wars, or Reconstruction connected to the Boarding School Era, or Allotment to the Indian New Deal, or all interconnected to Relocation and Termination. While I am not suggesting Mitchell is responsible for understanding events beyond her time or even during her time, I do hold her accountable for suffering the same compartmentalization and lack of understanding of the interconnectivity of the historical events between Removal, the Civil War and the Indian impact on the Civil War, and subsequent Indian Wars, as her contemporaries. It is this history within the land that has been the scene upon which the struggle for dominance has played out that the forgotten memories are housed, and for characters like Gerald O'Hara, much like the Indigenous people whose presence O'Hara contributed in "removing," land is "the only thing…that lasts" (Mitchell 36).

Gerald O'Hara and his Irish desire for land is an intricacy that cannot be overlooked in relation to the binary construction of white/black in Southern literature. To do so not only ignores the Indigenous presence, but also simplifies the very real complexity of the history of Irish (and other Celtic peoples) as products of colonization. Irish history in the United States, along with other Celtic peoples (Scots, Welsh), has been a long and complicated rise to whiteness, one in which Irish, or Celtic, histories are often rubbing up against or braided alongside peoples of color. Intermarriage with Indians was a means by which many Irish, Scots and Welshmen gained capital and land in the eastern territories/colonies/states. The lands and status once robbed from Celtic peoples of the British Isles through a series of indoctrinations and colonization was not forgotten by Scots, Welsh and Irish. Rather, the hunger for the lands, culture, and theft of what was taken followed Celtic immigrants to the Americas and manifested itself in their various dealings and incarnations with Indigenous peoples. Names like William McIntosh and Alexander McGillivray are among the Mvskoke mikos (chiefs) of the Southeast and Ross and McDonald among the Cherokees.[9] And while some married into, adopted and became valuable members of Indigenous societies, others became cogs in the very colonizing machines that had driven them from their homes to begin with, mirroring the colonizing force that once colonized and subjugated them (Memmi 121). Such is the case with Gerald O'Hara, whose loss of land and helplessness in the face of colonization only manifests itself in his colonizing acts on the lands of Georgia, and the bodies of his slaves, and in essence the bodies of Indigenous peoples through the lands he occupies, wherein Indians haunt the historic memory of land.

Gerald O'Hara hungers for land with a desire of one who was denied property in his own country. Land is the way by which one acquires purpose, wealth and status, and these were greatly desired by a poor Irish immigrant. Gerald had been poor and had three prized possessions: his valet Pork, (the first slave he won at poker), his plantation Tara, and his wife, Ellen. His worth and his class was set in Tara, won like Pork in a poker game, “With the deep hunger of an Irishman, who has been a tenant on the lands his people once owned…” (Mitchell 45). Gerald set out to acquire, mark and create a fortune for himself through the lands once belonging to Cherokees and Creeks in central and north Georgia. Gerald, whose family lost their land in Ireland through the colonizing British, longs to be a planter, liked the South and became one of them taking up its “ideas and customs…poker and horse racing, red-hot politics and the code duello, State’s Rights and damnation to all Yankees, slavery and King Cotton, contempt for White trash and exaggerated courtesy to women… There was no need for him to acquire a good head for whiskey, he had been born with that one” (44). Tara, which the stereotypically Irish whiskey-drinking and Southern gambling Gerald won in a poker game, is located in Northern Georgia, built on land gotten though the “land lottery conducted by the state to divide up the vast area in middle Georgia ceded by the Indians the year before Gerald came to America” (46). The language is again passive “ceded,” as if the tearing of Indigenous presence from land was not a process of violence. Based on the implied timeline of the text, this period references the Third Land Lottery in 1820. After the Red Stick uprising, or Creek Civil War, another land lottery was imposed enforcing the Creek Confederacy to relinquish their lands in the Southern third of the state, resulting in the Southern third of the entire state of Georgia. Other portions of land to be vacated included Cherokee lands in Northeast Georgia and a section which defined the eastern end of the Cherokee Nation (Etheridge 46). Land is marked through the language as well as blood and removal due to the Lottery, which alludes to the Red Stick uprising. Indigenous presence is marked in the land that Gerald wins, the inheritance of succession of violence and domination of white supremacy of Indians, of civilization writing over Indian presence.

Thus, Gerald, the poor colonized Irish immigrant, has donned the yoke of colonizer, fitting in with the Southern mentality of damn all Yanks, gentility to all ladies, card deals and whiskey, and the institution of slavery; where cotton is king planted on lands ripped from the red man. This is particularly true for Tara, built on the 1820 Land Lottery (Mitchell 47). Tara, being on the cusp of Cherokee territory and on land revoked from Creeks after the Red Stick uprising, is very much a frontier plantation, and Gerald comes into the position of frontiersman, leaving Irish poverty, and his past as a murder (having killed an English government agent), to carve wealth out of Indian land on slave labor. This in effect reverses the colonial mindset from colonized to colonizer. In this layered reading of the text, other stereotypes are also reinforced: Irish are drunkards and Indians are savages who must be removed. Gerald plants cotton, and the pristine big white house of Tara, built by slave labor, becomes more than a dream. As years go by, the lane to Tara under which "old oaks, which had seen Indians pass under their limbs," would now greet the posh affluent guests of the newly rich former Irish immigrant Gerald O'Hara (48). For Gerald, Tara was his glory, a land where he was master; there was an air of "solidness, of stability and permanence about Tara" that connected it the very land itself (48). Complicating Gerald's story not only disrupts the binary, it triangulates it by complicating the idea of whiteness further eradicates any notion of a simplistic white/black narrative in the text, as not only are Indians reinserted, but also the very idea of whiteness becomes problematic. For Gerald, and in the final Moments of realization for Scarlett herself, the novel revolves around land, that very land which had been taken from the Indigenous inhabitants bound to it spiritually, historically, and emotionally, written into it. At the center of the text, no matter how Mitchell writes over or around Indigenous presence, land as Gerald O'Hara asserts, "is the only thing in the world that amounts to anything, for 'tis the only thing in this world that lasts" (36) and it rises up carrying the names, the memories and stories of the peoples whose "moccasined" feet (142) beat their hearts into its soil...

Gone with the Wind and Indian Presence in Literature of the South

The persistence of Indian presence, no matter how small or how problematic in a text like *Gone with the Wind*, is still a presence, a disturbance of the white/black binary. A call into the erasure of Indianness, wherein red rises up bleeding onto white pages with black words, a persistence of Indian presence despite being written over in the paracolonial literature of the American South. In this literature the Indian exists in simultaneous states of physical removal, via historic references, remarks on the land, Native place names, and as a metaphor or allusion in the savage vs. civilized binary, so as to be not physically present but removed, a memory, *and* a psychological presence, through the invocations of these historic references, metaphors and lands themselves in the text, and I would assert in other Southern literary texts as well. Therefore, the Indian in this state becomes not just an absent presence, but always on the periphery of vision in the American experience—disembodied (i.e., physically removed) yet present in the memory, language and imagination. If as Oklahoma Choctaw writer LeAnne Howe poses, "America… is a tribalography" ("Story of America" 42), it is impacted by and written on by Indigenous peoples. The very land cannot be covered by the colonial discourse of paracolonial occupation. Howe suggests "that by understanding its effects on the original immigrants, the power of Native storytelling is revealed as a living character who continues to influence our culture" ("Tribalography" 118). Teasing out the Indian presence means sifting through the dominance, or "violence of the letter," to invoke Derrida, that has written over Indigenous history, presence and contributions. *Gone with the Wind* constructs an antebellum South wherein Indians appear absent or imagined within a mythos of both the romanticized and the savage. In this chapter, so far, I have explored *Gone with the Wind's* South as a mythic history where Indians are at the periphery, and Southern gentility and the aristocratic romance of plantations and belles fades as racial perceptions change in a place where gentility and chivalry are constructed in triangulation, a conversational relationship between the human bondage and rape of slavery, the perseverance of man against "frontier," and the ethnic cleansing of the American Indian.

Stories Woven in Red, White, and Black

When I was first learning to weave, a process I am still acquiring, (my fingers forget so much in the passing of time and in lack of use), I was given three separate colors or three separate materials. I am still learning to harmonize those voices, still learning how to weave, still learning that these separate yet related strands or materials have to exist together, rather than in stark contrast or in binary opposition to one another. These days I find my weaving is metaphorical, with words; I have not woven materially in years. The last bit of weaving I did was to start a pine needle basket five years ago; she is somewhere unfinished in a box packed in moves from one side of the country to another. Previously to that the last weaving, I worked on was ten years ago--a finger weave sash of turquoise, navy and white yarn; he is most likely in a box of papers and books in the garage of my parents retirement house in Florida. While I do not practice the art of weaving, I think about it, I write about it, and I know it is an intricate part of my being that I have to return to. More importantly, I realize that theoretically it is a foundation through which I make sense of the work I do in academia and how I recognize that texts like *Gone with the Wind* cannot be allowed to exist as singular voices in the narrative of Southern experience. Ultimately, Indians haunt the rhetoric of Southern literary traditions, as seen in *Gone with the Wind*. As scholars who work in Indigenous studies, and for those of us who are Indigenous/Indigenous-descended scholars, our responsibility is to tease out the presence from these hauntings, these peripheral sightings, in the literary canon, to admit the disturbance of Indian presence, and override the acceptance of the popular Southern mythos of Indian absence. Indigenous historians and writers can work against the popular notions of dominant Eurocentric histories that subvert or silence Indigenous communities, causes, and voices, particularly in a historic or literary text, and engage in a “writing back” through tribally centered historiographies, which unsilence and uncover the Indigenous presence (Miller 39-40). This becomes particularly important when reinserting Native voices into the Southern literary canon, because Natives still live, breathe, and write in the South. With this focus on reinserting the physical presence, and not just the psychological, I will turn our focus to the Deep South, specifically the complexity of Louisiana as both a transracial state and a state with one of the highest Indigenous populations in the Southern United States.

Endnotes

[1] I first began writing about basketry as viable text, which housed historic and communal narratives for tribal peoples, particularly Southeastern Indians (Louisiana Choctaws) and Louisiana Creoles, in Fall of 2005 at MSU, while doing MA coursework in American Studies and History. I have presented on basketry as viable oral/material culture texts and as a metaphorical theoretical device beginning in 2007 at conferences such as the SW/TX PCA/ACA and CIC American Indian Studies Consortium. In 2008, I published an article based on these conference papers in the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*.

[2] Vizenor asserts that the supposed absence of Indians speaks to the presence of Indians as loudly as their presence would. Erasure of a presence is as blatant as inclusion and fictional is as purposeful an erasure as an absence. See: Vizenor, Gerald. *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska, 1998.

[3] I use disenfranchisement here deliberately to assert that pre-Nationhood, tribes held power over colonies during the Tribal Independence and Treaty Era, the governance and responsibility of tribes was within their own peoples control, and while after the Removal and Reservation period it can be argued that a people who were not seen by the U.S. as citizens could not be disenfranchised in the larger scheme of history Indigenous people had already been both exploited and disenfranchised by the rise and politic of the Nation-State. This scenario, I argue, would play out again as the power struggles over governance and control revolve between tribal Nations and the U.S.

[4] Mitchell writes “mussel-loaders,” which we can assume to be muzzle-loaders.

[5] Cynara in Randall’s novel is the half-sister of Scarlett, the daughter of Gerald O’Hara and Mammy. She also carries on a long-term affair with Rhett Butler, and the novel is told through Cynara’s eyes, by way of journal entries.

[6] See Roy Harvey Pearce and his notion of the “double mindedness” of the American populace in regards to the American mindset after Indian removal or the Indian threat, from savage to noble and the education efforts of the Indian in *Savagism and Civilization*, Chapter III.

[7] See: Perdue, Theda. *“Mixed Blood” Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. University of Georgia Press, Athens. 2003; Usner, Daniel. *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992; Jolivétte, Andrew. *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-race Native American Identity*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2007; Miles, Tiya. *The House on Diamond Hill: a Cherokee Plantation Story*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010, for various historical perspectives on the

interracial Indigenous histories the American South and the realities of the Indigenous American Diaspora.

[8] Miles traces the reconstruction and revitalization of the Vann house as well as the history and what reinserting that history into the narrative of Southern antebellum means. Of particular focus for Miles are the voices and presences of women, both Cherokee and African slaves (and those who are AfroCherokee slaves) on the Vann plantation. This work complicates and adds to the intricacies of understanding the tri-racial economy, culture and history which is often neglected in examining slavery, Indian and white relations.

[9] The complex histories of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast and their histories of landholdings, slavery, intermarriage and economic dealings with white colonials since the 17th century include narratives of assimilation, intermarriage and inclusion/adoption of non-Indians, many of whom were Celtic and or French or African peoples. See: Staunt, Charles. *Black, White and Indian: Race the Unmaking of an American Family*. Oxford: New York, 2005; Ethridge, Robbie. *Creek Country: the Creek Indians and Their World*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2003 and Perdue, Theda. *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. University of Georgia Press, Athens. 2003.

Chapter 2 Kitchen Table Tableaus: The Physics of Re-Imagining Place, Story, Survivance, & Southern Indigeneity

"Stories have/ no endings/ they say/…this story does not end" —Carolyn Dunn[1]

Story:

Anumpa nan anoli sabvnna. [2] I want to tell a story. I want to tell a story because as Gerald Vizenor (White Earth, Anishinaabe) [3] so succinctly articulates, for us, as Indigenous/Indigenous descended peoples: "You can't understand the world without telling a story…There isn't any center to the world but a story" (Vizenor, *Winged Words* 156). Sitting around kitchen tables we made sense of the world. When I was small, I would gather my dolls, play things, hunkering under the kitchen table. The warm, rich smell of coffee filling the spaces of the room as my mother and father worked. I had a father who worked in the kitchen, bringing in fish and shellfish from his daily catch, cooking alongside his wife. Neighbors would visit, my sister would crawl under the table with me, three and half years my junior, her quick darker busy hands disrupting my well-planned and organized doll space on the cracked linoleum. A clicking sound or pointed lips, or the occasional finger-snap from my mother would silence us. The truth is, we would rather gather together, listening as Mom cleaned and worked, and as Dad stood, for hours it seemed making the perfect roux for his seafood gumbo; mom talking with Aunts and grandmas, as she made cornbread and we listened. Above the table, the cadence of my mother's voice was a warm melodic timbre. As she talked, sometimes standing, sometimes sitting, her strong arms kneading or mixing dough for breads (corn, risen, baked or fried), my sister and I learned what was unfitting behavior, what my mother and father would and would not stand for. Above all else, we learned never to give in, never to compromise who we were. At this table we learned about menses, babies, love, and to embrace our difference. We learned why language was sacred and to speak with caution. With my younger sister at my side, I learned not only who I was, but who I was not. Through these conversations, listening under the table, to eventually sitting beside mother, and occasionally my father, I knew there was a sense of overcoming oppression, poverty, pain, and pride. The storytelling at this table *gave me tools*, a way to make meaning of who I was, who I am as an Indigenous person in a world that sought (and continues to seek) to erase my presence. I learned at the kitchen table through story.

Story=Theory: Situating Narrative Terminologies

Story is didactic. Theory is didactic. Through story, our theory, we learned, in this sense: "[t]he truth about stories is that is all we are" (King 2). In other words, the center, the heart of meaning-making, is story. Story explains all the mysteries of the universe, it connects all of narrative form, while simultaneous explaining how it all begins and explaining how we as Indigenous peoples behave, while carrying inside the stories the codes of conduct and the laws of nature: the heart of everything is all interconnected stories. Therefore, I find it fitting to begin where so many conversations begin—at the kitchen table. In my experience, much goes on around many an Indian's[4] kitchen table. There are discussions about place, positionality, each other, sometimes a mother or sister lighting a cigarette and fanning it with the remark "we need tobacco," and sometimes we do. I have sat many a time, at many a kitchen table, with many women: mixed, full, Choctaw, Creek, Creole[5], Shawnee, Tsalagi[6], Nakoda[7], and we pull forth from our mouths, our pockets, our chests, pieces that we carry, bits of bone and cedar that are our stories, our memories. We organize them like puzzle parts on these kitchen tables. It is in these times— amidst the cigarettes and coffee in the middle of the night surrounded by my kin— that I am known. I am situated in relation to the pieces we carry.

Story is our theory. As White Earth Band Ojibwe scholar and author Gordon Henry Jr asserts: "Stories are intertextual, transcendent, evocative, and arguably efficacious. We could never write enough to say what stories are, how they function, or what methodologies might be best for considering them as primary critical tools… In fact, stories may lead to, may have already led us, to theories and then back again to stories" (Henry 18). Therefore, the terms story and theory *are* interchangeable. They are processes through which we as Indigenous peoples make meaning of the world around us. Story is a way by which we theorize; it is a meaning-making process, a didactic narrative. As Indian peoples, we overcome trials through story. For my family and me, our memory and our story, feeds into our theory on how we come to be and leads to our survival. And so, it is at the kitchen, which has long been a geographic space for moments of understanding, clarity, instruction, discipline, and laughter, where stories are often told, where I sought to begin this narrative. The kitchen table has also been for me a place of knowing I belong.

As I have sought to address in the first chapter, and even the introduction, a majority of paracolonial texts assume linear time constructs (this does not mean that all hegemonic works of fiction have linear narratives- they certainly do incorporate multimodal voices and flashbacks, particularly work written from the 20th century on but ultimately the concept of time remains linear-past is "remembered"), meaning time ultimately moves forward allowing for concepts of past/historical, present, and future to exist. This also allows for the writing over of historical events, as we have seen wherein the conqueror subsumes the narrative of colonized — reinscribing events authored by the authority of the hegemony. This in turn creates scenarios of hauntings or specters of the Original People—absent/presence. While recent scholarship has devoted much attention to uncovering notions of Indigenous hauntings underneath paracolonial inscriptions, I would like to begin to offer another way of thinking about time through land—specifically our Native lands—meaning all of these lands. How we engage with understanding meaning-making, or theories of how the world works, are understood through stories of place and our relationships to those places.

Therefore, this chapter offers a counter- conversation to absent/presence so as to illuminate stories (theories)[8] of survivance (survival plus resistance) and place-memory applying the definition of friction in physics to survivance theory (Gerald Vizenor) and Native place-centered events rather than time oriented. I argue that how stories are understood is through place-centered narrative, rather than paracolonial notions of past, present, and future (historical, colonization, paracolonial). Using and applying the definition of friction illustrates survivance as a physical concept, as a force that is both resistant and negotiated (balanced) in terms of the dominant society, and becomes a way to examine and understand issues of survivance for Indigenous peoples. Likewise, I illustrate Native concepts of time as not a linear process. Time, or its closest approximation, works through events associated with space/ land. Land is neither past nor present. It holds past, present and future all at once; it is constant, moving only through space, and is more easily understood through the symbolic nature of the atomic planetary model of the atom[9]. Additionally, the conversation and stories recalled here show how friction and place as defined by the science of physics are an appropriate physical analogy for defining the acts of resistance and negotiation Indians must engage in to maintain survivance, while simultaneous dispelling the Indigenous centered problems with notions of linear time. This allows place to exist at the intersections of the past, present, and future of our narrative structures as we navigate in efforts survivance (i.e. survival plus resistance).

First, I articulate an argument for place-driven story narratives as viable theoretical practice, while articulating survivance as a physical act understood through physics, using Indigenous metanarrative practices to help illustrate my theoretical claims, or as Gordon Henry has told us, stories will lead to theories, and back to stories (18). Next I offer examples of survivance as physical acts of friction in samples of work from MonaLisa Saloy (New Orleans Creole), Michelle Pichon (Cane River/Slidell Creole), and Thomas Parrie (Choctaw-Apache of Ebarb), specifically within the much imagined absence of Indigenous Louisiana geographic space.

Place/Time= Tribalography and Place-Centered Narrative

Native stories, Native dialogue, “pull all the elements together of a storyteller’s tribe, meaning their people, the land, and multiple characteristics and all their manifestations and revelations and connect these in past, present and future milieus” (LeAnne Howe “The Story” 42). This is tribalography as defined by LeAnne Howe (Oklahoma Choctaw). In essence, Howe is taking the heart of Native story and meaning-making tradition, linking these with the lands we inhabit to marry them into a terminology or philosophy: “tribalography.” As Craig Womack Mvskoke (Creek) suggests, “we have gone too long thinking that storytellers cannot also talk about stories, that fiction writers and poets do one thing and critics and academics quite another” (Womack 9). Craig Womack and LeAnne Howe have both commented on the “encyclopedic knowledge” with which relations “recall family tribal histories with a breadth that is astounding” (Womack 9). When encountering family members and/or Indians within the community it is evident that tribal people are “incorporating the oral stories of their families with written documents…creating a new discourse at the end of the 20th century” (LeAnne Howe “The Story” 46). These stories, these memories, are reaffirmation of identity and inheritance, they stand against assimilation and homogenized definitions of identity, and they are forms of survivance. In telling these stories, Indigenous peoples pull from the lands, the spaces, places, and peoples they connect with, and those stories are connected by familial relations as well as place and space, they also speak to history, literature, and larger concepts that influence how we make meaning: these stories are didactic, they inform our identity-making processes.

As a child, the first thing that happened when I came home from school was my mother would sit us down at the kitchen table. I know this is a familiar scenario for kids growing up—the afternoon snack at the kitchen table. Mom would have us tell her about our day and we would sit chirping away the highs and lows. Later, a neighbor or family member would come over, coffee would go on and as I grew, I sat in on these discussions, my mother motioning for me to listen, to think, to absorb, while leaving the adults to their conversations. I felt so privileged and grown up, to be part of this table of women, to smell and taste the coffee while absorbing the stories and laughter. I grew up at this table, under it listening, sitting at this table listening and learning. When I was a teenager we all would gather around this table on Friday nights, telling family stories, telling our stories, fitting individual experience into larger familial memory. Bits of home space sprang to life, and we fitted them alongside new space, Cane River Natchitoches memory lead to stories of Red River Indian Agency, not because of a linear connection, but because of the connection of person and place. Relatives I never knew were alive at this table; I can still see them, still taste the flavors of geography of home in the recipes passed down during nights at this table. It was at the kitchen table that I learned that there is individual story, there is community story, and there is tribal story and these stories are memories that cannot be compartmentalized. They are interdependent, extensions of those around, before and after us, meeting in the geographic space and place of their invocation—us sitting at the kitchen table.

I am not alone in this understanding; many Native writers and scholars of Native writing cast memory and/or community story as a form of inheritance that writers and academics circle back to as defining the self. Chadwick Allen, similarly to LeAnne Howe, notes: "Contemporary colonial/postcolonial personal and political identities remain focused on the issue of Indigenous memory," or what Allen names "blood memory" (93). Indigenous or blood memory *contributes* to tribalography, and like individual memory, community memory, and tribal memory, it cannot be compartmentalized. Neither can tribalography. Tribalography accounts for the interrelationship and ways Natives draw from these interconnected storied (theories) memories. In both academic writing, and writing within Indian communities, the relationship of tribalography is how identity is situated. For Indigenous scholars "…this means not only reimagining the possibilities for existence and ironic identity within native communities, but also reimagining a scholarly relationship to writings by Indian peoples" (Powell "Rhetorics" 401) to take into regard the "ancestral memory," in action alongside personal memory (Womack 233-24). Therefore, tribalography is a result of Indian inheritance. This ancestral memory, Indigenous memory, or the culture of "blood memory" (as Allen references it) is a culture of knowing we inhabit more than one place of knowing, the acceptance that poetry, history, and prose are cultural reflections of deeper memories, inherited memory and experiences, dialogues that grow. The *practice* of drawing from it is tribalography. Powell reminds us that memory and story drawn upon in practice or "tribalography" are active agents in Native texts.

> Scholarship is an act of imagination and telling stories of the imagining, stories about how the world works. Imagination, for Gerald Vizenor, is "disheartened" in the manifest manners of 'documentation and the imposition of cultural representation' by many Euroamerican scholars [*Manifest* 76]. What Vizenor is talking about specifically is a sort of imaginative liberation of Indigenous peoples from the stories being told about them ("Rhetorics" 399).

The nature of tribalography is active, not passive. This is key to understanding Indigenous peoples as continuous, adaptable, and vibrant rather than conquered, vanishing, or absent. The totality of Native writers and peoples must be accounted for, and the use of our own story, full and laden with memory, alive and changing with stories that respond to memories and meet in "past, present, and future milieus" (LeAnne Howe 42), allows for this "liberation of Indigenous peoples from the stories being told about them" (399). Tribalography manifests itself in many ways. It can be through remembrance of familial history which generates talking and letting stories converge. Tribalography promotes dialogue with text and in doing so creates new stories; it creates dialogue and poetry, all which use the inheritance of what it has meant to be in and of an Indigenous culture. How these stories become actively linked, is concept based, place/space or relative (kinship) centered rather than tethered by a western concepts of linear time.

In LeAnne Howe's much cited interview with Southern literature scholar Kirstin Squint, Howe comments on Native concepts of time saying, "land is past tense and present tense at the same time. The land actually is a wonderful space in physics that is all things at once—past, present, and future" (qtd in Squint 219). In Indian concepts of time storytelling is concept or event-linked rather than linked in linear narration: "often as the storyteller is reciting an account or event, another trigger is tripped and another narrative begins" (Craig Howe 162). Sometimes this creates a new dialogue, a new dimension, sometimes it spawns a new story, a poem, a new telling, and therefore the text is in a manner a coal, from the original fire, that lights a new fire. When I examine these stories I see them as a way by which Indian identity is defined and redefined; it is active. This is tribalography and it becomes an integral key in the physical machinations of survivance.

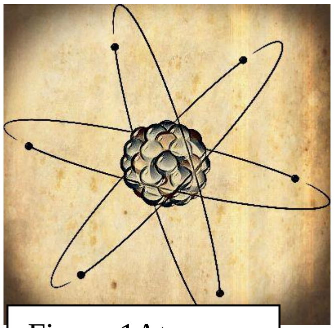


Figure 1Atom model

Time is not linear, it is transcendent, it moves about the place, or individual, the people, it intersects, it is in many ways like atomic planetary model of the atom[10]—past, present, future meeting. What I mean using this *analogy* is the center or nucleus represents the land (geographic space), space/event concept. The oblong orbits used in the diagram to denote orbiting electrons, are the energy, stories, memories of past, present, and future happenings that revolve around the geographic space[11]. These orbits intersect, past, present, future colliding, yes, but always forever, orbiting round the landbase core, the spatial place: "energy works not by fission (splitting) but by fusion"—attracting and melding (Awiakta 69). This requires acknowledgement that maintenance of survivance and tradition functions the same. In other words, these stories are drawn towards their places of origin, drawn to likeness, (other tribal members, familial ears), to engage in survival plus resistance, there must be some coalescing of tribalographic activity (as we will address in the second section, how we maneuver, overcome friction in a world of dominance). The fact that there is no Native linear time coincides with the concept that is there is no linear Indian tradition—it meets, bisects and twines about issues of history, cultures, tribal affiliations, mestizaje/ mixedbloods[12], race, gender, sexuality—and they all must be related and discussed to understand the whole, the relation and complete totality of the People (Warrior 124). While a piece can be modified (negotiated), a piece cannot be removed, otherwise the molecular structure is defunct; in other words, you cannot take Native stories out of their context, separating them from their lands, storytellers, and the multiplicities of factors in which they are formed, told, responded to, and retold, so on and so forth . In this way Indian engagement with text becomes another story, another voice, an active and creative agent in American history, and tribalography, as connected forever to these paracolonial (occupied) lands, impacts American narratives: "America is a tribal creation story, a tribalography" (LeAnne Howe 29).

As I stated before, Native stories are didactic meaning-making processes; through the process of tribalography they "pull all the elements together of a storyteller's tribe, meaning their people, the land, and multiple characteristics and all their manifestations and revelations and connect these in past, present and future milieus" (42). The permeable nature of commentary, story, poetry, essay and autobiography is tribalography; it is Indian by their very inner relationships of inheritance, and connection to Native land/ event concepts of time over linear time, bringing all elements of the person's family, tribe, people and land into conversation. Tribalography accounts for narration of personal, tribal, and communal memory. Tribalography acknowledges that these memories are not compartmentalized but dependent on and interrelated to Native dialogues, and are inherent in Indian texts. Tribalography is kinetic; it is a force that enables our ability as Indian people to overcome moments of cultural friction in our bid for survivance.

Survivance= Survival + Resistance/Friction: Story of Survivance

Survivance theories are didactic. Survivance narratives are stories by which we make meaning. Survivance allows us as Natives to reimagine, tell, create, and reinscribe stories of our own survival and resistance onto the literatures and material cultures of dominant society, while at the same time it recognizes the Euroamerican mediums/media in which we articulate our stories. As Vizenor explains, "Survival, Resistance, Dominance" are interconnected; while "survival suggests more of a reaction, and that's that. It's tied to something and describes the circumstances of a response, a survival. My [Vizenor's] idea is that we understand what dominance is, a condition…We need a word like dominance that speaks and is understood in the context of our will to live" (Vizenor "A Chance of Survivance" 5). Survivance is "as powerful as 'dominance'" (5). Drawing on Jean Baudrillard's *Simulacra and Simulation* (1984 English translation) and Mikhail Bakhtin's *The Dialogic Imagination* (1975), Vizenor's theory of survivance marries the concepts of cultural survival to modes of resistance while addressing the absence, imagined or otherwise of Indians, and notions of Indigenous authenticity (or “the real”) in a world forever marked (occupied) by the colonizer (hegemony). Maneuvering through the world of simulated manners based on the western ideal of “the manifest” [13] means survivance is “not only reimagining the possibilities for existence and ironic identities within Native communities, but also reimagining a scholarly relationship to writing by Indian peoples, one that hears the multiplicities in those writing and the stories told about them” (Powell “Rhetorics” 401).

Remember, tribalography (to pull all elements of a storyteller’s person, tribe and history into account) is an active way in which Native people make meaning of the world around us. Tribalography is important to overcoming cultural friction, as the ability to draw from Indigenous memory/story is the force by which moments of cultural friction are negotiated. Within the discipline of American Indian Studies, survivance is an overarching theoretical term, coined by Gerald Vizenor, and applied by Craig Womack Mvskoke (Creek), Jill Doerlfer (Anishinaabe), Malea Powell(Indiana Miami/ Eastern Shawnee) and other prominent Native scholars. Native survivance is “more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are active presence” (Vizenor *Fugitive* 15). In other words, in the absence of the real, survivance narratives trump pseudo-imagined narratives of Indianness in favor of experienced Native survivance (survivals plus resistances). Survivance is active; it requires physical and figurative negotiations and movements to maintain and retain Indian identity. As Indigenous people we not only overcome, outlast, and consistently remain despite a history of physical and cultural genocide, but through which we also resist that colonization, and its drive toward assimilation and annihilation of us as physical entities and cultural memory/practitioners. To “reimagine” telling, creating and imposing stories of our survival and resistance onto the literature and material culture of colonized modernity is survivance. My work here builds from/on work done on issues of survivance by offering a new way to define and examine the ways in which Indian identity /memory/story is maintained in a paracolonial world. My work distinguishes survivance story as a physical act that results from moments of cultural friction. That is to say, in order to maintain Indigenous identity moving within the dominant culture as “other,” American Indians encounter moments of conflict. This conflict can be characterized as cultural friction. How these moments of conflict are confronted and maneuvered by using tribalography is surviving friction and therefore, the *physical act* of *survivance*. By characterizing survivance as a physical act, it enables us to relate to and understand the ways Indian peoples negotiate dominant culture/discourse while maintaining specific Native identities.[14]

In those times, I sat under the kitchen table, my dolls and I, the cadence of my father’s and mother’s voices as they talked to siblings, friends or other family members, was both reassuring and educating. It was through my family that I, like many Indian people, learned not only who I was, but who I was not. Through these conversations, I knew at a young age there was a way of overcoming oppression and poverty. “Native American Indians have endured the lies and wicked burdens of discoveries, puritanical destinies of monotheism, manifest manners and the simulations of dominance” (Vizenor *Manifest* 16), yet within Indian writing there are modes and themes of resistance, survival and maintenance of Native inheritance. We resist assimilation while functioning within the dominant culture; we use modes and tools of EuroAmerican culture, (writing, digital media) to survive, retell and "reimagine" our own stories. This is what Gerald Vizenor has named our "survivance." Malea Powell suggests:

> that the language in which this struggle [Indigenous experience verses hegemonic narrative] is named—dominant/oppressed, center/margins, colonizer/colonized—is itself a trap, an integral part of the rhetoric of empire. We need a new language, one which doesn't convince us of our unutterable and ongoing differences, one that doesn't force us to see one another as competitors. We need a language that allows us to imagine respectful and reciprocal relationships… (Powell "Down by the River" 4).

Survivance is part of this new language. Survivance is a physical act of both balance and resistance. As Creek storyteller-theorist Craig Womack argues, this does not mean being swallowed up by the dominant culture, or that change is a pollution or negation of tribal identity (Womack 31). The story of survivance is kinetic, it is always changing, new stories being written.

For me one such story of understanding survivance and the friction of maintaining identity come in the story of my father. On Friday nights my father and I would sit around the table talking. My father was in college earning a degree in physics when I was in junior high school. He brought home lessons, curiosities, and a lust for knowledge that I will always remember. Through the years as I grew he would find ways to explain life's obstacles through the "natural laws" he learned as a student of physics. One such life lesson goes something like this:

> *Reaching his wide blunt fingers into a bowl of grapes my father pulled forth a plump round specimen "Imagine you are this grape." I nod, wondering why I am a grape.*

> *"The kitchen table is the world, how does the table feel?" I feel the table and comment on the smoothness of its texture. My father then rolls the grape across the table's surface.*
>
> *"How did that grape roll?" he asked.*
>
> *"Easy," I said.*
>
> *"Ahhhh easy…but what if we change the surface of the table?" My father takes a roughly woven placemat and places it over the table. "Now roll the grape again." I roll the grape, noticing it didn't roll as far. "See, the surface you are moving on dictates how much energy, or how much force you have to exert to move a particular amount." His eyes are bright and he is smiling. "Now roll it with more force." I roll the grape harder and it travels, bouncing on and off the heavily textured placemat. My father nods his head, takes the grape in between two thick strong calloused fingers and says, "This is you, this is me, and the table is the society we must travel or move in. Remember how hard you have to sometimes push to arrive at your destination, still being a grape." He winks at me and pops the fruit into his mouth.*

Therefore, like this example my father showed me many years ago, using and applying the definition of friction, as a force that is both resistive and negotiated (balanced) in terms of the societal surface, is a way to examine and look at issues of survivance.

Tribal culture and western culture are rubbing against each other, in acts of friction. The borders are never clear; they are static, chaotic, and carry impact that has to be recognized on both sides. Just like that grape rubbing against the table, it pushes down on the place mat, while the mat pushes up, in between the meeting points we find friction. Friction and survivance are understood just that way in relation to each other, metaphor, laws, action, and analogy. Cherokee and Appalachian writer/storyteller/poet Marilou Awiakta[15] writes in *Selu: Seeking the Corn Mothers Wisdom*: “Everything is in physical, spiritual connection—God, nature, humanity. All are one, a circle. It seemed natural for the atom to be part of this connection. At school when I was introduced to Einstein’s Theory of Relativity—that energy and matter are one—I accepted the concept easily” (67). Why not the atom, or physics as a way to look at, examine, Indian ways of being and engaging within a world built on colonization? “In Native languages there is no word for ‘science,’…the tribal process of perceiving, thinking, acting and ‘coming to know’ that have evolved through human experience with the natural world” (Cajete 2) is the result of active participation in the natural world. If we see science or physics as “a way of understanding the world, a story of how things happen, a way that human beings have evolved to try to understand existence in time and space and relationships (3)” about finding elements, laws, and in a sense the “culture” way of being within the natural universe; hence looking at Indian “texts,” and identity formation through the realm of science is keeping within an understanding of “the natural processes of the world” (3). It is part of the didactic narrative of story, part of this thing we call theory. Using or recognizing physics as a way by which we understand the nature of theory, literature, or meaning-making is not a new concept. As Michael Whitworth notes, not only has literature ventured to include the laws of relativity and science, but physics has sought to understand the natural world through “descriptions” as much as “explanation” (4). Additionally, other scholars such as

Gregory Cajete (Tewa), Leroy Little Bear (Blood Tribe) and Donald Fixico (Shawnee, Sac & Fox, Muscogee Creek, and Seminole) also work at the intersections of Native theory and Native science. Moreover, other scholars like Susan L. Dunstan's "Physics and Metaphysics: Lessons from Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*" and the armature quantum physicist time traveling Choctaw character of Ezol Day from LeAnne Howe's *Miko Kings*, illustrate the marriage between Native theory, literature, and Indigenous/western physics, in which I am in larger conversation.

Here's how cultural friction works: our varying cultures are rubbing against each other, in acts of friction—when one rubs against anything, it takes part of the one it is rubbing against into it—the problem here is how to move forward without changing the composition of the whole. A round tire which runs straight lines on a concrete road loses bits of its rubber to the concrete, it also takes bits of the asphalt into its grooves, yet at the end of the day is still seen as tire. Likewise in Native movement within society, we must absorb this world of neon and concrete while still maintaining cultural identity; we must resist and negotiate. If survivance is characterized by resistance plus survival, it is a negotiation between the two, a physical act, whereas active agents, we retell and reimagine our own story as a way to survivance. As Indian people we are the tires, which travel the concrete landscape of modernity. Survivance therefore becomes a physical act of both balance and resistance. Friction is a resistive force that prevents two objects from moving freely against each other. Remember the grape rolling on the kitchen table, and the tire rolling on the pavement; imagine the grape as a race or culture, a person outside the dominant western identity. The grape or tire must exert a specific and certain amount of force to resist being stationary. It must *push harder* to move on the surface, but *balance* itself so the force does not break, damage, the *recognition of itself* as grape, or tire. If the grape rolls too hard, pushing down too much on the table, it will split. If the grape doesn't push hard enough, it goes nowhere.

The processes of overcoming moments of friction are specific and defined within physics. The first stage is "static" friction, this being the force that holds back a stationary object up to the point of initial movement (Cranford). Remember back to fourth-grade science and that every action has an equal and opposite reaction. The constraints and weight of Euroamerican society are pushing on and around the very space we inhabit, while our physical presence asserts back. After this comes "kinetic" friction. This is the force holding back regular motion, i.e., the restrictive movement of an object moving on a relatively smooth surface at a regular rate at a regular angle (Cranford). If we think of the process of cultural friction as it relates to the process of survivance, we can think of restrictive law, societal constraints, and historical inheritance as the rough surface we must move against. We *use* tribalography as a force of momentum to retain place, space, and personal/tribal identity. This is a conscious resistive act maneuvered, negotiated, and resistive in terms of the surface (society) of the dominant culture. Once the initial act of defining, or responding/reacting to definition or breaking from definition (i.e. overcoming static friction) is achieved, the battle of kinetic friction begins—further acts of survivance—.

Remember how a tire runs on smooth road, versus a road with potholes, or how the grape rolled on the table versus on the place mat: this is the "surface" of movement. The question of the smooth surface (table) verses a non-smooth surface (place mat), what my father would call a "deformation coefficient," is evocative of the restrictive movement that is sliding or rolling on one or both surfaces that are soft and deformed. I'll call dominant culture's perceptions of languages (cono/denotation), historical perspectives, histories of violence, racism, sexuality, gender, silencing of tribal and clan politics, and issues of sovereignty the damaged surface (like a potholed road) the damaged surface. These "surfaces" upon which we move or negotiate movement are rough; we as Indigenous peoples must use force to move forward. Like the grape we must find the force to overcome the surface and roll forward while remaining Indian. We use tribalography as a force to move, overcoming the friction of society or the "surface."

If U is the coefficient of friction and Fr is the resistive force of friction divided by the perpendicular force or weight (W): the equation is represented as: U= Fr/W (Cranford). The weight of western society, western laws, are all rational substitutions. While assigning numerical values to the energy exerted by Native people to move and overcome the weight of restriction in order to create movement is not possible, there is still no denying the energy displacement required to move and relocate, to create and overcome the weight and impositions defined by outside non-Indigenous communities. For many Indian artists tribalography becomes Fr—the force by which moments of friction is overcome. To inhabit more than one way of seeing/knowing— "to read and listen from a different space," to be in and of the recognition that the intersections are numerous, conjoined, and moving, to be of a tribal reality and history means to break from constraints of the binary western world and to demand movement within a tribal surface...to "know it intimately, the intricate context of history and family, to dance it, to be it" (Harjo *Map to the Next World* 39). Tribalography is the *force* used overcome cultural friction and maintains survivance.

Survivance= Tribalography> Friction: Survivance in Louisiana Literary Expressions

The western academic tendency to classify Indian texts without accounting for tribalography is the result of "[T]the tendency to put Native people in this reductive tainted/untainted framework occurs at least partially because Indians are thought of not in terms of their legal status which is as members of nations, but as cultural artifacts (Womack 141)." As we will see in chapter three, Geary Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos*, shows this concept very literarily, wherein the last speaker of the Ofo language become a cultural artifact within the matrix of the Smithsonian institution. While chapter three continues to look at tribalography and Indigenous presence in *Last of the Ofos,* I want to turn our attention to concepts of tribalography and survivance, overcoming friction, in the work of marginalized Indigenous-descended communities within Louisiana, specifically the African-Indigenous mestiz@ Creole community, and the Choctaw-Apache a state recognized Indian community.

In the work of award-winning Creole poet MonaLisa Saloy, along with new emerging writers Michelle Pichon, and Thomas Parrie we can see how memory informs identity, which in turn is a tool to survive cultural friction, or survivance. MonaLisa Saloy is a New Orleans Creole, her mother as "Burnt chocolate brown,.../by African ancestral birth" ("She was not a queen but…" 2-3), and her father's "Creole cheeks burnt rogue" ("The Day Alzheimer's Showed" 2). As a Louisiana Creole both Saloy and Pichon belong to the processes of mestizaje, multigenerational mixtures of African, Indian, and various European, but rooted to the land of Louisiana as mestiz@s (Jolivette 6) [16]. Saloy's 2014 collection of poetry *Second Line Home: New Orleans Poems* radiates from the crescent city reality of lived experience in during and in the aftermath of hurricanes Katrina and Rita. She also simultaneously embodies the storied bones of Creole culture from foodways, language, kinship, worship, diaspora, second line sashays for lives well lived—Creole—*la joie de vivre*. From within the text Saloy gives acknowledgment and acceptance of our totality; images of Creoles whose mixed genealogy is spread about the page in a spiraling dance of word:

> Our names return three or
> Four centuries to ancestors
> Shipped here like sardines,
> Saltwater Africans coupled to
> Euro English, Irish, French…
> Natives Choctaw, Houma,
> Natchez, and Alabama… These
> Families with roots like the
> Live oaks firmly planted their arms
> Embracing & arching over like and umbrella ("Sankofa NOLA" 1-10)

Calling forth the ever present Middle Passage, the thread of African diaspora unites Creole blood, exiled, yet home within "family" sheltering arms of the protection of the live oaks whose shelter and feed their Native peoples, from Choctaw to Natchez mixed with African blood, grows from this Louisiana soil. The Creole people are transracial, transnational, yet intrinsically connected to the land of Africa and Louisiana as products of diaspora, a culture met at intersection of "Euro," African, and "Native" yet called by the West African process of sankofa—looking back and remembering to go forward (Saloy 112). By calling intersecting events, sankofa, into being, there is no past, just events connected to the people which in turn exhibit the reality of inherited experience and genealogy of Creoles—specifically addressing Creole Diaspora in the U.S. South, highlighting Southern Indigenous-descended survivance in today's world.

The poem continues, "Cultures together celebrating each one's crafts/ Teaching each one's generations grounded in this/ Crescent City landscape of camellias, bougainvillea, hydrangea, iris, in/ 'Sippi & Pontchartrain clay, with swamp, 'squitoes & sunshine" (40-43). Saloy's insistence exhibiting on Creole connections to land (swamps, Mississippi River, and Lake Pontchartrain), emphasize Indigeniety as found in the weaving of cultural practices rising from the land into the people—Louisiana Creoles, who are in turn the products of transnational diasporas. Creoles are tied inherently to the land of Louisiana, and for Saloy, particularly New Orleans. Cultures are shared, "celebrated," "taught." and tended, growing from the land and people as naturally as the flora and fauna. Creole identity, Indigenously tied to landbase is insisted upon within this Southern space, while fully acknowledging the transracial, trans-Indigenous, and transnational histories that impact Creoles as members of Afro-Indigenous diasporas birthed within Louisiana.

While Saloy is an established writer, folklorist, and professor of literature at Dillard University in New Orleans, her first collection, *Red Beans and Ricely Yours* having been recognized with the 2005 T.S. Eliot Poetry Prize and the 2006 PEN/Oakland Josephine Miles Award in Poetry. She was also commissioned by The National Constitution Center in Philadelphia in 2006 to write and perform the poem entitled "We" in celebration of 2006 Liberty Medal Recipients President William J. Clinton and President George H.W. Bush (which is currently included in *Second Line Home*). Her poetry and critical work has been published in collections of both Southern and African American literature. In contrast, Michelle Pichon and Thomas Parrie seem virtual unknowns. Yet, by my research only two Louisiana Indigenous identified authors have published collections of poetry, prose, or fiction with a publishing house (i.e., not self-published): this includes Carolyn Dunn and the author of this dissertation (Rain C Goméz) [17]. Working, reading, and going home to Louisiana I am invested in her literature, and I find that the work of Pichon and Parrie are excellent examples of what Natchitoches and Sabine parishes Indigenous peoples have to offer—moreover—I firmly believe both authors will soon have chapbooks or collections out within the next few years.

Cane River and Slidell Creole poet Michelle Pichon is an up-an-coming voice in Louisiana méstiza poetry. An instructor at Northwestern State University of Louisiana (NSULA) in Natchitoches, her work has appeared in *Country Roads*, *Xavier Review*, and *WordCraft Circle of Native Writers and Storytellers Sunday Poem*. Language, culture, and land unification calls attention to the manifestations of Indigeniety, specifically Creole ties to landbase in Pichon's "Saboulet." Land, memory, nostalgia, and language meet in the poems lines:

> …I see you
> Legs like a blue heron
> crossed at the knee
> sitting in the swollen air
> the backyard that once was
> nothing but bayou
> under the shade of our
> family tree
> telling me about
> birds and baseball (13-22)

Unified by the nostalgia of childhood memory, family land, and shaded under a tree that has harbored family secretes, memories, picnics, kisses, and tears—similar to Saloy's references to the sheltering live oak limbs—the speaker sits reminiscing on "birds and baseball." Her "voice like caterpillars chewing on leaves" (37-38), where her companion's stately relaxed form is evocative of a "blue heron" in the thick humid Gulf air, despite a changing climate, where the backyard bayou maybe gone but is not forgotten. Land unites all memories and events in the now. When asked if she "still play[s] the piano" (23-24) the speaker acknowledges that like many things she abandoned it years ago (32). In response to quitting the piece continues

> I imagine you'd say
> The piano is like baseball
> Shah, you got to saboulet
> or don't do it at all (40-43)

The piano, like in baseball, like in life, you've got to swing with all you got, hit the ball hard—to *saboulet*—to make it worth your while.

Pichon's use of Creole language alongside specific Louisiana and Gulf land imagery grounds her work within cultural homespace, not just as replications of culture, but from the land into the people, and from the peoples into language. This reinforces the concept that for Indigenous-descended peoples we are tied to land:

> The power of homescapes and the relational, therapeutic politics they generate are animated by stories, songs, and signs radiating outward from their many known and tended places as well as from the ceremonies human beings perform within their boundaries. A distinctive people's connections and prolonged existences within their unique territory in turn yield a history—a shared memory and an organic peoplehood (Clark and Powell 6).

In "Saboulet" Pichon draws upon tribalography, this interconnected sense of memory, and putting into practice calling past into the present within singler geographic space.

The humid nostalgia, the imagery of water birds, the feel of bayou (even though its visual presence is gone its spritual presence remains) leads to the concepts, the language, taste of language, and salt in the poem. The culture of home, of space rises from a landbase wherein Louisiana Creoles, who are Indigenously connected to Choctawan (and Caddoan) landbase since before 1714[18], the official founding of Fort St. Jean Baptiste. This reinforces Indigenous histories as connected to the lands Creole peoples, families, and communities inhabit in Louisiana, (defying linear concepts of time) despite the assumption of Indigenous absence and either-or —Black or Indian— (friction). Hence the colonizing project intersects with the land and the totality of family and familial land memory. In the end, what is reaffirmed is Creole Indigeniety as connection to landbase.

Like Pichon, Thomas Parrie grounds his work within land and community. Parrie is a member of the Choctaw-Apache of Ebarb. The Choctaw-Apache are primarily in Sabine Parish and are comprised of descendants who are a mix of Choctaw, Lipan Apache, Mexican, French, Spanish, and African. They have close ties to the near-by Cane River community in Natchitoches (Kniffen and Gregory 94-96), as do other state recognized groups such as the Clifton Choctaw and Louisiana Choctaw[19]. Like their name the members are "part Lipan and part Choctaw: and the "community has lived in Sabine Parish since the 1700s," maintaining their "tribal office in Zwolle…and a pow-wow ground at Ebarb... Primarily English-speaking, elders are equally at ease in Spanish, and sprinkle in words from Nahuatl, Choctaw, and Coahuitecan (Lipan). The tribe retains traditional crafts such as white oak basketry and foodways, such as tamales, chardizos, and salsas, as well as pan-tribal arts and crafts" (Gregory). In his poem

"Alligator-Gar" Parrie calls upon his people's mixedness and the unification of their landbase to overcome friction.

Parrie writes about the men in his family catching the great prehistoric Alligator Gar fish:

> The creature's back was the same
> Deep Toledo Bend brown
> We all birthed and owned…
>
> A half-breed. Not quite Alligator.
> Not quite fish.
>
> In life this must have driven it crazy…
>
> Watching the irreverent swash of the lake…
> Watching my Father cut his fingers on the dorsal fin,
> Bathing it in Indian blood…
>
> I saw prayers float like air bubbles
> The day we killed the Alligator Gar.
> Our brown and bleeding hands mingled with
> the brown black of the lake, each one us
> ensnared between the heavy sky and those eyes
> as ancient and hazy as our names (4-6; 13-14; 18-22;27-32).

Through the characterization of men and fish Parrie shows the persistence of Louisiana Indigenous peoples survivance juxtaposed against perceptions of Indian identity within the tangled and contentious world of recognition, transracial histories, and Indian politics. The Indians of the Southeast, like many of their sister/cousin tribes removed to Oklahoma, range widely in phenotype and access/retention/modification and revitalization of culture and/or language. As Parrie comments this struggle of being caught between Apache and Choctaw, of being Indian in the eyes of the state but not the Federal government, of being Indian plus other, a "half-breed" (Mexican, another mixedblood, European, and in some cases African) can "In life drive" one "crazy."

Thomas follows this up with calling his father's blood specifically "Indian," not "half-breed." Within the space of the dominant culture Parrie draws upon Choctaw-Apache landbase, specifically the lake at Toledo-Bend and Sabine Parish to create a sense of belonging despite notions of either-or. Like the ancient sacred Alligator Gar, the members of the communities and Parrie's Uncles and father are "Deep Toledo Bend brown" the color "birthed and owned." The prayers spoken into the soil and water have been breathed into the fish, so as it is broken down, opened up, "prayers float like air bubbles" re-releasing prayers offered to water, breathed by gar, back up to the people. Alligator Gar and Choctaw-Apache are united with their landbase where "brown bleeding hands mingle with/ the brown black of the lake" in this limbo between sky and earth, they are "ensnared" as their names, or the horizon itself, where land meets sky or water meets land. They themselves mixed, caught in political frictive conundrums but as a people are united and found through land ties.

Tribalography is kinetic; it is a force that enables our ability as Indigenous people to overcome moments of cultural friction in our bid for survivance. I grew up on stories, histories around kitchen tables. They were a source of not only identification, but of power. So, if these stories are power, and I believe they are, then surely they are theoretical in their nature, that is after all what Michel de Certeau is suggesting when he offers to make "explicit the relation of theory" to a "discourse of stories" (78). De Certeau goes on to say: "Foucault moreover claims to write only 'stories' (*'recites'*). For his part, Bourdieu makes stories the vanguard and reference of his system. In many works, narrativity insinuates itself into scientific discourse as its general denomination…[20] Narrativity haunts such discourse" (78). In other words, stories, poetry, prose, are didactic, powerful, and defining. It is at the kitchen table that I have heard stories of the resistance and negotiations made by my family and other Indians, Creoles, Mestiz@s (i.e. Indigenous peoples) overcoming moments of cultural friction to enable our survivance. It is at this same table that I learned both the naturalness and pain with which my own family gained and lost Indigenous blood, to be not just Choctaw, but Louisiana Choctaw, Louisiana Creole and Mvskoke on my father's side, and Canadian métis and Irish on my mother's. As Indiana Miami theorist and writer Malea Powell points out, it is time to acknowledge "some of us read and listen from a different space, and to suggest that as a discipline, it is time we all learned to hear that difference" ("Rhetorics" 398.) Part of this new way of listening is adapting and understanding new ways to apply and adapt western concepts to Indigenous thinking processes. These stories "define relationships, between nations as well as individuals, and those relationships imply presence—you can't have a mutual relationship between something and nothingness" (Justice 150). Therefore, I reiterate, our stories, poems, prose, communications assert a multiplicity of relationships, histories, meanings, and theories. They are a dense woven code of interconnected relationships. The poetry of Saloy, Pichon, and Parrie use tribalographic memory/story as a way to confront issues of identity and survival, while simultaneously asserting on and insisting Indigeniety (Creole and Indian) within Louisiana, a space often classically defunct as white/black binary. Calling upon both traditional homespaces and genealogical kinships, these poets resist assimilation, or absorption into the hegemonic monolith, using tribalography to pull "elements together of a storyteller's tribe, meaning their people, the land, and multiple characteristics and all their manifestations and revelations and connect these in past, present and future milieus" (LeAnne Howe, "The Story" 42), these poets actively survive and resist. They become testimonies to survivance within southern literary spaces.

Story: Theory

We gather our stories like pieces of a puzzle and they are what form our meaning making processes; story is the way by which we theorize the way the world works. And so we begin and end this story at the kitchen table. Last summer I sat at the uneven, worn wooden table in my sister-cousin's kitchen. My sister sitting at the head of the table was beading a pair of fleur-de-lis, double headed serpent earrings, our sister-cousin working on announcements for the upcoming art show at Badin-Roque House[21], while I crafted edits on an invited speaker keynote I was to deliver on the "Native Roots in Creole Culture." Yet, our conversations flitted, as we talked about finding the right hair care products for my two younger sisters' "Blindian" [22] hair, to laughing at the engrossed way with which the two year old was carefully following her eleven year old cousin. We spoke of grandmas, great, great, great, greats, and poured coffee, while occasionally shushing various children as the cedar burned from the abalone shell perched on the book case. My niece, daughter of my sister, was huddled next to the table, drawing beadwork designs, her ears taking in our words like our mouths breathed in the medicine of cedar. And so the process begins again.

Endnotes

[1] Dunn, Carolyn. “Round Dance.” *Outfoxing Coyote*. San Pedro, CA: That Painted Horse, 2001. 47.

[2] Choctaw. Translation follows.

[3] Anishinaabe, denoting Ojibwe/a, specifically Vizenor is a citizen of the White Earth Nation of Ojibwe.

[4] Throughout this dissertation, I will use Indian/ Native/ Indigenous and Indigenous descended to refer to the Original/ First People inhabitants of the Americas and their descents, full-bloods and those commonly called mixedbloods, métis, and/or mestiz@s. The later of which, those Indigenous descended peoples of the Americas, and the terminology applied to us, is a later topic of the chapter inspired by this essay. As this project is being expanded to continue the conversation to include the topics of story as theory, and physics with both survivance (friction) and mestizaje (entropy).

[5] Creoles, specifically Louisiana Creoles, are mestiz@ peoples of Louisiana Latinidad and are of mixed African, Native American, French, Spanish, and/or Caribbean ancestry and culture. They are cultural and historic Mestiz@/Métis peoples of the U.S. South, wherein both terms (mestiz@/métis) have been used in the historic and contemporary record. For more information see *The Creole Book*, edited by Janet Ravare Colson, *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-race Native American Identity*, by Andrew Jolivétte.

[6] Denoting Cherokee used to encompass Cherokee collectively (the three federally recognized nations and various state recognized bands).

[7] Nakoda are the northernmost branch of Sioux, sometimes known as Assiniboine, who are largely related to the Dakota and Lakota peoples. In Canada often known as Stoney Nakoda, their homelands encompass Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Montana.

[8] I will cease using the term “theory” from this point forward to enforce the epistemological use and community-centered language of story in its place.

[9] Image to left is based off the Atomic planetary model of the atom, first conceptualized by physicist and chemist Ernest Rutherford in 1911.

[10] Image to left is Atomic planetary model of the atom, see endnote iv for more information.

[11] While I use the atom structure as an analogy here, I should insert that within my dissertation turned monograph I do plan to argue for an analogy as well as an actual

possibility supported through Indigenous science and western physics. Loop Quantum Gravity (LQG), privileged over String theory allows for a non-linear time structure within quantum mechanics. Additionally the recent discovery (assumed confirmed) of the Higgs boson (also known as the "God Particle") by CERN changes the way physics conceptualize time as linear, moreover it has opened up questions of the Higgs singlet, a potential particle that could theoretically make or substantiate time travel, or in Indigenous concepts *substantiate that we are always in the past, present, and future.* (For more information on Higgs boson and the Higgs singlet see: Adrian Cho's "The Discovery of the Higgs Boson" and David Salisbury's "Large Hadron Collider Could Be World's First Time Machine, Researchers' Theory Suggests."

More importantly there are some vastly superior Indigenous scholars who address LQG in different and related ways. Gregory Cajete, likewise notes the way time operates within Loop theory as flexible rather than a more linear concept assumed in String theory while other Indigenous scholars along like Leroy Little Bear and Donald Fixico also work in the intersections of Native Theory and Native Science, making my work a marriage between Native theory, literature, and Indigenous/western physics.

[12] Throughout this text, I will use mixedblood rather than mixed-blood or mixed blood. In doing so I echo the use of the term in Native Studies made popular by Louis Owens in his seminal work: Owens, Louis. *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1998.

[13] Meaning manifest destiny, plainly evident, such as the ideals of westward expansion and western ideals.

[14] I do not seek here to make claims that negate the previous ways of looking at survivance, but rather offer a suggestion, a new thought on how we might engage with and relate to Indian survivance today.

[15] While I find some of Awiakta's observations/recollections on Indians in the nuclear world and the use of memory useful, I do take exception to her "holistic" everyone is "tribal" approach to text. The work as a whole sits precariously close to "New Ageism," and, in my opinion, opens it up to many attacks both from the personal Indian experience and from Native critical theory. So I preface my use of her work as insightful from an atomic or physics approach, rather than a spiritual or Indigenous approach.

[16] Deeper definitions and evidence linking Creoles Indigeniety flow throughout this dissertation. Every chapter slowly feeds on this theme.

[17] This does not include Creole authors who identify as Indigenous-descended, mestiz@/metis.

[18] See: Burton, H. Sophie, and F. Todd Smith. *Colonial Natchitoches: A Creole Community on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier*. College Station.

[19] See: Klopotek, Brian. "Dangerous Decolonizing: Indians and Blacks and the Legacy of Jim Crow." *Decolonizing Native Histories: Collaboration, Knowledge, and Language in the Americas*. Ed. Florencia E. Mallon. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2012. N. pag. Kindle.

[20] de Certeau is specifically referencing scientific use of life stories, case work, group oral narratives, quotes etc in this point and I find the use of science also connotes a linage to the overarching theme and trajectory of this work in general. I am after all uniting scientific theory to cultural studies as a means to understand Indigenous negotiations and survivals both within literature and historically.

[21] Built in 1770 by Jean Baptiste Metoyer, (grandson of Marie Thérèse Coincoin and Claude Thomas Pierre Metoyer) the house stands of one of the few lasting examples of Creole *poteaux-en-terre* (posts-in-ground) architecture, and is both a legacy and gathering place for Cane River/ Isle de Breville Creoles of Color. For more information see the Creole Heritage Center or the Louisiana Regional Folklife Program.

[22] Blindian is a causal term used within/by Native and African American/Native American, Creole, and various other Red-Black communities to refer to peoples of Indian (Native) and Black ancestry. It constitutes a form of “Red English.” Red English” is a term used to describe the ways in which Native Americans co-opt, tribalize and re-inscribe English. This can include general Native slang, such as snaggin’ (to pick up a man/woman, i.e. hook-up), it’s all goot (its all good). To specific tribal and English mash-ups: Ayyyeee this frybread is waste`! (Wow this fry bread is good), or She is a Creekataw and he is a Sho’rap (She is Creek and Choctaw and he is Shoshone and Arapaho). Other cultural and spiritual ways of being and expression can also be used: cedar off, sweat, in the circle, goin ta meetin and so on. Red English can include dialects and cultural infusions, such as those exhibited in the work of Alex Posey and modern authors like Geary Hobson, which situate the use of Red English within specific tribal language and cultural groups. For more on Red English, see Craig Womack’s *Red on Red*, Robert Dale Parker’s *The Invention of Native American Literature*, Brian Gillis’s *Native Tongues: Red English, Translation, and the Transnational in American Indian Literature.* See also the work of Kimberly Roppolo, Kenneth Lincoln, Anthony Mattina with M. DeSautel, and Arnold Krupat.

Chapter 3 Poundin' Kafi, Makin' Filé: Louisiana NDN-Creole Indigeneities in *The Last of the Ofos*

"Time was, all us — Tunicas, Choctaws, Chitimachas, Biloxis, Houmas, Atakapas, Ofos — we used to own the whole damn state of Louisiana and now our combined lands all be about the size of a gnat's ass." (Hobson 8)

Diggin' Roots & Gatherin' Leaves: Situating Story, People and Place

Anumpa nan anoli sabvnna.[1] I want to tell a story. I want to tell a story because like all good Louisiana narratives, I come into this essay as a summation of stories; bits and pieces woven together from Indians, Creoles, and the very lands my father's people inhabited, woven like a basket carrying my brackish blood. When my granddaddy was growing up his mother and grandmothers stuffed him full of teas and tinctures. Homemade medicines collected, grown and gathered. Now, according to him, some of these teas tasted "down right har'rible." So foul that his pallet was forever scarred by the reprehensible homeopathics made from leaves and roots, dispensed in liquid brews that he cannot abide the taste of any kind of tea. Now if you're from the South and if you're a person of Indigenous descent from the South, you know the very venerable place Kafi [2], or sassafras, has in our cultures: A life without sassafras tea? Well, sassafras, the one catch-all staple, is still the only tea my granddaddy can stomach. So when my father spies a tree, he collects the roots and bark to make tea, not only for us, but also for his father. Because while Granddaddy may have his distaste for other roots, and, despite, military removal, and the weather of time and age, sassafras can't be dug out of his blood, no more than the banks of the bayou, or our culture.

When I told this story to an Indian academic later, he responded that to his knowledge Indigenous Louisiana was not in possession of culture. The people were not culturally Indian. Aside from not being aware of the federally recognized tribes, let alone the many state recognized tribes, he certainly gave no mind or awareness to the many mestiz@/métis[3] peoples and cultures that function fully because of Indigenous Louisiana. If only he would dig a little deeper beyond monolithic ideas of western tribes, the roots of Louisiana's Indigeneity[4] are alive, vibrant and well. Rich and red like roots of a sassafras tree sunk deep into story-laden soils.

Arkansas Cherokee/Quapaw writer Geary Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos* (2000) is a short novel that[5] is well aware of the rich Indigenous roots of Louisiana. The story details the, at times, humble and yet fantastical life, of Thomas Darko, the last speaker of the Ofo language. Following Darko from the small Ofo lands within Tunica-Biloxi holdings, near Marksville, Louisiana (called Sherrillton in the book) to New Iberia, Chicago, Hollywood, and the Pacific during World War II, we as readers witness this young Indian evolve from a brother, husband, bootlegger, and Marine, to storyteller, preservationist, and elder. Darko encounters racism, erasure, BIA politics and the assumption that Louisiana is absent of Indians. A reality often assumed in not only Indian Country, but also American literature. Combining elements of southernisms, with a narrative voice that is evocative of both Faulkner and Twain, Hobson weaves in traditional Indigenous narrative story-ways. In doing so, Hobson *insists* on a Louisiana Indian presence within both Southern and American Indian literature and thereby reinserts Indians into a silenced or absent space in the South, reflecting both historical and contemporary struggles. Therefore, I situate Geary Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos* as a seminal work of fiction which seeks to explore Louisiana's Indigenous peoples' survivance[6] (survival plus resistance) by engaging tribalography, juxtaposed against perceptions of Louisiana Indian identity within the broader spectrum of Indian politics. To explore Indigenous identity within *The Last of the Ofos* means tackling how the book does or doesn't address hierarchies and Indigenous inheritances of Creoles and Cajuns as mixedrace or culturally mixed populations within the state of Louisiana. This problematizes not only the novel, but also how we historically and currently understand mestiz@/métis and hybrid cultures within the state. Lastly, this paper will seek to give a nod towards those other authors whose work inserts Louisiana Indian and/or Louisiana Red/Black characters into contemporary literature (such as LeAnne Howe), and emerging/established Louisiana Indigenous or mestiz@ authors of fiction/poetry.[7] Exploring Indigenous presence in *The Last of the Ofos* furthers the complications of the Indigenous diaspora by addressing who has been traditionally included or excluded in Southern white/black binaries of race. Additionally, it addresses Southern literary narratives, complicating them beyond the shadowed haunting of Indian Removal and the ever-present persistent trauma of the "war of Northern aggression," or the "Lost Cause."

Brewin' Tea & Makin' Roux: Adding Darko's Stories to the Gumbo Pot

The shadow of Indian Removal haunts perceptions of Indian presence in both American literature and our Southern homelands. What this means is that Indians in the American South are often not present as embodied actors, not on the land or as characters in literature set geographically in the South. In *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects,* Renée Bergland argues that early American literature and nation-building is reliant on the manifestations and the inclusions of Indian ghosts. This “requires that citizens be haunted, and that American nationalism is sustained by writings that conjure forth spectral Native Americans… [However], the ghosting of Indians is a removal” (Bergland 4). In the previous chapter, I engaged Renée Bergland to argue that Indians haunt American Southern literature through disembodied (often imagined White patriarchal) histories, vague memories, and the use of Indigenous place names.[8] I assert these disembodied, imagined, historic, or ghostly peripheral Indigenous moments (presences in otherwise absence) are systemic of an over-all absence presence of Indians through history and literature, which is not limited to Indian ghosts, but rather is inclusive of peripheral Indian presences.[9]

The 2011 publication, *Reconstructing the Native South: American Indian Literature and the Lost Cause,* by Herring Pond Wampanoag scholar Melanie Benson Taylor, explores the frictive and tangled relationship of Southerners with their Indigenous forbearers.[10] Taylor notes that most attention to both Native literature and Native peoples is focused in regions other than the Deep South, “clustered in the Southwest, in Oklahoma, on the Plains—not in the bayou— and magnolia studded Deep South” (Taylor 12).[11] Hobson is well-aware of both the historic and literary attempts to erase Natives peoples from the American South. It is this awareness, both as a Southern Indian and a writer, that infuses the text and actions of his protagonist, Thomas Darko. For example, during Darko’s travels to Hollywood “one time to be in a picture show about feather bonnet Indians,” while he plays an Indian on screen, he doesn’t remotely represent who his Indigenous people are. Furthermore, in another Hollywood casting Darko is pigeonholed into an image of Louisiana. Darko comments, “jist cause I got a

Louisiana accent, they had me play a Cajun in a show about jazz music. You got to of lived through the 1930's and 1940's to know what I mean. And you got to be Indian, jist like I am, to know how much that galls—that having to act like you was something other than what you be" (Hobson *The Last* 4-5).[12] Though Ofo through and through, Darko is well-traveled, and the very real effects of being mistaken for something *other* than who and what he is and the realities of land loss will not be forgotten or silenced. "Playing a Cajun galls Darko as much as mimicking a rodeo clown or an Indian, apparently—none approximates his own [specifically Ofo] mixed cultural inheritance in an unseen deep Southern existence that features neither war bonnets no trumpet solos" (Taylor 144). Like his language, this is an issue that is central to the novel. Thomas Darko is the only narrator in the novel and he is a speaker of Ofo at the beginning and at the end of the text. Ofo identity, Indian identity, is insisted upon within this Southern space, within a very surely Southern text, from its setting primarily in Louisiana, to its use of dialects, and both traditional Indigenous narrative and Southern narrative.

It is this insistence of Indian presence and Darko's Ofo identity that usurps premises of Indian absence in favor of Indigenous narrative. This is not Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*, where the Indians "Done Gone" to haunt the text, nor *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood*, wherein "the Indian" is stuff of memory and imaginative peripheral narrative.[13] In these texts, Indians are, as Anishinaabe theorist Gerald Vizenor points out, "a simulation of a third person…the native is a trace, the shadow of an unnamable other" (Vizenor *Fugitive* 37). In other words, the Native cannot be made corporeal because, for the writer and the majority of his or her audience, Indians in many expressions of American literature are historic and imagined rather than present, contemporary living, breathing, and culturally active acting beings. However, Thomas *is* a presence, thoroughly grounded in his identity; he is Ashoá, “Plover” in Ofo, a member of the Mosopelea people (Ofo). And while he can’t tell the readers the first time he spied a water moccasin, smelled cotton, or saw the black bayou water shining in moonlight, it is all a part of him, as much as his familial inheritance (Hobson 4). He tells us:

> I am the sixth kid of Baptiste and Josephine Darko…My father of the Bird Clan, was the son of a Cajun man, Emile Darko…and Marie Registe, a full-blood woman of the Bird Clan of the Mosopelea Tribe. My Great Grandpa, Louis Registe, was headman of our tribe for many years…My mother was Josephine Arceneaux of the Snake Clan, and they was some French blood in her, too, way back there…Her papa, my grandpa, Louis Arceneaux, was headman of all the Mosopelea all the time I was a boy growing up…he was also one of the headmen of the Tunicas, too, who we was counted amongst, since he had some Tunica blood. (5-6)

Darko acknowledges the mixed ancestry of his lineage early in the novel, but he remains solid in his Ofo Identity. While in the narrative of his genealogy, a narrative that draws on Native tradition of introducing oneself through their clan, parents, and grandparents, it becomes clear that his blood is mixed, but throughout the story Darko never once refers to himself as anything but Indian, specifically Ofo. He is never métis (mixed) or French, nor is he Ofo-Tunica, even though he shows his clear mixedblood[14] genealogy in his statement. This mixedblood genealogy is not uncommon for Louisiana Indians in the 20th century, as explored in the work of Andrew Jolivétte, Brain Klopotek and David D. Davis.[15] In fact, the very real and contemporary issues of Indian identity, of blood, tribal enrollment, and mixed ancestry, particularly for those Indians who remain in the Southeast, is a pattern woven consistently through the novel. What is significant as we look at friction and survivance is that the French blood is a reminder of the colonizer's presence. However, the inscriptions of the stories of his familial memory *reaffirm* his Indian identity, despite colonial presence.

Through the characters of Thomas Darko, his family members, and friends, Hobson shows the persistence of Louisiana Indigenous peoples' survivance juxtaposed against perceptions of Indian identity within the tangled and contentious world of recognition, blood quantum, BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs), and Indian politics. The Indians of the Southeast, like many of their sister/cousin tribes removed to Oklahoma, range widely in phenotype and access/retention/modification and revitalization of culture and/or language. One such example comes from Darko's youth in the form of the Darrysaw family: "They was all part Quapaw and Choctaw – and French and Scotch, like a lot of the white people in that part of Arkansas. You was Indian, depending on who you talked to, or you wudn't, depending on who you talked to" (20). Thomas follows this up with the various breakdowns in phenotypes from red hair and freckles to the darker complected, all found among the Darrysaw clan. The Darrysaws were Indian, though when need be they could lay low. As Darko says, you have to have "lived through the 30s and 40s" and "be Indian" like him to understand how it galls to be mistaken or to let yourself be mistaken for something you ain't (4-5).[16] Racism, passing, legal issues of miscegenation, and a white/black binary system in Jim Crow South, not to mention the very real shadow of Indian removal, were ever present and continue to be so for all Southeast Native folks.[17] However, no matter the differences in phenotypes or their occasional race passing when being Indian put one in danger, for Darko and his family, the Darrysaws were Indian, culture made it so (22-24). While the

Darrysaws stand as representing a more Indian identity, despite stereotypes of phenotype, Darko's own wife Sally moves in and out of racial passing.

During Prohibition, Sally Fachette, a waitress in New Iberia is "Prettier than a summertime butterfly," and for Darko it was like "one of them *True Romances*…love at first sight" (29). A short gal with reddish black hair styled in a 20s bob, Darko watches her flirt up to the Cajuns and the "other white folk" — notice the two are always separated. Cajun might symbolize whiteness, but are still separated from whites (I will come back to this and address this more later). Darko recognizes Sally as Indian, although she tries to keep herself from associating with him and other Indian folk at the Four-Leaf Clover where she waits tables. Our young protagonist assumes she is of Choctaw extraction, and if not of Choctaw ancestry, that: "if she weren't no Choctaw," the more prevalent and scattered about of Indians across Louisiana "then that left Chitimachas" who as he claims "were sorta like us Ofos and Tunicas," or she was Houma which was "bout" like "Choctaw" (30-31). In this rundown of various possibilities for Sally's Indianness, readers are not only introduced to the plethora of Indigenous tribal peoples within the state, (and their various interrelated and/or prevalent natures), but the notion that despite Sally's non-Hollywood Indian appearance: no dark skin, her hair is red-black, bobbed, not long and in braids— she is recognizable to another Native as Native. Sally is a Houma from Bayou Cane, and speaks Cajun as well as English, but she's not too quick to call herself completely Houma at the height of the segregation era in Louisiana. When asked outright what kind of Indian she is, Sally smiles and says: "I am French. But my Grandpére, he is Houma" (32). Thomas decodes her answer declaring: "Hell, she wudn't no more French [culturally] than I be a blue-tick hound. She was Houma" (32). Her appearance and her answer signal a recognizable act of survivance, one that Darko's own mother sums up: "…a lot of Indians in the South, especially in Louisiana, don't like to be taken for Indian out in public. They want to be taken for French or I-talian, or something like that…" (31-32). This act of "passing" is an act of survival. It is part of Sally and the Darrysaws' survivance narratives. Racial mixing, as much as the occasional racial silence, allowed Southeast Indians to be what Geary Hobson later dubs (after writing *The Last of the Ofos*) "The People Who Stayed" (Hobson, McAdams, et al 16).

In *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place,* Choctaw/Cherokee/Irish scholar and writer Louis Owens addresses the portrayals of mixedblood Indians (recognized and unrecognized) in various media, and their impact in popular culture, the American psyche (i.e. what constitutes Indigeneity), politics, and personal narrative. Unfortunately for many Indians who only recognize themselves as Indian, socially/communally, culturally, and historically (such as, say, Darko), and those others who might be read/or allow themselves to be read as non-Indian, issues of phenotype are often coded essentially in the manifest of American-Indigenous relations. Owens writes of variance of phenotype: "These people were crossing and erasing borders and boundaries… they did so unselfconsciously, purely, and out of human instinct and need. They were people simply surviving together…" (147-148). He goes onto to say that rather than being "ridiculed" for their markers of miscegenation, as cultural atrophy or testament of displacement, they should be honored (148). Darko is after all himself a product of this environment. He is "A tribe within a tribe" (Hobson 7), as part of the coming together of displaced peoples in Louisiana: Tunica, Biloxi, Ofo, Caddo, Choctaw, into what will become the Tunica-Biloxi Nation (1981). Similar to Owens, Hobson writes in the introduction to *The People who Stayed: Southeast Indian Writing After Removal*, "The South Seldom Seen," about the issues of miscegenation and cultural survivance. Hobson juxtaposes perceptions of Indian authenticity, using the prolific western/plains Indian (and their imagined images) stereotypes, that are a "model by which all other Indians are judged and usually found wanting" (9) against the realities of Southeastern Indian presences in the 21st century. In calling attention to these differences in perceptions of what constitutes "Indian" they call attention to both the written history about Southeastern Indians and they question its accuracies. The reality is that "Americans are more familiar with Southeastern Indians in their literature—in actually all of their popular culture—than they probably realize…A great portion of American literature abounds with images of Indians" (9), and while these Indians might be regionally in both the North and Southeast they also often are regulated to a haunting, an imagined or historic presence. Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos* seeks to reflect a reality of Indian presence. Thus, while Sally is not quick to answer or address her Houma identity, she is also *not* absent, (nor is she a stereotype), just seemingly so, to others not attuned to the realities of four hundred plus years of colonial occupation of Indigenous bodies, be it by phenotype or the realities of interracial survivals. I could continue this discussion with both numerous academic scholars and creative writers who address similar characterizations and issues: creative and personal works by Allison Hedge Coke (Cherokee / Huron descent), Kimberly L Becker (Cherokee descent), Betty Louise Bell (Cherokee), Kimberly Roppolo (Cherokee/ Choctaw/ Creek descent), Honorée Fannone Jeffers (Afro-Cherokee descent), Tiffany Midge (Standing Rock Sioux), Drucilla Mims Wall (Alabama Creek and Irish), and Terra Trevor (Cherokee / Seneca / Delaware ancestry) are *barely* a few. In addition to Hobson and McAdams, academics like Eva Marie Garroutte, Joanne Barker (Lenape), Circe Sturm (Choctaw), Tiya Miles, William S. Penn (Nez Perce descent), and Reeza Crane Bizzaro (Cherokee descent) are just some of the scholars who, along with Owens and Hobson, know that these realities must be reflected in the literature by and about Indians to echo both historic and contemporary struggles. However, I want to now shift very briefly to how these perceptions of Indianness affect outcomes on bids of recognition, in both cultural and legal claims. Hobson is not only aware of the seeming absence and erasure of Indians from Southern American literature, but the complexities of their inclusion. Hobson is particularly aware of the coded stereotypes of Indigenous phenotypes and how these issues combine to reflect both external communities and the legalities of recognition processes, or rather, how all these issues work in concert. Therefore, his text weaves a pattern of constant tension between Louisiana Indian presence and the *assumption* of erasure.

Rules Say "Holy Trinity, Okra & Filé": Miscegenation's Missin' from da Gumbo Pot

This notion of "real" or "recognizable" Indianness has pervaded not only how readers and writers have been trained to recognize and portray Indian characters, but also the very real legal process of Federal Acknowledgement for Indigenous Peoples (FAP) in the American South. Polices to undo Native laws, tradition, and culture (the Dawes Act, 1887) broke up some reservations and forced American Indians to assimilate while simultaneously tracking Native populations. While the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 did recognize 21 new tribes, it was not until 1975, that

Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota brought the serious nature of unrecognized tribes to the attention of Congress and the BIA. In 1977, he led the American Indian Policy Review Commission (AIPRC) in identifying 133 unrecognized Native tribes (Klopotek 27; Bates 2). Subsequently, in 1978 the BIA established the "Procedure for establishing that an American Indian group exists as an Indian tribe," and created the Branch of Acknowledgement in response to the findings and pressure from the American Indian Movement (See Appendix I:FAP BIA Criteria).

Federal Recognition Policy is "the primary method used by tribes to affirm their existence as distinct political communities within the American system" (Anne McCulloch and David Wilkins qtd in Bates 5). This grants tribes access to resources including but not limited to, land, health services, potential economic development, and nation-state sovereignty. However, as displayed in Appendix I, the criteria to meet recognition are problematic and the definitions and understandings are fraught with issues. Each of the seven criteria to define a petitioning tribe as a sovereign nation has many series of subsets and notions of Indian identity that assume stagnancy and not change, additionally lack of treaties with US government (as within Louisiana) do not allow many petitioning tribal entities to prove legal historic precedent. Lastly, issues of interracial marriage, language retention, and even phenotype have plagued how tribes are responded to for their ongoing petitions as federal Indian nations. Where the federal government has failed to recognize many petitioning Southern tribes, their Southern home states have come through. However, still more communities are left in-between, with no state or federal recognition and not part of larger dominant communities (Bates ix). The complex Southern narratives of Southern space have led to contested Indian politics, “historical federal-state tensions paired with…political characters” who suppressed Blacks decades earlier only to support Indians later (x). The surety of an identity, only to have to produce “proof” can be a demoralizing and breaking experience, particularly for communities not part of the mainstream— moreover, for those whose histories have been caught for over a hundred years in a binary structure that seeks erasure and eradication. Federal Acknowledgment Policy has not been the proverbial “yellow brick road.”

Racism during Jim Crow, issues of miscegenation, and the very real lack of rights for Louisiana Indians is early on summed up for Darko in his retelling of the story of Melacon. When he was born in 1905, Jim Crow was under effect, and Indians were caught in the middle. Never knowing if the dominant white patriarchy is going to “knock your head off” (Hobson 10), Darko narrates a story personal for, yet relatable for, others, of Ofo, Tunica-Biloxi, and other Louisiana Indians, of the fresh wound of Chief Melacon, a Headman of Tunica from the 19th century, who

> ast a Cajun man named Moreau not to set up a fence across our land. When Moreau refused…Melacon then taken out all the fence posts. That Moreau then taken out his pistol and point blank shot Chief Melacon in the head and killed him. Moreau was never tried for murder, never spent a day in jail, and he kept his land…. Now I tell this story about Chief Melacon and these things about dealings with white folks, not to upset white folks, or jist to drag up old things…but I jist want to make clear about what me and other Indians younguns of my time had to learn growing up…to deal with white people in ways that, more than anything else, would help us to save our lives. (11)

Darko explicates his reason for telling the story of Melacon because:

> [n]one of us in the State of Louisiana— Ofos, Tunicas, Biloxis, Houmas, Chitimachas, Atakapas, Choctaws— had treaty relationships with the U.S.

> government, and they was only the flimsiest agreements with the state of Louisiana. Fact is, I never knowed what a treaty was till I met Indians from Oklahoma and New Mexico and other places out west. Without no treaty, I found out, we wudn’t considered Indians by the government, and because of that we couldn’t…get schooling through the BIA. And hell-fire, that BIA is something else I growed up not knowing a thing about. I spect as far as the U.S. government and the State of Louisiana was concerned we was all gone— or that we was all vanished… (12).

Darko’s both historical and personal narrative highlights the precarious position of Indigenous peoples in Louisiana. This revelation echoes a similar revelation earlier in the novel when Darko is imprisoned for bootlegging. While housed in prison he notes: “It was like the state of Louisiana had no clear idea of what kind of person I was” (56). In prison, Darko was sometimes segregated with black folk, other times with whites, but most of the time “was kept in a place off by myownself” (56). Therefore, “the jail represents a microcosm of his life as a Southeastern Indian…” (Taylor 144). Despite various levels of cultural/community/ or language retention among various tribal people in the state, the lack of an understanding of Southeastern Indians as more than removed or historic combined with the non-existent U.S. treaty relationships usurps and has usurped bids for federal recognition, as well as a knowledge base for dealing with the very real and present Indigenous peoples in the state. These issues also draw attention to the inability to make sustainable claims to hunting, fishing, water rights, and preservation of sacred or ceremonial lands. Being that historical treaties are often (though not exclusively) the basis for establishing a historic acknowledgement as an Indian tribe, lack of treaties and histories of interracial bloodlines have had a lasting impact on Louisiana Indian sovereignty, as Indigenous scholar Brian Klopotek explores.

In what is certainly the most historically impressive text on Indian recognition in Louisiana, for both its depth of research and understanding of Louisiana federal, racial and tribal law, is the 2011 publication of Brian Klopotek's *Recognition Odysseys: Indigeneity, Race, and Federal Tribal Recognition Policy in Three Louisiana Indian Communities.* It is also one of the most pertinent and well-documented books on Louisiana Indians since Fred Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory, and George Stokes' *The Historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana: From 1542 to the Present* (1987). In *Recognition Odysseys*, Klopotek addresses the story of Melacon, like Hobson, as significant for Indian peoples, and Tunica-Biloxis especially, because the case first signaled how Indians were perceived as "savages" in the eyes of the new American legal system, not acknowledged as sovereign as they were among the French or Spanish (Klopotek 43). The land rights of Tunicas were stripped at Bayou Rouge Prairie, their Spanish land rights given over to Celeste Moreau, Sr. It is his predecessor Celeste Moreau, Jr., the Cajun in question in Hobson's narrative, who shoots Melacon over the land dispute—land that was until the Louisiana Purchase honored as Indian land by other colonizing governments. Not only was a headman dead, but Moreau, Jr. sought to turn the case on its ear by seeking to evict the tribe from "his land." Moreau is never tried for a murder case, as both Hobson, through Darko, and Klopotek, through Tunica-Biloxi tribal Chairman Earl Barbry, Sr, remind readers. The Tunicas, seeing the law would not try Moreau for murder, feared legal injustices and settled out of court in Moreau's suit to evict them, leaving the Tunica-Biloxi only 130 acres of unofficial land (Klopotek 42-44). Therefore, Indians in Louisiana were not only dealing with changing governments, but continually changing governmental policies on Indians. This in turn affected acknowledgement, identity, racial mixing, and survivance.

While this narrative serves to show the precarious position of Louisiana Indian rights, acknowledgement, and political erasure, the narrative moves on to demonstrate repercussions across time. The 1960s finds our protagonist Thomas Darko with a visitation from Dr. William Allerton Payne, an ethnologist from the Smithsonian Institution who had visited and worked with Darko's parents and grandfather when he was a boy. Dr. Payne has come because of the new preservation and language program implemented by the Smithsonian, and Thomas is "…by all accounts…. the last speaker of the Ofo language… the last of the Ofos" (88-89). Darko, who has pretty much kept to himself, except to visit some Tunica and Biloxi cousins, goes to D.C. and learns that his kinfolk are reorganizing as a formal tribal group (seeking recognition), and that Indians all over the country are organizing. At the Smithsonian, he meets Dr. Mathew B. Smight. Smight is a young academic who considers himself the leading expert on all things Ofo. Smight constantly argues with Darko's knowledge of his own language and culture. After all, Smight, who has never set foot in Louisiana, let alone met a Louisiana Indian, and certainly not an Ofo, is the proclaimed expert on *all things* Ofo, and the "PHD" with capital letters, as he reminds Darko. Smight takes exception with most of Darko's knowledge ways, treating him as though he is "an ignorant coon-ass Indian who might not even be a real Ofo" (94). True to form, when showing "artifacts" that belong to Tunica, Biloxi, and Ofo peoples, (pots, cane flutes, basketry), Smight grabs them, taking them before Darko might touch them. Of particular interest to Thomas, a cane flute similar to his grandfather's, Smight says, "I'm sorry Thomas, only qualified specialists are allowed to handle such valuable artifacts" (95). So Darko himself occupies the space of an artifact, being handled and researched by Dr. Smight, as the "last" of the Ofos, yet is not codified as authentic enough or responsible enough in this new world of academic validation (added to the *legal* validation) to handle, deal, or confirm the language, history, and culture of his own peoples. In these scenes, Hobson further complicates the struggle for acknowledgement and recognition for Louisiana Indians (and, by extension, many Southeast Indian peoples) by adding the weight of academic authenticity and acknowledgment to that of federal recognition and acknowledgement.

Later in the text, Darko still in D.C., meets an Indian poet and writer, "Simon… Pueblo from New Mexico" (98).[18] The setting in which Simon and Thomas meet is at a conference in a Washington, D.C. hotel. The organization holding the conference is dubbed the "American Association of Indian People." There is an attempt to coerce Simon and Thomas into showing tribal enrollment cards and paying ten dollars to attend the conference (Hobson 98-99). It is while hanging around outside of the hotel that Darko learns about termination policy and relocation. It is also the first time anyone asks him for his Indian card, and declares he must not be Indian if he doesn't have a card. Though Darko has run into "a lot of white-lookin Indians" in his time, they were still culturally Indian, like some of the Darrysaws, none of them were like "Madam Moneybags" spouting assimilationist rhetoric and termination policy (99). It is this same woman who in her BIA wisdom declares to Darko "How can you expect to come around Indians if you don't have a card?" Darko responds, "I've been Indian my whole life and I've never had a card." Her response remains the paracolonial rhetoric of recognition policy: “You can’t be Indian unless you got a card” (101). Thus, in this exchange the light, almost white-looking tribally enrolled woman and her white companion dismiss the culturally centered and fluent-speaking Darko for lack of a federal enrollment card, confirming the problematic issue that lack of federal relationships means no Indians in Louisiana. As Klopotek notes in various places throughout *Recognition Odysseys*, federal officials were reluctant to “take responsibility for Louisiana Indians” (51), citing multiple issues such as budget restraints, miscegenation (particularly for those with acknowledged or perceived African ancestry), and the historic lack of U.S.–Indian treaty precedents. Klopotek also notes in various places throughout his text the challenges that not only Louisiana’s historic racial admixtures challenged recognition, but that “without substantial paper documentation and written arguments to validate its claims” tribes were missing “the trump card needed to attain recognition” (71). In other words, lack of a Western paper trail was/is essentially a loophole for the government to negate recognition of Louisiana’s Indigenous peoples.

While Hobson complicates perceptions of Indian identity culturally, regionally, and phenotypically, due to its first person narrative structure, there are folk within the Southern Indigenous diaspora left out. While Darko includes other Indians, and even Blacks, he encounters, as well as Whites in his travels, and while he never seeks to speak for them, he does seek to breakup monothethic notions of not only his perceptions of Indianness, but the reader’s. However, what of the peoples and the cultures that exist in-between? For Hobson, while he certainly distinguishes between Cajuns and Whites, they are still within the “white spectrum.” The close-by Cane River Creole community, culturally and blood-kin tied to the Tunica-Biloxi nation, is not mentioned, manifested, or alluded to. Whether it is from Darko's isolation or emersion within his own Ofo world within the Tunica-Biloxi holdings, the confines of experience are through Darko's both widened, and in this case, somewhat silenced, view. Although Hobson in his later work and his personal life is a huge advocate for Red/Black, (or Blindian) peoples (as evidenced in *The People Who Stayed*), *The Last of the Ofos* overlooks such issues for a simple tri-racial structure, leaving out the complexities of Louisiana Creoles, Redbones, and other Blindian, or multiracial/cultural admixtures within the state.[19] Louisiana "has suffered from a distinct preoccupation with racial stratification post the Louisiana Purchase" and in particular after Jim Crow. "What makes the white/black binary so problematic is that it leaves no space for Indianness, it does not allow for a mutable or new space for 'redness'… Any Indian admixture with African (black) or European (white) becomes the deciding factor further supported by white/black binary phenotype and pigment stereotypes" (Goméz, "Brackish Bayou Blood" 97). This constant weaving across borders, of race and tribe, creates a culture that is not defined in the white/black binary. Klopotek (of Louisiana Choctaw ancestry) focuses primarily on the Tunica-Biloxi, Clifton Choctaw, and Jena Band of Louisiana Choctaw. However, he also draws into knowledgeable conversation other tribes, primarily the Houma, and addresses mestiz@/métis populations that are Indigenously recognized socially as culturally hybrid, primarily Louisiana Creoles and Redbones.[20]

Louisiana's history is complex, with laws and histories of around issues of miscegenation and segregation that mar the landscape both internally and externally on the bodies of those who occupy its land. As a result, Louisiana Creole identity has been much debated, especially in reference to the first French and Spanish colonials, and their admixtures with Frist Nations peoples, as well as other “mestiz@” or creolized/mixedblood populations in Louisiana. Andrew Jolivétte (Louisiana Creole, Atakapa-Ishak, Choctaw, Cherokee) argues that in *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-Race Native American Identity* that “Louisiana Creoles are defined as peoples of mixed American Indian, African (Black/West Indies), French, and Spanish ancestry who reside in or have familial ties to Louisiana” (6), rooting his definition in culture, community, and landbase. Additionally, in Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad: Locating Culture and Community” in *Converging Identities: Blackness in the Contemporary African Diaspora* Jolivétte roots Creoles within Caribbean Latin mestizaje, historically and culturally [21]:

> …the Creole people of Louisiana who self-identify as multiracial can directly connect their ancestry and culture to the peoples of France, West Africa, Spain and to the Indigenous peoples of the Americas….the history of colonialism that created the people of Latin America and the Caribbean is the same social, political, economic, linguistic, and cultural process that produced the Creole culture in the state of Louisiana. (*Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad* 1)

Likewise, Cane River community activist, preservationist, and Creole Heritage Center Program Director, Tracey Colson (a Cane River Creole herself) asserts in her talks that “boxing in” Creole identity within a black/white binary structure is detrimental to the survival of the Creole people. She asserts that African American, Native American, and Anglo (French/Spanish) ethnic heritages are all integral to the growth and survival of both the Creole “family tree” and cultural sustainability. To pick a race results in a “family tree dying” (Colson). Jolivétte’s and Colson’s statements are true for the mestiz@/ métis cultures of Louisiana (including Creoles and Cajuns).

The culture of Louisiana Creoles exists as the result of intergenerational intermixing racially and/or culturally. Creoles carry forever the impact and impression of Indigenous Louisiana. However, we[22] are noticeably absent from Hobson's novel. Rather, there exists an insertion of Indian— Thomas Darko (Ofo), Sally (Houma), and the Darrysaws (Quapaw-Choctaw) — into the black/white Southern binary. But that is as far as Hobson complicates his Southern and Southeast Indian narrative. It could be, perhaps, he felt Darko might not recognize Indianness within the Cajuns or Creoles Darko meets in the segregated Jim Crow south of Louisiana, or that other authors had given complication to the black/white binary exploring Creoles such as Chopin, Cable, and even contemporaries such as Anne Rice or Jewelle Parker Rhodes. However, many authors (such as the above named) do not seek to fully represent Creole people and culture for their totality and complete cultural inheritances as Jolivétte and Colson call folks to do.

The same can be said of the monolithic Cajuns in Hobson's novel, who, while separated from mainstream whites, (yet referred to as white), are not given cultural or historical depth as disenfranchised, intergenerational culturally métis heterogeneous people. As Carl A. Brasseaux argues, people have too long viewed Cajuns as a "monolithic" people. However, the intergenerational cross-cultural intermarriages of the original Acadian people transformed the people, "in numerous cultural, culinary, linguistic and musical" ways (Brasseaux xiv). That Cajuns are the product of "exogamy" is the reason why the culture inhabits elements of not only French, but European, Native, and Creole cultural elements (105). Furthermore, Cajuns have historically battled the connotations and stereotypes of their "ambiguous racial status"

(Tentchoff 229). Acadian to Cajun assimilation can be traced to the rise of Anglophone dominance in Louisiana as a socio-economic tactic of survival (Brasseaux 91). Moreover, the separation of Cajun (as prideful emphasis on whiteness with acknowledgement of its French Canadian and Indigenous ancestry) and distancing from Louisiana Creole (an emphasis on of color, to be coded as blackness, rather than Indianness— under Jim Crow law and the rise of Louisiana tourism) can be traced to Louisiana politician, Dudley J LeBlanc and the rise of Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL). "Politician Dudley J. LeBlanc used symbols of Cajun identity in his campaign rallies, such as Cajun music, food, and women dressed in Acadian costume to evoke Evangeline. He organized visits to Nova Scotia by south Louisiana women, called Evangelines, and he wrote a popular history of the Acadian exile (Wilson "Cajun South"). Moreover, LeBlanc used his status as a businessman, Louisiana French first language knowledge, and notions of upward economic mobility to create pride in both Cajun culture (which had been stigmatized) and as potential profitable and subversive counterculture to his dominant Anglo political and fiscal opponents (Bernard 35-36). Of course, this furthered the distance between Cajun and Louisiana Creole families (which had intermarried as evidenced by both Bernard and Brasseaux) and placed emphasis on the history of *Le Grand Dérangement*, the Acadian expulsion from Canada, and less on publically embracing roots of Indigenous and African heritage under Jim Crow.

However, despite this assimilation, Indigenous author, scholar, and professor Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz notes that Creoles, as well as Cajuns, occupy a space of Indigenous diaspora and inheritance (53), and current scholars in Creole and Cajun studies are acknowledging that the history of intermarriage and cultural similarities show very little difference between many self-described true Cajun family communities from their kin-tied Creole communities, except in their history of removing themselves from associations from histories of People of Color.[23] But, as dearly as I love and as seminal as *The Last of the Ofos* is, it itself engages in omission by not including or complicating white/black binaries beyond an insertion of Indians into the text. [24] It may be argued that complicating the notions of Cajun and Creole identity *are not the purpose* of *The Last of the Ofos* as text (an author cannot write about everything—and this is a novel about a specific tribe, written in first person), for it *surely succeeds* casting light on Indian presence in Louisiana, issues of language, land, and continuity.

Yet, I still want us to push for more in our notions of what Indigeneity in Louisiana is. Lastly in this conversation, I would like to give a nod to authors who engage in inserting Louisiana Indian and white/black/Indian or Louisiana Red/Black characters into contemporary literature, so their existence becomes a presence and an affirmation of ancestry. LeAnne Howe, in both her novels *Shell Shaker* and *Miko Kings*, sets portions of the texts in Louisiana, incorporating characters that belong to Louisiana Choctaw and Houma peoples. Moreover, in *Miko Kings* Howe gives corporeal and vocal reality to Justina Maurepas, a Louisiana woman of color of African/Choctaw/Haitian Creole ancestry (Howe 201-204). Louisiana Creole poets and professors Sybil Kein (*Creole Journal: The Louisiana Poems*) and Mona Lisa Saloy *(Red Beans and Ricely Yours*) complicate perceptions of Creoles in their poetry, paying homage to their tripartite ancestries, calling upon a mix of African, Yoruba, French, Creole French, Native (Natchez, Houma, Choctaw), and Spanish to weave a web of

Afro-Euro-Indigenous culture like the holy trinity of onion, celery and bell pepper.[25] Similar to Kein and Saloy, Cajun (métis) poet, fiction writer, and editor Louis E. Bourgeois (*The Gar Diaries*), reflects a decidedly Southern voice that complicates the monolithic racial perception of Cajuns while reinforcing Indigenous aspects of a heterogeneous mixedblood culture, tied to the lands they have inhabited for hundreds of years. In Hobson's edited collection *The People Who Stayed*, Louisiana Indian voices emerge, including Roger Emile Stouff, whose *Native Waters: A Few Moment in a Small Wooden Boat* and *Chasing Thunderbirds*, reflect his clear Chitimacha upbringing and a decidedly Southern Louisiana Indigenous experience. Other authors straddle the lines of Creole and Indian by claiming both from within their family as related kin-tied identities, a particularly true happenstance for those who have Indian and Creole ancestry and community/cultural ties. Author Carolyn Dunn (Muscogee Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Louisiana Creole, and Tunica-Biloxi descent) writes about issues across the Indigenous diaspora in her creative and critical work ("The Last Indian in the World," *Outfoxing Coyote*, and *The Frybread Queen*), yet always remains active and vocal in her personal acknowledgements of her Louisiana Indigenous inheritances. Such is the case of widely published scholar Andrew Jolivétte, (who is also an emerging poet) a Louisiana Creole of Atakapa (as well as Cherokee and Choctaw) ancestry, whose work continues to demand dialogue and preservation about Indigenous Louisiana, Latin Louisiana, and Louisiana Creoles in his work. These authors, their works, and characters are particularly important to the project of reinserting Native voices into a Southern literary cannon, because Natives still live, breathe, and write in Louisiana.

Sassafras Stories: Returning Roots of Homespace

Indians in the Southeast "are generally assumed to be even more 'vanished' than anywhere else," yet "nearly every state in the Southeast has Indians who are federally recognized (North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida) or who have state recognition (Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, and Florida)" (Hobson "The South" 7). The presence of Indigenous peoples is still often usurped by the *myth* of absence. Likewise, Alabama Creek mixedblood poet, novelist, professor, and Editor Janet McAdams asserts that "Southern mixedbloods don't exist at intersections of identity categories; 'Southern' isn't something that taints an otherwise authentic Creek-or Cherokee-ness. One is indigenous *through* one's Southernness" (McAdams 253). Here, McAdams articulates the very complex reality of attempting to box and divide the culture of one's Indigeneity from regionality. By complicating concepts of Indigenous, métis, mestiz@, and mixedblood, the Indigenous presence and cultural diaspora in the American South is widened to allow for a rising up of its first peoples, from the bayous of Louisiana and Mississippi to the urban cities of Atlanta and Tampa. Yet Indian space always seems to be defined by just that-space. As Darko enters his last days, it is to the land of his birth, wading into the bayou he goes, speaking in his familial language: "I begin to talk real low and slow in Mosopelea. I had a great-big lump in my throat, and soon my low talking became kind of loud, and then I wudn't so much singing as yelling…When I finally stopped, it seem to me like I could still hear me in all the trees around and out over the water" (111). The unification of Darko's voice with the land itself accomplishes two things. Frist, it unites Darko's physical aspect with the land itself, so that nothing separates the two. This reinforces the concept that for Indigenous peoples we are tied to land. Secondly, Darko's voice /land unification at end of the novel, wherein he sings specifically in his tribal language, calls attention to the manifestation of his Ofo identity, despite his non-phenotypic appearance, his travels, and in acknowledgement of his mixed genealogy (Hobson 5-6). His identity, his language, remains Ofo, he is, above all Mosopelea (Ofo), "The Last of the Ofos" (7), speaking a language as unique as the land from which his people and he spring from. And so his words are unite him back, to the land itself, unification in Native place (past, present and future) as a testimony to his survivance.

Anumpa nan anoli sabvnna

I want to tell a story. My grandfather, like many people of his generation, economic circumstances, and racial inheritance joined the military. The connection to land, its waterways, fish, game, and ways of community was integral to survival and internal identity. These were the ways of my dad, granddaddy, his father and mother, and those before them. Even when my father relocated (because of his father's military occupation) in his late teens, when he settled his own family down it was these connections to homespaces, culture, and water that were persistent in how we were raised. In the Southern Gulf States, land and water are part of the endless inheritance of blood, culture, and survival. These elements are etched into our everyday resistance of being— meaning, we rely on these communal connections to survive in a paracolonial world. I wanted to tell stories in this essay because, as Thomas King says, "the truth about stories is that is all we are" (62). If we let silence omit stories as active, didactic, and theoretical reflections of historic and contemporary Indigenous/Indigenous descended struggles and survivance then the paracolonial state subsumes any trace of us.[26] For Creole, Cajun, and other Indigenous-descended presence to be asserted (expanding the acknowledgement of an Indigenous diasporic Louisiana), the work done by Louisiana Indians, Creoles, Cajuns, and other Louisiana Latinidad writers and researchers must continue. Moreover, Louisiana Indian authors must first begin to assert their *own* voices. Likewise, other Southeast Indigenous authors, following Geary Hobson's example, must offer to insert those voices for us. Novels such as Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos* are acts of Indigenous solidarity. When this happens, then change can come, reflecting the assertion of presence, and Creole, Cajun, and other Louisiana Latinidads' own inscriptions as mestiz@/métis Indigenous-descended peoples of Louisiana. To do this means changing the romance of the Creole, the monolithic perception of the Cajun, and perceptions of Louisiana as a white/black binary construction. Louisiana is richly Indigenous, with its own Indigenous literature and with many Indigenous diasporic communities, each of which potentially are contributing to the state's Indigenous literature. By speaking, writing, and declaring an existence through our narratives we engage in resistance, persistence and reclamation.

Endnotes

[1] Choctaw. Translation follows.

[2] Choctaw. Translation follows.

[3] My use of mestiz@ / Mestiz@ is drawn from Damián Baca's work *Mestiz@ Scripts, Digital Migrations and the Territories of Writing*. Baca uses and enlists the "typographic logogram @…primarily for purposes of gender inclusivity" and as a "marker of communal subjectivity among Mestiz@ cultures" (Baca 2). Baca argues that Mestiz@ scripts, i.e. non-traditional, non-alpha numeric texts, by Mestiz@ peoples of the Americas, "subvert and revise hierarchical narratives of assimilation" (1). Baca's work addresses that culturally, spiritually, and ritually, codices, murals, art, and non-western texts by Mestiz@ people throughout Latinidad hold within them rhetorical structures that speak historically and culturally as markers of survivance and resistances across imagined borders (geographic, racial, and political).

[4] Throughout this essay I capitalize Indigenous, Indigeneity, Indian, and all language associated with Native American/First Peoples/Indigenous bodies. Throughout not only the history of the Americas but American literature Indigenous peoples have been scripted as "less than," and while it has become common practice to capitalize the various ways to designate other ethnicities and races, Indigenous (the designation that is inclusive for all First Peoples of the Americas), is often still left in lower-case. In capitalizing these terms I assert proper noun status, and follow in the example of other Indigenous scholars such as Deborah Miranda (Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen) and Kimberly Roppolo (Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek descent).

[5] I will not call it a novella since Dr. Geary Hobson has expressed in conversations and in class discussions with students that he "despises" the word. In fact, in his introduction in *Plain of Jars and Other Short Stories*, Hobson credits Katherine Anne Porter for the term "short novel" from her "Go Little Book" essay, echoing Porter's claim that there are short novels, long novels, short stories, and long stories (Hobson *Plain of Jars* ix).

[6] In American Indian Studies, survivance is an overarching theoretical term, coined by Gerald Vizenor, and applied by other Native scholars. Survivance is survival plus resistance, a process in which Indian peoples overcome and consistently remain despite colonization. For more on survivance see:
Vizenor, Gerald Robert. *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 2000.

---. *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: Wesleyan UP, 1994.

[7] Of course, all of this is a project that takes more time than the conversation engaged in this paper. So think of this as the first narration of narratives and conversations yet to come. When there is more time around the kitchen table, for coffee and offer a little cedar.

[8] Note that I am referring to the majority of Southern literature produced by hegemonic Anglo-European descendants, not works produced by American Indian authors, and other writers of Color, whose works disrupt these massive cannon of literature.

[9] I am using Vizenor's Indigenous application of the theoretical terminology Absent/Presence. He of course draws from Baudrillard.

[10] Taylor's *Reconstructing the Native South: American Indian Literature and the Lost Cause,* is the first and only published work to my knowledge to engage Hobson's *The Last of the Ofos,* other than a few book reviews.

[11] It is important to note that Louisiana has four federally recognized tribes: Tunica-Biloxi, Chitimacha, Coushatta, and Jena Band of Choctaw. There are also seven state recognized tribes: Adais Caddo Indians, Biloxi-Chitimacha Confederation of Muskogee, Choctaw-Apache of Ebarb, Clifton Choctaw, Four Winds Tribe (Louisiana Cherokee Confederacy), Point-Au-Chien Tribe, and the United Houma Nation. There are also several mestiz@/métis/mixedblood peoples who are culturally and/or genetically part of the Indigenous diaspora including, but not limited to: Louisiana Creoles, Cajuns, and Redbones.

[12] Note throughout the my text I will not deviate from the dialectic spellings Hobson uses in his work nor will I offer (sic) after each spelling. This footnote shall serve as a blanket statement on the uses and spellings of Hobson's dialect.

[13] I refer here to the naming scene betwixt the youth (Vivi, Teensy, Caro, Necie and later including Siddalee), and uses of "Indian Royalty" trope in *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood*; as well as the Red/Black descriptors given to Willetta's "Indian face" (Wells 258), which mimic those of Dilcey, whose "Indian blood was plain in her features" (Mitchell 62), in *Gone with the Wind*.

[14] Throughout this essay, I will use mixedblood rather than mixed-blood or mixed blood. In doing so, I echo the use of the term in Native Studies made popular by Louis Owens in his seminal work: Owens, Louis. *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1998.

[15] See: Jolivétte's *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-race Native American Identity*, Klopotek's *Recognition Odysseys: Indigeneity, Race, and Federal Tribal Recognition Policy Three Louisiana Indian Communities,* and Davis' "A Case of Identity: Ethnogenesis of the New Houma Indians."

[16] While the direct quote, as quoted early ends with "be" in my own words at the end of the sentence, following the quote, I have chosen ain't, rather than the proper grammar of "are not." I have done so for the following reason: The sentiments conveyed in Darko's original statement "You got to of lived through the 1930's and 1940s to know what I mean. And you got to be Indian, jist like I am, to know how much that galls—that having to act like you was something other than what you be" (Hobson 4-5), are similar to a well-worn saying by my own Grandpa's: "You is what you is and you ain't what you ain't— an anybody who knos anything an halfa those who don't kno that" are in my mind philosophically linked. Therefore, I like the personal use of ain't in this scenario. It is not a remark on grammar, but a stylistic choice evocative of both Darko and this author's colloquial origins.

[17] I am using the sometimes-considered "dated" word miscegenation for its historical and legal connotations.

[18] As Dr. Geary Hobson admits in lectures and conversations about his text, this is in homage to his old pal, Simon Ortiz.

[19] I use Blindian in the community familiar and increasingly accepted vernacular, meaning Red/Black or Native and African American.

[20] "Historically, the words *mestiz@* (Spanish) and *métis* (French) are and have been used to refer to the offspring of Europeans and Indians within Louisiana, and specifically used to refer to Louisiana Creoles in the historic record. Most recently. Louisiana Latinidad and the Creole Census movement has sought to reclaim the Latino ethnic marker as mestiz@ most accurately defines the linguistic and racial mixture of the Latinization and process of Mestizaje that occurs in Louisiana Creole,\ culture as products of the Indigenous Diaspora. Louisiana Creoles are mestiz@s whose ethnicity encompasses American Indian, African American and European racial inheritance, and are often classified as Mestiz@s" (Goméz "Pin-up Pocahontas Princesses" 162). For more on using terms métis and mestiz@ in reference to Louisiana Creoles, please see Andrew Jolivétte's, "Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad: Locating Culture and Community," (forthcoming) and L. Rain C. Goméz "Brackish Bayou Blood: Weaving Mixed-Blood Indian Creole Identity Outside the Written Record" (*American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32.2 [2008]: 93-108).

[21] Andrew Jolivétte defines Latinidad in "Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad: Locating Culture and Community." Latinidad "is about the multiple intersections of different worlds colliding together under a colonial force that while hegemonic and destructive, was and continues to be a racial project resisted and reshaped by the people themselves as not passive recipients, but as real actors and agents who have also shaped the outcomes of the 'Americas' that we now call home" (1) Louisiana Latinidad is "Born at the multiple intersections of Native American peoples, Europeans, and Blacks, it connotes an amalgam of ritual traditions and values… The geographical coordinates of its diaspora are no less complex, in pertaining to those of Latin American ancestry in the US and in Central and South American nations, the Caribbean, Spain, and, to a

lesser degree, southern Italy and France" (2). Note, while I move onto issue of Cajun assimilation history here in this chapter, the majority of the rest of the dissertation deals with connections and definitions of Creole Indigeneity.

[22] I say "we" as a woman of both Creole and Indigenous ascent— so multiple Indigenous ties to Louisiana, despite being an outlander. My father left Louisiana in the 60s, but my sister and I still return to our paternal homelands and family ties as much as we can. It is our cultural center, along with the Gulf of Mexico.

[23] In her work "Invasion of the Americas and the Making of the Mestiz@coyote Nation: Heritage of the Invasion," Dunbar-Ortiz rejects Euro language terms métis and mestiz@ in favor of "new peoples" or "coyote": "that wily, tough hybrid of the New World born somehow in the ashes of conquest and genocide" (54-55). For current Cajuns and Creoles scholarship, see the work of Louisiana Creole (Cajun) scholars: Christophe Landry, John LeFleur III, Andrew Jolivétte, and Darryl Barthé.

[24] For more on the problematic legalities of mixed Indigenous politics and recognition see:
Basson, Lauren L. *White Enough to Be American?: Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina, 2008.
Using case studies involving mixedblood Indigenous people to illustrate the ambiguous nature of racially mixed people, the problematic nature of policies of racial boundaries is explored in the U.S. Basson addresses that definitions of race, nation, and state in the U.S. at the end of the 19th century worked on binary oppositions of "inclusion and exclusion," and that while binaries were "sophisticated and multidimensional" (Basson 32) they were nevertheless inconsistent. This produced complex and unprecedented methods of dominance. Yet, within these systems multiracial and mixed race voices, passers, and delegates sought to negotiate semblances of rights in the making of law, nation, and American identities.

[25] Kein, whose non-pen name is Dr. Consuela Provost, is also a musician and historian whose credits include one of the seminal works on Creoles: Kein, Sybil. *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2000.

[26] I use paracolonial deliberately as Indigenous peoples of the Americas are not post-colonial occupation, but still under the political, ideological, and legal constraints imposed by outside colonizing forces.

Chapter 4: Beads & Baskets: Mestizaje, NDNs, & Peoplehood in the Physics of Survivance

"I'm about how words/ work up a gumbo of culture…/ This, is my birthright,/ gives a sense of place/ that gets under your skin/ like a swamp leech or a good story/ out for blood." ~ Mona Lisa Saloy[1]

Southern Entries

I enter this story, this text from the South. I know this is not a traditional way of entrance for any tribe I can think of, but it has meaning and purpose for this story. I was born on the Florida Gulf of Mexico coast. All along the eastern coastal waters of the Gulf of Mexico were once Mvskogean homelands. My father was primarily raised in his father's home state of Louisiana. As mentioned in the introduction, my Grandpa's people are of Mvskogean (Choctaw, Creek) and Louisiana Creole descent. And so from the South I enter. Three cultures, Choctaw, Creek and Louisiana Creole, were woven into my grandfather. Three is a sacred number for us. We have three sisters. Three worlds. Three is the number of strands it takes to weave; like the three waters of Louisiana, seawater, fresh water and brackish water. It takes a mixture to make brack water, the water of bayou marsh wetland, where so much wild life lives, its own ecosystems in balance, woven in harmony to land and water. My father and grandfathers' fished these waters, and like the brackish wetlands, we fight for survival; both neither pure, but mixed, uniquely Louisiana. From the South I enter, this story of Louisiana. This story of my father's family reads with sounds of water and smells of gumbo and smoked mullet, cornbread and sassafras tea. Growing up in a mixedblood household with two mixedblood parents I was raised to be human, a good human. My responsibility of helping humanity, the people, was always taught; not to be a good Choctaw or Creole, a good Canadian métis of Sioux and Cree descent or a good Irish American. In other words, I was not a singler inheritance. I was just taught to be human. It was the most Indigenous lesson I could have learned…

The first weavings I ever did was making mats. These mats were made of palm fronds or cattails. The palms would soak, and we wove them, the cattails soaked even longer, cause stripping them without proper soaking caused some nasty itching. I remember one time, not long ago, during a gathering feast we ran out of plates around the cook fire. My sister sat down and began weaving plates out cornhusks and thick grasses. It was then I thought, she would keep this tradition our father's people had for weaving. She will keep, even when far from the Gulf South; she will keep this tradition, alongside her beading, her dancing.

Art=Story=Theory: Mixedblood NDN-Creole Identity Outside the Written Record

Hobson's literary testimony to landbased survivance is not the only Louisiana example. Survivance through storied material culture is historically and contemporarily thriving in the bayou state. Western history and contemporary societies have linked the historic record and meaning making systems to alphanumeric writing. Material culture and oral narrative/history has been a primary source of information keeping for not only family, and community but for a majority of culture systems for longer than alphanumeric written language systems have been in operation. How we define text is vitally important in the Americas and in Indigenous communities, as well as academic programs. It is vital to preserving, expanding, and redefining, notions of theory, history, text, and also unites literature, literacy, and rhetoric. How we read histories of peoples;

and therefore our ability to make knowledge of a people, is contingent on how we define text. As Julie Cruikshank points out in her article “Oral Tradition and Material Culture: Multiplying Meanings of 'Words' and 'Things'” “analyses of spoken words and of material objects have usually been compartmentalized. Yet there are a surprising number of parallels: both were originally treated as *objects* to be collected; then attention shifted to viewing words and things in context*;* recently they have been discussed as aspects of cultural performance, just as now they are often referred to as cultural symbols or as cultural property” *(*Cruikshank 5). This takes on new meaning when we begin to look at the processes of meaning making as we examine our relationships to oral histories and material culture and their place or lack of place within academia and the grand historic narrative of the Americas. Rather than separate the product, image, icon or story from the maker, history and community, we need to link story/orality, cultures and maker. Oral tradition is linked to a community, a history of a people; likewise, material culture is created and influenced by the history and geography of the maker. This links an object to the historic narrative, survival and negotiation of the people from which the maker or crafter belongs. Material culture and oral narrative are valuable resources for understanding the histories and relationships of Louisiana Indian and Creole peoples.

Notions of separating Indigenous peoples based on blood quantum is a European concept, the “idea of mixed blood came to the Americas with Europeans and to a large degree has been imposed on Native peoples by Europeans” (Krouse 74). Europeans had many designations for the various admixtures that resulted from contact, trade, and intermarriage with native peoples, including those of AfroIndian, or Black descent.

Historic texts are lined with terminology such as métis and mestizo, still in common use, to terms such as half-breed, griff, and mulatto rogue.[2] In their work "'Indian Blood': Reflections on the Reckoning and Refiguring of Native North American Identity," Pauline Strong and Varrik Van Winkle ask the question "Who is Indian?" By examining contemporary American Indian art and literature, Strong and Van Winkle show racial philosophies to be woven throughout the federal and political history of American Indians creating an "edifice of racism embodied in "Indian Blood." Declaring it is simply not a matter of "exposing its essentialism and discarding its associated polices, but a more delicate and complicated task; that is acknowledging 'Indian Blood' as a discourse of conquest with manifold and contradictory effects (Strong and Van Winkle 565). One of the "edifices of racism" that is embroiled in the history of mixedbloods is the African, or black admixture, and this influences how Creole Indigeneity has been written out of the historic record.

The concept of race in black and white is tied to slavery; the closer one gets to the institution, the more "degraded" blackness becomes. Distancing oneself from blackness is to align oneself with whiteness, and therefore prosperity (Zack 22-25). Whiteness is the absence of black forbearers, assuming no other non-white forebears, or the absence of non-white forebears. And blackness is the presence of one or more black forebears, depending on how far back" one investigates" (11). In, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana*, Virginia Dominguez investigates the historic underpinnings and policies that contributed to racial stratifications between whites and black in Louisiana. Louisiana was known for being multiracial and having one of the highest interracial populations both of Indian and African admixtures (particularly pre-statehood).[3] Paradoxically, this state has suffered from a distinct preoccupation with racial stratification post the Louisiana Purchase, and in particular after Jim Crow. Dominguez focuses on the changing nature and definition of the terms Creole (as defined by French admixtures with colonists) and its constructions of racial identity with the *gen de couleur* or Black Louisiana Creoles.[4] She ultimately concludes in case of the Louisiana racial divide, that Louisianans' "manipulate their and other peoples identities by playing with available labels, subject to their current meanings (Dominguez 265). That is to say, that racial construction, that fine line between how white or black one is, is subject to the how close the current histories and philosophies of the time are to current sociopolitical constructions, fears, or policies held in vogue. What makes the white/black binary so problematic is that it leaves no space for Indianness, rather than allow for a mutable or new space for "redness" i.e. Indianness. Any Indian admixture with African (black) or European (white) becomes the deciding factor further supported with white/black binary phenotype and pigment stereotypes.

The notion of weeding out Indianness based on ties to whiteness or blackness is problematic, as well as assertions of notions of Nationalism, one that mimics western concepts of the Nation-state can also be troublesome. I would argue Indigenous people are tied more keenly through a concept of what Tom Holm (Mvskoke (Creek) /Cherokee), (drawing from work alongside Robert K Thomas) has dubbed "The Peoplehood Matrix," and this structure is more culturally and historically grounded in lived realities and traditional homespaces than current notions of Indian Nationalism.[5] Peoplehood transcends "notions of statehood, nationalism, gender, ethnicity," and recognizes that "language, sacred history, religion (ceremonial cycle), and land" are "interwoven and dependent on one another" (Holm et al 11-12). This concept illustrates how land influences language, language reflects ceremony, and how in turn, events that take place on land are tied to the people who inhabit land and are constantly remember through land, and thereby language, and in turn tied to ceremonial complexes. Additionally People addresses "disenfranchichized or colonized Native American groups" (16-17) a point I will return to again in this dissertation as:

> The concept goes beyond the notion of race and even nationality. Historically, Native American peoples adopted captives of several races. Adoption meant that the captive, regardless of race, became a member of a kin group…Race, to Native Americans, was not a factor of group identity or peoplehood. Nations—which are primarily viewed as the territorial limits of states that encompass a number of communities—do not necessarily constitute a people nor do they have the permanency of peoplehood (16-17).

The concept of People is therefore grounded in concepts free of paracolonial notions of blood quantum and the Nation-State. There is no one image of Indian people. For centuries, Natives have been intertribal and interracial, assuming race on physical appearance/phenotype is outdated. "In reality Indian people exhibit the physical variation typical of any population with skin colors ranging from dark to light, hair from black to blond and straight to kinky… " (Krouse Kinship and Identity 77), moreover distancing or separating notions of landbase, ceremonial complexes, and language takes away the core of Indigenous identity complexes.

How Creoles fit into this spectrum of Indigeneity, and into this spectrum as artists, writers, and preservationists of Indigenous cultures are serious questions. There has been much confusion over defining the Creole community of Louisiana, especially with regard to the later French European populations, and other "mestizo" or creolized/ mixedblood populations. In Dominquez's work on Louisiana Creoles of Louisiana, what is decidedly absent is the presence of Indian blood, most likely due to preconceived notions of physical appearance.[6] Louisiana's history of racial mixing has given rise to specific Indigenous descended communities. In *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-Race Native American Identity,* Andrew Jolivétte (Louisiana Creole, Atakapa-Ishak, Choctaw, Cherokee), defines Creole identity as it specifically relates to American Indian descent and inheritance. Working with Creole heritage center in Natchitoches Louisiana, he defines Louisiana Creoles as peoples of mixed American Indian, African (Black/West Indies), French, and Spanish ancestry who reside or have "familial ties" to Louisiana (Jolivétte 6). Complicating how Louisiana Creole are and have been defined are the children of Louisiana Creoles and Louisiana Indians. Jolivétte asserts that influences of Jim Crow, allowed fears of black "taint of the tar brush" mentality to "disenfranchise" generations of Creole-Indians. Louisiana Creoles as mixedbloods were threatening, Creole-Indians, people with ties to both the mixedblood Creole community and Indian community, were even more of a threat (96).

Moving or removing blackness and asserting either whiteness or Indianness, as a result of lingering ramifications over government policy, is thematic through many mixedblood writings, family histories, and is evidenced in conflicted historic documents. In his introduction, "Who is White?" Andrew Jolivétte addresses the "passing" of his father's own Louisiana Creole and Indian family, stating many of them passed as white up until the late 1980s and early 1990s (1). There is and was a generation left in limbo from parents who either had to pass outside their homes and communities for survival or conversely those who were labeled as black without recognition for their Indian or white inheritance. Jolivétte argues that Louisiana Creoles (and I would add other mixedbloods) "who passed for white during the 1920-1940 period (in family/community/birth records) were really forced to do so…" (66-67). The racial disenfranchisement of Indians, and Blacks, not to mention policies of removal, Jim Crow and racism placed many mixedblood and Red/Black peoples in delicate positions.

The years and histories of racial mixing have led Louisiana Creoles to form a specific culture that combines blood, kin ties, historic, and geographic ties to Louisiana Indian communities, including Louisiana Choctaws, Houmas, Chitimachas, Tunica-Biloxi, and Koasatis among others. The result is a racial weaving, a distinct Indigenous based/descended culture that is not white or black nor strictly Indian. Like the Canadian métis, it is based in a specific region, with French language extraction and intermarriage among French and Indians, as well as other races. The Louisiana Creoles are based in their Indigenous Gulf south roots and influenced, braided with European (French and Spanish) and African bloodlines and culture**.** Historically the French language has been the base language from which Creole French (and Cajun French) is derived, the language itself reflects influence from Indigenous and African cultures. Louisiana was both a French and Spanish colony, and many early settlers were of mixed French Indian and/or Spanish Indian ancestry, a phenomenon not unlike that which occurred in the Canadian Great lakes and Red River Valley. It should be noted that historically the word mestizo (Spanish) and métis (French) do and have been used to refer to the offspring of Europeans and Indians within Louisiana. Jennifer S. H. Brown and Jacqueline Peterson in their work on the Métis/métis of Canada caution the use of the word, as there are strong language and geographic ties.[7] However, they also suggest that a broader use of the term is the result of historic pasts and geographic implications of French and Indian mixings (Brown and Peterson 5). The historic mixing of French language and culture with Indian, African and later Spanish influence gave rise to Creole culture. Despite the later Spanish presence the primary language for Louisiana Creoles and in use among many Natives in Louisiana, including Houmas and Choctaws is Creole French (or Cajun French). The result is a *métis*… The word is rooted in Greek; meaning to craft, a new indigenously based people, a métis/mestizo people; Creole peoples. These peoples carry their own Peoplehood matrixes, language, sacred history, ceremonial cycle, and land, interwoven and dependent (Holm et al 11-12) on each component to define themselves culturally. This inter-cultural crafting or weaving, sharing of mixed race culture and blood is apparent in the language, food, music and basketry.

Survivance= Survival + Resistance/Friction: Baskets and Beads: Mestizaje as Cultural Survivance

The act of creating text is story building; it builds and adds onto Indian narrative tradition.[8] Ethnographer Julie Cruikshank claims that, "Storytelling may be a universal human activity, but the concepts communicated in stories depends on close attention to local metaphor and local narrative conventions (Cruikshank "Oral History" 4). In the art of basketry and beadwork, these "local metaphor" and "narrative conventions" depend upon geography, tribal affiliation, family inheritance, and natural materials, to create, tell story and cross-culturally talk from one basket and basket maker to another or beadwork to another etc. "Baskets can speak for a culture. Changes in basketry tradition, like changes in language, have meaning, for they reflect cultural change"

(Turnbaugh and Peabody 3). Stories we see in for example, a pine needle and sweetgrass basket, made by a Creole basket maker, call upon the viewer to become an active participant in the story. Reading the basket or a beaded medallion calls into history the narrative of the *geographic story* and *racial weaving* of Creole and Indian experience and identity as Indigenous descended peoples; hence coming to see the use and placement of the Indigenous materials in a new way. Its story is connected yet totally its own, separate from the story of a pine needle basket made by a Koasati Indian, as a beaded medallion made by a Louisiana Choctaw-Cane River Creole in comparison to a medallion by a Yakima Indian. The process of creating and viewing material culture is kinetic, I mean it is active, not static, and it requires movement and making processes on both the maker and the "reader."

Beads and baskets speak. They speak of the land, materials, who has made them, what they do, traditions and who came together, to help teach the maker the ways in which to construct these texts. Beads and baskets tell stories. They like any form of literacy are a kinetic form of rhetoric. Makers blend cultural tradition with a knowledge of the natural world that is both extensive and intimate. For example, a " traditional basket embodies carefully selected materials taken from the local environment, including specific vegetal elements…or minerals (pigments or oxides) components, all combined with technical skills and aesthetic sensibilities passed from generation to generation. The result is a distinctive cultural product that will not be exactly duplicated by any other people in any other place" (51). Beads and baskets tell stories, they hold histories, they are a form of text incorporating *tribalography* pulling all elements of a story teller's tribe, land, culture, and holding within them materials of the people themselves, of the geographic place and setting of those materials, and the makers themselves. [9] As kinetic active listeners to these texts, we need to listen to the multiplicities in the storytelling of these makers.

Beginning with Louisianan Indigenous basketry, the materials most prevalent among Louisiana tribal groups for basket making are mosses, pine needles, palm fronds/leaves, wire grass, sweetgrass and of course river cane. [10] Archeological evidence of basketry is found within the Red River Valley of Louisiana as early as over 8000 years ago (Sibley 110). Boiled walnuts yield black or brownish black pigment, boiled cane and sassafras root yield reddish orange, and dandelion can make yellow. The Tunica-Biloxi of Louisiana and other tribes are known to use maple bark to make yellow pigment (Turnbaugh "Tales of the Basket Grandmothers" 61). One of the most prolific and heralded river cane basket making tribes of the Southeast are the Chitimacha of Southern Louisiana. Located in Charenton in St. Mary Parish, the Chitimacha, are heralded for their retention of weaving tradition, basket durability, along with double weaving style. Chitimacha basketry has been both collected and studied since the turn of the 19th century. Because the Chitimachas are the most well-known basket makers of Louisiana and have retained a number of traditional patter names, we will begin our basketry reading using Chitimacha river cane baskets as a template to understanding Choctaw, Koasati and Creole basket patterns. In examining some patterns and materials, we see how patterns and materials manifest in both the Indian communities and Creole communities, entertaining the possibility of how geography, and intermarriage have imprinted baskets both across Indian and Creole communities.

Common patterns pervade basketry, these motifs sometimes move from basketry to pottery to ribbon work and beadwork between Southeastern, Louisianan tribes and into the Creole communities of Louisiana. Basket specific patterns include “Alligator Entrails,” (used specifically among the Chitimacha) most likely for the complexity of its weaving, its symbolism, and presence both geographically and within Chitimacha narrative (Silbey 186). The pattern consists of an initial rectangle that is continued by a linked series of open-ended rectangles; this portion of the design has equally spaced dark diamonds peeking through the lighter colored base design of the connected rectangles. Another common pattern includes “Teche” or Snake. This pattern is meant to mimic the sinewy roll of the snake or water moccasin as it moves (See figure 1 and figure 2). [11] A common pattern, the diamond with the dot in the center, is known as “Blackbird’s Eye” (186). The pattern is either a weave of light or dark cane formed in the shape of diamond, with a contrasting light or dark dot in the center of the diamond (see figures 3 and 4).[12] The other most prominent pattern that almost always accompanies major patterns as a leitmotif is that of “Broken Braids.” A broken braid pattern is an angular weave reminiscent of twisted rope or a braid of hair made with only two strands (see figure 5).[13] Other geometric shapes such as the triangle, diamond and cross pattern prevalent in Mvskogean (Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) regalia are often found in Choctaw, Chitimacha, and Koasati basketry. These patterns reappear in basketry throughout the area, the broken braids pattern, blackbirds eye and geometric patterns (triangle, diamond and crosses) are common in Choctaw, Houma, and Chitimacha basketry. Likewise, it is important to note Creole baskets made of split river cane often exhibit similar dying techniques, broken braids, blackbird’s eye, and

Mvskogean geometric patterns. These patterns are linked as tribes both close in family intermarriage narratives and in geography between Indian and Creole communities.

While basket collectors and museums consider Chitimacha river cane basketry highly collectible and much sought after across the country, the Choctaw river cane baskets are becoming equally collected and sold nationwide. Louisiana Choctaws (including the Jena and Clifton Bands of Louisiana Choctaw) are prolific basket makers, reviving the art across the Choctaw Diaspora. [14] There has also been a notable increased interest in pine needle basketry as it has been highlighted in many Louisiana Folklife art festivals since the 1990s. Pine needle basketry is a permeable art form where we see cross cultural speaking from Southeast Indian cultures to Creole basket making. The Koasatis, a Mvskogean tribe, are located primarily in Elton (Allen Parish) Louisiana. Koasati basketry is known for its use of pine needles and wiregrass, although wiregrass is harder to find these days (*Louisiana Folklife*). Pine needles are soaked in room temperature water and then woven using raffia or sinew in a sewing action. The same process is used with bayou mosses, although the moss is not soaked, but kept damp. Creole baskets also use these materials in much the same manner. Pine needles are soaked and sewn using sinew, or raffia. Creole baskets often combined these pine needles with sweetgrass. Likewise Koasati and Choctaws baskets show evidence of sweetgrass incorporation for basket making as well.

Moss, pine needle, and sweetgrass baskets, are found cross-tribally and within the Creole community. The materials are harvested, and processed in similar manners; patterns that emerge in Creole basketry are often reflective of Louisiana Indian patterns, including broken braids, blackbirds eye, and the stylized diamond and triangle patterns of the southeast. I would like to suggest that kin-ties, intermarriage, and culture exchange resulting from blending bloodlines lend evidence as to why we find the similarities in the choices/processes of natural resources and basket patterns. The similarities found between the materials used, collection processes, and patterns within the weavings, are suggestive of culture sharing among peoples for whom basketry is not only a tribal tradition but a family tradition (including specific patters, and material processing). The Creole basketmakers of Cane River have close genealogical ties and culture ties to the Chitimacha on the Metoyer and Darbanne/Derbanne family lines, while Metoyer and Prud'homme families are tied to both Caddos and Choctaws, and the Prud'homme, Ravare, and Beridon are tied to the Tunica-Biloxi. Additionally, the Clifton Band of Choctaw are culturally, genealogically, and historically tied to Cane River Creoles. [15]

To make a basket, one must listen, one must watch the maker, and one must learn to gather and harvest the materials properly. This is similarly true for bead and textile artists. As a reader of material culture, close attention must be paid to geography, harvesting, proper placement and weaving/sewing/placement of the materials. Beadwork and basketry has long been a family, clan, or town art; each family, clan, or town having their own set of practices. This history should make us question how intermarriage and interracial alliances have affected material text evolution in Louisiana. As readers of history and material culture, we should question these factors, as well as geographic, historic, and familial records. In doing so we learn to understand the ways in which material text speak of not only a tribal history, but also a familial history and the effects of modernity on geography and natural materials. I would like to suggest that it is time we listen to both the stories these objects tell and the stories these communities tell; to look to them as viable histories of survival. Within these histories are found a specific blending of cultural exchange, ones that have roots bound to "intermarriage" and cultural sharing between specific Louisiana Mvskogean (Choctaw/Koasati/Houma) Chitimacha and Tunica-Biloxi communities.

Place/Time= Tribalography and Place-Centered Beadwork

The beadwork of Tee Shawnee (Louisiana Choctaw, Choctaw-Biloxi, Louisiana Creole, Mvskoke) speaks to this tradition of story, place, and survivance within Louisiana. Just as Hobson's work illustrates tribalography by using alphanumeric language to show how Indians overcome moments of cultural friction, negotiating modernity and enabling our survivance. Shawnee's material culture creates work that embraces the spectrum of Indian inheritance, experience, resistance and survival of Southeastern people firmly rooted in a Louisiana landbase, complete with a woven narrative of complex tribal histories. Like Hobson's work and classic Chitimacha basketry and Cane River Creole basketry, Shawnee's beadwork draws both on traditional and geographic elements to move against the surface of dominant discourse, using tribalography as a resistive force enabling her work to roll along the surface of hegemonic society without exerting too much pressure and distorting the composition and story of representation of Southeast Indian presence.

In a world where popular images of American Indians have been "an imprinted picture the pose of the continental fugitive…," where "Native resistance was abstracted as a fugitive pose in national histories; at the same the *indian* was a cultural concoction of bourgeoisie nostalgia and social sciences evidence. Cultural pageantry, dioramas, and museum presentations pictured the fugitive *indian* in the archives of dominance" (Vizenor, *Fugitive* 145); Shawnee's work speaks to and eliminates prosaic images of defeated nostalgic Indian identity. Shawnee's use of a tribalographic landbase identity to overcome cultural friction calls attention to the interaction and cultural symbiosis engaged in places of meeting between red, white, and black peoples to enable survivance. "Storytelling is open-ended rather than didactic, allowing listeners (viewers) to draw independent conclusions" (Cruikshank 5). The stories in Shawnee's beadwork call upon the viewer to become an active participant in the story. The process of creating and viewing the text continues to be kinetic. In the act of creating text, by building and drawing from "all the elements… of a storyteller's tribe… their people, the land, and multiple characteristics and all their manifestations and revelations and connect[ing] these in past, present and future milieus" (LeAnne Howe, "The Story" 42), Shawnee reimagines her Mvskogean-Creole ancestry and survivance over cultural friction.

While Tee Shawnee's beadwork, ribbon applique, and full regalia ensembles produced through her home-run business *Shawnee Designz*, co-own and fashioned with her husband Bill Shawnee (Loyal Shawnee, Quapaw, Cherokee, Miami, Delaware) are throughout Indian Country, from British Columbia to Florida, Montana to California, Ontario to Oklahoma, and countless places in-between, the work she produces for specific projects close to her Louisiana homeland heart, are the focus of this chapter. The daughter of military brats, Tee Shawnee's father is of Choctaw-Biloxi, Louisiana Creole, Tunica, and Mvskogean (Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw) descent paternally with ties deep into Louisiana, Oklahoma (Indian Territory), as well as parts of Alabama and

Mississippi. Her mother is of Irish and Canadian métis (Nakoda and Cree) descent, whose father was a residential school survivor. However, Shawnee grew up and was raised within her father's Mvskogean Gulf-Bayou homelands; thus, it is to her Mvskogean-Creole culture that she draws her cultural, familial, and story matrix.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Indian concepts of time are event and landbased. A memory triggers another memory, a geographic marker incites a story, a history; therefore, history is alive in the land. Its memory is in the space that surrounds the people and hence filters into our everyday lives. The bead texts of Tee Shawnee reflect the tribalography of Louisiana Indian-Creole culture and in doing so overcome cultural friction and enable survivance by drawing on the communal and familial memory of the geographic region and stories within the landbase. "Bayuk Lwizyàn Memories"[16] is a large approximately seven by six inch medallion beaded in tricut beads, 13 cut beads, Swarovski crystal trillion cut beads, white heishi, rhinestone banding, small crystal flowers, and single pearl, to form a bayou water backdrop. Here an egret flies against its multi-tonal ripples and crawdad with a single magnolia cradle the scene (see figure 6). The whole of the composition is surrounded in a swirl design known as "doubleheaded serpent." Beaded on pellon and backed on white leather, strung on fishing line with white Joshua dentalium, 4mm glass fire-polish beads, and bone spacers, it forms both a medallion necklace and serves as the book cover for the Native Writers' Circle of the Americas First Book Award Poetry winner, *Smoked Mullet Cornbread Crawdad Memory*, by Rain C Goméz (2012 Mongrel Empire Press (see figure 7)[17].

In reading the image the first thing I want to direct our attention to is the two plays of water. First we have riotous waves of water. These rolling waters at once play with deep blues to turquoise to light baby blue hues to white capped. Evocative of Gulf waves to shore, they are offset by the calm deep dark almost ethereal water in which the egret wades, its wings prepared to take off in flight. This water, from deep sapphire to blue-black pays homage to the "Bayuk," a Choctaw word for bayou, from whence the piece takes a portion of its name. Balanced between these two water narratives, the calm brackish bayous and the rolling riotous Gulf is the snowy water bird, egret, and the bright fiery crawdad. In various Choctawan legends *Shakchi* (crawdad) plays significant rolls. Some say the Crawdad people where the last to emerge when the People came from *Nanih Waiya (*the Choctaw Mother mound from where all Choctaw and Chickasaw people emerged). In fact, the Crawdad people had to be roped and dragged to the surface, where they became their own distinct clan. Others such as various Louisiana Choctaw and Houma claim shakchi, earth diver, brought mud in his hands during the great flood to rebuild the earth. Among Creoles, he is a symbol of survival through drought and symbol of joy through carnival. In both Louisiana Indian and Louisiana Creole cultures crawdad is a staple of family, cuisine, story, and music. Likewise, egret, whose presence wades along shorelines throughout Louisiana, symbolizes our close relationships with water. Our communities, long-noted for their reliance on swamps, rivers, and brackwater, have a deep history of "going to water" for purification and prayer. Like the egrets and snakebirds that guard the entrances to the waters and bayous of our homelands, the transient space between worlds, wading birds hold a place of reverence. Lastly, as we see patterns in basketry reappear cross-tribally, we also see motifs from baskets, to beadwork, and symbols that call both specifically to our tribal roots, our landbase, and our greater mound building culture. The doubleheaded serpent motif, while favored by Choctaws, can be traced to our mound building ancestors and pays homage to *Sinti Lapitta*, the Great Horned Serpent.

While Shawnee currently doesn't work in a medium that is indicative of Louisiana land itself, such as river cane, moss, or pine needle, her work is adaptive of Indigenous arts as a whole. It represents the ways in which shell and quill becomes beads; it is "evocative of the changing landscapes and disrupted ecosystems" (Hill 185) yet in conversation within a tradition of Indigenous art across the Americas. Material texts are a language themselves. As Billy J Stratton and Frances Washburn note, "languages have been lost or diminished so that some American Indian people do not speak their native languages" (57) yet new ways of storytelling and history keeping continue. As Joy Harjo notes, "in our tribal cultures, the power of language to heal, to regenerate, and to create is understood. These colonizers' languages, which often usurped our own tribal languages or diminished them, now hand back emblems of our cultures, our own designs: beadwork…if you will…We've transformed these enemy languages (Harjo 22-24 qtd in Stratton Washburn 57-58). "Bayuk Lwizyàn Memories" is grounded in a specific homespace. It is a tribalographic space, one that draws on memories of bayou and Gulf, going to water, and egret prayer feathers, the stories of emergence from Nanih Waiya, and shakchi flood narratives, marked by the watchful prayers and guidance of the great horned Serpent, and the sweet smell of magnolia, so that even non-tribal people may recognize, she embodies the space of knowing and evoking presence of the Magnolia-state. Moreover, Shawnee's choice of combining both Choctaw (Bayuk) and Creole (Lwizyàn) language in naming her work weave together the narrative of their familial homebase from blood to land, the stories of

Choctaw and Creole water birds, with shakchi stories, all alongside memories of community where Cane River Creole, Tunica-Biloxi, Jena Choctaw, Clifton Choctaw, Opelousas Creoles, Houma-Chitimacha, and Atakapa-Ishaks merge and mingle.

Making beadwork, like weaving a basket, or creating wampum is an act of both storied text and narrative resistive. The maker must listen, one must watch the maker, and one must learn to choose the materials properly. As a reader of beads and baskets, close attention must be paid to geography, harvesting, and placement of the materials. Shawnee's work cannot be separated from her familial or communal ties, she is plugged into the Peoplehood matrix of land, culture, language, and religion that makes up her worldview. This forms a codex for understanding the language the beads speak. As Angela Haas (Cherokee descent) articulates this concept in her much-cited work "Wampum as Hypertext" this work:

> constructs an architectural mnemonic system of knowledge making and memory recollection through bead placement, proximity, balance, and color. Like colors are employed in Western visual design to signify certain moods for readers, the color usage of wampum reminds its "reader" how to organize and read the story woven into the material rhetoric… In order to retrieve the encoded communication, an individual must be a part of the community with the cultural context for accurate retrieval of that information (86).

Beads speak, and the ways in which color, patter, image, and technique are evoked and combined within tribalographic conversation to overcome notions of stagnant ideas of Indianness reinforces Indigenous voice and presence. Tee Shawnee asserts her place within a specific familial and landbase.

For Shawnee, the act of creating Indigenous art itself is an act of overcoming obstacle and friction. Shawnee, is not an enrolled member of the of a Federal Indian

Nation; even though her cousin is renowned Cherokee/Creek/Tunica-Choctaw-Biloxi award winning author/playwright/musician and director Carolyn Dunn, and Shawnee herself is a descendent of Falayatubby and Nanci Prud'homme, as well as a Pierite / Beridon (Choctaw-Biloxi-Tunica), Simmons and Barnett (Mvskoke), Lyle and Young (Choctaw), and Stanfield/Stanifer and Byrd (Chickasaw).[19] While her beadwork, regalia, and applique are seen as a reflection of her Southeast Indian ancestry, under Public Law 101-664, Shawnee is unable to call her materials "Indian made." In 1990 the Department of Interior passed the Indian Arts and Crafts Act, also known as Public Law 101-644. This law stated that any persons claiming to be an Indian must show a CDIB card (Certified Degree of Indian Blood) or be a member of a federally recognized tribe, in order sell their arts and crafts as Indian made. While Ms. Shawnee's husband currently holds standing in more than one federally recognized tribe the work they do as a company qualifies their work under the Indian Arts and Craft Act. However, any individual work or creation she seeks to do specifically to tell the narrative of her Louisiana people cannot be labeled as Indian made, despite her ties to communities in both Louisiana and Oklahoma.

This legal conundrum (one that allows some people with no ties to communities or culture but federal cards to market Indian goods) speaks to the greater issues as we see Nationalism, Federal recognition, and growing repercussions within our transracial/transnational Indigenous realities:

> for many people, whether identifying themselves as Seneca, Seminole, Diné, Miwok, or some other Native Nation, may also identify themselves as part of a greater community of Native people. Another problem with the conception of communitism [in relation to Nationalism] is that it could be construed as essentialist insofar as it does not properly address

> issues such as crossblood people and Indians who live off the reservation, especially those concentrated in urban areas. One could also argue that his preference for tribal identification, although useful in many cases, can also be misleading and arbitrary since among the Diné, to use one example, one's primary identification is expressed based upon the clan affiliation of one's mother, rather than the broader tribal identification. To use a different analogy, few would claim that it is inaccurate to refer to William Faulkner as a Mississippi writer, but to define him specifically and only as such while ignoring his concurrent standing as a Southern writer and as an American writer would tend to limit rather than enlarge the importance and relevance of his literary production (Stratton and Washburn 52).

While I will return to this quote from Stratton and Washburn later, as regards the concept of Peoplehood, Native identity is not nor has it ever been singular. Moreover, in our increasingly multi-tribal Indigenous communities singular affiliations are problematic. People, allows community, land, language, and ceremony to testify for Indigeneity in ways that enrollment but cultural en-abstenia does not. Likewise, federal definitions, tribal nation definitions, community definitions, ceremonial ground definition, and United Nation definitions are all far from in agreement on what it means to be Indigenous.

Between 2004 and 2007, the United Nations set about the arduous task of seeking to both define Indigenous peoples and set out individual and collective rights of Indigenous peoples, as regards culture, identity, language, education, health and other collective issues. The finalized 2007 declaration also "emphasizes the rights of Indigenous peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions, and to pursue their development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations" (UN Declaration Indigenous).[20] Moreover, the definitions that highlight Indigenous communities include: “Self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community/ Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies / Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources / Distinct social, economic or political systems / Distinct language, culture and beliefs / Form non-dominant groups of society / Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities" (UN Indigenous Fact Sheet).[21] For familial groups, state tribes, and certainly Creole communities the concept of legitimate Indigeneity is certainly complicated when viewed through the UN definitions as most Creole communities, Louisiana state tribes, and people such as Shawnee, while not federally enrolled are tied to multiple communities all amounting to ability to establish histories of pre-colonial contact, landbase continuity, marginalized community with distinct culture and language tied to Indigenous peoples still inhabiting the same landbase.

If we take this concept back to the Peoplehood matrix, Stafford and Washburn argue:

> [the] interpretive value of the Peoplehood Matrix is in its ability to provide a culturally specific understanding of Native forms of knowledge, while, at the same time, promoting a heteroholistic epistemological framework…[a] tribal-centric subjectivity operant in most Native societies whereby a group views themselves as The People, conferring to them a special relationship to local deities and spirits, which centers them in a specific geographic location and sets up a system of mutual responsibilities and reciprocal relationships with the land and its inhabitants…The peoplehood model acknowledges this way of conceiving the world allowing analysis of Native oral and literary narratives to be both broader and more precise at the same time (55).

In other words, like the atomic symbol for the atom in chapter three, we stand at multiple intersections. Tribal identities, land memory, culture, ceremonial, languages, popular colure, colonized culture, all are intersecting our space. There is no linear in

Indigenous world view. Everything is a matrix. Everything is a basket woven. How we make sense of these matrixes, and our positionalities within their weave is all in how we understand our own relationships, our homegrown matrixes. Baskets and beads “can speak for a culture. “Changes in …tradition, like changes in language, have meaning, for they reflect cultural change” (Turnbaugh 3). Material cultures and oral narratives speak of Louisiana Indian and Louisiana Creole histories, and to decode these stories, is to stand at the center of the Louisiana Indian-Creole mestizaje matrix.

Material Art of Storymaking

I have always envied the skills with which traditional artisans tell histories and stories; the way in which Indigenous people negotiate colonization moving from shell and quill to beadwork, and thus reclaiming traditions. How a single carving, or weaving, tells not only where the item comes from, but also a history of the maker, and therefore a people. The survival and modifications are made to endure. Native people adapted, we resisted and negotiated, we were not swallowed up by the western systems of indoctrination, rather we learned to modify and navigate their waters. Artways that went to sleep, wake up, and return, and while most people no longer harvest cane with tools of river cane and bone, they still make split river cane baskets and pine needle baskets. These materials meet and mingle, roll about shared histories, pine needle and cane meets sweetgrass and weaves together narratives of shared Indian and Creole histories.

Figures

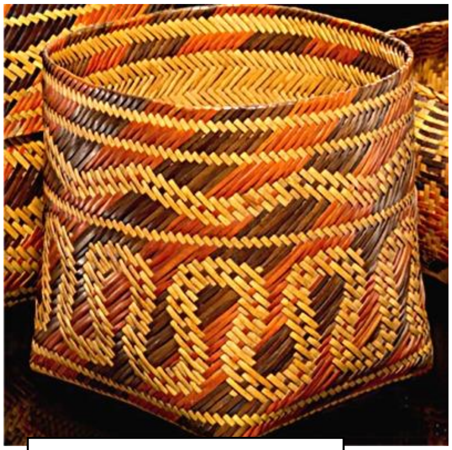


Figure 1:Teche pattern

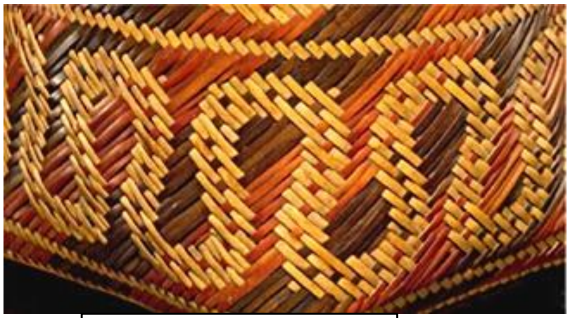


Figure 2:Teche pattern

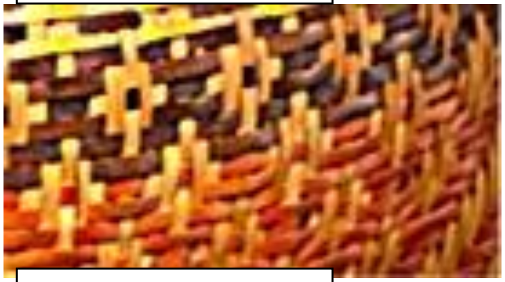


Figure 3:Blackbird's eye

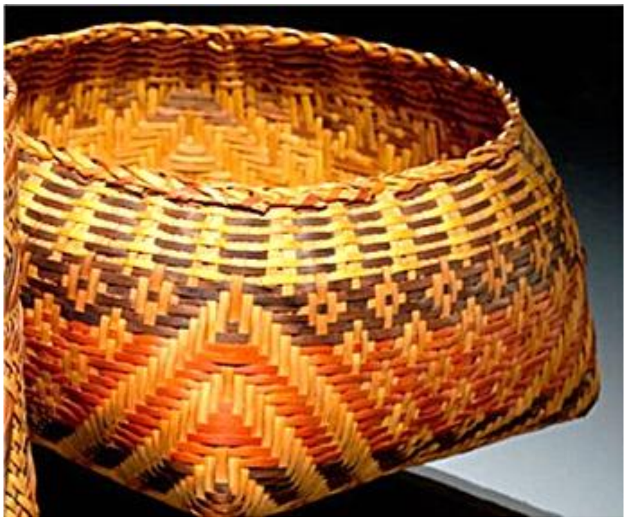


Figure 4: Blackbird's eye and Broken braids

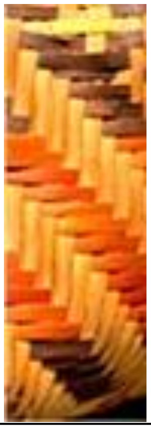


Figure 5:Broken braids

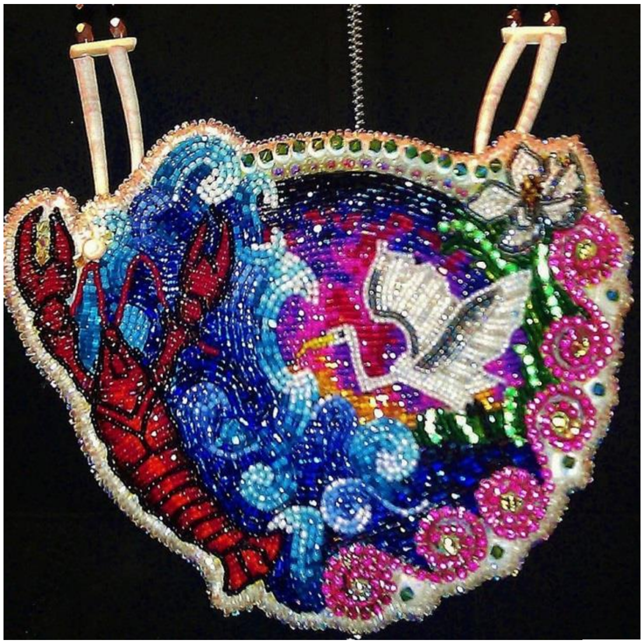
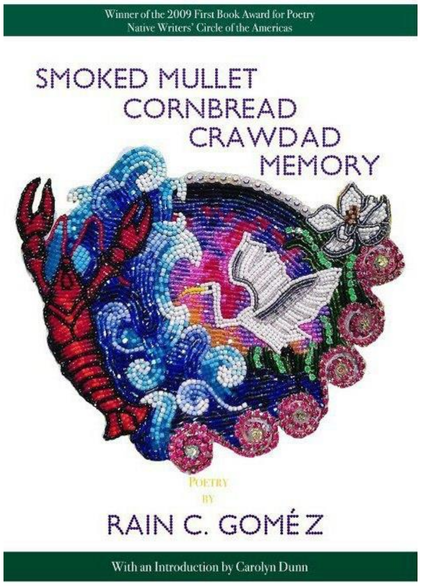


Figure 6: *Bayuk Lwizyàn Memories*



Winner of the 2009 First Book Award for Poetry
Native Writers' Circle of the Americas

SMOKED MULLET
CORNBREAD
CRAWDAD
MEMORY

POETRY
BY
RAIN C. GOMÉZ

With an Introduction by Carolyn Dunn

Figure 7: *Smoked Mullet Cornbread Crawdad Memory*

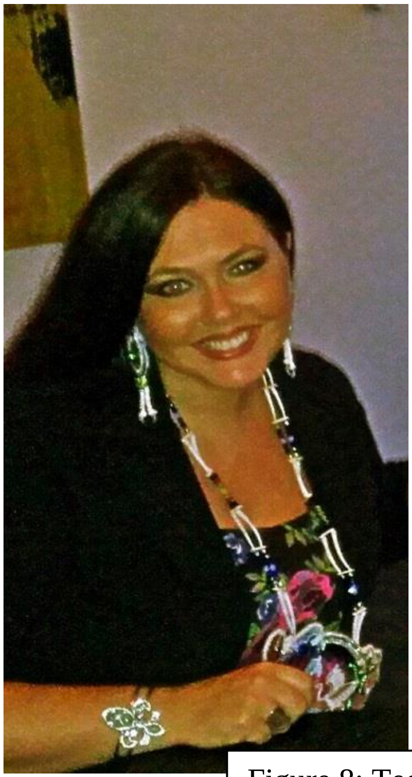


Figure 8: Tee Shawnee wearing *Bayuk Lwizyàn Memories*

Endnotes

[1] Saloy, Mona Lisa. “Word Works.” *Red Beans and Ricely Yours: Poems*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State UP, 2005. 3.

[2] There have been several books, articles and family written narratives addressing the racial names and categorization of mixedrace persons as “tri-racial isolates” or “little races”. For more information or introductory study please see: A.R. Dunlap, and C.A. Weslager, “Trends in the Naming of Tri-Racial Mixed-Blood Groups in the Eastern United States.” (*American Speech*, April 1947); Brewton Berry, *Almost White: A Study of Certain Racial Hybrids in the Eastern United States*, (New York: MacMillan, 1963).

[3] See Daniel Usner. Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1992) and Gwendolyn Mildo Hall Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1992).

[4] *Gens de couleur*, is French for “people of color,” also seen as *gens de couleur libres*, free people of couleur. The term began in Haiti, and was later imported to Louisiana. The gens de couleur in Louisiana incorporated the offspring of French men (or Spanish men) and black slave women and later referenced the descendants of these couplings as well as offspring from French/Spanish men and Creole or mulatto/quadroon etc… women kept in *plaçage.* Plaçage was a forn of commitment somwhere between common law marriage and the keeping a mistress. The children were often educated over-seas, were provided for and kept a social status and lifestyle in a manner above the “pure” black or Indian. Please see Sybil Kein, *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana’s Free People of Color* (Baton Rogue Louisiana State University, 2000).

[5] See Weaver, Jace, Craig S. Womack, and Robert Allen. Warrior. *American Indian Literary Nationalism*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2006. Who claim “Nationalism privileges the allegiance to the nation or tribe. It “takes seriously Native sovereignty and survivance, have Indigenous self-determination at its core and decolonization, survival, recovery, development, and transformation…” (73).

[6] Dominquez does mention that some Louisiana Creoles in Louisiana or mixedrace/tri-racial isolates (referred to as “little races”) “claim Indian” blood/heritage and other “so called Indians” of the region referring to specific mixedbloods like Redbones and the “Houmas” (204). The later of which is now a state recognized tribe. If mixed race Indians such as Louisiana Creoles are seen only in binary opposition as white/black it negates culture and understanding other multiethnic mixedbloods with Indigenous culture ways (see Andrew Jolivétte, *Louisiana Creoles*, 99).

[7] There is a difference in Métis/métis designation historically. Métis with a big 'M' demotes particular sociocultural heritage and an ethnic self-identification that is not

entirely racially based, but also tied to specific historic Métis communities, primarily (usually) the government recognized communities originating in the Red River valley. The little 'm' métis denotes those who are of mixed First Nation and other ancestry, and is usually a racial definition. However descendants who can show métis/First nation script (land grants or money during land negotiation with Aboriginal peoples) are sometimes tied to specific First Nation and/or métis communities.

[8] Here I would like to remind readers that text is anything created/authored we can read and make meaning from, be it written, visual art, material culture…

[9] See LeAnne Howe's definitions and discussion of "tribalography" in Chapter II and "The Story of America: A Tribalography" *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2001) 42.

[10] American river cane belongs to the bamboo family, and was used throughout the Southeast by Indigenous peoples. River cane was used for hunting tools, making baskets, dwellings, mats, knives and blowguns. It is and was a natural resource primary to the livelihood and culture of Gulf coast and southeast Indian peoples. Do to environment encroachment and development; river cane breaks are harder to come by.

[11] ***Chitimacha baskets***, Digital Archive, National Museum of the American Indian. ca. 1890–1920, Louisiana; Cane, dye: 21 x 11 x 13.7 cm, 18 x 18 x 10 cm, 13 x 13 x 14 cm

[12] Chitimacha baskets, Public Digital Archive, National Museum of the American Indian. ca. 1890–1920, Louisiana; Cane, dye: 21 x 11 x 13.7 cm, 18 x 18 x 10 cm, 13 x 13 x 14 cm

[13] Chitimacha baskets, Public Digital Archive, National Museum of the American Indian. ca. 1890–1920, Louisiana; Cane, dye: 21 x 11 x 13.7 cm, 18 x 18 x 10 cm, 13 x 13 x 14 cm

[14] For more information on the general history and evolution of Choctaws in the state of Louisiana, including the state and federally recognized Clfton and Jena bands, as well as more diasporic Choctaws in Louisiana please see, Fred B. Kniffen, Hiram F. Gregory and George A Stokes. *The historic Indian Tribes of Louisiana from 1542 to the Present.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.

[15] See: Brian Klopotek, *Recognition Odysseys: Indigeneity, Race, and Federal Tribal Recognition Policy in Three Louisiana Indian Communities,* Gary B Mills *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color,* and Julianne Barr *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands.*

[16] "Bayou Lwiziyan Memories" photo credit Tee Shawnee, 2012.

[17] Smoked Mullet Cornbread Crawdad Memory image cover, “Bayou Lwiziyan Memories” “© 2012 Tee Shawnee First Printing Mongrel Empire Press, October 2012.

[18] Photo by Rain C Goméz, at Murv Jacob Tulsa gallery opening 2013.

[19] This does not include her maternal grandfather whose metis rights, currently as of US and Canadian law, were lost when he illegally crossed the border in the 1930s after leaving residential school in St. Albert’s and Edmonton.

[20] See the full Declaration: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf and Appendix II

[21] See Appendix II: UN Declaration Indigenous Definition

Chapter 5. Red on Black Doubleweave: Red/Black Rhetorics and Literary Historiography

Rough knowledge bares teeth in the nasty vortex of this brutal civilization." ~ Joy Harjo[1]

Like the baskets and beads that speak for us, all that we do has literacy or language. We are made of language. Molded in its image, we learn to express who we are, where we come from, and how we connect or do not connect to those around us. We are living stories. In the last year, the Cherokee Freedman case has divided Indian Country over issues of identity and histories. The case itself draws upon complex narratives of colonization surely, but also shared oppressions and rhetorics of dominance that have at various times been used by both the colonizer and colonized to place Red and Black bodies into subjugation. Cherokee Freedman, other Freedman from the Five Civilized Tribes, and other "Blindian" populations and their Native Nations, remind those of us in Indian country of the contested and related relationships of Red/Black bodies[2]. As a Louisiana Choctaw/Louisiana Creole, I am a product of these relationships, made of languages of resistance in both Red and Black. My Red/Black inheritance is written in my familial narrative both harmoniously and in conflict with each other, and like the Cherokee Freedman case it carries a contestation with the writings about Red/Black bodies penned by dominant narratives which makeup the surfaces (societies) our bodies navigate. I recite these narratives here in the opening of this paper for two purposes; to personalize and modernize the issue, as well as reiterate the connection between African and American Indian bodies within the U.S.

The traditions of Red/Black rhetorics exist both in relation and contention to one another. Like the many peoples who result of survivals and alliances of Red/Black bodies, whose existences are historically in alliance and in contestation, so we must recognize that the relationships and resistances share histories of subjugation, complexities of oppressions, and borrow resistance tactics from oppressors in efforts to subvert dominant discourses while blending with both Red/Black inherently rhetorical communal strategies, forging rich histories of resistance rhetorics that are decidedly Afro-Indian or Red/Black. My point of argument in this Chapter is that to understand the rhetorical literary negotiations and cultural encodings of Louisiana Creoles (products of Afro-Indigenous mestizaje), we must examine, or at least touch upon the historiography of Red/Black rhetorics and literary dialogues within North America.

The first call for an exploration into the confluence of reciprocal shared and/or merged Afro-Indian tradition appeared in 1891, when folklorist Alexander F. Chamberlain called for an "investigation of the Indian upon the Negro" (qtd. in Brennen xi), in *Science Magazine*. Of course, this is decades after historic events such as the Stono Rebellion (1739), The Natchez Uprising (1729-1731), and The Seminole Wars (1814-1819; 1835-1842; 1855-1858). Not to mention the shared histories of slavery, both peoples enslaved, and those tribes that kept African slaves. By 1891, Afro-Indian poetess Georgia Douglass Johnson was a year old, the Mvskoke (Creek), Oklahoma Choctaw, and Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma had provisions within their constitutions for their African descents, some the products of slavery, some of marriage, and some a result of in-betweens, but as of the dates of their constitutions, post-Civil War, all members of their respective Nations. William Apess the Pequot Indian part-African orator and preacher had passed away, and the correspondence between two of the most influential early American writers of color, Phillis Wheatley and Samson Occom, were finding their way into the archives of forgetting.

This chapter is broken into two main sections. “Mapping Memory: Historiography and Red/Black Studies” is a historiography exploring key aspects, figures, and purpose within African American Rhetorics, Native American Rhetorics, and Red/Black Studies. Red/Black studies has been punctuated in recent years with several notable publications, most of which have been in history or literature. The second examines the ways in which Callahan and Hopkins utilize the marriage trope to promote equality between the sexes. This second section builds on the marriage trope, exploring how Callahan and Hopkins use this plot device common in domestic fiction to address prominent issues of race and gender through crafted rhetoric which functions at various levels of sedition to dominant culture within their texts.

If we are to begin to understand a tradition of shared rhetorical strategies of resistance betwixt Red/Black bodies, then we as academics and as Red/Black peoples ourselves must look to the earliest expressions of those resistances. In *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures*, Joanna Brooks notes that the first American Indian and African American writers (in the western alphanumeric sense) sought to use literature and religion as a way to transform their standing and the meaning of race in early America (8). While I agree with her statement, I argue additionally that their methods are the beginning of decidedly rhetorical strategies and traditions of *shared* Red/Black experiences in the Americas, one that does not belong to just Indians or Blacks, but that is the result of hundreds of years of frictions of paracolonial occupations, intersections, cooperations, and resistances. These experiences, intersections, cooperations (contentions, as we will see), and resistances formulate both a Red/Black histographic memory and a rhetorical tradition that reaches back into early America and continues into the present day. The epicenter of these events is place, Colonial New England and intersects multiple people, Phillis Wheatley, Samson Occom, and William Apess. The traditions of Red/Black rhetorics are one of resistances and exist in relation and contention to one another. Like the many peoples who are the result of survivals and alliances of Red/Black bodies, whose existences are often equally in contestation and alliance, so must we recognize that these relationships and resistances share histories of subjugation, complexities of oppressions, and borrow resistance tactics from oppressors in efforts to subvert dominant discourses while blending with both Red and Black inherently rhetorical communal strategies, forging rich histories of resistance rhetorics that are decidedly Afro-Indian or Red/Black for purposes of survivance (survival plus resistance), community, and continuance.[3]

Mapping Memory: Historiography and Red/Black Studies

During the late 18th century African American poet Phillis Wheatley, also corresponded with the first published and most prolific early American Indian author, Mohegan minister Samson Occom. While none of Occom's letters to Phillis survive (letters to her white mistress do), there remains a single letter to Samson Occom, which was later published at his urging. Both Occom and Wheatley take up issues of abolition and the hypocrisy of Christianity. Almost forty years later, William Apess, a mixedblood of Pequot and African ancestry, follows in the evangelical tradition of

Occom, yet embodies a space of both Red/Black linking this history of African and Indian rhetorical strategies further within his own person and oratory strategies. Phillis Wheatley's "Letter to Samson Occom" (1774), Samson Occom's "The Most Remarkable and Strange State, Situation, and Appearance of Indian Tribes in this Great Continent" (1783), and William Apess's "An Indians Looking-Glass to the White Man " (1833), exhibits strategies of shared rhetorical resistances, cooperations, seditions (borrowed tactics from the dominant discourses of the time used for their own means), in an effort to, as Wheatley puts it, press an agenda of "Freedom…impatient of oppression"("Letter to Samson Occom" 152) wherein Red and Black bodies are not subjugated under white hegemonic tropes of Christian hypocrisy.

As I mentioned in my opening narrative, the first call for an exploration into Red/Black studies appeared in 1891, but remained unanswered. As Jonathan Brennan asserts the connective relations between African American and Indian communities were heavily apparent so much so that citing a 1920 article in the *Journal of Negro History*, these relationships were "one of the 'longest unwritten chapters of the Unites States'" (xi). While Brennan goes on to highlight some of the earliest (and sometimes modest) publications of Red/Black authors of the 19 century, such as Paul Cuffee, William Apess, Okah Tubbee, and Olivia Ward Bush-Banks, *When Brer Rabbit Meets Coyote: African-Native American Literature*, like much scholarship in the area, has been fairly recent, having been published in 2003. While as early as the 19th century scholars recognized the shared communal and physical embodiments of Red/Black peoples, true bodies of scholarship into the area of study have not emerged in volume until the late 20th century. Recent years have seen several notable publications, most of which have been in history or literature. Of note in history and literature are: Jack Forbes' *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (1993) and *Black Africans and Native Americans; Color, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (1998); Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures* (2003); Tiya Miles, *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country* (2006); James Brooks, *Confounding the Color Line: the Indian-Black Experience in North America* (2002);Andrew Jolivétte's *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-race Native American Identity* (2007) as well as several regionally and/or tribally specific Red/Black works.[4]

While these works intersecting history and literature are creating an emerging field of Red/Black cultural studies, work specifically in Red/Black rhetorical studies is more limited. In 2008, Jessica Enoch published *Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/a Students, 1865-1911*. However, while she deals with pedagogy, teaching, and rhetorical practices of teaching to Native, Mestizo and African students, she doesn't blur the line to show an occupied space wherein those bodies occupy shared spaces or histories of occupation. Work by Malea Powell, such as her canonical essay "Rhetorics of Survivance: How American Indians Use Writing," (2002) touches on Red/Black or mixed race issues, wherein she points out the shared intellectual tradition between discursive practices of Red/Black scholarship noting the connection, "between DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* and Eastman's *The Soul of the Indian*…" She goes on to attest, "DuBois and Eastman both spoke during a session of the First Universal Races Congress in London, England (1911). I believe that Eastman saw his work, and that of the Society of American Indians, as similar to the work of DuBois in the establishment of race intellectuals within the mainstream of American culture" ("Survivance" 432). Robert Warrior's "Eulogy on William Apess: Speculations on His New York Death" (2004), addresses Apess's Red/Black identity, but spends the majority of its analysis speculating on the political ramifications and mysteries of Apess' death, only touching on his oratory and rhetorical tactics.

Phyllis Mentzell Ryder's "Multicultural Public Spheres and the Rhetorics of Democracy" (2007) engages with Michael Warner's "publics" and "counter publics" to investigate how Native American and African American counter public rhetorics access and/or influence public rhetorical political spheres and how those public spaces become Multicultural Americana. Ryder stresses that in her analyses and engagement with "examples from the traditions of Native American and African American rhetorics, [she is] not claiming that the rhetorics here are essentially Native American or African American," (532), but rather addressing the interplay of counter public survival rhetorics in relation to dominant public rhetorics and their impact of traditions within the political scheme of the U.S. for marginalized people of color. 2008 saw Maria Cotera's *Native Speakers: Ella Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, Jovita González, and the Poetics of Culture* published. While it does not conflate into shared spaces of overlap between Red/Black bodies, it does engage in a dialogue that accounts for a Red/Black/Brown shared dialectic moment. While each of these texts are vital to the growing body of Red/Black Rhetorical studies, they fail to engage in a space that occupies an overlapping analysis or embodied Red/Black presence. However, Rhetoric scholars such as Damián Baca, in “Tlilli Tlapalli/ Red and Black Ink: Writing in Third Spaces” (Rhetorical Society of America 2010), wherein the Mestiz@ body inhabits a recognized space of white, black, and Indian, and Qwo-Li Driskill’s "Unlashing Our Tongues from History: African Native American Language(s) and *Red-Black Rhetorics*" (Native American Literary Symposium 2004) conference papers/speeches, as well as Driskill’s continuance to teach and lecture on Red/Black rhetorics at his positions in the English and Rhet/Comp department (Texas A&M) and currently at Oregon State University, show that the need for a space to converse on the subject of Red/Black rhetorics is emerging within the field of Rhet/Comp.

It is important to remember when engaging in dialoging Native American and African American Rhetorics, to layer foundational rhetorical strategies and points in which rhetorical motives between resistances merge. In *Talking Back*, bell hooks notes: “We are rooted in language… Language is also a place of struggle. The oppressed struggle in language is to recover ourselves— to rewrite, to reconcile, to renew. Our words are not without meaning. They are an action— are resistance” (hooks 28). Black Rhetorics is not just the study and understanding of African American speech, language uses, and modifications; it encapsulates the ways in which Black folks have written, co-opted, and subverted dominant discourses in America.[5] This tradition of subversion is connected to language itself. To read not only modern but early African American literary works is to connect them to their history of speech giving, autobiographical writing, political discourses, and use of dominant fiction tropes— knowing that Black rhetorical strategies evolved in the face of dominant subjugation, in their effort to *subvert* subjugation. Likewise, Native American Rhetorics seeks to address the use of languages both tribal and non, as purposeful, drawing from oral traditions, to modern literature and oratory. Cultural studies, historic implications, issues of sovereignty, identity, and language use (Indigenous, English and Red English[6]), structures, meanings and intentions are studied. Rhetorical practices of both Blacks and Indians "share common features" meaning they have a foundational need for social justice, overcoming violence, addressing historical trauma, as well as "civil rights and equality in writing" (Brennan 48). Ultimately, African American and Native American authors have written and continue to write within dominant discourses while subverting the dominant through rhetorical applications of resistance that question patriarch, hegemony, and violence against Red and Black bodies. These rhetorical strategies seek to address issues of race and community which, as in the case of Wheatley, Occom, and Apess, allow them to employ tropes of Christian plot devices to testify as witness to historic acts of violence and subjugation while asserting subversive modes of rhetorical resistance for racial equality. In pairing texts from Wheatley, Occom, and Apess, perhaps a better understanding of an emerging tradition of Red/Black rhetorics emerges wherein African and Native and Red/Black peoples co-opt dominant genre plots, discourse structures, and rhetorical strategies utilizing them as burgeoning rhetorics of resistance to declare protest against both historic and contemporary acts that abused and or disenfranchised people of color, during their lifetimes. To begin to explore Red/Black theoretical traditions means attempting to find a starting place for this work within the Americas.

Reborn Rhetorics: Outspoken Admonition and Indirect Discourse

As practicing Christians, Wheatley, Occom and Apess, used narrations of their conversations with all the zeal that the Great Awakening (1737-45), New Light Stir (1778-82), and Second Great Awakening (1800-1870), which allowed promotion of notions of racial equality and community coherence. The American Jeremiad and its conversation narrative was both a viable tool of education for people of color and a way by which both white evangelists and converted Africans and Indians could reach contemporary audiences. In relation to this tool, Joanna Brooks argues, “a powerful group of black and Indian evangelist-authors” in relation and retaliation to the desire of 18th century evangelists, converted people of color (who were converted by evangelists without “clear theological outlook on race”) moved skillfully marshaling “religion against the degradations of racist science and racist politics, producing…new identities, religious traditions, and literatures” (24). While Brooks argues for a space of specific racial identification that spawns the beginnings of African and Native American (separate) literatures rooted in a Christian narrative moment (singular), I argue that this shared space, (New England geography, racial struggle and religion), and subsequent shared rhetorical tactics offer our earliest written (alphanumeric) examples of resistance rhetorics, specific to a Red/Black histographic tradition. What this does is produce a moment wherein the use of rhetorical strategies found in American Jeremiad conversion narrative discourses, as Patricia Bizzelll notes, produce authors such as Apess, who were positioned culturally to “turn the American jeremiad genre to Indian” and I would add African, “interests” (37). While each author wrote extensively in different ways, some explicitly about their conversions (Apess’s *A Son of the Forest: The Experience of William Apes, A Native of the Forest* ; Occom’s *A Short Narrative of My Life*) other’s lyrically (Wheatley's poem "On Being Brought from Africa to America") the rhetorical strategies of the American Jeremiad and its conversion narrative, offers clear considerations of audience and reminders throughout many of their works and writings. As writers/orators, Occom, Apess, and Wheatley never let their audience forget their own positionality as non-white Christians, converted to the cause of Christ. Elements of the conversion narrative drawing from its Puritan forbearers include, contrition, humiliation, vocation, implantation, exaltation, and possession (Bercovitch and Cyrus 201) could be manipulated through prose, delivery and subjectivity of the author for the intent of the subject and to best serve both the surface text and subtext of writers of color[7]. The point being, I offer it can be assumed readers of the day who would encounter later work of Wheatley, Occom, and Apess would have first been apprised of their writing through their much publicized conversion narratives, which perhaps tempered later indirect, or even harsher admonishments of Christian hypocrisy.

The degrees of separation between Red/Black bodies were not separated or segregated with great definition. Not only did evangelists seek to convert them on the same stages, but also their communities rubbed against each other in New England and the Southern U.S; their issues of subjugation grated upon their internal personages. Samson Occom was introduced to Susannah Wheatley (the owner/mistress of Phillis) through English evangelist George Whitfield. Susannah Wheatley became a supporter of Occom promoting both his mainstream ministry and Indian ministry efforts. Through this association and correspondence he would meet Phillis. While it is assumed the two (Phillis and Occom) wrote on more than one occasion no letters from him survive, and but one of hers is preserved. However two letters between Susannah Wheatley and

Occom remain intact. What is of precedent is the surviving letter; an apparent response from Wheatley to Occom that was later published in *The Connecticut Gazette* on March 11, 1774 (written to Occom February 11 1774), is a shared concern for the state of slavery. Wheatley's letter opens *in medias res* in the since of, as readers we are privy to a discussion already in progress: "I have this day received your obliging kind epistle, and am greatly satisfied with your reasons respecting the negroes" (Wheatley 152). Wheatley goes on to draw attention to the nature of slavery and its diabolical disconnection, in truth from all things Christian:

> the divine light is chasing away the thick darkness which broods over the land of Africa; and the chaos which has reigned so long, is converting into beautiful order, and reveals more and more clearly the glorious dispensation of civil and religious liberty, which are so inseparably united, that there is little or no enjoyment of one without the other: Otherwise, perhaps, the Israelites had been less solicitous for their freedom from Egyptian slavery… in every human breast God has implanted a principle, which we call ~ it is impatient of oppression, and pants for deliverance; and by the leave of our modern Egyptians I will assert, that the same principle lives in us. God grant deliverance in his own way and time, and get him honour (sic) upon all those whose avarice impels them to countenance and help forward the calamities of their fellow creatures. This I desire not for their hurt, but to convince them of the strange absurdity of their conduct, whose words and actions are so diametrically opposite… (152-153).

In doing this she indirectly highlights the hypocrisy of Christians who would harbor or support said institution's of subjugations, for whatever their reasons or justifications. Wheatley, publishes this correspondence at Occom's insistence, and in so doing co-opts a rhetorical stance, "appropriating literary conventions of her time" (Burke 33), drawing public into private correspondence to foster confidence. Her use of biblical reference of Egyptian slavery creates a mirror to the enslavement and struggle of Africans to Jews in Egypt. Moving from the mirrored images of enslaved peoples "she sets the stage, introduce[ing] the hypocritical stance that allows so-called Christians to accept and even promote slavery, and then lays the groundwork for a spiritual dilemma-either join with Wheatley, the black, female Christian in her critique of the existing power structure or accept the very position of 'other' that she and all black Americans were expected to occupy" (Balkun 4), with the key phrase: "God grant deliverance in his own way and time, and get him honour (sic) upon all those whose avarice impels them to countenance and help forward the calamities of their fellow creatures" (Wheatley 153). Wheatley's ability to draw upon conventions of rhetorical discourse strategies of the time and her awareness of audiences allow her to adhere and manipulate language in such a way to "revise the implied meaning of the word Christian to include African Americans. Her strategy relies on images, references, and a narrative position that would have been strikingly familiar to her audience" (Baulkun 134). Her letter and performance of rhetorical ideology in her composition to Occom show her mastery of the popular rhetorical discourses of her time in an attempt to promote racial equality and community concerns for Africans in the Americas, are in conversation with the ways in which Occom also draws upon Christian topes and uses audience pathos to his advantage as an issue of racial and community equality for people of color in colonial New England.

While as readers we know not of Occom's words to Phillis, we can draw his own abolitionists' tendencies not only from Wheatley's unchecked response, but also a postscript to Susannah Wheatley wherein he writes, " P.S. Please to remember me to Phillis… Pray Madam, what harm would it be to Send Phillis to her Native Country as a Female Preacher to her kindred…"[8] In this postscript the implication is that through manumission Phillis might return to Africa as a missionary. Occom's antislavery sentiments in his correspondence with Phillis' mistress might have been tempered with his Christian ministry, (for which Susannah Wheatley supported him), but his abolitionist cause was less tempered as his writing advanced, as is evidenced in his "The Most Remarkable and Strange State, Situation, and Appearance of Indian Tribes in this Great Continent" (1783). Native use of "indirect discourse" is crucial in understanding early survivance and subversive rhetorical tactics of Native writers (Roppolo 316). We as scholars must address and recognize the ways in which early Native authors such as Samson Occom and William Apess (and I would argue African American authors engaged in efforts of survival, resistance, equality, and healing, that subvert and co-opt dominant rhetorical discursive structures of their time, such as Wheatley) use the language of the time to say what needs to be said without isolating themselves from either the dominant discussions of the hegemony or their own communities. In my analysis of Occom and early triangulations of Red/Black rhetorical structures I follow Kimberly Roppolo's lead, wherein as we re-engage with these texts we must remember how these early authors "adhere to" the dominant discourses of "politeness," which serves a form of "heteroglossia"[9] wherein these authors do not offend their primarily White audiences, but also adhere to traditional Native, African American or Red/Black community structures that allow them to express their admonishment in culturally respectful manners (316). In other words, traditionally it has been assumed indirect or subversive discourse was used solely as to not alienate White audiences; however, this polite admonishment is inherent within cultural dialogue, so when Occom asks for Phillis' manumission within the intent to preach, he is still seeking to give reprimand. To understand these rhetorics of resistance by Indigenous bodies we must "pay close attention to the language of survivance” that Native authors “consciously or unconsciously, use in order to reimagine and, literally, refigure ‘the Indian’” (Powell 400). As Malea Powell argues, authors like Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Charles Eastman, and I offer other Native writers such as Occom, Apess, and for the purposes of this discussion the overlapped space of Red/Black concerns for emancipation and community that Wheatley occupies, alter “their object-status” as *others* (Indians or Blacks) “within colonial discourse into a subject-status, a presence instead of an absence” (“Survivance” 400).

Like Wheatley, Occom finds the true state of Christianity diametrically opposed to subjugations of peoples, no matter their color or perceived ills. He opens "The Most Remarkable and Strange State, Situation, and Appearance of Indian Tribes in this Great Continent" with a comparison between Indians and Blacks, debating who is under a greater “curse from God” (Occom 58). Despite the disadvantages of the Indian, the second line of the essay Occom asserts that of all “Nations” it is the “Poor Negroes” who suffer under the most “wretched and Cruel Slavery thousands and millions of em…” that are suffering perhaps the most (58). Like Wheatley, after injecting this alliance of pathos, images of suffering for Gods creatures, Occom next turns to the nature of religion: “When I come to consider and see the conduct of the most learned, polite, and rich nations of the world, I find them to be the most tyrannical, cruel, and inhuman oppressors of their fellow creatures…they are the nations that enslave the poor Negroes in such barbarous manner…these are so called Christians”(58-59). Occom’s extensive traveling through not only America, but Europe, afforded him the experience of interaction with western hegemonic structures of evangelical hypocrisy, and by the time of the late 18th century, his temperance as evidenced in his correspondence with Susannah Wheatley, and his own autobiography, had worn thin, not to mention the trials and tribulations of ongoing land claim issues within his own people (Joanna Brooks 59). Like Wheatley this turn asks his White audience to confront presumptions of superiority inherent within white Christianity, and how those structures are visited upon bodies of color seen as lesser than their own. From the abolitionist cause Occom turns his gaze to that of the Indians. Ever mindful of his primary audience he is, for a modern Indigenous audience, condescending to his brethren, addressing them as "universally poor…living hand to mouth…wasteful and imprudent" with "no notion of much learning" and "are much for drink" (Occom 59). Yet, Occom also asserts that through all this the Indian is "kind" and not "given to lying, cheating, and stealing" (59). Through indirect discourse Occom co-opts popular notions and concerns of the Indian-savagery conversion narrative which his audience expects, saying yes, look at all these poor ill-mannered ways of the Red Man, only to juxtapose his (Indian) basic honest nature, kindness, honesty, with his previous admonishment of the "wretched and Cruel… inhuman oppressors," the Anglo-Christians. Occom's ability to manipulate rhetorical tropes of Christian discourse and his audience while promoting issues for both Indian and African communities demonstrates his deftness to wield "the power of religion, literature, and performance in generating new communities, new identities, and new futures for Indian people in early America" (Joanna Brooks 53). Ultimately Occom's rhetoric is a kind of performance. I echo Malea Powell's ascertains that Native writers were no "rhetorical innocents," but rather produced texts that would appeal to their audience, "constructed [them] in order to make changes" ("Sarah" 69)[10].

Like Wheatley and Occom, William Apess also saw utilizing Christian rhetorics of the day as an agent for change in Indian communities and towards abolition. William Apess's "An Indians Looking-Glass to the White Man" is an admonishment of racial inequality through evoking Christian rhetorical sensibilities of goodness and humility. In her essay "(Native) American Jeremiad: The Mixedblood Rhetoric of William Apess," Patricia Bizzell argues that "the overarching structure of this essay ["An Indian's Looking Glass"] reflects that of the jeremiad pointing out that Apess's audience is not behaving in accordance with their own professed [Christian] principles" (37). Opening his essay Apess address the equality of all races in the eyes of God, "the maker and preserver of the white man and the Indian" (Apess 155), only to continue the theme of phenotypic appearance in the eyes of God the maker, and the eyes of flawed humanity: "Now let me ask you, white men…have you the folly to think that the white man, being one in fifteen or sixteen, are the only beloved images of God?" (157). Apess plays with modes and notions of color and race as a rhetorical tactic to question and showcase Christian hypocritical subjugation and degradation of Indians and Blacks to illicit a counter response to the dominant tropes on racial hierarchies of his time. In affect Apess blends" revivalist-abolitionist rhetoric into a unique bifocally inverted assessment of Indian-white relations" as well as white Black relations, …"the full impact of his unrelenting attack on white racism…is actually carried by the pious tone of the personal narratives which preceded it" (Peyer 154) further conforming to the early tradition of the American Jeremiad as Bizzell notes, as a strong rhetorical strategy.

Apess continues to hammer issues of race and Christian ethics:

> a most unrighteous, unbecoming, and impure black principle, and as corrupt as unholy can be – while these very same unfeeling, self-esteemed characters pretend to take the skin as pretext to keep us from our unalienable and lawful rights… If Black or red skins or any other skin of color is disgraceful to God, it appears that he has disgraced himself a great deal— for has made fifteen colored people to one white and placed them here upon this earth… Jesus Christ being a Jew, and those of his Apostles certainly were not whites… And were not the whites the most degraded people on the earth at that time?... And you know as well as I that you are not indebted to a principle beneath a white skin for your religious services but to a colored one (156-158)

As Bernd Peyer addresses in *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary-writers in Antebellum America,* "Regardless of his genealogy, his close ties to the African American struggle against slavery are undeniable. His writings meet every criterion of what James H. Cone has designated as a 'Black Theology of Liberation,' an n interpretation of Christianity that unreservedly identifies it with the 'divine character' of an oppressed community's struggle against its oppressors" (164). Thus not only is Apess committed to "sovereignty" (164) for Mashpee Pequot and other Indian communities but for Black abolitionist rights and freedoms of oppressions. While Wheatley uses aspects of the tropes of Christian rhetorical discursive practices to draw attention to the injustices of slavery and its hypocrisy in relation to the Christian faith, as does Occom, and Apess, Occom adds to this the innate goodness of nature of the Indian, while Apess holds the unique positionality of speaking on issues of Indian and African subjugations as an embodiment of both races. This is a unique positionality that should not be overlooked.

Wheatley, Occom, and Apess borrow language, proselytizing Christian imagery, and conversion tropes as tactics from dominant discourse as a way to draw attention to the hypocrisies of racial inequality. Triangulating these rhetorical tactics through spacial and temporal moment, Colonial New England, locates them as a site where in Red/Black bodies merge in a struggle to gain racial equality through subverting Christian rhetorical practices to ensure community survivals. While this space is indicative of shared Red/Black experiences in the Americas, one that does not belong to just Indians or Blacks, but that is the result of hundreds of years of frictions of paracolonial occupations, intersections, cooperations, and resistances— they are not free of contentions. The conflicts inherent in the current Cherokee Freedman case are just another side of the complex history of Red/Black histories. Occom, despite his support for the abolitionist cause, did not support Indian-African marriages/miscegenation. In a letter dated December 5 1789, Occom (along with several other prominent Mohegan leaders) calls upon a local magistrate to remove and deny the Red-Black Mohegan Moses Mazzeens, who is “Blacker than our Indians” (Occom 156). The timing of this exclusion should also be noted as well as Occom’s cohorts in the letter (the Ashpo brothers) which coincides with contested issues over land and treaty rights for the Wampanoag, an issue Abenaki scholar Lisa Brooks examines in depth in portions of her text *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast*. Joanna Brooks notes that Occom’s effort to exclude mixed-race Red/Black people was a common subject of “controversy and conflict for many tribal communities in Southern New England” (Occom and Brooks 143). This conflict and contention also highlights the differences in status that Red/Blacks share and shared historically in Mashpee Pequot communities such as Apess’s and the current community itself verses the Wampanoag community, highlighting historical relationships between Pequot’s and African Americans, as evidenced through Apess and Paul Cuffee (author of: *Memoir of Captain Paul Cuffee a Man of coulor*), both Red/Black Pequots.

Triangulating early American Red/Black resistance rhetorics complicates not only how we perceive the traditions of Native American (separate) and African American (separate) rhetorical traditions in the Americas, but allows a space to understand the shared spaces of overlap wherein shared concerns for survival, racial equality, and Red/Black embodiment subverts dominant rhetorical tropes to assert racial equality and communal continuity. Ultimately this speaks to current states of sovereignty, complicating how we address issues of tribal nationhood, mestiz@ Peoplehood, mixedrace identity, and the inter-relationships that formulate the Indigenous diaspora of the Americas as something not recently fractured but a continuous fissure which when engaged within a broader historical context asks us to draw upon a more universal Indigenous centered language of resistance. This language I imagine as a dialectic, one that Malea Powell "reimagines" as a language that:

> allows us [Native peoples' (and African American and Chicano/Latino and Asian American, et cetera)] to imagine respectful and reciprocal relationships that acknowledge the degree to which we need one another (have needed one another) in order to survive and flourish…an alliance based on the shared assumption that 'surviving genocide and advocating sovereignty and survival' has been a focus for many of the people now on this continent for several centuries and, as such, should also be at the center of our scholarly and pedagogical practices enacted in these United States (Womack 7)[11] (Powell "Down" 41)

For our earliest Red/Black scholars these dialectal moments of articulation encompass intersections, cooperations, contentions and resistances to formulate a Red/Black histographic memory and a rhetorical tradition. Ultimately this allows Wheatley, Occom, and Apess to employ tropes of Christian rhetorical discursive narrative devices testifying as witness to historic acts of violence and subjugation while simultaneously promoting ideologies of racial equality through their deft manipulation of rhetorical resistance rhetorics of their time, using a mixture of Christian tropes and indirect discourse.

Seditious Sentimentalism: Resistance Rhetorics as Political Witness in the Domestic Fiction of Pauline Hopkins and S. Alice Callahan

“I am / woman / and not White.” ~ Audre Lorde[12]

Tropes of Christianity and social norms continue to unite rhetorical strategies for Red/Black peoples as they negotiate space and place within the hegemonic literatures and cultures of a paracolonial nation-state. In her 1984 collection *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*, is Audre Lorde’s canonical text, “The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." Lorde suggests that “[a]dvocating the mere tolerance of difference between women” as “the grossest reformism… is a total denial of the creative function of difference in our lives. Difference must be not merely tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark like a dialectic” (111). Lorde is addressing the ways in which it is necessary that women acknowledge their difference not as sites for division, but as points for dialogue and empowerment. She charges us, as women, to see difference of race, colorism, sexuality, and class as a way to strength, wherein we can release a dialectic, a language all our own, which allows for the possibility of voice in patriarchal systems: “As women, we have been taught either to ignore our differences, or to view them as causes for separation and suspicion rather than as forces for change. Without community there is no liberation …” (112). To perpetuate separations and silences based on difference is to continue using the “master’s tools,” which will never dismantle patriarchal oppressive constructs of sexism, racism, homophobia, and classism. It is with the charge from Lorde that I enter into a mission to dialogue and understand the ways in which women of color, like my own Red and Black ancestors, created conversations around oppressions and abuses in the changing confluences of the Progressive Era.

A dialogue of political relations and historic intersections connect Native and African American fiction as evidenced by Wheatly, Occom, and Apess. This conversation we have seen, exists before the twentieth century and demonstrates both intersecting and divergent rhetorical strategies and shared resistances. Domestic novels of the Progressive Era by women of color show that applying and subverting popular romantic and sentimental tropes fosters a rhetorical voice that allows for domestic fiction to function as political witness and social justice protest.[13] Ultimately, there exists intersectionality between the fiction and experiences of people of color, and specifically women of color. In this sense, African American novelist Pauline Hopkins and Mvskoke (Creek)[14] writer Alice Callahan[15], while moving within dominant sentimental White discourse, co-opt tropes and plots forming rhetorical strategies which speak across not only Red and White, or Black and White texts, but Red and Black women’s fiction at the turn of the century. Through examining ways in which the domestic novel is used to explore historical representations, particularly those around acts of violence and social justice issues of race and women's activism, the domestic novel emerges as a seditious sentimentalism which subverts the silence enacted upon the voices of women of color. To achieve this, both Hopkins and Callahan enact moments of resistance through rhetorical strategies that allow their texts to function as historical and political witnesses to acts of injustice against Red and Black bodies. Within texts such as *Wynema* and *Contending Forces*, domesticity emerges as political activism while history functions within sentimentalism. What I mean here is that the domestic structures of these texts and their narratives allow for manipulation of not always realistic plot scenarios, permitting the authors to focus on issues of concern in their day. "History functions within sentimentalism" in the sense that the use of these domestic narrative structures give these authors access to historic events and concerns, so that "aestheticism underwrites the conviction" where "taste" (or the genre within popular dominant structures), "serves as a guide for comprehension … giv[ing] moral connotation" to the historic motifs explored in the text (White 71). Therefore, by the domestic novel's inclusion of sentimentality, it becomes a palatable vehicle in dominant discourse for rhetorical narratives of resistance. *Wynema: A Child of the Forest*, by S. Alice Callahan (1891), and *Contending Forces: Romance Illustrative of Negro Life* (1900), by Pauline Hopkins, both employ tropes of dominant sentimental plot devices, which in turn function to testify as witness to historic acts of violence and subjugation while asserting a particularly feminine rhetorical resistance viable through the domestic novel at the turn of the century. This essay is broken into two sections. The first examines the ways in which Callahan and Hopkins utilize the marriage trope to promote equality between the sexes. The second section builds on the marriage trope, exploring how Callahan and Hopkins use this plot device common in domestic fiction to address prominent issues of race and gender through crafted rhetoric which functions at various levels of sedition to dominant culture within their texts.

Wynema and *Contending Forces*: Co-opting the Marriage Plot

Published in 1891, Alice Callahan's *Wynema: A Child of the Forest* is certainly a problematic work of fiction. The text begins with an almost ethnographic narration of the arrival of its main protagonist, Genevieve Weir, introducing to the reader various Creek cultural practices. Of which Callahan, one presumes in difference to her White audience, presents cagily and sometimes derogatorily (Callahan 12, 20). The novel continues to trace the education of a young Mvskoke Creek girl, Wynema Harjo, and her friendship with her White teacher, Genevieve Weir, through an omnipresent disembodied narrator. However, as Wynema grows into adulthood, this education and friendship is disrupted once the women are matched with their mates. At this point, the narration shifts into a distinctly separated section, occurring several years in the future that details the events of Wounded Knee**.**

While it would be assumed from the title, *Wynema*, that at the center of Callahan's novel is a young female Creek presence or voice, what follows is rather a narrative wherein the main points of action, reflection, and heroine trials are those of non-Creek Genevieve Weir. That is not to say that Wynema herself is not present in the text, but rather that her voice is often subsumed through White discourse and tropes of dominant era fiction. In regards to *Wynema*, Mvskoke literary critic Craig Womack has charged the text as being a "decidedly un-Creek novel" (111 *Red*). Womack seeks to view Callahan's work through a contemporary Mvskoke literary analysis of Native Nationalism. In doing so, he asks how the novel is Creek, in what ways it represents Creek presence, voice, history and experience (120-121). Charging the text as "rigidly formulaic in technique" (114), Womack ultimately declares the text a failure for its inability to project a Creek presence (107). Despite this, Womack does acquiesce that the text is "nonetheless an interesting work" (107). It is no surprise that *Wynema* fails to meet the standards of a Creek novel, as defined by Womack, given Alice Callahan's position within her community, adherence to Christianity, and attempt to write in the popular genre of sentimental domestic fiction of the era.[16] While I *certainly agree* with Womack's claim that Native writers should be held to account for a tribally specific presence, and we, as readers and critics should be able to use our own tribally centered knowledge (for those of Indigenous descent) to read Native texts through Indigenous eyes (Creek works through Creek eyes, Choctaw through Choctaw, Nakoda through Nakoda and so on…), I would caution that Literary Nationalism is not always viable when examining silenced voices of Indigenous women before the modern era. And while I also agree, that even by the standards of domestic fiction of its own day, *Wynema* is essentially "bad writing" (120)[17], the fact that Callahan seeks to create a rhetorical voice that allows for the glimmer or *possibility* of a tradition of Indigenous resistance means the text is valuable beyond its current title as the first novel written by a Native American woman.[18]

Central to the text are the education of Wynema in the ways of Methodist Christianity and Genevieve's education on the humanity of the Indian. Subsequently, through about twenty years of evolution, we as readers are exposed to a flurry of events and a marriage plot device that drives the novel. By the end of the text both Wynema and Genevieve are marrying two young noble White Christian men: Genevieve marries the Methodist missionary, Gerald Keithly, and Wynema marries Genevieve's brother, Robin Weir. However, the marriage plot does not "preclude social involvement in Callahan's text. And so the author … laces her love stories with the ongoing debates of the day, including the issues of allotment, suffrage, temperance, and, by the end of the text, the massacre at Wounded Knee" (Tatonetti 3). Callahan moves within the common tropes of her time. Her ability to use domestic sentimental fiction as a vehicle for political discourse asserts a rhetoric of social witness that otherwise might not have been offered to a young, mixedblood Indian woman at the turn of the century. So it is with this intent of understanding the possibility of an Indigenous rhetorical resistance (what I will define and call later, Red Rhetorics), that I read *Wynema*.

Reading *Wynema* for the possibility of resistance and social witness pairs it beautifully with the larger rhetorical resistance and genre strategies of women of color at the turn of the century. Pauline Hopkins's 1900 publication, *Contending Forces: Romance Illustrative of Negro Life,* not only spans a greater time period than *Wynema*, but also traces a very specific emergence of issues and trials for its cast of characters. Hopkins's text boasts two distinctly complicated and related sections. The first traces the Monfort family and its origins in Bermuda. Charles Monfort, in order to avoid losing his slaves under British law, moves to North Carolina. In North Carolina, Anson Pollack covets Monfort's wife, Grace. Pollock spreads rumors of Grace's "taint of the tar brush" and kills her husband. Grace and her children, due to Pollock's rumor, are sold into slavery, where the fair Grace commits suicide. While Grace's sons follow their own evolution, the novel closely follows Jesse Monfort's escape to New Hampshire, where he eventually marries a Black woman— as he is now labeled as a Black man under the laws of slavery, and later, Jim Crow. The second section of the text traces part of Jesse's family, whose surname is now Smith. It is the 1890s, and Mrs. Smith runs a Boston boarding house. It is through Mrs. Smith's son, Will, and her daughter, Dora that a double marriage plot emerges. Will falls in love with the fair Sappho Clark (a quadroon), and John Langley courts Dora. Issues of violence, rape, lynching, capitalism and brotherly camaraderie flow through the text as it winds through both time and space, including Bermuda, Boston, North Carolina and New Orleans.

While Callahan centers her novel primarily on a White heroine and her interactions with her Indian student/friend, Hopkins's novel is populated and follows primarily African American or African American descended characters. This does not mean *Contending Forces* is not problematic, particularly by contemporary standards. Many of the contestable issues in the text, aside from those around male centered criticism, which initially discounted Black domestic fiction[19], is the issue of colorism. The second half of the novel, with its double marriage plot, is predominantly concerned with the history and mystery of the fair Sappho Clark, who is "[t]all and fair, with hair of a golden cast, aquiline nose," and "rosebud mouth" (Hopkins 107). While Hopkins was certainly noted, particularly in her overall fictional messages and certainly her work as a journalist at *The Colored American Magazine*, to be "exuberant with Black pride," she does, however, according to critic Vashti Crutcher Lewis, occasionally portray an "inclination to equate White with goodness and strength and to accept the popular 19th-century Western worldview of the inferiority of people of African descent. Although she pays tribute to them [African Americans/ African descendants], at the same time, she emphasizes their [mulatto] Anglo-Saxon appearances and cultural attributes" (617). This is not an uncommon attitude as issues around color and essentialisms of character with racial inheritance in regards to miscegenation were common in post-Antebellum/post-Reconstruction literature written by both Blacks and Whites. As Claudia Tate notes, many African American authors were influenced and taken by notions of upward momentum and class exhibited by Josephine Bruce and her husband Blanche K. Bruce, senator of Mississippi, the first elected African American Senator to serve a full term. Josephine was noted for her intelligence, education, and fair, Anglo-influenced features. Hopkins, like other authors' of her day, crafted heroines who "seem to resemble Josephine Bruce," despite all her talk and focus on African American equality, "social, educational and spiritual development" (Tate 62). However, again I caution for dismissing the rhetorical strategy these characterizations might reveal when read in historical context of the period in which Hopkins was writing.

Hazel Carby's framework for understanding novels of African American women during the nineteenth century is also applicable to the first fiction of Indigenous women. Carby advocates reading these fledgling texts "to understand not only the discourse and context in which they were produced but also the intellectual forms and practices of Black," and I would assert Indian "women that preceded them" (Carby 7). To do this, we as critics and active readers must address the women writers of color who pre-date Hopkins and Callahan, and also the dominant White women writers of the time, their concerns, discourse, and conventions. Both Callahan and Hopkins are certainly moving within tropes of the domestic novel established by writers of color such as Harriet Wilson and Frances Harper, as well as White domestic novelists Harriet Beecher Stowe and Catherine Maria Sedgwick.[20] Both Callahan and Hopkins, to borrow Ann duCille's phrase, "co-opt the marriage convention" as a plot device to drive their fiction and subvert their audiences. While Hopkins and Callahan see their heroines end in a trajectory of “happ[y] marriage,” they also use the dominant marriage convention as a plot structure to address that marriage for women is not about escapism or duty, but rather about creating “egalitarian” bonds over “hierarchical” (Baym xxvi). This desire for equality in matrimony is exhibited in the characters of Genevieve Weir, Wynema Harjo, Dora Smith and Sappho Clark.

Callahan’s Genevieve Weir is described as “intelligent and pretty, endowed with the graces of heart and head, and surrounded by the luxuries of a Southern home” (Callahan 4). Yet despite her proper Southern upbringing, she elects to make a difference, through education and assimilation, to the lives of Creek Indians in Oklahoma. According to Lavonne Ruoff, Callahan employs the domestic fiction plot of the heroine described by Nina Baym as “beset with hardships” who “finds within herself the qualities of intelligence, will, resourcefulness, and courage sufficient to overcome them” (as cited by Ruoff xxi; Baym 17). What is problematic for contemporary critics such as Womack, Tatonettie, and myself, is that the strength and courage Genevieve must use is in overcoming the heathen qualities of “weird” Mvskoke people (Callahan 13)[21]. However, over the course of her time with the Mvskoke, “Genevieve is taught to perceive through a Native American lens rather than from a rigid Eurocentric, Christian perspective” (Mollis 119). Through teaching Wynema and being under the influence of the missionary Gerald Keithly, Genevieve develops a respect and appreciation for the Creek people and the over-all 19th century “plight” of the Indian, signifying “an openness to and awareness of other cultural traditions, a fundamental objective of cross-cultural pedagogy” (Mollis 119).

Because Genevieve is so very noble and displays characteristics inherent with women suffragettes and equality activists (of Callahan's own time), Callahan problematizes her marriage narrative. Originally engaged to Maurice Mauran, Genevieve's "intelligence," "grace" and desire for equality display a rift in her humanitarian sensibilities and his racism. In chapter twelve, Genevieve has returned to her home from Mvskoke territory in Oklahoma, bringing Wynema to meet her family. She is united with her fiancé Maurice, who is not impressed with her evolution of humanity and independence. Maurice remarks: "Why Genevieve, ... I fear you are a 'real live,' suffragist! … Really, little girl, …You are too pronounced in your opinions on all subjects" (Callahan 47). Maurice Mauran's derogatory use of the diminutive "little girl" exhibits little appreciation for self-sufficient women, like his diatribe on women's equality (47) and disinterest or disrespect for the "Indian problem" as he claims they are "uncouth savage[s]" (54). Maurice does not respect the principles of Genevieve. This leads Genevieve to the realization that a union between Maurice and herself would never work. She tells her mother: "We are so entirely dissimilar that we could never be happy together, and so we have 'agreed to disagree'" (59). Genevieve also realizes that Maurice falls considerably short in her estimation of what a man and companion should be when compared to Gerald Keithly. Gerald " is a gentle, quiet, sympathetic man while Maurice Mauran is a bullying bigot equally prejudiced against Indians and self-sufficient women" (Ruoff xxiii). Wynema echoes Genevieve's decision to remove herself from the attentions of Maurice, saying, "I knew you would not marry Mr. Mauran as soon as I saw you together. You are too dissimilar" (Callahan 68). This conversation leads to how right Gerald Keithly is for Genevieve, and her own acceptance of her fondness for the kind missionary. At the end of chapter seventeen, Gerald Keithly and Genevieve Weir declare their love for each other, (70) and by chapter 18, our characters (several years in the future), are happily married.

Wynema herself is not “left out in the cold” as regards the marriage convention (60). While Genevieve is realizing her mismatch with Maurice, Wynema is drawing the attention of Robin Weir, Genevieve’s brother. Robin, “tall, fair and handsome … the pride and joy of his sisters, has fallen desperately in love with ‘the little Indian’” (60). What follows is Robin and Wynema’s admission of their burgeoning love, wherein Callahan portrays Robin as concerned about Wynema’s interests, asking after her reading and showing a desire to know her favorite authors (61). This cumulates in the marriage proposal where Robin says “Wynema, I love you and want you for my little wife. Will you marry me?” (62). Wynema consents in this scene where Callahan plays up her difference; she is a dark eyed “witching,” “beauty”, while he is fair and blue eyed (60-62). Callahan’s narrator uses the diminutive “little Indian” (60), which, in contrast to the use of “little” by Maurice Mauran, invokes this term to endear the Indian, Wynema, to her reader. Although, this makes the terminology no less problematic, as does Robin’s use of the diminutive “little wife (62). While the intent might be to create affinity for the character of Wynema while showing Robin’s protective instinct towards her, the problematic endearment reinforces Wynema as not yet fully a self-sufficient woman, invoking a notion of patriarchy. Though this is at odds with other characterizations of Wynema, who calls men “‘inferior of man,’ the ‘weaker vessel’” (45). This is one of several disruptions in the text that pit Callahan’s resistance to patriarchy and subjugation within the marriage plot against her own constraints as a novice writer, and perhaps her own uncomfortable space within mixedrace identity in the 19th century.

The matching of Genevieve to Gerald and Wynema to Robin serves to address Callahan's ideology on love and marriage, in which love "grows out of mutual respect between intelligent men and women" (Ruoff xxiii). Callahan uses the trope of marriage to create an emotional investment in her characters and to propel her narrative; the marriage plot does not function idly. Rather, it serves to address issues of bigotry and female equality, as evidenced in Maurice Mauran. Blending of domestic fiction with social justice rights is consistent for many women writers and writers of color during the 19th century. Callahan's female protagonists and their male counterparts may engage in domestic fiction tropes, such as the marriage convention, but they are also "strong hearted women of ideas and gentlemen sensitive to Indian and women's issues" (xxii). Likewise, Hopkins also finds that the use and application of the marriage plot inherent in the domestic romance (romance meaning love story) allows for narrative where "racial discourse" and female equality are "complements" of the narrative (Tate 14).

Hopkins's Dora Smith and Sappho Clark are each entangled in a double marriage narrative in *Contending Forces*. As with many novels of the 19th century, "Contending Forces draws on the conventions of the sentimental romance even as it scrutinizes both the marriage tradition and Black life in the 1890s" (duCille 36). Tied to the question of marriage for Hopkins, like Callahan, is women's equality and self-reliance. This is particularly evident in the character of Dora Smith. Dora is sister to Will Smith, daughter of Mrs. Smith, and therefore a descendant of Jesse Monfort. Dora's character is well educated, "strong," opinionated and "capable." As her mother ages, Dora becomes a “woman of ability and the best of manners,” assuming the role of taking care of household to assist her mother (Hopkins 85). Dora is a hard worker, who is outspoken and independent. While she recognizes the social construct of marriage, it is not her most eminent goal in life, even declaring that she would “drop” her intended (the later villainous) “John P. Langley” if “he admired any woman more” than her (89). Nor does she exhibit a stereotypical jealousy or cattiness over the attentions men give the fair golden Sappho Clark. Rather, she observes these attentions to her friend “smiling” and with “enjoyment” (112). In fact, as far as marriage goes, Dora is of the opinion that there is not “enough sentiment in me [Dora] to make love a great passion, such as we read of in books” (119). Dora, for all purposes, doesn’t care to have a man “bothering around” (121), and in these regards is fairly modern and independent in her thinking. Dora’s engagement to John Langley, Will’s best friend, is broken when Langley’s treacherous and lecherous nature is revealed in his plot to Blackmail Sappho, Dora’s best friend, to be his mistress. Langley’s diabolical character is an essentialist nod to his ancestry as the great-nephew of Anson Pollock, the murderer of Charles Monfort, whose own lecherous desires brought Pollock after Grace Monfort (duCille 40). Dora, true to her unsentimental and unswooning nature, does not play Langley’s victim when his treason comes to light; rather, her concern is with her brother and would be sister-in-law, Sappho: “Hopkins alternately upholds and critiques conventions particularly gender conventions, of her time, always with an eye toward self-fulfillment she exhibits a high regard for female friendships,” and family ties (Randle 212). Upon reading the letter Sappho leaves the Smith family detailing her discovery (a bastard child) and Langley’s “insult,” Dora weeps for Sappho’s degradation (Hopkins 330). To Will, Dora exclaims: "'Don't pity me'… 'I am well rid of such a man,'" where upon she tears Langley's ring from her finger, telling her brother to be sure that Langley never shows his face to her again (331). While Will, with the backing of his mother, Mrs. Smith, and sister Dora, sets off to find Sappho. The road to their "happ[y] marriage" (Baym xxvi) is not speedy.

Sappho Clark "[t]all and fair, with hair of a golden cast, aquiline nose," and "rosebud mouth" (Hopkins 107), and Will Smith, Black activist and relation of Jesse Monfort, fall into their own marriage narrative. Their journey is one tangled with plot twists that allow Hopkins to delve into the more tantalizing horrors and historic atrocities that concern her socially. Beautiful and "near White heroine" Sappho Clark, to borrow from critic Vashti Crutcher Lewis, holds a history beyond her exterior of polite, seeming paragon of womanly virtue. It is through this history that the marriage plot garners both its tensions and political activism (the implication of the latter I will discuss later in more detail). Sappho embodies the temperament and skills that make her a desirable lady: her sewing is "beautifully done" although she neglects to say how she learned (Hopkins 99), and she is a charming accomplished hostess pouring tea, and holding court in her "naturally buoyant and bright" manner (111). Sappho's fair complexion houses "brown eyes veiled by long, dark lashes"; she is "a combination of 'queen rose and lily in one' (107), "but hidden beneath the classic outlines of [her] face, the graceful symmetry of the form, and the dainty coloring of the skin," is a "shrewd common sense and womanly intuition … a character of sterling worth--bold, strong and ennobling" (114). Some critics have claimed that Sappho's physical appeal and dominance in the marriage plot is perhaps a nod to Hopkins's essentializing of White characteristics, or at least to White phenotypic beauty. She is so fair and “golden caste” that her beauty and charming character captivates Will Smith, who likewise bears essential phenotypic markers of Anglo-ancestry. Will Smith is “tall and finely formed, with features almost perfectly chiseled, and a complexion the color of an almond shell. His hair [is] Black and curly, with just a tinge of crispness to denote the existence of Negro blood. His eyes [are] dark and piercing as an eagle's” (90). Will’s “tinge” of “Negro blood” offsets the possibility of completely essentializing Whiteness or Blackness as inherently good or bad, or rather perhaps it is the balance of the races which ennoble his character, and garner his keen “eagle” eyed sense, while Langley is out of balance. In contrast, the villainous John Langley is “shorter in stature and very fair in complexion. His hair [is] dark and [has]no indication of Negro blood in its waves; his features [are] of the Caucasian cut” (90). However, I must agree with Claudia Tate, in difference to Vashti Crutcher Lewis’s claims of these tendencies to essentialize goodness with Anglo admixtures (Lewis 617), that Hopkins’s inclusion of colorisms is a product of miscegenation that is “representative” of African history and experience (Tate 146-147), and one we should read as historicized within the text. Inclusion of miscegenation and its light skin was not about passing; Sappho does not pass, but rather reminds readers of histories of slavery, rape, and illegal love affairs.

Sappho and Will are denied the quick trip to happily ever after, and must find, through their trials and tribulations, that they are in fact a marriage of equals. Not only does the novel *Contending Forces* have two distinct but related narratives, but Sappho herself has “two distinct identities” (Randle 205). Sappho’s former identity as Mabelle Beaubean comes through a speech of historical witness via Luke Sawyer. Sawyer, from

Sappho's (Mabelle) native Louisiana, was devoted to her and her family. At fourteen, Sappho's uncle (a White half-brother of her father) abducts and sexually assaults (rapes) Sappho and kills her father by burning their home. It is Luke who, during the burning mob riot, sneaks Sappho (Mabelle) out, hiding her in the famous New Orleans Holy Family colored convent, where she is a "ruined" and "half-crazed creature" (Hopkins 260). To Luke Sawyer's knowledge, she gave birth to a child and died. However, John Langley, hearing Luke's tale, pieces together Sappho's history and Blackmails her based on her illegitimate child and sexual ruination, claiming she will never be "forgive[n]" (319). Langley, as mentioned earlier, attempts to blackmail Sappho into becoming his mistress, where upon she leaves, returning to the convent and her son, Alphonse. Will searches for Sappho and eventually all seems lost, but as all things must go in the marriage plot, they are eventually united, stronger and more in love at the end of the narrative through their survivals, and I would argue, a test of wills which show them as equally strong of character. Dora, Will's sister and Sappho's best friend, is not left out in marriage resolution and also displays Baym's sentiment of 19th century marriage "ideology" of a "union of equals" (Baym 41), as she is well matched with childhood friend Arthur Lewis. As Susan Gillman notes, these marriage pairings and tribulations, as fantastical as they may be, address issues of "Black versus White…enmeshed in and multiplied by a tangle of … sexual and political forces, summed up by the conflict between" the race question and gender question, a "conflict that divides Black communities from within as much as it unifies the Black community from without" (Gillman 11). So while the marriage plot invests readers, it operates covertly to name abuses and concerns as social and political witness.

Ann duCille, drawing on Nancy Cott, comments that the sentimental novels of African American women, and I would assert Native American as well, and their co-opting of marriage plots, which produced domestic fiction of the 19th and early 20th century, “must be read in dialogue with the literary, social, and political discourse of the era: as part and product of the particular history … of the social constraints of the times …” (31). Robert Warrior and Lucy Maddox echo this claiming that Native writing from the late 19th and early 20th century should be read with a “critical eye” towards historical and the “political” (tribal) “associations of its producers” (Maddox 5). In this sense, the marriage plot as linked to the domestic novel serves to invest the reader, propel the narrative, and offer the pairing of unlikely coincidences and connections through sentimental genre structures. This in turn allows both Callahan and Hopkins to invest their novels with concerns of politics, race, sex, and women’s equality. Therefore, they write within a dominant discourse while asserting or subverting the dominant through rhetorical applications of resistance that allow for “critic of the insidious interplay of racial and sexual ideology” in their effort to remove, question and address “patriarchal standards” (duCille 48). These rhetorical resistances assert themselves through the narratives of *Wynema* and *Contending Forces* as both authors through various methods insert and question violence, sex and political concerns for Native American and African American populations.

Sentimentalism and Resistance: Political Agendas and Red Rhetorical Strategies

The domestic novel allows both Callahan and Hopkins to underscore their dominant narrative tropes, such as the marriage plots discussed above, to illustrate, introduce and question critical concerns in the Post-Reconstruction, Progressive Era.

Resistance in 19th century fiction by people of color, and for the purposes of this work, women of color, towed a fine line of action and access that was dictated by the hegemony. This means to voice protest, question historical wrongs, and popularly held beliefs on race and gender, writers had to develop and manipulate language deftly to fit into the dominant fictive voices of the era, so as not to isolate their potential White audiences, while also, hopefully not alienating their audiences of color, African and Native American. The rhetoric of rights and discussions of historical subjugations espoused by people such as Audre Lorde and Joy Harjo were not an option for Pauline Hopkins and Alice Callahan. Rather, these rhetorical subversive seditions rose and evolved over time. Both Red Rhetorics (Native Resistance Rhetorics) and Black Rhetorics of resistance means authors (such as Hopkins and Callahan) drew upon a tradition of resistance rhetorics and in turn helped build part of the evolving customs of rhetorical resistances. African American Rhetorical traditions or Black Rhetorics is an established field in which Hopkins can be situated within a trajectory of discourse of rebellious rhetoric in *Contending Forces*.

Black Rhetorics is not just the study and understanding of African American speech, language uses, and modifications; it encapsulates the ways in which Black folks have written, co-opted, and subverted dominant discourses in America.[22] This tradition of subversion is connected to language itself. In *Talking Back*, bell hooks notes: "We are rooted in language… Language is also a place of struggle. The oppressed struggle in language is to recover ourselves— to rewrite, to reconcile, to renew. Our words are not without meaning. They are an action— are resistance" (hooks 28). To read not only modern but early African American literary works is to connect them to their history of speech giving, autobiographical writing, political discourses, and use of dominant fiction tropes— knowing that Black rhetorical strategies evolved in the face of dominant subjugation, in their effort to *subvert* subjugation. African American resistance rhetorics are tied to struggles for equality. Authors like Pauline Hopkins move in a relatively early space of African American fiction, and therefore borrow from the autobiographical Black authors who wrote before them, as well as co-opting the dominant domestic forms of the 19th century. "African American women autobiographers" and I assert those who followed them as writers of fiction, and later feminist critics, "thwart attempts to keep them silent and invisible" using "a unique series of communicative techniques" which drawing from Joanne M, Braxton, Carole Boyce Davies and Marlene Nourbese Philip, Johnnie Stover dubs, "woman's 'mother tongue'" (Stover 6). This "mother tongue" is Black women's "subversive approach to communication" (Stover 6). This resistance is coded through language manipulation, and co-opting of discourses within hegemonic structures, from Phyllis Wheatly to Sojourner Truth, to Harriet Wilson and Pauline Hopkins, it is a tradition of knowing how and when to push issues of social justice, and speak as political witness within prose. These texts are informed by "African American-centered language, rhetoric and composition" which "focuses on the language and literacy practices that people of African ancestry have used to make life better for themselves, to change worlds, and to achieve goals" (Richardson 160).

As Hazel Carby notes in *Reconstructing Womanhood; the Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist,* African American novelists like Pauline Hopkins modified the plots and messages of the domestic novel so as to thread their writing with an agenda that addressed issues of concern to them. In this sense, common scenarios like the sexually assaulted woman, who in White fiction seeks death, in Black women's fiction chooses survival, while death is reserved for statements as being better than slavery (Carby 26-30; 34; 59). In *Contending Forces*, Hopkins invokes these twists as a rhetorical message asserting "to make life better" (Richardson 160), for not only her characters but for African American women themselves. The case of Grace Monfort (Ancestor to Will Smith), exhibits use of sentimental fiction to address both race and gender, as she is accused of African ancestry. "The rumors raise suspicion about Grace's racial heritage, but it is only through the murder of her patriarchal protector and the utter disregard for her 'flesh' that she is violently marked as Black and regarded as such by her community" (Putzi 11). While Pollock and Sampson rumors of Grace Monfort's possible miscegenation taint her, the real atrocities upon her physical person, rape, whipping and slavery (Hopkins 68-69), can only occur after she devalued of male protection (70). Likewise the subjugation of Sappho in her youth as Mabelle Beaubean, is a survivor of sexual assault, incest and rape a "poor unfortunate" (343), her uncle claiming: "What does a woman of mixed blood, or any Negress, for that matter, know of virtue? It is my belief that they were a direct creation by God to be the pleasant companions of men of my race" (260-261). The villainous uncle voices, within sentimental fiction, and all its allowances for fantastical plots— the narrative is being told by Luke Sawyer after sharing his own family story of lynching, so a tale of violence against Black bodies is followed by another tale of violence against Black bodies— the historic realities of the sexualized view of African/African-descended women as not only labor slaves but sexual slaves. In this way "Hopkins could appeal to a White reading audience whose preferences were historical romances of a glorious, or even not-so-glorious, past. In this respect, she followed a tradition established in African American women's fiction by Wilson and Harper" (Lewis 620). Both Grace and Sappho's racial ancestry in conjunction with their sex allow for the atrocities acted upon their bodies.

Grace's and Sappho's near Whiteness, therefore, operate as a rhetorical device as much as the marriage plot. "Although Hopkins's presentations of women of African-descent would not be acceptable today, we must remember that they would have been acceptable to Black women at the turn of the century- only 35 years removed from slavery" (625). Hopkins, though having published portions of the novel in *The Colored American Magazine*, knew her reading audience was not solely people of color, as evidenced in her own preface (Hopkins 13-16). Hopkins's "desire to turn the tables on White Americans, showing them their responsibility for the horrors of slavery," meant that Grace's (potential) and Sappho's (actual) Blackness meant they must "endure unwanted sexual attention and…be denied [their] children and [their] own role[s] as mother[s]" (Putzi 13). Phenotypic Whiteness allowed her audience to sympathize with degradation, moving first from Grace (whose Blackness is imposed not inherited) to Sappho (who is a quadroon), easing White readers into the realities of historical violence. Therefore Hopkins use of the domestic novel and its sentimental and fantastical coincidences of plot schemes allowed her to use "the melodrama of murder, kidnapping, and betrayal to effect tragedy in the lives of her near-White heroines…" in order to explore "race and racism through miscegenation" (Lewis 619). Hopkins uses Whiteness as a rhetorical strategy to make her reader both at ease with characters as well as to emotionally shock them, so the hegemony could potentially recognize "the fire and romance which lay dormant in Negro history" (Hopkins 14). Therefore, rhetorical strategies within *Contending Forces* are tied to a larger tradition of African American rhetorical resistance, as are the similar and divergence rhetorical resistances of Native author Alice Callahan

Native American Rhetorics seeks to address the use of languages both tribal and non, as purposeful, drawing from oral traditions, to modern literature and oratory. Cultural studies, historic implications, issues of sovereignty, identity, language use (Indigenous, English and Red English[23]), structures, meanings and intentions are studied. There is an emerging discipline of Native writers and critics working in Native/American Indian Rhetorics that includes Scott Lyons (Ojibwe/Dakota), Kimberly Roppolo, Reesa Crane Bizzaro (Cherokee descent), Damián Baca (Méstizo), Malea Powell, Ellen Cushman (Cherokee Nation Oklahoma), and Rachel Jackson (Cherokee Nation Oklahoma) among others. While this field is broad in its study of Native Rhetorics, there is a trend within Native authors to utilize what Gerald Vizenor has named survivance (Indigenous survival plus resistance[24]), while navigating the discourse and tropes of histories in acts of resistance and subversion. These acts of resistance and survivance through rhetorical strategies form a tradition, a history if you will, *within* Native Rhetorical studies; a history of resistance I call *Red Rhetorics*[25]. To call these acts of resistance and survivance Red Rhetorics is to draw upon not only the conventions and cultural applications/understandings inherent in Red English, but also to locate these acts of resistance culturally. Within Mvskogean (Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, Seminole, Houma, Koasati, etc…) culture there were *tvmvha homma*/ *tvlwv* *cate*, Red Towns, and *tvmvha tohbi*/ *tvlwv hvtke*, White Towns.[26] Red towns were responsible for war and resistances, while White towns were responsible for peace and diplomacy. In the terminology of Red Rhetorics I am also drawing from the rhetorical use of "red" in Native, and specifically Mvskogean culture and history by alluding to the Red Stick Uprising[27], also known as the "Creek Civil War," which carries its own history of resistance.[28]

Ultimately Red Rhetorics seeks to understand the ever-evolving history of resistance through language, written and spoken, by Indigenous peoples in the Americas. This means acknowledging constraints of the time period and options for change available to those writing, knowing that some of these early rhetorical resistances were indirect. As Kimberly Roppolo notes "indirect discourse" is key in understanding early survivance and subversive rhetorical tactics of Native writers (Roppolo 316). We as scholars must address and recognize the ways in which early Native authors such as Samson Occom, William Apess and Alice Callahan, as Roppolo deems it "adhere to" the dominant discourses of "politeness," which serves a form of "heteroglossia"[29] wherein these authors do not offend their primarily White audiences, but also adhere to traditional Native structures that allow them to express their admonishment in an Indigenously culturally respectful manner (316). In other words, traditionally it has been assumed indirect or subversive discourse was used solely as to not alienate White audiences; however, this polite admonishment is inherent within cultural dialogue when Native folks seek to give reprimand. This is particularly evident in the indirect heteroglossia Red Rhetorics of Alice Callahan, who inhabits a limitable space (as mixedblood, as Christian and as a decidedly Creek Citizen) early in Native fiction.

To understand Red Rhetorics we must "pay close attention to the language of survivance" that Native authors "consciously or unconsciously, use in order to reimagine and, literally, refigure 'the Indian'" (Powell 400). As Malea Powell argues, authors like Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Charles Eastman, and I offer other Native writers such as Occom, and for the purposes of this discussion Alice Callahan, alter "their object-status" as Indians "within colonial discourse into a subject-status, a presence instead of an absence" (Powell 400). It is through Genevieve's evolution and the dual education that is imparted in the novel, from Genevieve to Wynema, and Wynema and Keithly to Genevieve, that Creeks cease being objects and become people, active subjects. Overtime Genevieve's overt dismissal of all things Creek — of particular evidence early in the novel— such as blue dumplings (Callahan 11) and ceremonials (14), all of which objectify the Creek Indian people in the novel changes. By the time of discussions on allotment, Genevieve wants Wynema to hold out, to understand the relativity of communal property; so Creeks are no longer objects, but people. *Wynema*, in its shift from "weird" Indians, which even has the rather horrific opening wherein not only are Mvskokes living in "tepees," a structure not found in Mvskoke culture, but in the mid to late 19th century (1-2), when Creek culture was thriving through their own governments, businesses, newspapers and other ventures, does move to talk about political concerns within the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma.

The issue of allotment was highly contested in Indian Territory and debates between traditionalist and progressives abounded.[30] Today, allotment is seen as the tactic it was, to reduce Native hold lands, break-up communal structures of culture and society where “Indians were to become like Whites and be assimilated into the American body as polite farmers, laborers” (Holm 2). The debate over allotment was fierce and rippled through the Creek Nation with supporters on both sides of the issue, and with Callahan’s father being involved in government; it was surely a topic she was exposed to. “Read carefully, Wynema does in fact register the existence of viable tribal institutions and Indian protests against assimilation. It withdraws, however, from revealing those institutions or protests in much detail” (Senier 424). The allotment issue is taken up between Wynema and Genevieve. Wynema initially voices pro allotment discourse saying she cannot see why “dividing our lands would make any damage to us” and that “idle shiftless Indians” will have to work to “cultivate” their lands and home, rather than relying on hunting and fishing (50-51). Like many places in the novel it is Genevieve whose opinion voices the radical anti-allotment and pro-traditionalist sentiment claiming: “Do you not see, my friend, that if your land were divided, your territory would then become a state— a subject of the United States Government…subject to its laws and punishments” (52). This discourse of pro Indian Nationhood is undermined by the claiming allotment would be the “ruination” of the “savage” (52).

While *Wynema* “does not exactly produce a tribal or nationalistic discourse to counter the American push for Indian assimilation, it does honor the existence of such a discourse” (Senier 436). By including a debate on allotment, wherein the anti-allotment sentiment in Callahan’s time was hotly contested and led by Chitto Harjo, and giving

Wynema the rather respected and common Harjo last name, she makes a nod acknowledging that she is very much aware of issues in the Nation.[31] However, as her own declaration at the beginning of her text claims, her aim is that White readers might "open their eyes and heart" to the "our afflictions" and beget an era of "just dealing" between Indians and the hegemony (Callahan)[32]. "*Wynema's* failure to produce such a discourse is worth considering in light of its intended audience… Given this audience, she might actually have had good reasons for not saying too much about Muscogee tradition, even for obscuring it" (Senier 424). Issues of allotment and Indian reform were problematic among Native folks, to bring those intensely convoluted issues rooted in histories and cultures before a White audience would alienate them and bog them down with Indian politics they did not and could not properly relate to or understand. "[R]hetorical and historical narrative about reform, that American discourses of imperialism in the form of anti-tribal pro-private property advocacy were seen as appropriate responses to the problems created by earlier American discourses of imperialism (i.e., Removal)" and while "such 'solutions' were being written in the public sphere… the ways in which they imagined new possibilities for Native resistance and survival in the face of violent assimilation strategies" (Powell 404-405), was dependent on their having their audiences being *willing* to listen. These rhetorical resistances, like their anit-allotment rhetorics, appear at once startling for their inclusion, yet also appear as "indirect discourse" (Roppolo 316), through the mouths of White folks, and in Wynema's agreement to White opinion on allotment, so they might be both seditious and engage in a heteroglossia, or rhetoric that White audiences members could tolerate. Moreover to include a strident Creek presence that accurately represented the culture, could further alienate White readers from Callahan's intentions of promoting "just dealings" by having her audience caught up in the ethnic tourism of prevalent ethnography of the day or worse, assuming that Creeks by being a thriving, writing culture were not Indians. After all, Callahan is writing during not only the height of assimilationist rhetoric, savagism vs. civilization dogma but the very real Indian Wars.

In the final portion of the novel is Callahan's messy shift to issues in the west, the very contemporary Indian Wars. As Ruoff and Tatonetti comment the narrative appears to be hastily written and tacked on, literally in the wake of Wounded Knee. Inclusion of the massacre at Wounded Knee does several things. First is shifts narrative from primarily White characters voicing Indian claims and concerns (which was more palatable for Callahan's audience) and second, it illustrates the reactionary response to violence against Indians, that Callahan herself had to temper so as to make the possibility of rhetorical resistance to White dominance and subjugation heard. "But while Callahan's depiction of the Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee is undoubtedly a reaction to the disturbing events on Pine Ridge, it is also a moment of significant narrative action, a moment when Callahan, as author and Native writer, fleetingly steps away from the prescriptive conventions of the Western romance and assimilation narratives to tell a different story, one in which Native rather than White characters ultimately narrate Native history" (Tatonetti 7).

The issues of Lakota dissent introduce new characters and it is through missionary connections, Gerald Keithly and his friend Carl Peterson (a whose former post happened to be among the Lakota) that involvement takes place. Keithly notes "the

Indians living on the reservation in Dakota are in trouble" (Callahan 71). And while Keithly fears Indian hostility if they are not granted their U.S. government owned rations, the specter of government accountability and Indian absolution arises when Mrs. Weir comments “there must be some serious cause, for the Indians have never gone on the war-path, or even troubled their White neighbors, without abundant cause" (71). In this regard, “Mrs. Weir's query undercuts Gerald's suggestion of Indian hostility by intimating, instead, that Whites rather than Indians are the actual hostile parties not only in this instance but also in the entire history of Indian-White conflicts in the United States” (Tatonetti 8). Of course writing in the wake of the actual events of Wounded Knee, the Indians leave the reservation, Peterson’s Lakota friend Wildfire is joined by his “beautiful” wife Miscona (along with other Lakota women who refuse to not support their husband’s battle), the Ghost Dance takes place and so does the massacre. The “brave” Wildfire and his wife Miscona “killed by the pale faces” crawl to die in one another’s arms (Callahan 91). Surviving the genocide are the old woman Chikena[33] and two babies. The circumstances leading up to Wounded Knee are detailed in papers: “A dispatch from Sisseton, South Dakota, says that the twelve thousand Indians on the Sisseton and Wahpeton reservations are on the verge of starving at the opening of winter, because of the Government s failure to furnish subsistence…over two thousand men, women, and children must live for a period of over six months of rigorous weather…if they do not get some help there will be great suffering and actual starvation (72). Another article goes onto say that the Lakota dancing the Ghost Dance, will result in needed military action (73). These passages are a radical departure from the indirect resistance discourse common throughout the novel. As Lisa Tatonetti points out:

> With this scene, Callahan constructs a very different story about the Ghost Dance and Wounded Knee than might be expected given the conservative rhetoric of the earlier sections of Wynema. By pairing the article on the severity of the Lakotas' difficulties with the editorial illustrating the rabid nature of dominant calls for bloodshed, Callahan invalidates any suggestion that the Lakota Ghost Dance 'caused' the deaths…at Wounded Knee… Callahan unsutures the Ghost Dance from Wounded Knee and refutes the simplistic narrative of cause and effect that comes to dominate later histories" (Tatonetti 9).

Furthermore, Callahan's use of sentimentality allows her to reinforce humanity of the Lakota, wherein Wildfire and Miscona's love and devotion is highlighted through their crawling to die in each other's arms.

It is in these final sections of the novel that Callahan, perhaps fueled from the recent events at Wounded Knee, breaks from her co-opted sentimental discourse, and gives voice to several Indians in the novel, the Creek Masse Hadjo, Lakota Chikena, and Wynema herself. Masse Hadjo attacks the notion of Christianity being "right" (Callahan 73-74) and Chikena speaks the violence of Lakotas being massacred (90-91). Wynema acquires, or is revealed to have learned Lakota and is unapologetically sympathetic to Chikena (94-95), and Chikena reinforces Wynema as one of "her own" (99). These seditious inclusions beg me to address the criticisms of *Wynema* as not Creek. One of the questions within the text as Womack articulates, is not that Wynema is "not traditional enough" to be a Mvskoke work, but "how it manages to avoid almost any Creek reality" (Womack *Theorizing* 404). This is certainly true; it does not seek to be or even try remotely to accurately portray Mvskoke life and culture. However, what Wynema does do, I would argue is, through both its indirect discourse and later direct admonishments of hegemonic culture, is allow for the possibility of a tradition of

Indigenous resistance, a history of Red Rhetorics which exhibits Indigenous survivance. Red Rhetorics is a history of evolution, and while Callahan, writing as not even a citizen at the turn of the century, does not contribute to a decidedly recognizable Creek body of literature, she does contribute to a growing tradition of rhetorical resistance.

While Hopkins and Callahan each have different relationships to historic circumstances, and both similar and different rhetorical applications of resistance, we must read early and modern African and Native American literary works connecting them to their histories of oratory, autobiography, political discourses, and use of dominant fiction schematics. In 1885 *Les Cenelles*: *Choix De Poesies Indigenes* (The Hawthorn/Holly Berries: Selected Indigenous Poems) the first collection of poetry by those of African American descent, but also the first definitive collection of Louisiana Creoles, and therefore Natives, in the Americas was published. In defiance to the ban on publication of works by people of color, Armand Lanusse (New Orleans Creole poet, educator, and editor) gathered eighty-five poems composed by seventeen gens de couleur libres, to create the only collection of its kind. Written in French and later translated to English the collection remains mostly unobserved as either African American or Native American literature, rather it finds its way into the realm of francophone studies. The poetry is certainly written with regard for its time and circumstance, in the wake of Haitian liberation and the *Cordon Blu*—elite *gens de couleur libres* who studied in France and some who lived in Haiti—so that the poetry reflects French and Haitian romanticism as well as certain veiled odes to equality found wanting in Louisiana when compared to Haiti (Latortue and Adams (xi-xii).

While some dismiss *Les Cenelles*: *Choix De Poesies Indigenes's* use of

Indigenes, such as Catherine Savage Brosman saying “indigenous indicates simply that the contributors were of native stock” (Brosman). In Brosman’s text *Louisiana Creole Literature: A Historical Study*, while Indians make appearances in regards to early Louisiana history, as subjects in the literature she talk about, written by Creoles, never does she connect Creoles as the Indians they are writing about. Rather Brosman, primarily drawn to Louisiana Creole literature by her own admonition, for its French language, focuses on linguistics, then plot, and finally, the concept of Creoles in binary opposition— the romanticized caught between black and white New Orleans Creole of Color. For the most part, this 2013 collection, the only study we have on Louisiana Creole literature, neglects Creoles as Indigenous mestizo peoples, and the majority of Creole peoples outside of New Orleans. So when it comes to understanding the rich rhetorical history of Red/Black experience in the Americas, Creole productions have been often left untouched, even collections like *Les Cenelles*: *Choix De Poesies Indigenes* becomes complex as it is written in French by writers educated in France and Haiti, who are themselves the products of French, African, Indian, and Spanish bloodlines within Louisiana. Yet, to be Native, to claim the land and a place means something. Both Red Rhetorics and Black rhetorical strategies evolved in the face of dominant subjugation, and in their efforts to subvert subjugation. Both Red Rhetorics and Black Rhetorics of resistance are tied to struggles for equality, despite ideologies that Indian and Black experiences were too different to speak a similar language. These rhetorical strategies sought to address issues of race and gender for both Callahan and Hopkins, and for the poets of *Les Cenelles*, as much as for Creole writers today.

Rebellious Romanticism and Red/Black Dialogues

We are made of story. In these stories it seems very important to me that Callahan and Hopkins, like myself, speak Audre Lorde's statement "I am / woman / and not White."[34] Both Hopkins and Callahan address Joy Harjo's "Rough knowledge bares teeth in the nasty vortex of this brutal civilization," [35] showing that the realities of "not White" women are a knowledge that exposes the brutality of a White hegemonic civilization. Callahan and Hopkins invest their novels with concerns of politics, race, sex, and women's equality. They write within a dominant discourse while subverting the dominant through rhetorical applications of resistance that question patriarch, hegemony, and violence against Red and Black bodies. These rhetorical strategies seek to address issues of race and gender for both Callahan and Hopkins, which allow them to employ tropes of dominant sentimental plot devices (as the marriage plot) to testify as witness to historic acts of violence and subjugation while asserting a feminine (concern for gender) rhetorical resistance. In pairing the texts *Wynema* and *Contending Forces*, perhaps a better understanding of a community dialectic, per Audre Lorde, emerges wherein African and Native women co-opt dominant genre plots, utilizing a burgeoning rhetoric of resistance to declare protest against both historic and contemporary acts that abused and or disenfranchised people of color, and specifically women of color, during their lifetimes. Ultimately to understand the rhetorical and literary negotiations and cultural encodings of Louisiana Creoles, products of both the African and Indigenous diaspora, one must examine, or at least touch upon the historiography of Red/Black rhetorics and literary dialogues within North America.

Endnotes

[1] Surrender (Revision), *Joy Harjo's Poetic Adventures in the Last World Blog.*

[2] In January of 2011 the Cherokee Freedman won a long battle with the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma (CNO) over their right to be included as citizens. The CNO governance responded that while the courts, a Cherokee Court, found in favor of the Freedmen, the battle to expel "non-citizens" like Freedmen was not over. CNO filed an appeal to challenge the ruling in the CNO court system. See CNO response to the Cherokee Freedmen case in the *Cherokee Phoenix* (CNO Paper):
http://www.cherokeephoenix.org/25518/Article.aspx
See *Sequoyah County Times*, "Cherokee Nation appeals ruling on citizenship":
http://www.sequoyahcountytimes.com/view/full_story/11138725/article-Cherokee-Nation-appeals-ruling-on-citizenship--freedmen-president-responds?instance=top_story
The case was appealed by CNO and found its self in Federal court, however on Oct 3, the first of the two cases was kicked back into CNO courts. See:
http://www.cherokeephoenix.org/Article/Index/5554
Freedmen issues across the Five Civilized Tribes persist, as well as issues for mixed Red/Blacks and/or Indigenous, African and Euro people who identify as Indigenously descended. Some of these populations include Creoles (Louisiana Creoles, Haitian Creoles, Caribbean Creoles, Mexican Criollos), Redbones, Melungeons, and general Méstizo, Métis peoples, enrolled in Federal Tribes, State Tribes and unenrolled.

[3] In American Indian Studies survivance is an overarching theoretical term, coined by Gerald Vizenor, and applied by other Native scholars. Survivance is survival plus resistance, a process in which Indian peoples overcome and consistently remain despite colonization. For more on survivance see: Vizenor, Gerald Robert. *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence*. Lincoln [u.a.: Univ. of Nebraska, 2000. And *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: Wesleyan UP, 1994.

[4] See work by Theda Perdue, Daniel Littlefield, Claudio Saunt, Tiya Miles, Malinda Maynor Lowery, Circe Sturm, Andrew Jolivette, and Rain Goméz.

[5] For additional work on Black Rhetorics see: Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson. Eds. *African American Rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary Perspectives*; *Race, Rhetoric and Composition* by Keith Gilyard; *Discourse and Discrimination* by Geneva Smitherman; Hooks, Bell. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*; and work by Gwedolyn Pough and Henry Louise Gates Jr.

[6] "Red English" is a term used to describe the ways in which Native Americans co-opt, tribalize and re-inscribe English. This can include general Native slang such as snaggin' (to pick up a man/woman, i.e. hook-up), it's all goot (its all good). To specific tribal and English mash-ups: Ayyyeee this frybread is waste`! (Wow this fry bread is good), or She is a Creekataw and he is a Sho'rap (She is Creek and Choctaw and he is Shoshone

and Arapaho). Other cultural and spiritual ways of being and expression can also be used: cedar off, sweat, in the circle, goin ta meetin and so on. Red English can include dialects and cultural infusions such as those exhibited in the work of Alex Posey and modern authors like Geary Hobson, which situate the use of Red English within specific tribal language and cultural groups. For more on Red English see Craig Womack's *Red on Red*, Robert Dale Parker's *The Invention of Native American Literature*, Brian Gillis's *Native Tongues: Red English, Translation, and the Transnational in American Indian Literature.* See also the work of Kimberly Roppolo, Kenneth Lincoln, Anthony Mattina with M. DeSautel, and Arnold Krupat.

[7] Contrition. Man should look into the Law of God and make an examination of his life and state according to the Law. Humiliation. Conviction of conscience by which seeker realizes that he is under sin. Vocation. Despair of salvation, in respect to strength of self and other creatures. Implantation. True humiliation of heart, grief and fear because of sin. Confession. Exaltation. First entrance into the state of saving grace. Possession. Awareness of presence of faith. See: *Cambridge History of American Literature, Vol. 1*; White, Eugene Edmond. *Puritan Rhetoric: The Issue of Emotion in Religion*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972.

[8] Letter to Susannah Wheatley March 5 1771.

[9] For more on heteroglossia see Mikhail Bahktin's *The Dialogic Imagination*.

[10] While Powell is specifically discussing the work of Winnemucca Hopkins and the reformists of the late 19th century and the BIA, I attest this holds true for the earliest of Native rhetors as well as our contemporaries.

[11] Powell cites Craig Womack's canonical *Red on Red*.

[12] "A Woman Speaks" *The Collected Poems of Audre Lorde***.**

[13] Within this text I am using the terms domestic novel/fiction and sentimental fiction. I am drawing from Jane P Tompkins's use of domestic fiction which can be used interchangeably with sentimental fiction to mean affecting novels written in clear prose accessible to wide audiences, grounded in Christian sensibilities. Wherein the settings highlight humble or domestic work (women's work), while using rhetorical tropes to question or call to action issues of the day. Likewise Nina Baym also ascribes the trope of domestic feminism ala Hewitt, Ryan and Ginsburg in her revised 1993 introduction to *Women's Fiction*. Into this I also draw from Hazel Carby's modification of sentimental fiction as applied by African American writers, who modify the popular genre format in such ways as surviving sexual assault rather than dying, death being better than slavery and adding trials such as rape, slavery and miscegenation in the road to happiness and/or marriage.

[14] I will use the orthographic spelling of Mvskoke over Muscogee. I will also use Mvskoke and Creek interchangeably in the text.

[15] While *Wynema* is published under S. Alice Callahan, in the historical record, personal correspondence and the seminal text on Callahan and her novel, (by LaVonne Ruoff), S. Alice Callahan is referred to only as Alice. For this reason and throughout this essay I will use Alice over S. Alice. I will also use *Wynema*, to mean the full title *Wynema: A Child of the Forest*.

[16] Alice Callahan was the daughter of Samuel Callahan, a Creek politician and an oft-cited part of the "Creek Aristocracy." This phrase referred to the well off, well educated Creeks who were decidedly mixedblood (Samuel was 1/8th Creek, Wynema 1/16th) and displayed considerable assimilations and acculturations. Despite this, it should not be dismissed that Alice's grandfather died on the forced removal of Creeks from the Southeast, a fact that a single generation of separation would not be forgotten. She was also witness to some of the great political turmoil's of her time, which will come out in my discussion of resistance rhetorics.

[17] I would add that Callahan is not alone in less than stellar fiction. *Charlotte Temple*, by Susanna Roweson is canonized as the first American novel by a woman, while Catherine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* is a staple of 19th century fiction. I would offer that I am not alone is saying, both these canonized novels are also "bad fiction." The difference between these texts and Callahan's is their worth culturally, historically and as part of a tradition of constructing a female literary voice, has been established.

[18] *Wynema,* to the knowledge of Native scholars is the first novel, i.e. fiction, written by an Indigenous woman. Lost for almost a hundred and fifty years, the text was rediscovered and published in 1997 with an introduction by A. Lavonne Ruoff. An emerging body of criticisms is still just beginning on the text, wherein prior to its rediscovery it had only been mentioned as having existed. The republication of *Wynema*, has opened the text up to understanding the possibilities of Indian women's fiction and its evolution within the genre.

[19] Different from my criticism around Literary Nationalism and early Native American writing, as in *Wynema*, wherein I stress the central issue is that we as critics, particularly Indigenous critics, should allow for the possibility of developments of rhetorical tropes and voice within dominant structures that did not always allow for expressions of solid tribal identities, with clearly directive Nation agendas, is the issue of black domestic fiction and black male reception. Early African American domestic fiction was also not always read with an eye to the circumstances of the historic moment and discourses in which they were written. This lead to an early dismissal of the many texts as melodrama and imitations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, until the work of African American feminist writers and critics of the mid-late 20th century. See: Walker, Alice. Introduction. *I Love Myself When I Am Laughing --- and Then Again When I Am Looking Mean and Impressive: a Zora Neale Hurston Reader*. By Zora Neal Hurston. New York: Feminist,

1979; and: Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1992.

[20] Harriet Wilson's *Our Nig: Sketches from the Life of a Free Black*, published in 1859 (the year of Pauline Hopkins birth), was rediscovered after falling dormant at the end of the 19th century, by Henry Louis Gates jr. It is considered to be the first novel written by an African American. Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted* was published in 1892 and includes elements of the tragic mullato, marriage plot and black pride. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), contains multiple domestic sentimental plots, while domestic novelist Catherine Maria Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1827) includes issues of Indian Christian conversion and marriage motifs. As reguard's Callahan it should be noted that even Paiute Native American Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins's *Life Among the Paiutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* published in 1883, (considered the first Native American biography published in English to secure a copy write), came after *Wynema.* Hence most of the Native writers who pre-date Callahan dealt in conversion narratives, autobiography, and fledgling rhetoric on Indian issues such as Samson Occom's *A Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul* (1774), and William Appess's *A Son of the Forest: The Experience of William Apes* (1829).

[21] Callahan through the voice of Genevieve repeatedly describes traditional Mvskoke foods (like blue dumplings) and cultural practices, such as the Busk dance (Boskita---Green Corn Ceremony) and stomp traditions with the derogatory difference in the language of "weird" (Callahan 13, 20)

[22] For additional work on Black Rhetorics see: Elaine B. Richardson and Ronald L. Jackson. Eds. *African American Rhetoric(s): Interdisciplinary Perspectives*; *Race, Rhetoric and Composition* by Keith Gilyard; *Discourse and Discrimination* by Geneva Smitherman; Hooks, Bell. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*; and work by Gwedolyn Pough and Henry Louise Gates Jr.

[23] See previous note on Red English.

[24] See Gerald Vizenor's *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Post Indian Survivance*, and *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence*.

[25] Red Rhetorics has not been used in print, and to my knowledge has only been a term I have used (and has been well received) when speaking about (with other Native scholars) the history of resistance and survivance within Native Rhetorical traditions. Red Rhetorics in print is being used in a current dissertation on Marxist theory. However, I feel with its relation to Red English, and its connection culturally to Native communities, the terminology is exceedingly appropriate when talking about Native Rhetorical Resistance. Hence forth Red Rhetorics.

[26] Tvmvha homma, is Choctaw meaning Red Town and tvlwv cate is Mvskoke Creek

meaning Red Town. Tvmvha tohbi is Choctaw meaning White Town, and tvlwv hvtke is Creek meaning White Town.

[27] This also draws on Craig Womack's use of "Red Stick" criticism. And the cultural symbolism of the color Red in Choctaw and Mvskogean cultures.

[28] "In 1812 Creek leaders sought to end dissent, punishing young Warriors engaged in political uprisings. This 'steered the nation away from the religious renewal sweeping through Indian peoples in the early nineteenth century,' started by Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, (Saunt 249). When a faction of Creek traditionalists fought back against the Creek government, the Red Stick War began" (Goméz 8).

[29] For more on heteroglossia see Mikhail Bahktin's *The Dialogic Imagination*.

[30] I feel it is important to give readers, not as familiar with Native history and tribal concerns in the 19th and early 20th century a brief, if somewhat truncated background. The period between 1828 and 1887 is known as Indian Removal, Relocation (Reservations). Military campaigns against Indians over lands, so called "acts of hostility" brought tensions to the surface, along with changing views on racial and assimilation philosophies[1]. Under the presidency of Andrew Jackson, the Removal Act (1830) was pushed through. The policy "authorized the president to 'negotiate' with eastern tribes for their relocation west of the Mississippi River" (Wilkins 347). Several tribes fought the removal, the cases of the Cherokee[1] went before trial, however, the majority of Eastern tribes were removed between 1831 and 1849. In 1871 Congress stopped the practice of making treaties with tribes, and tribes were no longer seen as individual nations, opening the way to pass bills and statutes without tribal consent. The Reservation system was implemented from 1871[1] to 1919 by executive order (overlapping with the time of the "Indian Wars" of the west). By 1865 reservations became instruments to "civilize" Indians, to assimilate them into property holding farmers (Holm 3). In 1878 off-reservation boarding schools were established to assimilate and educate Indian children and remove children from their reservation environment. The system was designed to separate children from their families, tribes, languages, traditions, and all that was known, taking away any sense of Indian identity. In 1887 Congress passed "The General Allotment Act," also known as the Dawes Act, heralding in the era of Allotment and Assimilation (1887 – 1934). Tribes would no longer owned and operated their reserved land communally. The reserved land was parceled into allotments and privatized to be individually owned by tribal members. The remaining land was opened to white settlement. Members of the Five Civilized Tribes protested vehemently against allotment and enrollment, resulting in several meetings between tribes and the U.S. government representatives. In 1898 the Curtis Act was singed into law; the act "directed the Dawes Commission to proceed with allotment and ordered the tribal governments dissolved after the business of allotment had been concluded" (Holms 13). Allotment of Indians lands throughout the country resulted in privatized parcels for single families, putting other lands in "trust" and opening up lands within Indian territory to white settlers, including the process known as

“checkerboarding”, which opened pockets of land for white sale/settlement within reservation boundaries.

[31] Not long after the publication of Wynema, Alexander Posey would take up his pen name as begin his rather affluent satirist career commenting on all things from tribal termination, education, allotment and citizenship among other things. But at its publication the debate raged in non-literary format.

[32] This opening statement from Alice Callahan appears on an unnumbered page at the beginning of the text.

[33] Note, the Lakota names have no meaning and appear to be wholly made-up.

[34] “A Woman Speaks” *The Collected Poems of Audre Lorde*.

[35] Surrender (Revision), *Joy Harjo’s Poetic Adventures in the Last World Blog.*

Chapter 6: Blindian Culture and Pain: Choctawan Geographies and Red/Black Bodies

“In this land of cotton, church bells/ clang a bluesy jazz, while red-blooded/ *bougres-á-lea* take their stand, ready/ to loose well harvested breasts of hate…/ To live and die in Dixie?” **(**Kein 23).[1]

Beasts of the Southern Bayou

As the previous chapters of this manuscript has sought to establish, this landbase called Louisiana has a rich Indigenous history, and moreover, one that has often been obfuscated by its white/black bifurcation within Southern Jim Crow narratives. In the opening of the 2012 independent sensation, *Beasts of the Southern Wild* the heroine claims, “They think we’re all going to drown down here. But we ain’t going nowhere” (*Beasts of the Southern Wild*). The heroine of this film, the fearless, philosophical, powerful, yet bruised Hushpuppy, whose journey intersects both physical and metaphysical spaces of memory and concepts of time in the geographical space of Southern Louisiana, makes this claim. In the face of erasure and expected removal, she asserts a testament to stubborn survival. This line encapsulates not only the attitude of the peoples who call Southern Gulf lands home, but the peoples and lands themselves; a tenacious reminder that land, people, and memory will not— despite natural or manmade disasters, floods, attempts of burial, erasure, and removal, be written over— “We ain’t going nowhere.”

Crossin’ the Log: Death, Regionality, and Race in Jeremy Love’s *Bayou*

Anumpa nan anoli sa’bvnna.[2] I want to tell a story. I want to tell a story because like all good Southerners, I was formed by storytellers, tall tales, familial narratives, funny fables, and soulful speakings, haunting in their Spanish moss imagery. I come into this essay as a summation of stories; syllables woven together from Indians, Creoles, and the Gulf lands of my father's people— forming my brackish bayou basket of memories. These stories rise up from our land into our people. As a person formed by Gulf spaces, I like to think I recognize a good story. A good story carries the intersections of pasts, presents, futures, and cultures in its narratives. *Beasts of the Southern Wild* (2012) directed by Behn Zeitlin, adapted from Lucy Alibar's screenplay by Alibar and Zeitlin with the input of locals from Terrebonne Parrish Louisiana, was widely embraced by Louisianans despite its nonlocal director and screenplay writer.[3] Whether it was the community's voice that rounded the narrative, the depth of the land itself, the serendipity of message, people, or seeming reciprocity between industry artists and locals, which I am given to believe, the end result drew those who call Louisiana our ancestral homelands into its web in a personal manner creating a devout following from local critics to universities.[4] Yet, in this arguably beautiful and masterful movie, filmed partially on Isle de Jean Charles, and amid its degrees of broken white/black binary structures, and for the nuanced eye, Louisiana Creole rippling echoes of presence on question looms: Where are the Indians? Here on Isle de Jean Charles and within Terrebonne Parrish— Home to the United Houma Nation, the largest tribe in Louisiana, and the Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Tribe[5], within a state still heavily populated by Native nations: four federally recognized tribes, seven state, and two large mestizo/ metis diasporic communities, Louisiana Creole and Louisiana Cajun— Indigenous presence is *still* assumed as absent. However, the story of

Hushpuppy herself, her ties to landbase seem to harken to other recent heroines in texts, specifically ones that remember: *Yakni-vt ilvppvt Okla'humma,*— This is Indian Land.

The Louisiana/Mississippi delta has a rich Indigenous history; moreover, it is one that has often been obfuscated by its white/black bifurcation within Southern narratives. Jeremy Love (story by Love and illustrations with colors by Patrick Morgan) and LeAnne Howe pen stories whose horrors are confronted on the page in present reading spaces, illustrating that the past is never past and experiences of Indians, Africans (enslaved, free, and segregated), disenfranchised people of color, and poor whites are forever emblazed on the land, not to be forgotten. Like Hushpuppy in *Beasts of the Southern Wild,* whose primary relationship is with her father, Bayou's heroine Lee Wagstaff's mother is also absent. While Lee and her father share a kind and loving relationship, she is subjected to other forms of racism and violence in the 1933 setting of "fictional" Charon, Mississippi, where the narrative initially takes place. Like Hushpuppy, she takes on a journey that moves through swampland Southern spaces and communal memories connected by land, people, and race. Intersecting her search is a continuum based on concepts of *place* rather than *time*. In 1933, Lee leaves her family in "fictional" Charon, Mississippi, to save her father from the lynch rope, and with a swamp-colored man-mammoth, hoodoo, blues-singing guide named Bayou, passes into "Dixie," a parallel space where events know no chronological history. Love's "fictional" Charon, like Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County, is made up of real places, landscapes, and events. Additionally, the parallel space of Dixie stands in for *the South* without the convention of compartmentalizing historic horrors: a communal memory representation of the mythic Deep South, a land where raced events have no linear history This is Dixie. Therefore the text becomes its own landscape tied to race and memory within very real Southern geographic Mississippi and Louisiana homeplaces.

Similarly, to Lee's intersection narrative of past-present, land, and Indian, African, Justina Marpaus, also known as the Black-Nationalist Black Juice, while not the central figure of the narrative, is invoked through interlocking tree-like limbs and roots of Howe's nonlinear place-centered narrative in *Miko Kings*. Woven through Choctaw and Chickasaw lands in Indian Territory Oklahoma, to Avoyelles, Orleans, and Terrebonne Parishes Louisiana,— Justina helps to rewrite reconstructions of both American and Choctawan land/kinship story, embodied through survivals of exile, trauma, removal, resistance, and survival. At the center of her narrative is the love-story between her and Choctaw baseball sensation Hope Little Leader, followed by her activism for African-Americans and People of Color in progressive era Jim Crow Louisiana.

In this chapter, I explore regionality and trauma through popular culture expression; first through the genre of comics with Jeremy Love's series *Bayou*, and later through LeAnne Howe's *Miko Kings:An Indian Baseball Story*. I use land and Indigenous epistemologies of place to read *Bayou* and *Miko Kings,* placing region at the front of the text. I ask us to consider the spaces in-between wherein the horror-story of Southern space can be confronted through a melding of Afro-Indigenous narrative practice. Reading these texts from an Indigenous perspective, I ask us as critics to consider the incessantness of Red/Black (Indian/African) trauma,[6] not as a historic haunting, but an ever-present reality linked to place, race, and regionality. First, in the case of *Bayou*, the Deep South of Louisiana and Mississippi, where Indigenous and

African horrors collide on paracolonial occupied lands, and secondly, in *Miko Kings*, where trauma inhabits the Red/Black body of Justina Maurpas. Ultimately, to understand the rhetorical literary negotiations and cultural encodings of Louisiana Creoles, products of *both* the African and Indigenous diaspora, one must examine, or at least touch upon the historiography of Red/Black rhetorics and literary dialogues within North America, and so I move from the chapter on Red/Black Rhetorics into this chapter on the Red/Black body and trauma. In doing so, I seek to locate *Bayou* and *Miko Kings* within intersections of present and past, continuing my use of privileging a lens of Indigenous concepts of *place* rather than western concepts of time.

Past Present Hauntings: Beyond Gothic Spaces in Indian Homespaces

The Southern lands that many of us call home are inscribed with both literary allusions and rich historical tapestries. From Faulkner's tales set in the fictional Yoknapatawpha county to Kate Chopin's efforts to capture Creole dialect in Natchitoches Parish, [7] these narratives, for all their complexity and even their horrors, are part of a dominant colonial discourse that assumes authorship of the land for itself, writing over the presence and events of Indian peoples first and other peoples of color second, claiming "the territory…as the colonizer's own…" (Spurr 28). They thereby appropriate the land while also appropriating "the means by which such acts of appropriation are to be understood" (28), creating a narrative of *the South* wherein the colonial project writes over and around the presence of Indigenous peoples through maintaining a white/black binary structure solidifying ideas of white land claim and the myth of the South as a white/black binary construction. Therefore, Indigenous land is subsumed and erased in favor of paracolonial narratives and the bifurcation seen in an overwhelming majority of Southern literature that erases Native occupation. Despite this, as Eric Gary Anderson points out, Indian removal is both a "towering historical fact and an oddly invisible one within the field of Southern literature" (Anderson "Presence" 285). The shadow of Indian removal haunts perceptions of Indigenous presence in both American literature and our Southern homelands. Renée L. Bergland, in *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects*, focuses on "real" ghosts (as characters, apparitions, spirits) that haunt American literature, from Nathanial Hawthorne to Stephen King, "spectral Indians appear everywhere in our national literature" (159). Similarly, Annette Trefzer links the archeological project of the early 20st century to this haunting literary phenomenon, locating spectral and peripheral Indigenous presences as signifiers: "The exercise of archeology plays a major role in awakening this ghost and in recovering in literature the traces of an Indian presence" (3). While current scholarship in both American literature and Native American studies has sought to draw attention to the haunting absent/presence of Indigenous peoples in Southern literature, I would suggest it is time we address this absent/presence not as a haunting but as a still *present* contestations, contentions, and traumas against both Native American and other peoples of tribal (African, Latinidad, Cajun, Creole, Mestizos, Métis, etc) descent in the Americas. If we think of events that take place not as historical, but as acts on land, then time is not a linear factor linking happenings; those events become landbased, linked to the peoples who occupy its space.

Native stories, and Native dialogue "pull all the elements together of a storyteller's tribe, meaning ther people, the land, and multiple characteristics and all their manifestations and revelations and connect these in past, present and future milieus" (LeAnne Howe 42). In essence, Howe is taking the nature of Native story and meaning-making inheritance, connecting these with geography— the lands we inhabit and distilling them into a simple terminology, or philosophy: "tribalography." Event, land, tribe, memory, are interconnected, and memory of an event, is inherently, intrinsically connected to the land it occurs on and the bodies' of the peoples it occurs to. In her interview with Kristin Squint, Howe comments on Native concepts of time as being land based saying, "land is past tense and present tense at the same time. The land actually is a wonderful space in physics that is all things at once—past, present, and future" (Howe qtd Squint 219). Rather than land as chronologically time based, something that can be subsumed, erased, and written over, place-centered events as understood through tribalography allow for a more holistic picturing of events, rather than a fractured echo of historical happenings. Tribalography connects land, people, storyteller, listener, past, present, future, and interacting. Western concepts of time cause events to be historicized and therefore compartmentalized, seen as removed, and when they rise up in contemporary literature, they become echoes or hauntings, not actualized relevant meaningful events connected to geographic places. Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd asserts that "within American Indian epistemologies *where* something takes place is more important than when, and the land itself…remembers" (118). Like Howe's concept of tribalography, Byrd stresses for Indigenous people that place holds memory, and events are encountered, reencountered, or re-counted through our interactions with land memory.

Carolyn Dunn writes in one of her most anthologized poems, "Columbus' Footprints" that "the landscape does not forget" (15). In asserting this claim, Dunn attests to the multitude of ways that land and memory are connected in symbiotic relationships. Thadious M. Davis illustrates this same idea through the theoretical concept of "Southscapes." Southscapes are "a social, political, cultural, and economic construct" acknowledging "the connection between society and environment as a way of thinking about how raced human beings are impacted by the shape of the land…" (2). This definition of regionality is particularly relevant to Louisiana and Mississippi as Indigenous spaces first and bifurcated spaces second. It is additionally useful in conceptualizing the trauma of race (acted on Red/Black and Black and Red bodies) and death as actualized horror narratives in the Deep South setting of Love's *Bayou*. Lee's travels through landscapes of Mississippi and Louisiana during Jim Crow and Love's dense plays on regionality and race remain in the forefront of the narrative, rather than removed, testifying to the reality that history is present, not past, or as Faulkner wrote: "the past is never dead. It's not even past," (73). From the opening panels that include a field of cotton (Love 1:1), to the Confederate flag welcome sign which reads "Welcome to Charon, Mississippi," the crow perched on the "colored entrance" sign, and a panel of faceless white men and swinging feet of a lynched black victim in the swamp (which we will later learn is the youth Billy Glass) (1:2-4). The setting is rife with a juxtaposition of the calm pastoral (cotton fields) and the depths of racial violence (lynching).[8] As Brannon Costello and Qiana Whitted address in their collection *Comics and the U.S. South*, graphic novels and comics by and about Southern spaces and subjects shift the focus from oral/written only to include the visual. Emphasizing the visual alongside the oral South highlights how "intensely *visual*" Southern culture is historically, from colorisms of racial construction, to signage of inclusion and exclusion (x). This is evident in the opening panels of *Bayou,* where signage highlights segregation as clearly as the panels of violence show the split between the pastoral agrarian and the liminality of the swamp.

Early in the series, Lee wades into the depths of dark mutable bayou water to fetch the body of Billy Glass. Glass's adolescent black body has been lynched, maimed (in particular, his eye gouged out and neck strangulated), and weighted down, thrown into the murky, mysterious, swamp waters (Love 1:13-14; 2:201-09). If the lynching of Billy Glass sounds familiar, it is no accident, as the circumstances are decidedly modeled after the Emmett Till case. Like Till, Glass has been found "guilty" for harassing a white woman, in this case whistling at the local storekeeper's wife (1:25). This incident is reported later in newspapers as "assaulting Mrs. Georgia McAllister," in justification for his lynching and subsequent body disposal and retrieval (by Lee Wagstaff) from the Yazoo River (2:201-02). Till's body was found in the Tallahatchie river, a tributary of the Yazoo. Therefore, the sight of Till's massacre overlaps the imagined space of Love's Charon Mississippi, a "fictionalized" space marked by real Mississippi geography bearing Indian names.[9] Glass's mirroring of Till strategically keeps alive the event of racial horror within Mississippi delta landscape. Moreover, revisualizing the violence of Till's death through Glass within the graphics of the page becomes evidence "of racism's sadism and the symbol of a nation's shame" in much the same way that the public funeral of Till's open casket did for national memory (King 58). The setting of Glass's murder predates Tills actual murder, and the publication of *Bayou* is decidedly later. Past (the textual setting), future (Till's murder), present (the reader) intersect in the landscape of text, much like the events intersect the landscape of

Mississippi Delta. This intersecting of place-specific horror events is not only indicative of Indigenous epistemologies of place memory, but also enhanced by the nature of comic textual structure. “The comics page, after all, is frequently a collection of images that are at once separate and interdependent…and can thus represent an infinitely wide range of places and times both serially and simultaneously and can suggest an enormously complex tangle of connections and relationships” (Costelo and Whitted xi). The structure of comics is naturally nonlinear and dialogic allowing its framework to fit into an Indigenous place-centered epistemological discursive structure.

The seeming bifurcation of race is played out in the bifurcation of the land, from calm share cropping scenes featuring Calvin Wagstaff (Love 1:62-63) to pastoral fields (1:1; 1:59) and deadly swamp panels with infamous bodies in the bayou and to scenes of flooding swampland juke joints in volumes one and two (1:12-14; 2:201-10; 1:39; 2:138-39;). Lee says: “The Bayou is a bad place” (Love 1:6), wading in to retrieve the body of Billy Glass. “In the South…the swamp remained more than anything else a physical reminder of the barrier between the actual and the ideal, an obstacle to the creation of an idealized agrarian society” (Wilson xiii). The swamp in Love’s *Bayou* is a transient liminal space, while also evocative of actual problematic geographic spaces that have stood as both gothic horror tropes in stark defiance to Southern gentility, it has also represented actual escapism and livelihood to raced bodies outside the South’s hegemonic classifications. To capture this mutability, the bayou is depicted in murky green-gray tones, surrounded by sticky mud banks that cling like hands (Love 1:113), harboring cypress limbs, large catfish (1:10), deep depths, (1:10-11) and including a golliwog, which attempts to literally drag Lee into the pits of the bayou.[10]

In *Bayou,* land factors at the center of the story. Doing so allows for the reencountering of violence enacted against bodies of color. While walking from the field to the bayou Lee and her young white friend Lily pause amid tall grasses, butterflies, and ladybugs (Love 1:32). Lee hears a chorus of voices in the wind and asks Lily if she hears "folks singing, Like it's coming from the trees." Lily's response is "I don't hear nothin'. You must be losing your head…" (1:32). Lee, the black-raced body hears voices while Lily, the white body, is unable to hear the singing. The voices that have been singing out to Lee become visible in the next panels as she runs from the bayou away from the monster of the narrative, Cotton Eye Joe, who has swallowed the young Lily whole and disappeared into the waters (1:118-26).[11] Running back through the field into the trees, the very ones she has heard singing from the other day, and earlier the echoes of "go down, go down, down to the bayou" (1;102-05). Lee draws up almost smacking into a pair of dangling feet, her face drawn in shock (1:130). The following panel pulls back to show a broad view of Lee standing before six lynched bodies, swinging from the trees, including one adolescent young woman and a teenage boy (1:31). Quiana Whitted refers to this scene through Toni Morrison's concept of "rememory" or the present being haunted or inscribed by traces of the past (188). For Whitted, history breaks through the present intruding on the living with the dead. "What Lee has stumbled upon is not a single moment, but a temporal dislocation of borrowed memories…" (208). While I agree with Whitted that this is not a single moment, I would contend that the notion of the past being remembered, or traces intruding, haunting or surfacing again, regulates the notion of trauma to the realm of historical and not current. I would argue that the events, the lynchings are always present, always visible and part of the land. Lee is connected to the land. She is able to navigate the bayou, swampland often seen as menacing and “navigable by those that society rejects” (Wilson 14). Lee Wagstaff is such a character, racial outside the norm, a black body inherited of multigenerational trauma from the middle passage to generations of slavery, rape, lynching, and upheavals and uprising, these events are part of the land and part of her blood memory. Lee therefore is endowed with the ability to see Billy Glass’s spirit in the depths of the bayou (Love 1:15-16; 2:213), and likewise the continual spirits of lynched bodies in the trees. She is inscribed by the land as a raced body, and thereby continuously connected to the events and narratives that take place on the land. In this scen,e key components converge: place, person, memory, there is no past just event, land, race, and trauma.

The presence of rich allusions, such as those referring to Emmett Till, golliwogs, juke joints, and other literary, event, and cultural traditions are the result of Love’s carefully crafted Southern tapestry.[12] Land keeps events current, pain, joy, even horror, are not regulated to the annals of forgetting, or written over by new experience. Space triggers a multitude of communal memories, tied geographically to raced bodies— in Indigenous cultures memories of Native bodies, in African cultures memories of black bodies, on Southern soil these narratives collide. Keith Cartwright addresses how concepts of land, bodies, and memory are tied to national memory:

> we must recognize that we are dealing with at least two different but historically blended forces. We are looking at a landscape infused with the cultural presence of Africans and their descendants. Simultaneously, however, we are looking at a landscape shaped by racial ideologies that have worked to deny African humanity and in doing so have denied the full humanity of America and the narratives that represent and divine our paths (4).

This is equally true of Indigenous peoples. The landscape is first and foremost culturally Native and has retained its inscription despite attempts of paracolonial erasure. Likewise, the arrivals of other raced bodies, particularly African bodies in the South, have woven deep *shared cultural presences* alongside Indigenous bodies onto Native homelands. In the face of this, the colonial project works to deny both Indian and African humanity, their narratives; shared, divergent, and contested, as well as Indian and African continual and active narrative presences. Destabilizing a linear time concept upsets notions of what is typically seen as “the worst” atrocities against bodies of color as past, but *relocates them to present*, as they are within the sensibilities, action, and governing systems that dictate Southscapes. That is to say, “[s]pace is inextricable from social processes and the phenomena that occur in the specified South as place (Davis 4). So while Love highlights Southern binary separatism rather than erase Indigenous occupation from Southscapes, Love allows Indigenous presence to leak into the text from the land itself and into the ways in which Lee and other characters encounter and oppose concepts of horror, death, and dying.

Blindian Borders: Mvskogean-African Call & Response Survivals

The lands upon which Indigenous and African bodies share the paracolonial traumas of occupation also share the synchronicity of creation in the form of musical and literary troupes. In an interview with John Hogan Love states:

> The south, in particular, seems like a haunted place… covered with blood but produces so much beauty…What led me to the Uncle Remus tales was Disney’s ***Song of the South***, a film I’ve always had mixed feelings about. I felt I as an African American creator I could reclaim that mythology…mash up elements of the Civil War, blues, African

> mythology, Southern Gothic and…show how they form a tapestry that is the American South (Love qtd Hogan).

For Love, the South is haunted because the past is never really past. Additionally, Love, like many African Americans is repulsed by Disney's antebellum-influenced Song of the South, yet drawn to the entrenched tales of Rabbit first published as the Uncle Remus Stories. [13] The Uncle Remus Tales "written" by Joel Chandler Harris were a cultural phenomenon; first appearing in Harris' newspaper column in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* in the 1870s with the first book collection published in 1890. Harris claimed he first heard the stories recited by slaves as a young boy working on a plantation. Brer Rabbit, or Rabbit Trickster, is a figure prominent in both Southeast Indian and African American oral tradition. Known as Chukfi in Choctaw and Compare Lapin in Creole, the tales explain such things as our relationships with other animals, acquisition of fire, and craftiness as both an asset and a fault. In recent years, many adventures of Chukfi have made their way into print culture.[14] While the stories of Rabbit are inherent and Indigenous to many Eastern Native Peoples and hence North America, it is Chukfi's cousin Brer (Bruth'r) Rabbit that first made it onto the written story-page.[15] Love, in his statement assumes a black Rabbit narrative, yet "…blacks and American Indians have gained little recognition or other recompense for the commodified evolution from the Brer Rabbit stories… Cultural syncretism that has occurred historically demands analysis…of how dominant histories have distorted or erased Indian, African, and Black Indian syncretic practices and their cultural products" (Baringer 115). Additionally, folklorist George Lankford notes that a large body of in his 1987 collection Native American Legends: Southeastern Legends -- Tales from the

Natchez, Caddo, Biloxi, Chickasaw, and Other Nations that there are a large body of "African Native American" narratives and that proving the origin of the initial Rabbit trickster is almost impossible. He stresses that the symbiosis between Southeast and African peoples is engrained upon cultural exchanges and both peoples having long history of Rabbit narratives (Lankford 239). In volume two of Bayou, Brer Rabbit becomes a central character, joining Lee and her guide Bayou as they travel the Choctawan landscape between Mississippi and Louisiana towards Nawlins (New Orleans).[16]

Brer Rabbit, Raccoon, Mrs. Rabbit, and the other four-legged or winged characters in Dixie are fully realized personalities similar to Indigenous, African American and tribal African narratives, they are not just anthropomorphic. Rabbit and Bayou have a deep history which includes going "top-side" to Charon and Natchez, Mississippi, and New Orleans to play blues (Love 2:289; 2:308). In their top-side form they appear no different than any other human. In other words, Rabbit sheds his rabbit form and Bayou his green skin and monster-esque physique. This history between Rabbit, Bayou, and the blues also extends to include Tar Baby, the sexy singing siren who happens to be Lee Wagstaff's mother, and whose tragic backstory is just beginning to unfold in the serial comic (2:328). Brer Rabbit, true to his trickster nature, is sly, smart, and crafty in Love's portrayal, he has also been caught in one too many schemes. When Bayou and Lee catch up to him, he's working on a chain gain, whereupon they bust him and the others loose (2:239-45). Rabbit's allegiance to Bayou and Lee works slowly through a series of flashbacks that include scenes of juke joints, blues, Tar Baby, and sensible reasoning from Mrs. Rabbit, Raccoon, and near death-escapades. The role of Rabbit and his Southeastern Indigeneity should be considered an influence within the narrative. Even before the publication of the Uncle Remus tales, Baringer notes that ethnologists had noted similarities between Brer Rabbit stories and Southeastern Rabbit tales, particularly the narrative known as Tar-Baby and Rabbit, and Terrapin or Rabbit and Turtle, among the Mvskoke Creek and the Cherokee (116). In light of this Tar Baby is significant as a double signifier, She is both a character reflecting Indigeneity *and* African American synchronicity, as well as the allusions to the narratives themselves.[17] Locating a significant portion of the second volume around juke joints and within Rabbit and Bayou's blues culture also highlights a shared reciprocity between Native-African cultural transmissions. "The blues that surfaces out of this specific land and history fused trauma and redemption with the harsh lived experiences of slavery and Jim Crow oppression." (Byrd 118). As Ron Welburn (Assateague/Gingaskin / Cherokee/ African American) reminds readers, Indians and Africans share a history of slavery in the Americas (302). This spawns a syncretic reciprocity of creative relationships born of shared trauma and survival for "Indians have ever been active in jazz, blues and popular music where they highlight the Red-Black-White color lines" (305). So the triad formed between Rabbit, Tar Baby, and Bayou within the blues creates a delicate call and response narrative within volume two of *Bayou*. This sets up a tale-telling scenario, wherein slowly each individual story unfolds through a stomp dance shuffle blues wail as first Brer Rabbit/ Chukfi / Lapin sings on the Mississippi Louisiana border, Choctawan homespace— a manifestation of Indigeneity on the Red-Black color.

Love illustrates Southern white/black binaries through traumatic structures and tropes yet Indian land, memory, and presence are never absent, but rather couched within Southern land and aligned with African American experiences against settler-colonialism. Critics Quiana Whitted and Katie Knowlton have called *Bayou* suggestive of *Alice in Wonderland* or a mix of "*Alice in Wonderland,* American folklore, and early twentieth century racial politics" (Knowlton). However, I find *Bayou* far more indicative of Choctawan and African-American roots than Anglo-European tales of Alice. Beginning with Lee's entrée to Dixie through the bayou where she once waded to fetch the body of Billy Glass (allusion to Emmett Till), she again heads through the murky water to the log where Billy's body was lodged (Love 1:13; 1:235). To cross into the other reality Lee must forge through water and then the slick hole in the submerged log, surfacing on the other side, where she is pulled from the swamp by Bayou, her green, lumbering giant guide of Dixie (1:247). This is no rabbit hole Lee has fallen down. This is an American (person of color) Southern tale taking place on Indigenous soil. Even W.E.B. Du Bois notes the related nature of Indian and African narrativity stating "American fairy-tales and folk-lore are Indian and African" (7). Swimming through the opening in the log, a golliwog spirit attempts to drag Lee down and stop her crossing from one realm to the next. The golliwog is an allusion to the literary minstrel character created by Florence Kate Upton and further popularized by Enid Blyton's negative racial constructions. Upton's first children's book, *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a Golliwogg* was published in 1885, and served to start the series. Blyton's *Here Comes Noddy Again* (1951) showcases the Golliwog as a car-stealing villain, while the depictions in *Three Golliwogs* (1944), *The Proud Golliwog* (1951), and *The Golliwog Grumbled* (1953) include racial slurs and serotyping constructs. [18] Love's golliwog plays upon this historic minstrelsy of racism, depicted in black-face parody it latches onto Lee as she crosses from the bayou in Charon to the parallel realm of Dixie (1:240-42). Its action seeks to hold Lee back, its character is an impediment, much like the literary or minstrel phenomenon acts as a cultural impediment to black/African American mobility. Moving to unite Red/Black experiences, the golliwog attests to white supremacist rhetorics against black bodies while the journey through water is evocative of Choctawan narrative.

Unlike Alice chasing the white rabbit through its hole, Lee's journey is evocative of Choctaw or Choctawan spiritual crossing over, or Crossing the Log. To cross into the spirit world or afterlife, "it was necessary to cross a wide river filled with rapids by crossing on a perfectly round slippery log…spirits tried to cross the river, they were met by two guardian spirits…guardian spirits pushed bad peoples spirits into the river…Good people's spirits crossed the river, where they were met by relatives and friends" (Innes 248). Other variations of this narrative tell of spirits that impede all travelers, or throw rocks at travelers, where only worthy travelers make it to the other side. [19] Like the Choctaw crossing over, water acts as both a conduit and test of spiritual and physical strength. Lee must brave the rigors of water and survive the golliwog, a representation of all that has been stereotypically reprehensible and inscribed on black bodies, manifested into solid form. The log is both a physical impediment and a passageway to the next world; as a tree, its roots connect it to earth, while its limbs to sky. This tree being in water or over water becomes symbolic of all three Mvskogean worlds: Upper, Lower, and Middle. [20] While Lee moves through the water, rather than over the water, and through the log, rather than on the log, I would argue shows more a mutability of the nature of story than difference, as the significance of the presence of *both* the *water* and *log* elements in her *crossing* from one plane of reality to the next are key. Not only does Lee cross in a manner similar to Choctawan tradition— she carries with her a symbol of Choctaw culture.

Lee carries her Uncle Bedford's great-grandfather Enoch's axe. [21] Bedford describes Enoch as the child of a Choctaw warrior and a runaway African slave woman who took shelter in an "old Spanish fort" in Florida during the First Seminole War (Love 1:188-90). The panels of Bedford's recollection are in black, white, and sepia varying from high contrast inks, such as his great great grandmother and child hiding in foliage (1:188), to detailed portraiture of Enoch's parents on sepia toned paper in pencils, charcoal, and white chalk (1:189-90). Uncle Bedford paints a familial narrative of a Choctaw warrior and his runaway slave wife who have joined with other Mvskogean peoples, along with runaway slaves, free slaves, and maroons in Florida.[22] This is until "Old Hickory" (i.e. Andrew Jackson) comes to "blast" them out with cannon fire (1:90-91). Enoch, along with a few women and children is saved by a Choctaw warrior, but his parents die in the Spanish fort (1:193). Love's depiction of the Choctaw warrior who rescues Enoch, while sepia-toned, is wearing a Southeastern turban with feathers, bandolier, belted trade shirt, and hair highlighting sharp cheekbones and bears a resemblance to the 2001 portrait of Pushmataha painted by Katherine Roche for the Mississippi Choctaw and donated to the Mississippi Hall of Fame.[23] According to Lee's Uncle: "The warrior gave him [Enoch] this blessed axe. Told him it was for chopping wood and killing men" (1:194). So the axe travels through the family, keeping Enoch safe, as he builds his home with the Choctaw people. Passed to Bedford's grandfather, who had it with him in South Carolina when he helped "storm Fort Wagner," Uncle Bedford claims the axe helped keep his grandfather safe. (1:96). Love's allusion to the 2nd Battle for Fort Wagner is accompanied by a sepia charcoal of Bedford's grandfather in union uniform; his buckle monogramed "US," a rifle in one hand the axe/tomahawk in the other dripping blood. Love does not differentiate or give background on how his grandfather, a man raised with the Mississippi Choctaw came to be in South Carolina, nor how he would be part of the 54th Massachusetts or the 1st South Carolina Volunteers- of which whose ranks were comprised of mostly blacks of Gullah descent.[24] However, Bedford tells his niece: "This axe was baptized in the blood of the Negro and the mighty Choctaw," and rather than pass it to his son, he gives it to Lee with his final advice: "keep it with you and the spirits will watch over you" (1:197-98). It is this axe that Lee carries with her into the liminal bayou swamp space of Dixie. This axe with which she defends herself from the monster Cotton Eye Joe and is, as her uncle predicts "protected." While Love's depiction of African-Indian solidarity and spirituality is certainly not without its flaws, both historically and in its moments of over romanticism, what is of note is the deftness of the mutability of cultural narrativivty within the evolution of *Bayou* from its inclusion of Choctawan specificity ("crossing the log") to acknowledging Southeastern Indigenous reciprocity in the formation of Brer Rabbit tales and Southern blues traditions. [25]

"Two-step rabbit cadenced gospels:" Red-Black Racial Land Singing Trembles[26]

While Jeremy Love's *Bayou* invokes Red/Black Choctawan histories in a spirit of Choctawicity (drawing from Kimberly Roppolo Wieser's notion of Cherokisicity), meaning it has a sense of Choctawan historic cultural diasporic and aesthetic descent—it is however not grounded in a Choctaw or Choctawan cultural authenticity through its narratives or its characters primary cultural affiliations (land, spiritual, family, aka within the Peoplehood matrix) like the Red/Black story lines woven into LeAnne Howe's *Miko Kings*. Set across Oklahoma and Louisiana, *Miko Kings* creates a non-linear event/place and character driven narrative that deftly weaves contemporary Choctaw lands in the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma with traditional Choctawan lands in Louisiana, incorporating variable notions of border, race, Peoplehood, and nonwestern time constructs into intersecting moments of collision and conversation where memory, trauma, bodies, and land are lasting narratives through the novel's intersecting loops of relatives and landbased memory.

Bayou invokes Red/Black histories through series of Choctawan geographic-memories and the admittedly not without contestation- narrative of Blindian histories in Uncle Bedford, strung around Lee Wagstaff's connection to land and family. Similarly, land and family are at the crux of *Miko Kings*. Following her concept of tribalography, the novel moves around concepts of land and kinship, following the character Lena in 21st Century Ada, Oklahoma, and her time traveling Indian physicist ancestor Ezol Day, Ezol moves from Ada during Indian Territory on the edge of Allotment and meeting Lena in 2006. "The decolonizing strategies in Miko Kings likewise span centuries, although the story is anchored in the early twentieth- century origins of baseball. Choctaw tribal histories of interracial relations inspire this family mystery, which is set in the context of all- Indian baseball leagues and an affair between Choctaw pitcher Hope Little Leader and Justina Maurepas, his Black Indian lover. By dint of relating these concerns from a Choctaw tribal perspective, Miko Kings is a broadly transformative narrative" (Horan and Kim 31). Ezol understands Quantum mechanics at its Indigenous source and through its basic connection to all things, that land itself. It is through Ezol and her diary that Lena uncovers the story of Hope Little Leader and Justina Marpaus, and the ceremonial underpinning of Choctaw base and ball, or baseball.

At the heart of *Miko Kings* pulses the roots of Justina Marpaus and Hope Little Leader's love story. Justina and Hope, both removed from their homes and forced into the cultural genocide mission of boarding school education, meet at Hampton Normal School for Blacks and Indians, the precursor to Hampton University in Virginia. Hope is still young, traumatized, and rootless without his grandfather and sister. Justina, removed from her parents in Louisiana, has already been stripped of her sense of identity, written by the missionary educators as a Black woman and trained to become a young teacher's aide. To Hope, her eighteen-year-old body is "delicate" her hair "slick black like the leather of his tight new shoes. Her lips are creased like the segments of an orange…her husky voice purrs low and dangerous like an undernourished panther… She is what his uncle would call *shali ninak*, night addiction" (Howe 50). She is his true love with "smooth dusky skin" and he has named her "Dusky Long Gone Girl" (51). From their first meeting at Hampton, where Natives and Blacks were "not supposed to mix" (50), and as Hope moves from teen adolescence into young manhood, their love blooms and they later reunite in I.T. Justina and Hope have a "relationship that happened because of this colonialist manifesto of the Hampton experiment" (Howe qtd in Davis 84). They share the communal horror of removals and the violence of genocide posing as education for the civilizing paracolonial mission.

Justina has been coded as Black by Jim Crow society and the missionary educators at Hampton. Hope, however, never "sees" Justina as a black woman or a red woman. He sees her as a woman, and he is compelled by the power of that connection—that spark between people, between human beings, between a man and a woman— and that's what he sees (Howe qtd in Davis 85). She is Dusky Long Gone Girl, her panther voice invokes the presence of the panther who suckled Choctaw infants at the foot *Nanih Waiya*(Akers 3), the Panther clan, and foreshadows the rise of Black Nationalism as the Black Panthers. While Hope doesn't codify Justina as Black within notions of a bifurcated south, both text and Hope note that she is imprinted by race and culture. As they make love later in the novel, "her red black straddling his red" creates "their copper sweat" (Howe 190). Despite inscriptions of violence around race, Black, Red, Blindian, their sexual act born of the tumble and thrust survival through removal and trauma unites them in copper sweat hues of sunrise and sunset, copper, the metal of strength.

Despite this, Justina is a Blindian body and one tied to her own Choctawan geographic landscape. Born in 1875 to a "French" father and a "mixedrace" mother in Avoyelles Parish, where Marksville and Indian Spring are landbase for the Tunica-Biloxi (Tunica, Choctaw, Biloxi, Avoyel, and Ofo) and Choctaw-Biloxi. Raised in a Louisiana French or Creole French-speaking household, within her community she is other, outside her community, in the enforced Jim Crow Louisiana South she is "black" (75). Not understanding the rising violence against her family over reconstruction and

Black voting rights (there would be massacres in Bossier City, Colfax, and Opelousas between 1868 and 73) [27], the catalyst causing her father to send her to Hampton in 1892, Justina would come to recognize race as connected to violence. Justina does not escape violence, acts of violence on her homeland, those written on her body through the paracolonial project of acculturation, and fissures between Blacks and Indians in I.T. mark her flesh as assuredly as the land. She is marked by trauma from the land into her body and by the events that have occurred to her within the lands she inhabits and none of these events are in the past, as the novels tribalographic construction maintains, "decolonized concepts of history, time, and nationhood are given voice" (Bauerkemper qtd in Horan and Kim 31) through place and kin centered structures. Land keeps events current; it triggers a multitude of communal memories, tied geographically and to bodies of color— in Indigenous cultures memories of Native bodies, in African cultures memories of black bodies, on Southern soil these narratives collide: "We are looking at a landscape infused with the cultural presence of Africans and their descendants. Simultaneously, however, we are looking at a landscape shaped by racial ideologies that have worked to deny African humanity (Cartwright 4). This is equally true of Indigenous peoples. The landscape is first and foremost culturally Native and has retained its inscription despite attempts of paracolonial erasure. Likewise, the arrivals of other raced bodies, particularly Africans in the South, have woven deep *shared cultural presences* alongside Indigenous bodies onto Native homelands.

The narrative is made tangible in the Blindian body of Justina Marpaus. Between her time at Hampton and her time in IT with Hope's, Justina returns to Louisiana, this time to New Orleans, and is impacted and impacts the Race Riots of

1900. As in *Bayou,* land events and the Race Riots of New Orleans, intersect in the landscape of text, the fictionalized activism of Black Juice (as Justina would be called after 1900). The Race Riots of New Orleans stem from the conflict over Robert Charles, a Black migrant worker an intellectual who supported Black self-defense, shot a white police officer. The resulting man hunt and violence by white officers and whites in retaliation within Black and Creole neighborhoods was devastating, so much so that it was reported "the streets ran red with blood" (*Daily Picayune* qtd in Landau 49).

In districts where bodies of African, Creole, and Blindian women have been sexualized and sold for the colonial profit of notions of exotification and masculine inscription of the land through conquering of bodies, Justina rebels against the silently sanctioned sexploitation of bodies of color in Storyville, notorious for its brothels catering to white men with a taste for fair Creoles, Indians, and biracial women and young boys. Justina, working at the Courtesan brothel, ends the New Orleans race riots with dynamite (76). Marpaus, in 1969, when interviewed about her activism, is no longer fired by an impassioned desire to right equality at any cost, she is like a "black crow[s], lazily circling death" (76), but more explicitly, she is impacted by the horrors of not only racism's violence but the acts committed to end violence. Violence begetting violence that "changed nothing. People were killed…Only the scars remain. That's the problem when rage is unleashed" she says (77). These scars that inscribe land, specifically New Orleans, which "rises from an undead time-space of imagination that has crossed through erasures of history and waves of trauma" (Cartwright *Sacral Grooves* 128), seems to be echoed on Justina's flesh itself in the "deep scar along her hair line" (Howe 74).

The African-Indigenous diaspora means that the land rises from the people into the blood and that blood has been carried with her people through Middle Passage and through memory into the Indigenous lands of the Americas where it has met and mingled on new lands. I would argue that the African diasporic experience, has rubbed up against new stories and new cultures. Intricate issues, due to Jim Crow segregation, exclusion from both white and black communities, Indian Removal, and Indian Termination and Relocation all had serious impacts on Creole and Creole-Indian peoples and their perceptions within both home communities and (more importantly) outside communities. As Andrew Jolivétte asserts, a "specific threat of a multiracial majority in Louisiana posed serious problems….In order to successfully expel both Creoles and Indians as well as to erase any connections between the groups, a new racial categorization system had to be implemented. The success of this new classificatory system depended on the construction of whiteness and blackness as monolithic descriptors" (*Louisiana Creoles* 96). Justina is the embodiment of this, all the trauma from middle passage to Indian removal, Race Riots, to segregation, and countless acts of sexploitation, cultural genocide, and the very real disenfranchisement of Indian and Creole people within Louisiana lands. In her "mixed" (203) "red black" (190) Haitian, French, African, Indigenous, Creole body— Justina is marked by the land of Louisiana itself, the traumas and transnational traces of its Indigenous, African, Caribbean, Spanish, French, and U.S. landbased memory. In this unisolated transnational, transracial, global south (Regis 1) the spaces occupied share histories of trauma and survival. They bear fruits of creativity, hostility, and survivals, from land into people, and those events are forever constant.

“Synching to the Rhythm of Stomp”: Blindian Performativity and Diaspora[28]

Reading Native literatures means locating them within their events and traumas within geographic spaces. The South and notions of the South are exceedingly complex and cannot be encapsulated or boxed in by singular definitions or engagements with ideals of history, land, or people, it is groundless, yet grounded (Anderson “South” 29). As evidenced in this chapter and the work of Love and Howe the South is complex, it is built on and around multitudes of events on *original* land, occupied by Indigenous peoples, wherein settler-colonialism has enacted its own events, and the bodies, and peoples have *reacted*. The tales, stories, and emotions of peoples involved bodies of color both Indigenous and African *and* Blindian, colonizer, colonized, free, slaved, and disenfranchised, all have a multitude of relationships, interactions, and narratives that build *networks of stories* around, about, and with these events. Some deeply personal, some removed, yet all part of the region, and all complex. In *Clear Word and Third Sight: Folk Groundings and Diasporic Consciousness in African Caribbean Writing*, Jamaican scholar Catherine A. John claims, “[t]he complexity of what we know and have maintained as African peoples living in the diaspora has yet to be fully revealed to us. What is apparent, however, is that the rebirth of ancient forms in a variety of contemporary modes is still carried forth in our stories, songs, dances, proverbs, jokes, riddles, languages, music, and literature” (19). The African diaspora means that the land rises from the people into the blood and that blood has been carried with her people through middle passage, through memory, into the Indigenous lands of the Americas where it has met and mingled on new lands. I would add and argue that the African experiences, the diaspora has rubbed up against new stories and new cultures—Indigenous America.

Quoting Clyde Woods, Jodi Byrd notes that the “rise of African American Culture” was “fully indigenous. The south was a space of origin, the African American the hearth” (Woods qtd in Byrd 118). In other words, the diasporic memory and body of Black experience collided on Southern Indigenous soil alongside Indigenous memories connected to the lands African bodies inhabited. These lands were the site of new traumas for both African and Indian bodies, new cooperations, subjugations, triumphs, and coercions. As this dissertation has tried to make evident, while I am focus within a landbase: Louisiana, Choctawan, Gulf-South, this space is not isolated. Some call this work regionalism, some call it regional Transnationalism, some critical geographies, the point being, our land and our people on the land are not nor have they ever been in isolation. Moreover, the spaces occupied share histories of trauma and survival, and those bear fruits of creativity, hostility, and survivals. If we can see in our music from the blues to Creole Zydeco the fruits of Red/Black synchronicity: A confluence, born on Indigenous land, from the between place meet at intersections of rhythmic shuffle shake call and response (caller and answer chorus) of Southeast Stomp Songs (which as Artists Pura Fé, Joy Harjo, Carolynn Dunn, Ron Welburn, and I have addressed in poetry and music have influenced southern blues and gospel), use the *frotoir* (rubboard), the spoons, and the métis fiddle (played in Canadian métis style as a rhythmic, pluck and drum) in place of turtle shell shakers, meet Bamboula, rhythmic cane drums and its accompanying dance from the Caribbean by way of West Africa with its male to female dance partnering and “Aye Ya Yi;” and combing Louisiana Creole patios (French influenced with Haitian, Choctaw, Chitimacha, Mobilian Jargon, and Spanish) with English.[29] Then can we not recognize the same synchronicity within our own literary and cultural Southern narratives? Melanie Benson Taylor emphasizes the ways in which communities cross each other multiple times, stories bleeding into one another from African to Indian and back again, and this transcultural current should be recognized and reconciled (174). To recognize this means to acknowledge we occupy a collective land memory space, which yokes the course of Red, Black, and Red/Black story-making in Southern topographies. The reality of the ways in which "cultural, and racial practices, bloodlines, and experiences have long bled fluidly into one another" (174) is apparent in the delicately interwoven narrative fabric of *Bayou* which merges African experience with Indigenous narrative presence and practice, creating a third space which mirrors the homespace of Southern soil, Dixie, but yet is one wherein the horrors of a bifurcated South and Indigenous "assumed" absence can be confronted. Frictions and fissures linked to racial trauma are embedded in the text and storied in the narratives of the land. They are ongoing reclamations, confrontations, and assertions because they are not historic, but ever present as their persistence in Love's text attests. Love allows a space for trauma to be present, not historic, because land functions as the unifying force, the communal memory for Black, Red, and Red/Black bodies; a truly original American Southern narrative, for it rises from the land into the people. After all, "American is a tribal creation story" (Howe 42), created by all her tribal peoples.

Endnotes

[1] Creole French meaning “Swamp people.”

[2] Choctaw. Translation follows.

[3] Born in the Florida panhandle, Alibar has familiarity with Gulf coastal life. However, if one reads *Juicy and Delicious*, the inspiration for *Beasts of the Southern Wild*, the narrative shifts not only landscapes, but positionalities, and communal voices.

[4] See Mike Scott’s *Times-Picayune* review (NOLA.COM), and the community/university collaborative hosting of director Zeitlin at Northwestern State University of Louisiana (NSULA) April 17, 2013.

[5] Also known as BCC or Confederation of Muscogee. The tribe has three bands: Bayou Lafourche, Bayou Grand Caillou/Dullac, Isle de Jean Charles).

[6] A portion of this essay in shorter is edited down to 4500 words for inclusion in the peer review book *Undead Souths: Beyond the Gothic* (Louisiana State University Press) edited by Eric Gary Anderson, Taylor Hagood, and Daniel Turner.

[7] For more on Indigenous presences in the work of Faulkner see Phillip Carroll Morgan (Chickasaw/Choctaw), Charles S Aiken, Melanie Benson Taylor (Herring Pond Wampanoag), and Geary Hobson (Arkansas Cherokee/Quapaw).

[8] Notes on references as regards citing serial comics: the first number such as 1 represents the volume and the number after the colon 10, represents the panel. Hence (1:10) would indicate volume 1 panel 10. *Bayou* was first presented by Zuda comics, a division of DC online in 2007, allowing for only volumes and panels. It was the first of the online series to move to print in 2009 with volume one. Volume two followed suit moving from online format to print in 2010. The third volume has yet to be released.

[9] The Yazoo River being named for the Yazoo people, a nation related to the Tunica and the Tallahatchie River, is taken from its original Choctaw name- tali meaning rock and hacha or hachi meaning river.

[10] I will explicate further on the roll of the golliwog in the text later in this essay.

[11] For the sake of this essay I will am not explicating the role of Cotton Eye Joe. However, his large overgrown white male juvenile appearance, named for the folk song “Cotton Eyed Joe” in which according to various musicologists and folklorists represented the plantation owner who kept women from their men “If it weren’t for Cotton Eyed Joe I’d a been married a long time ago,” (see *On the Trail of Negro Folk-songs* by Dorothy Scarborough)– it can be assumed that Cotton Eye Joe occupies a both an allusion to the song and the histories of plantation violence and Jim Crow

subjugation.

[12] Love’s text is full of event allusions as well as cultural/literary allusions. The limitation of this essay doesn’t allow me to explicate or name them with depth or clarity. The text is densely packed with references from the 1922 flood and Katrina, musical references such as “Go Down Mosses” and “Little Sally Walker,” to Jim Crow law (manifested as an actual carnivorous murder of crows) and Stag Lee whose assassin storyline is developed in the second volume and many more.

[13] It should be noted that Bayou’s “big bad” known as “Bossman” shapeshifts into many forms throughout the comic. One of these forms is a depiction of the Uncle Remus caricature taken from Disney’s *Song of the South*.

[14] One of the most recent print offerings is also in comic/graphic novel form *Trickster: Native American Tales a Graphic Collection*. This collaboration between traditional Native storytellers and visual artists boasts the talents of such orators and writers as Tim Tingle (Oklahoma Choctaw), Joseph Bruchac (Abenaki), and Beckee Garris (Catawba).

[15] I use the term story-page to delineate between ethnographic work on Southeast and Northeast/Woodland Rabbit tales, African-American Rabbit tales, and the collection of “Folk Tales” or written tales of Uncle Remus meant for popular consumption.

[16] Choctawan is used to refer to the homespaces of Mississippi and Louisiana in particular, as well as parts of Alabama, to which Choctaws, and other Choctaw cultural-linguistic groups (Bayougoula, Houma etc) and groups with which they traded, intermarried, formed governing alliances, cultural world views. Please see my definition in the introduction and Kristin Squint. "Choctawan Aesthetics, Spirituality, and Gender Relations: An Interview with LeAnne Howe" and Patricia Galloway, *Choctaw Genesis.*

[17] The play on Rabbit and the Tar Baby is not lost and is especially poignant as the narrative between the characters evolves and the fate of Tar Baby at the hands of the Stagolee (Stag Lee) character unfolds.

[18] For critical work see Robert M. MacGregor “The Golliwog: Innocent doll to symbol of racism,” in *Advertising and popular culture: Studies in variety and versatility* and *Reading into Racism: Bias in Children’s Literature and Learning Materials*, by Gillian Klein.

[19] Variations of this religious narration also appear in Cushman’s *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians*, Swanton’s *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians* and Clara Sue Kidwell’s (Oklahoma Choctaw) *The Choctaws in Oklahoma: From Tribe to Nation, 1855-1970.*

[20] By Mvskogean I mean to be inclusive of those tribal groups whose languages and or cultural complexes are tied by unified features such as, but not limited to: Choctaw,

Mvskoke Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, Houma, Koasati, Natchez. In referencing the Upper, Middle, and Lower worlds of Mvskogean peoples I refer to the greater cosmological world view.

[21] The storyline gives the assumption that Uncle Bedford is married into the Wagstaff family, and that Aunt Lucy is Calvin, Lee's father's sister. This is reaffirmed when Uncle Bedford likens Lee's stubborn temperament to his wife Lucy (Love 1:184).

[22] Given the first Seminole war we can assume Seminoles, Creeks from the Red Stick uprising, and remnant Choctaw supporters are part of the Indian refugees and resistance.

[23] See Roche, Katherine. *Portrait of Pushmataha*. 2001. Oil on canvas. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Http://mshistorynow.mdah.state.ms.us/articles/14/pushmataha-choctaw-warrior-diplomat-and-chief.

[24] See Wilbur Cross *Gullah Culture in America* and *Hope & Glory: Essays on the Legacy of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment* Martin H Blatt et all.

[25] Due to the depth and breadth limitations of this chapter I am not able to explicate complications with Love's over simplifications of certain depictions, such as the Seminole War, history of Southeast Indian slave holding, and the ever present need to attach spiritual significance to Indian figures and object (i.e. the "blessed axe"). For more on these topics see: Melanie Benson Taylor "Red Black and Southern: Alliances and Erasures in the Biracial South" in *Reconstructing the Native South: American Indian Literature and the Lost Cause* and Jodi Byrd's "Been to the Nation, Lord, But Couldn't Stay There" in *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism.*

[26] Quote taken from "Hows I Got Relgion (Sermon of Water)" from Smoked Mullet Cornbread Crawdad Memory, Rain C Goméz (Mongrel Empire, 2012).

[27] Bossier Riots, also known as Shreveport "Negro Hunt" boiling point of Black/White conflicts over voting, land and equality issues in October 1868. Over 100 armed white men to hunt down African Americans and shoot them indiscriminately for fear they were rising up to take Bossier and Shreveport. Over 150 Black folk were killed.
Colfax massacre or Colfax riot took place on April 12, 1873 (Easter Sunday), over the contested election of the governor of Louisiana. A group of armed whites overpowered freed blacks and *gens de couleur libres* to control the Grant County Court House located in Colfax. The death toll count has varied. This horror has is the core thread of Lalita Tademy's novel *Red River*.
Opelousas September 1869, Seymour Knight's of the White Cammilla slaughtered and estimated 300 including, public hanging, lynchings, and those driven to swamp.

[28] From "Missing": Dunn, Carolyn. *Echolocation: Poems and Stories from Indian Country LA*. Tuscon: Fezwig in Partnership with Nita Ishki Publications, 2013. 22-23.

[29] See: See Gomez, Rain, and Andrew Jolivette. ""Native American Roots and the Creole Culture."" *I Am Creole Radio*. BlogTalk Radio. 2010. Radio; Evans, Freddi Williams. *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans*. Lafayette, LA: University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2011; Sublette, Ned. *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2008. I will revisit this concept and example again in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Hachotakni[1] Zydeco's Round'a Loop Current: Louisiana Transnational Literary Traces

"Some of us lived like crayfish. Some of us lived like turtles. Some of us lived like coiled snakes end to end. Some of us lived like people" (31) — LeAnne Howe "The Chaos of Angels"

This story is a turtle: This turtle is a story

Anumpa nan anoli sabvnna. [2] I want to tell a story. A story about land, geographies, diasporas, memories, and how culture rises up from land into people. This story begins, like many stories in our traditions with *Luksi* or *Hatchotakni*: Turtle, or Sea Turtle. Turtles or tortoises hold much significance in many tribal communities, from their place as familial clan centers, or healers, to tricksters, food sources, and sacred items. We shake or shook turtle shells on our legs, in our hands. We watch these reptiles lounge on the banks of bayous, or scamper from newly hatched eggs on beige beach shores, fighting for survival to reach rushing ocean waves. In my family, these ancient relatives hold unique kinship spaces speaking to the nature of interconnected Indigenous diaspora in Louisiana. [3] On one side of family there are the Choctaw-Biloxi, Chitimacha, and Mvskoke, whose relationship to Turtle was familial. In these southern Indian communities, there are turtle clans, shell shakers, and a sacredness with which Turtle is revered. We also see some turtles as food sources and as sturdy tricksters: those ornery old alligator turtles ,whose worm-like tongues lure unsuspecting prey to their doom. Among the kinship related Louisiana Creole communities of my family, folks have relied on the sustenance of *cowain*, snapping turtle soup, while simultaneously evoking the image of turtles zydeco dancing with both joy and wisdom in their narratives, telling stories of the same tricky alligator turtle. These stories and experiences are braided into the everyday realities of my father and his father before him, and passed to my sister and me, as we navigate these waters, neither fresh nor salt, neither fluent in languages nor absent of homescape heritages.

We were nourished by Creole grandfathers prepping snapping turtles for cowain and Choctaw-Biloxi and Mvskoke grandmothers telling Dad turtle stories. Father and grandfather standing on boat decks with us, pointing down into the green-gray Gulf water to the one great turtle we all respected, revered, our nets carefully pulled up: we watched Hachotakni move gracefully, flying through the water alongside our boat. She had survived the journey from hatchling on Gulf shores, affixed herself to algae, seaweed debris, rode the loop current, the mosaic pattern of her back a story of the land she was birthed on, patterned and fractured, yet whole, much like my family. Turtle is at once amazingly graceful, yet awkward, resilient yet fragile, Indigenous to our Louisiana homelands yet impacted and seasoned by her transnational travels. Remembrances of the times we would hang over my father’s boat bow or my grandfather’s dock, watching loggerheads and green sea turtles are more than memories defining my southern Gulf childhood from Louisiana to Florida. These memories of Hachotakni, her fractured yet resilient shell, her transnational travels, and our Indigenous traditional stories meet at intersections of my Indigenous and Creole (i.e. mestizo) identity. As Linda Hogan (Chickasaw) says, the “earth is a turtle /swimming between stars” (“Chambered” 33-34), so I locate myself through these stories as a member of the Gulf Indigenous diaspora riding on Turtle’s back. Just as Turtle travels the loop current, and returns to the shores to lay her eggs, impacted and impacting our geography with her travels, our

Indigenous and Creole (mestizo) authors are impacted by the ebb and flow of the transnational, transracial, and paracolonial histories written, experienced, absorbed, and overcome, within our geographic homespace. The works of Carolynn Dunn, Sybil Kein, LeAnne Howe, MonaLisa Saloy, Coco Robicheaux, and Roger Emile Stouff are a study in the patterned literary traces of the complex relationships of our occupations, evolutions, travels, and survivance (survival plus resistance) within transitional Indigenous narratives, Peoplehood, and cultural diasporas of Indigeneity in Louisiana's global south.

In this chapter I first read selections from MonaLisa Saloy, Coco Robicheaux, and Roger Emile Stouff. Coco Robicheaux (Choctaw/Cajun) who plays with a foil of blues musician and shamanic myth-maker, cultivating a style of blues known as "hoodoo blues" which seems to embody both the mythic elements of Indigeneity rooted bayou tribal communities and the mysticism of Hoodoo and Voodoo tales recounted from Dumaine to Bourbon streets for tourists. MonaLisa Saloy (New Orleans Creole) sets up the atmosphere of the reading grounded the space of New Orleans through here landbased understanding of Creole New Orleans. Conversely to Robicheaux, Roger Emile Stouff (Chitimacha/Cajun) appears to embrace all the Atchafalaya basin has meant to the Chitimacha historically, addressing eco-rights and preserving cultural sustainability, grounded in traditional Chitimacha oral tradition. Read comparatively, the three highlight the dichotomy between contemporary Louisiana Indigenous descendants' relationships to their Native soil and how it has framed them, can frame them, and will frame their identities, through embodied rhetorics of culture and homespace and in acknowledgment to the transnational and paracolonial presences within both Louisiana landbases and Louisiana Indigenous bloodlines.

Next, I read Dunn, Kein, and Howe from an Indigenous perspective, *their* Indigenous perspectives, and take us back to the concept of the incessantness of memory and land (memory and Indigenous assertions or presentness), not as historic or haunting but as an ever-present reality tied to place, race, and regionality. This concept explored in chapters three and six is equally vital here in chapter seven as we explore land, Peoplehood, transnationalism, and Indigeneity. The homespace of the authors I converse with here, (not necessarily their current location) is the Deep Gulf South of Louisiana where Indigenous, Creole, Red/Black, Caribbean, and Mestizaje experiences collide on paracolonial occupied lands.[4] Locating these authors within intersections of present and past, via Indigenous concept of *place* rather than western concepts of time, reminds us in the words of Carolyn Dunn that "the landscape does not forget" ("Columbus' Footprints" 15). I follow Kimberly Wieser's (Roppolo) example, who affirms in the first chapter of her manuscript *Back to the Blanket: Reading, Writing, and Resistance for American Indian Literary Critics*, that we as Indigenous scholars need to privilege Native epistemologies as theoretical discursive practices for reading texts produced on Native ground, in the Americas. First, I build a narrative strategy establishing Indigenous place and memory at the center of this conversation. Next, I offer a reading of selections from Carolyn Dunn and LeAnne Howe. These texts when read through an Indigenous epistemology of Louisiana homespaces reveal interwoven relationships, or loop currents, wherein Indigenous, African, and Caribbean cultures manifest within literature as contemporary ongoing assertions, tensions, and reclamations of not only Indigenous Louisiana but Gulf and circum-Caribbean mestizaje.

Yakni isht ikhana: Learning to Listen to Land

Current scholarship in Native American studies has sought to draw attention to the spectral haunting (absent presence) of Indigenous peoples in literature. Adam Lifshey postulates that America is formed from absence, born of "transatlantic" haunting histories:

> America was formed from an ongoing production of absence: the lives that disappeared, the societies and ecologies that vanished, the dynamics of disembodiment that were constitute of the Conquest in all its variegated forms…From the position of absence they contest all our foundational narratives…they emerge from five centuries of oceanic crossings and conflicts among Amerindians, Africans and Europeans…we are all haunted by its dead (1).

Lifshey's spectral haunting, wherein the echoes of Indigenous presence rise up through the horrors of violence and erasure, assumes the inactivity, stagnancy, continued loss and disembodiment of North Americas Indigenous peoples. Additionally, like rhetorician David Spurr, Lifshey articulates a process of conquest where the colonial project assumes authorship of the land. With this authority the colonizer writes over the presence and practices of Indian peoples first and other peoples of color second, to claim "the territory…as the colonizer's own…" (Spurr 28). Indigenous land is thus subsumed in paracolonial narratives that erase Native occupation, leaving traces or hauntings (nothing is ever truly absent) of Indigenous reign. Likewise, Renée L. Bergland, in *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects*, focuses on "real" ghosts (as characters, apparitions, spirits) that haunt American fiction, from Nathanial Hawthorne to Stephen King: "spectral Indians appear everywhere in our national literature" (159). Similarly, Annette Trefzer finds peripheral Indigenous presences to be pervasive in early twentieth-century literary archeology, claiming, "The exercise of archeology plays a major role in awakening this ghost and in recovering in literature the traces of an Indian presence" (3). However, I would suggest it is time we address this absent/presence not as a haunting, but as still *present* contestations, cultural assertions, and traumas of both Native American and other peoples of tribal descent (African, Latinidad, Cajun, Creole, Mestizo, Métis, etc) in the Americas. [5] If we think of events not as historical, but rather as acts on lands (geographically connected), then time is not a linear factor linking happenings; those events become landbased, linked to the peoples who occupy certain spaces. To regulate Indigenous land, people, and language (the names given place-marker to land- thereby invoking active memories of our Peoples) is to further silence and disenfranchise us from the writing of our own story, the record keeping of our own lands, and as active participants in our intersecting pasts, presents, and futures. We are tied to our land. Our land, like our blood, keeps memory. It is in Choctaw *yakni isht ikhana*: land memories, land record keeper.

Native stories and dialogue "pull all the elements together of a storyteller's tribe, meaning their people, the land, and multiple characteristics and all their manifestations and revelations and connect these in past, present and future milieus" (Howe "The Story" 42). In essence, LeAnne Howe is distilling Native story and geography into simple terminology or philosophy of meaning-making inheritance: "tribalography." Event, geography (land), tribe, and memory, are interconnected. Memory of an event or events is intrinsically connected to specific terrains and bodies of peoples. In her interview with Kirstin Squint, Howe comments on Native concepts of time as being land-based, affirming that "land is past tense and present tense at the same time. The land actually is a wonderful space in physics that is all things at once—past, present, and future" (Howe qtd Squint 219). Rather than seeing land as something that can be subsumed, erased, and written over, in chronologically mapped temporality, Howe's tribalography would have us comprehend place-centered events in a more holistic manner. Western concepts of time cause events to be historicized and therefore compartmentalized, seen as removed, and when these history-removals rise up in contemporary literature, they become echoes, fractured manifestations, or hauntings, rather than actualized meaningful events connected to geographic places. Jodi Byrd asserts that "within American Indian epistemologies *where* something takes place is more important than when, and the land itself…remembers" (118). Thadious M. Davis illustrates this same idea through the theoretical concept of "Southscapes." Southscapes are "a social, political, cultural, and economic construct" acknowledging "the connection between society and environment as a way of thinking about how raced human beings are impacted by the shape of the land" (2). This social and environmental understanding of regionality is particularly relevant to Louisiana's Indigenous and occupied (paracolonial) spaces.

Tortoise Traipsing Swampland: Performin and Preservin Bayou and Identity

In writing from this Indigenous perspective of land I am again drawing from the idea that culture rises up from a land into a people. For Indigenous people tied as community, I would argue that it is ultimately to be grounded within the Peoplehood matrix to invoke Tom Holm's most accurate redescription of the interwoven balance between language, sacred history, religion (ceremonial cycle), and land. Like our blood, the land keeps our memory. In her poem, “Word Works,” New Orleans Creole Poet MonaLisa Saloy explores this concept most readily. Saloy offers up the notion that the very possibility of her poetics is connected to the rich culture of her home city. Saloy is “about” how her expression is connected to New Orleans, where she “work[s] up a gumbo of culture, / stamped and certified African, / delivered on southern American soil” (2-4). It is through this close connection to the land and its culture, marked by the transnational colonialism of its peoples and scars that the poem creates a language that “paints pictures of galait /and grits…, / sittin’ under gallery shades, / wearin the afternoon /like a new dress” (9-11;13-14). Saloy references Creole food, *galait* (a form of frybread) alongside traditional southern food, grits, whose grandmother we know as the Mvskogean staple *tanfula* or *sofkee*. She calls into being the humid heat where culture and language seek refuge together under side and shotgun porches. It is an experience of being intricately connected to land as “birthright” giving her a “sense of place” which gets under her flesh, “like a swamp leech or good story’ (15-18). Saloy’s poetics of expression come from the embodiment of lived land from a regional experience, so when I begin this section with the epigraph: “I’m about how words/ work up a gumbo of culture…/ This, is my birthright,/ gives a sense of place/ that gets under your skin/ like a swamp leech or a good story/ out for blood,” I seek to ground us within two distinct concepts, the first being place. The swampy bayous and tourist driven cities, outta way juke joints and legendary music stops, causeways and neutral ground, truly humid land meeting water, circum-Caribbean, Southern space of Southern Louisiana. Secondly, I seek to embody land within the performativity of

Indigenous storytelling culture-ways, in the case of this chapter section, on prose and music.

Land is at the center of all concepts, or as I am accused of, all concepts I write about, particularly Louisiana land. The landscape of Louisiana is one dominated by water, from the Gulf of Mexico, to river delta, to bayou swampland, prairie pines, and large cities. Louisiana's narrative has been both mythologized and iconized based on the nature of —its nature. In this geographic space called Louisiana, that seems to float on water, it is at once Gulf, Caribbean, Southern, and has been French, Spanish, Mexican, and American; yet is always Indigenous. From the homespaces of its four federally recognized tribes, seven state tribes, and several mestiz@/métis/mixedblood peoples who are part of the Indigenous Louisiana/Gulf diaspora, these communities' land, memory, and identity are intricately tied to the geography of bayou-wetland spaces. In *Shadow and Shelter,* Anthony Wilson points out, "In the South, wetlands are and always have been, for all their shifts in topic and iconographic significance, a tangible reality. The specter of their loss has profoundly shaped Southern cultural traditions" (Wilson). This is never more evident than in the Post-Katrina Hollywood moment. Deforestation, erosion, and even Hollywood, have marked how members of Louisiana's Indigenous diaspora wetlands engage with the processes of preservation and identity formation. "…The swamp itself carries profoundly different significance for groups not included in the idealized Southern Society" says Wilson. Members withheld from the canon of Southern literature and concepts of "expected" Indianness often do not fit into either Southern spaces of expression nor often Pan-Indian, or hipster I wanna read "the Crying Indian Dude while wearing my ironic headdress shirt" moments of affinity and so-called multicultural inclusion. The bayous and swamps of Louisiana, and yes, the cities, and even plantations, have been the sites of Louisiana Indian experience. However when it comes to swampy bayou spaces: "perceiving the swamps as pure ideas rather than as dialogic participants in cultural definition risks occluding their significance in the formation and evolution of multiple Southern cultures," warns Wilson. I see seek to address here two Indigenous-descended cultures tied to swamp gulf spaces, not as through "tropes of significance" but as Wilson calls us to do a "physical reality"(Wilson) one that impacts and is so impacted by the peoples and Peoplehoods who call its space and intersections home.

We begin where most Louisiana newbies love to begin, and where most folks think the colonial history of Louisiana begins—New Orleans (though Natchitoches pre-dates New Orleans by two years). Prior to contact, we as Indigenous peoples were inter-connected on a massive scale through tribal relations and trading. The land of Louisiana and even what we call New Orleans, Alexandria, and Natchitoches, have long been a nexuses of trade and ports of meeting since before European contact. In New Orleans, build on bayou, swamp, trade lands, and the Gulf mouth of the Mississippi, from Indian towns along Bayou St. John to seasonal meetings with other tribes to trade, as we call it now Uptown, north of Canal street, there is history in land and water. The geography of the terrain influenced and influences not only tribal culture but *also* the modern culture of the richly diverse populations who call NOLA home. "New Orleans is a space imbued with multiple temporalities fueled by the fossil structured of its colonial past" (Cartwright 131). The fertile cultural mixtures and history woven through Indigenous, African, French, Spanish and American (meaning multi-ethnic) influences, rises up from the land of water and red, black soil of Louisiana for folks like Carolyn Dunn and Roger Emile Stouff, and for certain artist like MonaLisa Saloy and Coco Robicheaux New Orleans particularly. “New Orleans is a space imbued with multiple temporalities fueled by the fossil structured of its colonial past” (131). These memories form meaning making systems by the way of “word works,” prose and preservations, and persona performativity’s, inherently coloring the history and culture of the people and their artists. Cultural Literacies, Cultural Rhetorics, ways of meaning making and embodies histories from material culture to blood memory, orality to music, basket weaving to beadwork.

Louisiana blues artist, sculptor, and actor, Coco Robicheaux (October 25, 1947 – November 25, 2011); born as Curtis John Arceneaux, was a native of Ascension Parish, Southeast Louisiana, and the son mixedblood Choctaw and Cajun parents on both sides, according to his own statements, in an interview with Ned Sublette. He was a staple of the New Orleans music scene from his teen years through to his walking on in 2011, an event marked in true New Orleans Creole style, drawing the best local and loved musicians to Second-Line him to, I assume “Cross the Log” to the other side in good Choctaw fashion. Robicheaux known for his styles of “hoodoo blues” follows in the tradition of folks like Henry Roeland "Roy" Byrd, better known as Professor Longhair, whose likeness Robicheaux sculpted in front of Tipitina’s, and is oft compared with fellow, more widely renowned, New Orleans contemporary Malcolm John Rebennack, Jr. aka Dr. John. While my reading of Robicheaux is not through a lens of musical theory and Indians within popular music and activism- I leave placing Robicheaux in that conversation (for now), to John Troutman and Kim Lee. Nor do I attempt to address him as a blues scholar to render his lyricism as an Indigenous poetic in blues vernacular, Ron Welburn (Gingaskin & Assateague, Cherokee, African American) and Honoree Fannone Jeffers (African American/Cherokee) are far better equipped to do so. My goal here is to attempt to place Coco within a dialectic of Louisiana Indigeneity and performativity as connected to landbase and identity formation. In this paper I place him in conversation with Roger Stouff, last hereditary chief of the Chitimacha, fly fisherman extraordinaire, self-publishing author, and local newspaper journalist. In my dissertation, the two form transnational literary Indigenous traces in conversation with Carolyn Dunn, Sybil Kein, and LeAnne Howe.

Robicheaux's 1998 release, *Louisiana Medicine Man*, opens to the ambient cacophony of swamp sounds at night, frogs, water, night bird calls before the guitar, drums and fiddle music begin and Coco sings in his signature raspy style:

> Well I'm sitting on a stump in the middle of the swamp tonight…
> prowlin like a cottonmouth, way down low and outta sight.
> I know things ain't right, got into trouble with this alligator…
> The state of Louisiana made itself clear, there ain't but one way outta here.
> Sitting on a stump in the middle of the swamp tonight (1-3; 7-8).

While it might seem simpler to say one is "between a rock and a hard place," in the blues, as Robicheaux knows, a metaphor, like life, is never that simple. I would venture, as Native man; moreover, a mixedblood Indian man, Robicheaux was doubly aware that things never gonna be that simple. So he might as well stay "way down low and outta sight." As I listen to the blues driven swamp rock of this song it reminds me of issues of identity for Native peoples in the colonized Americas. Outside of cultural and literary notions and concepts of "expected" Indianness Robicheaux grounds his Indigeneity as both one of Choctaw and Cajun within land (yes I include Cajuns in the Indigenous diaspora, see Carl Brasseaux, Andrew Jolivétte, the UN Declaration and Definition on the Indigenous Peoples and Rights, and or my work in *Louisiana Folklife* or *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*); the metaphor and orality culturally tied to land base. From Cajun Alligator trapping and the original Alligator clans of the Chahta people of west Mississippi and east Louisiana, to the treaties and negotiations we Mvskogeans made with *Okla Sinti*, the Snake Nation, though Cottonmouth was always the ornery one. As exiles, Acadians, who had intermarried with Indians from Nova Scotia and Manitoba down the coast and with both French (white) Creoles and Louisiana (Creoles of Color), and more tribal peoples (Chitimacha, Houma, Choctaw, Atakapa), Cajuns, though some would say that at this point they are Louisiana Creoles (and so a new debate in Louisiana Creole Studies rages) were now firmly ensconced in the land of the other exiled, those not quite part of the center, on the margins and in the bayous. Wilson writes "the swamp is typically defined as an area outside civilization whose geographical features—notably its treacherous mix of water and earth—render it resistant to colonization or agriculture" (xiv). These spaces, resistant to colonization, become a place where those most affected by paracolonial occupation have sought community refuge, highlighting swamp and bayous mysterious mojo qualities as menacing and "navigable by those that society rejects" (Wilson 14). Those who society reject take stories into them, culture from land into bodies, and carry them embodied in the self. People of water and black and red land, alligators, trappers, fishermen and francophone, respectful of treaties with water and snakes. So when caught between a rock and a hard place, one lays low, poised like a "cotton mouth…outta sight."

Before moving to Coco's hoodoo/voodoo embodied rhetorics I want to touch on Roger Stouff's attention to landbase. Similar to Robicheaux , Stouff a member of the Chitimacha Nation paternally and a Louisiana Cajun maternally, grounds his work in their Southeast Louisiana homelands, specifically Charenton (St. Mary Parish), the seat of the Chitimacha. Stouff relies on tribalography to embody oral narratives of Peoplehood while simultaneously invoking the performativity of fishing, a traditional practice of Chitimacha, to call attention to landbase and its tie to Peoplehood and land conservation. In both *Native Waters: An Indigenous Fly Fisher's Journey Across Time and Water* (2005) and *The Great Sadness: Indigenous Angling and the Loss of Home* (2012), Stouff begins his narrative with Chitimacha oral tradition. In *Native Waters,* it is the story of the creation of the land and Crawfish, in *The Great Sadness,* is the roll of the messenger Kich, a wren like bird who speaks the Chitimacha language. Both books follow a seasonal trajectory, yet move non-linearly, as landscape takes Stouff's storytelling back and forth to events situated by homespace landmarks rather than season or linear time. "The power of homescapes and the relational, therapeutic politics they generate are animated by stories, songs, and signs radiating outward from their many known and tended places as well as from the ceremonies human beings perform within their boundaries" (Clark and Powell 6). These homescapes guide Stouff's tale of Peoplehood, that " culturally specific understanding of Native forms of knowledge," (Stratton and Washburn 55), which recognize "language, sacred history, religion (ceremonial cycle), and land" are "interwoven and dependent on one another" (Holm et al 11-12). So Stouff tells us: "This is how my world begins. The Creator of all things moved in thunder across the great sphere of water and knew that perfection was the sole proprietorship of gods, so he formed the land. He did this by commanding crawfish to swim down below the waters and, doing what crawfish still does today bring up mud into a mound like a volcano's throat...” (Stouff *Native* 1). Upon finishing the story of the creation, Stouff reflects: “there are only three things constant from aft of my life to where I now sit... Crawfish continues to build the land, water continues to confront it, and the infinite journey between the two" (1).

The traditional lands he fishes, and his father and great grandfather and many tribes’ men before him fished are now polluted and feeling decades of impacts from man-made encroachments of canal and levies. Along the Bayou Teche, Stouff writes: “the brown water scarcely moves, and it has fallen so much I can see the things that, in the summer and fall lurked beneath. Shards of broken glass and ceramic; aluminum cans turned black with sludge in mud; chunks of foam and fragments of fishing tackle, muddy nylon braided from which dangle rusty hooks dulled by the waters rush. Winter reveals to humanity refuse as its ignorance” (2). Moreover, “the last half century, the oil industry sliced and diced the marsh into irregular rectangles, dismantling it a piece at a time. Dredges pulled the great clam and oyster reefs up and redeposited them in driveways, roadbeds and building foundations. While the basin filled up, the coast was vanishing” (*Sadness*). With recent attention in the wake of Katrina and Rita, now nine years past the BP disaster, countless big oil spills and clashes, and the ongoing battle against the transnational XL pipeline, we reflect on how we go about our journey to the Mississippi River, to Southern Louisiana, the Gulf of Mexico and New Orleans. As Keith Cartwright calls us to in our journeys to the mouth of the river port of this city, we remain vigilant :" difficult tasks of listening to subalternized voices that are poorly represented, if recorded at all... These voices that would balance our vision and open our eyes to clashing energies and contradictory impulses have been censored, silenced, and ignored. Nevertheless, we have available more (and richer) textual resources in the New Orleans literary corpus then we tend to realize" (101). Taking Cartwright's call alongside Stouff's poignant juxtaposition of tribal narrative and modern eco-terrorism those familiar with Monique Verdin (United Houma Nation) and Sharon Linzo Hong's *My Louisiana Love* (2012), or Rebecca Marshal Ferris (Biloxi-Choctaw-Chitimacha) *Can't Stop the Water* (2014), may find some symbiosis in the prose of Stouff and the films, including the Atchafalaya southern basin setting and Gulf settings, and see an emerging Indigenous Louisiana call to arms.

Juxtaposed against the reality of the changing environment and the pollution Stouff aligns tradition within modernity of land loss. For example, he reminisces saying: "Long after crawfish created the world at the Creator's command a giant snake came up on my ancestors. From tail to fang, it stretch from what would be Port Barre to Morgan City" (*Native* 3). After the Chitimacha warriors dispatch the snake, "where its gargantuan body lay and decomposed a deep ravine formed and water flowed into it... When it filled my father's grandfather's called it *teche*, their word for snake... Here... [in the] Graceful poetic balance of water and land in ...swamps and marshes the towering salt domes…[we] forever more became Sheti imasha people of many waters" (3-4). This is tribalography in action. Tribalography, one may recall is pulling all elements of a storyteller's person, tribe and history into account and is an active way in which Native people make meaning of the world around us (Howe 42). The inscriptions of the tribal stories and familial memory *reaffirm* Stouff's identity and connection to homespace. He draws upon tribalography, this interconnected sense of memory, and putting into practice calls the past into the present, and future of his geographic space, reinforcing his Indigeneity as connected to the lands he inhabits in Louisiana, defying linear concepts of time in his performative construction, and calls up land memory, *yakni isht ikhana* of a time before, when the land was without scars of man-man pollutants. This becomes both an act of affirmation to his ancestral lands and a protest to the current environmental state of Chitimacha homeland.

If Stouff works through a structure of Peoplehood and tribalography in a landbased nonlinear performative to assert his Chitimacha-Cajun Indigeneity, then I would venture Robicheaux operates through transnational traces of Louisiana Indigeneity, flavored with the multitudes of Indigenous histories of New Orleans, the Middle Passage, San Doming, and the result of multigenerational metis heritage in Louisiana. What Kimberly Wieser (Roppolo) might call Chocticity, based on her notions of Cherokicity, in her work *Back to the Blanket*, the remnants of Cherokee cultural, or cultural approximations found in multigenerational disenfranchised descendants whose communities or families had lost solid Peoplehood matrixes. In Robicheaux's case I would venture to a lost claim of Choctaw Peoplehood, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Mississippi, or Alabama is replaced by Chocticity and a New Orleans metis transnational Indigeneity that certainly reflects how New Orleans "rises from an undead time-space of imagination that has crossed through erasures of history and waves of trauma" (Cartwright 128). While Stouff's work is tribally identifiable as Chitimacha, not only through his assertion as such, but through its tribalography connecting it to a Chitimacha Peoplehood matrix: land, language, ceremony, tribal orality (history), Robicheaux is connected to landbase most assuredly, wetlands of New Orleans and Accession Parish, but rather than connect to specific Choctaw language, ceremony, and orality (history) he invokes ceremonial a transnational New Orleans performativity alongside a Pan-Indian or multigenerational Chocticity, general Southeastern displays of Indigeneity in mannerism and dress. Often performing in his signature fringed leather vest and beaded snakeskin or cowboy hat (worthy of any Indian in jeans, ribbon shirt and cowboy boots in Oklahoma), and variously feather and bead bedecked guitar straps, Coco, also weaves in to both his lyrics and performances references and practices of Southern Hoodoo and New Orleans Voodoo. In the chorus of the title track to *Louisiana Medicine Man*, Robicheaux sings: "Won't be long before you learn of my existence I rule the bayou land…I'm out in the wood collecting all the herb I can. I got my gris-gris dust, my mojo hand. Got to be good I'm a Louisiana Medicine Man" (Robicheaux). While Coco refers to being a "Louisiana Medicine Man" the English translation of Choctaw *alikchi*, medicine man, healer, holy man, he recounts practices of root working, hoodoo: "garbaling for roots" and Louisiana Voodoo "gris-gris." Further, his performance in HBO's *Treme* episode, "Meet de Boys on de Battle Front" where he performs "Walking with the Spirit" during D.J. Davis's radio show he ends with a "ceremonial" sacrificing of a chicken in reverence of Erzulie Dantor, the Iwa (Loa-Diety Sprit) of New Orleans, sometimes known as the "Black Madonna." In these Indigenous embodied rhetorics of performativity rather than ground himself within Choctaw traditions; he grounds himself to New Orleans space and the transnational histories of occupations, Indigenous, African, and cirum-Caribbean. What can become problematic, particularly for Native Nationalists is the turn to New Orleans Voodoo and

Hoodoo as seen through the gaze of tourism and performativity (acting) rather than embodied cultural rhetorics of meaning-making (performativity) multigenerational familial and landbased systems of survival. As Jessica Adams points out "in the absence of written histories, as well as in their presence, the past travels through bodies: the body itself is a site of documented and remembrance. The circum-Caribbean emerged out of the radical upheavals of the Middle Passage, the subsequent confluence of African, European, and Native American… It emerges out of the preeminence of oral transitions among slave and Native American cultures as well as among illiterate whites…" (7). For those whose multigenerational Indigenous histories are fractured, yet still tied to their landbase, but impacted by the transnational, transracial, and paracolonial occupations their homelands, embodied rhetorics of performativity take on a host of new meanings, complications, and implications when it comes to Indigenous identities.

Multigenerational Indigeneity from both big M to little metis in Canada to Mestizo Mexicanos to various Louisiana Creole and Cajun enclaves (all the above depending on family and community) have varying degrees of tribal specifically when it comes to sustained traditions, and many share multi-tribal lineages. Welcome to conversations on transnational transracial Indigeneity and how we connect those with Peoplehood and sovereignty. Yet, some may think I am quick to commend Stouff for his connection to Peoplehood and call out Robicheaux for his transnational transracial literary traces, I again take us to Keith Cartwright's *Sacral Grooves and Limbo Gateways*: "In such a living 'environments of memory' as New Orleans, prone to be coming near 'places' of memory (archival, monumental, tourist-oriented), we encounter a performance culture that sustains its own networking of community… Even nigh-clichéd staples of tourism may be enduringly charged with a relational ethos and a performative Gulf-authority" (131-132). Perhaps the very transactional, transracial echo of memory that rises up from the land into music and performativity, even though it might be nuanced with the tourist driven Voodoo/Hoodoo flare of Dumain to Bourbon streets, marks Robicheaux with a unique New Orleans Indigeneity, while not Choctaw, he inhabit s a Chocticity, and an echo, a memory in land into the culture of music, while Stouff is connected to Peoplehood.

Turtle’s Transnational Travels: Chahta Creole Two-Steps

The South is not isolated; it is a global, transracial, transnational space (Regis 1). Louisiana holds within its territories intensely multilayered histories influenced by the Gulf transnational current itself. These events inhabit the land and keep memories, yakni isht ikhana — memories that rise up from land, as does culture as we have seen in Saloy, Robicheaux, and Stouff. Culture rises up from land into people. Louisiana’s history of racial mixing has given rise to specific Indigenous descended communities. As mentioned, it is important not to forget, Louisiana has four federally recognized tribes: Tunica-Biloxi (made of Tunica, Choctaw, Biloxi, Ofo, and Avoyel descendants), Chitimacha, Coushatta, and Jena Band of Choctaw. There are also seven state recognized tribes: Adais Caddo Indians, Biloxi-Chitimacha-Choctaw Confederation of Muskogee, Choctaw-Apache of Ebarb, Clifton Choctaw, Four Winds Tribe -Louisiana Cherokee Confederacy (including Cherokee, Choctaw, Atakapa-Ishak, and Acadian-Micmac), Point-Au-Chien Tribe, and the United Houma Nation. There are also several mestizo/métis/mixedblood peoples who are part of the Indigenous diaspora with genetic, genealogical, and cultural ties to federal and state tribal communities including but not limited to Louisiana Creoles, Cajuns, and Redbones.

As many Louisiana historians and inhabitants know, Louisiana is a state that carries complex laws and histories of miscegenation. This chronicle of racial weaving has formed a specific Creole culture that encompasses kinship, events, and geographies connecting to Louisiana Indian communities, including Houmas, Choctaws, Tunica-Biloxis and many others. While there has been much debate about what Louisiana Creole culture and heritage is, particularly in reference to the later French European populations and other mestizo or creolized/mixedblood populations in Louisiana, Louisiana Creole and American Indian scholar Andrew Jolivétte (Louisiana Creole/ Atakapa-Ishak/Choctaw/Cherokee) provides one of the most culturally and community centered definitions of Creole identity as it relates to both American Indian and African descent and inheritance. In his work *Louisiana Creoles: Cultural Recovery and Mixed-Race Native American Identity*, Jolivétte--through work with the Creole Heritage Center in Natchitoches, Louisiana--states: “Louisiana Creoles are defined as peoples of mixed American Indian, African, French, and Spanish ancestry who reside in or have familial ties to Louisiana” (6). Furthermore, Jolivétte roots Creoles within the processes of mestizaje, historically and culturally linking them to Latinidad[6]:

> After all, the Creole people of Louisiana who self-identify as multiracial can directly connect their ancestry and culture to the peoples of France, West Africa, Spain and to the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. More importantly the history of colonialism that created the people of Latin America and the Caribbean is the same social, political, economic, linguistic, and cultural process that produced the Creole culture in the state of Louisiana (*Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad* 1).

Jolivétte's work addresses modern Louisiana Creoles' embracement of not only a multi-racial identity, but the reclaiming of their Latinidad roots. However, this is not to say the Louisiana Creoles have not claimed complex mestizo identities throughout our narrative histories. Intricate issues due to Jim Crow segregation, exclusion from both white and black communities, Indian Removal, and Indian Termination and Relocation all had serious impacts on Creole peoples and their perceptions within both home communities and (more importantly) outside communities. It has been outside colonizing forces of settler-politics that have often written the definitions of Louisiana Creole identity. As Jolivétte insists, a "specific threat of a multiracial majority in Louisiana posed serious problems….In order to successfully expel both Creoles and Indians, as well as to erase any connections between the groups, a new racial categorization system had to be implemented. The success of this new classificatory system depended on the construction of whiteness and blackness as monolithic descriptors" (*Louisiana Creoles* 96). Therefore, Creoles, who historically spoke Louisiana Creole (a language with French, Native American, and African influences) and defined themselves as "mixed…an offspring of the Old world [Native] and the New [African, European]," were thrown into a system where they were not a part of either the white or black society, but rather forced into one descriptor or the other (Colson 7). According to Janet Ravare Colson, a founder and leader of the Creole Heritage Center in Natchitoches, this denial of acknowledging the rich multiracial history and perseverance of Louisiana Creoles and their formation of communities that foster family and culture in the face of binary oppression is the result of "being misunderstood, misrepresented, and misinterpreted" (7).

Into this complex Indigenous inheritance Carolyn Dunn was born and raised. Dunn is the daughter of a Cherokee, Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole-Choctaw (Freedman) father from Oklahoma and a Tunica-Choctaw-Biloxi, Creole-Cajun mother. Her grandparents relocated to Los Angeles from Louisiana, making Carolyn a second generation Louisiana-Oklahoma Indian-Creole in the California diaspora (Dunn "How I Gots"). Known mostly as a Mvskoke/Cherokee poet, playwright, academic, and musician, Dunn's Louisiana Indigeneity has been eclipsed often by her association with the "Mvskoke Divas"-a name given to Dunn, Joy Harjo (Mvskoke /Cherokee), and Arigon Starr (Kickapoo/Mvskoke) for their workshops, plays performed in tandem, and downright Mvskogean badassery. While Dunn's work with the Mvskoke Divas should garner attention, as should her recent award winning play *The Frybread Queen,* and role as director of the "Violence Against Women Act" (VAWA) play *Sliver of a Full Moon*, her academic attention to intersections of Louisiana Indigeneity and her identity as not just a Mvskoke Creek/Cherokee but a Tunica-Choctaw-Biloxi Creole root her in a series of songs, stories, and traditions:

> My American Indian blood comes from…the tribes of the Southeast, from Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama... I grew up listening to the family stories and the creation stories of how we came to be, and how we traced our lineage all the way back to the Old Country…being the old national, tribal boundaries and into the new nations after Removal. As I began my own journey as a poet, as a playwright, as a storyteller and a singer, learning from family and friends, I knew that as a second generation Californian, the Old Country to us was not another continent but a place that was just east of our modern homeland of Los Angeles…The stories of ―home: became a lifeline for me, a connection to my ancestors who survived the unimaginable so that I could live…I was an Indian from California, I wasn't a California Indian. I came from somewhere else. (Dunn "Carrying the Fire Home" 2-3).

From her tribalographic perspective, land memory— that is past and future, yakni isht ikhana— rises up through the land into her ancestors, and is carried through the blood to inform the language of Dunn's poetry. This is what Kiowa author and scholar N. Scott Momaday calls "blood memory," and it flows into the very being of Dunn who recognizes its inseparability from herself, so that culture and homespace are intrinsically connected to the geographic tribal spaces of her Gulf ancestors.

We see something of this -in "The Knot at the End of the World," which Dunn begins in intricately braided Native/Hoodoo fashion:

> Each knot of a curse
> Formed long before
> The Maker of Breath
> Sang us into life (1-4).

In referencing the curses that plague "us," the knots of the "curse" call to Louisiana Creole cultural traditions inherent in Louisiana Hoodoo and Voodoo. [7] The "cursing knot" was used to set a malady upon an individual, while tying knots in rope, string, or kerchiefs (for good or poor fortune) could bring the desired result with the proper incantation and gris-gris. By calling to the process of knotting, Dunn roots herself to her Creole cultural heritage. "The Maker of Breath" is literally the English translated equivalent of *Hesaketvmese*, the Mvskoke word for God, that which created us, breathed us, spoke us into being. It is also this action that reminds us of the constant responsibility of our language: speech, thought, action, reality. Within the first four lines, like four directions, Dunn has acknowledged the places and people who have sung her into being, the Mvskogean peoples and the Creole-Cajuns of the Southeast. She continues a theme of connecting land and memory from her place within diaspora:

This world repeats
The presence of spirits
And the land that
Speaks to the past (8-11).

Dunn's repeating world works to destabilize the concept of linear time and the fixed colonial project or "mission" that allow a narrative silencing of Indigenous peoples. Here Dunn relocates Indigenous peoples in the present, as we are within the sensibilities, actions, and governing systems that shape Indigenous Southscapes and Nationhoods. The "presence of spirits" as both memories and ancestors, connected to "the land" that repeats and speaks, works to unite land, ancestors, and blood memories. The spirits speak because they are tied to a specific geographic location to which Dunn is likewise inherently tied through land, blood, and memory, and through culture risen up from land into people.

With this "Knot at the End of the World," Dunn connects "passing dots, constellation by/ constellation" charting a connection between herself in space/place and "the first woman/…/ named into being" (13-14;17). In doing so, she unites the land memory inherent in her person, "tear[ing] song" from "static…/ air" (23-25). Ultimately, this action sings the female speaker into the web of existence, from loss, and "forgotten" "graces" or curses formed in the "knot" before we were born (28;30):

Entering
into the song
…I
have named in her
honor…
I sang the oldest story
I knew…
she was still here
with me
watching (33-34;36-38; 40-41;43-45)

Dunn as speaker is inscribed by her Louisiana homelands as a Creole and Tunica-Choctaw-Biloxi, and by her Alabama, Mississippi, and Oklahoma homelands as a Mvskoke (Creek), Cherokee, and Choctaw / Seminole Freedman. Yet this space of connection is one of knowing survivals through diasporas and through geographic removals. As an Indigenous (breath-making/breath-made) body continuously connected to (despite diaspora) the events and narratives that take place on the land, this poem explores how places/spaces, cultures, and awareness reconverge in persons and memory: "she…still here/with me." In other words, these memories and performances shape the ability to "reinvent, re-imagine (in the form of poetry), and reconceptualize the concepts of home: apart from the physical landscape but within the body as well" (Dunn "Carrying the Fire" *vi*).

Creoles, like other Indigenous descended mestizo/métis peoples have kin ties to communities, peoples, and the Southscape of Louisiana that pre-date U.S. statehood. Land grants from the French and Spanish, longstanding Native land claims, and rights as *gens de couleur libres* (free peoples of color), have often been discounted through white/black binary structures that ignored Indigenous land claims under foreign governments (Klopotek 53-54) and designated race based on white/ black phenotype structures (Dominquez 46; 207). The laws of such binary racial structures worked to negate Indian identity entirely (Klopetek 50-55). These historic and political structures within southern space--and Louisiana specifically--bleed into the literature. As Simon Ortiz asserts, land and Indigenous peoples have an "inextricable relationship… Land and people are interdependent. In fact they are one…" (qtd in Rader and Gould 43). The resultant ways (often rendered in culinary representations) in which "cultural and racial practices, bloodlines, and experiences have long bled fluidly into one another" (Taylor 174) establish the core (or roux) of Sybil Kein's Louisiana Creole poetry.[8]

Kein's poetic vision calls us to recognize these fluidities of Creole inheritance:

> We are descendants of the French, the Spanish,
> the Africans, the Indian,…
> …Gombo People…
> Our rich culture serves as our common bond…
> …do not throw away the spice
> because it is too light or too dark ("La Chaudiére" 5-7;9-11).

In what Mary L. Morton calls a "humorous Creole rendition of 'the melting pot'" (318), Kein plays with language and notions of separatism based on color and events of passé blanc (passing for white) in Louisiana, directing her commentary at Louisiana Cajuns. The phenomenon of Cajuns as white can be traced to Jim Crow segregation and Acadian movements of the 1960s.[9] The title of the poem, "La Chaudiére Pélé La Gregue" (The Pot Calls the Coffee Pot) "derives from an old proverb for name calling" (319). The repercussions of Jim Crow passé blanc — the denying of relatives based on skin tone for their African and Indian heritage— lives in the contemporary lives of Louisiana Creole people, yet the "Gombo" culture, the "spice" that gives both Creoles and Cajuns living cultural identity (Indigenous, African, European- mestizo), remains vital.

The Southscape called Louisiana is a Gulf of contested and combined (or creolized) histories and identities: southern, African, Indigenous, Mexican, French, Spanish, Caribbean, and American. Given Louisiana's French and Spanish colonial history, "many early settlers were of mixed French Indian and/or Spanish Indian ancestry… [and] the words *mestizo* (Spanish) and *métis* (French) are and have been used to refer to the offspring of Europeans and Indians within Louisiana…Creole peoples" (Cranford-Gomez 99). The meeting of mestizo creative processes has created distinct cultural practices tied to the peoples inhabiting these same lands their Indigenous ancestors have inhabited: a meeting of the Old World and the New, as Janet Ravare Colson has put it .

Meetings of linguistic, culinary, musical, and danced performance traditions converge in "At Lafayette" as Kein notes how

> Creole cowboys with their
> lovely women dance zydeco
> two step, waltz, so gently
> …the music sings of three centuries…
> We are European, Indian and African,
> But we are also American (1-4; 10-11).

These men of color— not unlike the American Indians in neighboring Oklahoma, or their Texas and Mexican mestizo *caballero* relatives— share an Indigenous based musical presence where *Banda,*[10] two-step, and zydeco meet alongside country-western fashions, as they "promenade" their ladies. Louisiana Creoles "dance" zydeco from Gulfs between: "between languages, between races" (Malena 49). Louisiana and its Creoles move to the beat of Afro-Indian-Caribbean drummers (49). Zydeco, like its progenitor, the Creole la-la, comes from this Gulf confluence. Born on Indigenous land, from the rhythmic shuffle shake call and response (caller and answer chorus) of Southeast Stomp Songs (much like their influence on southern blues and gospel), using the *frotoir* (rubboard), the spoons, and the métis fiddle (played in the rhythmic, pluck and drum style of the Canadian métis) in place of turtle shell shakers; this music also weaves cane-drummed Afro-Caribbean Bamboula with its male to female dance partnering.[11] Three centuries of music, representing Gulf-crossings of race and culture, attest to a presence older than the United States, as well as to the racial and cultural make-up of Louisiana Creole peoples while at the same time affirming that *we* are still part of the American landscape and narrative: “We are European, Indian, and African / But we are also American” (Kein 10-11).

Kein ends one of the last lines of her poem with the statement: “Here lives the blood of my ancestors” (22). In doing so, she accomplishes two things. One, she unites the tri-racial blood and culture of African, Indian, and European, as something new, a mestizo/ metis people. Métis comes from the Latin "miscere" or “mixticius,” meaning to mix. Used in French-speaking colonies, it described children of Indian women and French men. Métis, in Greek mythology was a Titan, mother of Athena, and patron Goddess of crafting and weaving skills; in this sense Métis becomes linked to weaving— to create, a new race, a people (Goméz “Gumbo Banaha”). Second, “Here lives the blood of my ancestors” (22) grounds Creoles to the landscape, to Louisiana, creating a bond between people and land. Kein’s poem grounds her speaker to her Creole identity since her blood “carries within herself the many painful” events of her people and their Indigeneity, tied to community and the land (Malena 57). Grounding the poem and title with landscape: “At Lafayette” situates the poem within a specific tribalographic space. Lafayette, located along the Vermillion River, is at the crossroads of Creole-Cajun country in southwest Louisiana. Moreover, Lafayette is not only homespace to Creoles but to Choctaws and the Atakapa Ishak people. The Atakapa became absorbed “to form new and distinct hybrid communities” (Jolivétte *Louisiana Creoles* 19). Andrew Jolivétte, referencing anthropologist and linguist Herbert

Singleton, notes that a study of the Atakapa Ishak exposes numerous cultural and linguistic connections to the area's Creole population, "indicate[ing] that they are indeed the same people" (61). Hence, Kein's poem is located in this landbase through blood and culture, drawing on "multiple characteristics… their manifestations and revelations … in past, present and future milieus" (Howe "The Story" 42). This is significant to Indigenous literatures because as Jace Weaver (Cherokee), Craig Womack and Robert Warrior (Osage) point out, "identity has to be relevant and pertinent to other elements and factors, having to do with land, culture, and community for Indigenous people" (xi). Kein's work does just this, while affirming Creoles's active place and voice. Her work is Indigenous to the land, because as a Louisiana Creole, a product of mestizaje, she is Indigenous, through blood, culture, and her tribalographic perspective.

In her 2011 publication, *Reconstructing the Native South: American Indian Literature and the Lost Cause,* Melanie Benson Taylor scrutinizes the contentiously interwoven relationships of southerners and their Indigenous forbearers. Taylor reminds readers that "notions of historical specificity and correlation have especially potent ramifications on southern soil, where maps of shared trauma and rebuilding have given way to common vocabularies, cruel thefts, and undeniably entangled communities" (209). These traumas, thefts, and entangled communities are perhaps no more obvious than in the Indigenous diaspora of Louisiana, and in the Red/Black narratives of the Deep South. Traumas of land and slavery, notions of Indigeneity and chaotic mixed messages of tricksters collide in LeAnne Howe's prose work, "The Chaos of Angels."

"The Chaos of Angels" was first published in *Callaloo,* a journal specializing in African American and African Diaspora literatures, and later included in her collection

Evidence of Red. The text follows a Choctaw woman in New Orleans amid a myriad of historical flashbacks, popular culture references (including *Star Wars*), jazz sound-trackings, sexual experiences, and encounters with settler-colonialism. While in the presence of Choctawan homespaces, the female narrator revisits spiritually, historically, and through tribal memory many of the events that construct the current paracolonial narrative of modern New Orleans. These events seem to collide and bleed across space and time: "you would not call them memories, but something given by blood" (Howe 31). This manifests itself in the appearances of the Frenchman Bienville, to whom the Choctaws and their relatives the Bayougoulas "traded" the site, "swampland" flood waters of New Orleans (Howe 25-26).[12] The protagonist sees Bienville as a sax-playing frog and hears her grandmother's laughter. During the trip, she floats in and out of past and present, with her ability to tap into "blood memory" and land memory grounded by her being on Choctawan home soil. However the text begins with the concept of chaos and a pair of trickster turtles in disguise.

Howe begins the narrative reminding readers that in the Mvskogean worldview there are three worlds: Upper, Lower, and Middle. When the Upper and Lower collide, it is those in the Middle, we, who are caught in "Huksuba. Today we say chaos" (23). At a hotel in New Orleans, our narrator goes to swim *au natural*. She finds herself being followed and watched by a Haitian woman of phenotypic African appearance wearing a red tígon, a Creole head wrap, and exhibiting signs of being a voodooienne. The woman tosses a "red swatch of cloth tied with chicken feathers" out the window towards the pool (23). Refusing to acknowledge the Haitian Creole woman, who she perceives is "craving of attention" (23), the Choctaw woman neglects the solicitation of the Creole, and presumes she is guarded by two doormen who are “turtles in disguise,” ancients from “out of the mud of the Mississippi River, they stand ready and watching over me” (23). She calls to the Creole woman: “Have you ever seen what a turtle does to the reckless fowl that lands in its water space” (23-24), and declares that the joke is on the Haitian Creole, for messing with her and her turtle warriors.

Later, the Haitian Creole woman reappears, this time on the plane as a flight attendant alongside the Choctaw woman’s grandmother. It is not until the end of the narrative--after the Choctaw woman has spoken with her grandmother and re-experienced the —long walk of her ancestors during removal from their original lands --that the Haitian woman shakes her, proclaiming: “Haven’t you forgotten that the French took some of your relatives to Haiti where they made a new home there. How could you forget that we are sisters? Maybe the joke is on you, after all” (32)? The narrative ends with the Choctaw narrator, her Haitian Red/Black relative, and her grandmother hand and hand (33), this a moment of huksuba: “Huksuba…when Indians and Non-Indians bang their heads together in search of cross-cultural understanding” (23). The joke is in fact on the narrator, for in her pride and exuberance she has forgotten that Turtle is as much a trickster as he is a warrior. Once huksuba, chaos, was signaled, the opportunistic turtle came forth, watching the nubile nude Choctaw woman bathe, offering neither interpretation from its primordial bayou Mississippian banks nor translation. This peeping Turtle is the sly, wise, yet crafty Turtle of classic Mvskoke tales—the trickster who hides under doors to gaze up women’s skirts, resulting in his shell being pounding to bits, only to shake his shell back together and bury himself under the corn pounding bowls of these same Mvskoke women, all in an effort to gaze at the seat of their femininity (calling out to them as they pounded corn) , and in the end convincing them his death would result from a necklace of their pubic hair (Gouge 114). The Turtle in this well-traveled Mvskoke story is both smart and a trickster, opportunistic and savvy. Turtle is not always a sign of protection but is, like the story relayed above (known as "Turtle Looks Up Women's' Dresses"), a trickster. This is a trickster (what Keith Cartwright has called a Native guide into ecologies of chaos) who escapes the boiling water of cowain for the bayou —as in the Creole tale "The Tortoise" (Fortier 29).

In the fluid flow of Indigenous memory experienced by LeAnne Howe's narrator, the Red/Black relationships on southern soil had been silenced. The presence of a Haitian Creole woman who speaks of a Mvskogean relationship to the Choctaw narrator attests to the Natchez who were enslaved and exiled by Bienville after their revolts against the French in 1731, leaving the Natchez to finish out their days as slaves on the "sugar plantations of Santo Domingo" (Barnett xvi). In this way, the very text itself in its effort to translate huksuba--the chaos between settler-colonialism, the Indigenous U.S. South, and the circum-Caribbean--becomes a study in creolization. Howe's prose piece reminds us that "any study of Native souths must include Africans, and any holistic approach to Black Atlantic culture must look to Native repertory" (Cartwright 208). Hence, the connection between the Haitian Creole and the Choctaw woman is not only through blood, but also through shared relations to land and chaos-navigating turtles, as well as shared traumas of settler-colonialism. "Chaos of Angels" highlights how Turtle operates as the trickster within the loop current of Indigenous-Creole narratives while also offering the potential of synchronicity. As Keith Cartwright observes, “Turtle take us into spaces of our real and potential breakup and reassembly…they move us to an all-okay sign more focused on the dance of reassembly than on the dread of facing a heap of broken images of ourselves” (238). The Choctaw narrator’s turtle warriors do not tear apart the Haitian woman, or her feathered gris-gris, but rather take the narrator on a journey of remembrance, origin, and reassembly: bringing histories, memories, and relatives together. By seeking a Red/Black and circum-Caribbean cross-cultural understanding in southern space, Howe finds a framework “for national identity and recuperation in societies most oppressed and altered on southern soil” (Taylor 65).Turtle is both trickster and symbolic of the origin of land. Howe’s work certainly plays with more than one idea of Turtle from within the Mvskogean Choctawan space of New Orleans in a land-and-bayou based narrative that is as transnational, transracial, and pieced together as Louisiana herself.

Mosiac Patterns on Turtle’s Back: Concluding Thoughts on Indigeneity and Indian Identity

The array of authors examined in this chapter, let alone this entire study show the reality of Indigeneity in Louisiana. What is particularly clear is that Gulf loop current history, from the Caribbean and Atlantic slave trade, to processes of mestizaje in the colonization of Louisiana from Natchitoches to New Orleans, Opelousas to Marksville, and the rise of federal and state recognition processes for Indian tribes, illustrate representations of Louisiana Indians, Creole Indigeneity, and Red/Black histories of tribal identity have never been constant— nor are they definitive. However, they have often been silenced. This highlights the historic complexities of Louisiana’s transracial and transnational Indigenous diaspora. For those familiar with the ongoing trend towards Native Nationalism and the history of mixedblood scholarship and authenticity debates three primary schools of thought have emerged theoretically, the realities of *lived* experiences are often in conflict or too complex to be encapsulated by the theories themselves. In other words, the theories do not match the practice. For Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Crow Creek Sioux), inquiry into "mixed-blood studies" is not a legitimate form of Indigenous voice or literary study, while in more recent years Jace Weaver (Cherokee), Craig Womack, and Robert Warrior have turned the discussion from blood quantum to issues of nationhood and sovereignty. However, Louis Owens offers a different notion of not only mixedblood identity but also Indigenous relatedness and expression in his seminal text, *Mixedblood Messages*. However, in the last ten years Native Nationalism has risen to the foreground as an ideal component aligned with sovereignty. Weaver, Womack, and Warrior assert that Indigeneity can't be "taken for granted" and that it is a political matter (xii-xiii). Their goal is to "upbuild" and promote "Native agency and self-determination" for the "explication of specific Native values, readings, and knowledges, and their relevance to our daily lives "(6). The goal of the text being to spark a conversation about sovereignty and the responsibility of native literatures and Native authors to sovereignty means several questions: what role does narrative play, what role does if any does mixed identity have in nationalism, and how do authors promote issues of Tribal self-determination while telling stories that reflect the gamut of community narratives. However, I ask us to consider how can we seek to decolonize ourselves from a paracolonial system if the system we model our Native model after is mirrored after a colonial model? I am not setting forth answers here, but asking us to question. I am not asking us to set aside notions of sovereignty, but that we consider our sovereign nations work in cooperation with our state tribes, our state tribes work in solidarity with Indigenous-descended communities and families who have been disenfranchised by known federal programs and histories (Jim Crow) used to separate and divide families from uniting to form louder, larger, more cohesive groups, who could, and would fight, gather, and protest land, education, and resource disenfranchisement by the federal government. What does it mean to think in terms of understanding Indigenous peoples through the United Nations definition of Indigenous peoples and not Federal Acknowledgement for Indigenous Peoples (FAP)?

I am advocating for another way of thinking, as I have sought to ground us throughout this dissertation, within an understanding of the Peoplehood matrix. As Stratton and Washburn explicate:

> Although individual tribal self identification is always an important consideration to keep in mind when analyzing texts produced by Native writers…the fact that many people, whether identifying themselves as Seneca, Seminole, Diné, Miwok, or some other Native Nation, may also identify themselves as part of a greater community of Native people…One could also argue that his preference for tribal identification, although useful in many cases, can also be misleading and arbitrary since among the Diné, to use one example, one's primary identification is expressed based upon the clan affiliation of one's mother, rather than the broader tribal identification. To use a different analogy, few would claim that it is inaccurate to refer to William Faulkner as a Mississippi writer, but to define him specifically and only as such while ignoring his concurrent standing as a Southern writer and as an American writer would tend to limit rather than enlarge the importance and relevance of his literary production (52).

We belong to a multiplicity of communities, and while, (for instance in part of this article communitism (Weaver ix) is taken to task, a concept Weaver articulates in *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community*, (which I particularly agree with) notions of nationalism are in conflict with multiple community identities, what is of particular focus here, is that to be part of multiple communities means those communities intersect. The nature of Peoplehood is intersecting. One belongs to clan, town, tribe, one belongs to state, is colonized, as in most cases, multi-tribal, many cases transracial. The world we live in is a world of intersections. Hence, how we are culturally affiliated, who our people are, how we are tied by land, by kinship, memory, and tribalography. Indigenous memory or experience *contributes* to tribalography, and like individual memory, community memory, and tribal memory, it cannot be compartmentalized. Neither can tribalography. Tribalography accounts for the interrelationship and ways Natives draw from these interconnected storied theories and memories, these connect or draw from our land, the events (sacred history), and are connected to language, and ceremonial cycles: Peoplehood matrix . Hence, the lived practice of complicated troubled allegiances and murky legal conundrums that make up the realities of mixedblood lives filters into the narrative expressions within the literature of Louisiana. Perhaps these are ways of being, of meaning making in a transnational, transracial, 21st century.

As I have sought to show gradually throughout this dissertation Indigenous connections to land and the events that take place on land are paramount. Indigenous peoples kinship ties to one another work in tandem to the lands we inhabit to form a matrix of intersecting event/place-based narratives that are beyond notions of past, present, or future. They exist in connection to the space/place and people(s) they inhabit. In doing so, Indigenous meaning-making systems remain rhetorically kinetic, relying on active storytelling, memory, listeners, and react to changing environments, and cultural shifts. While I agree the trend to expose Native presence in various texts in

American literature should be carried out, after all I open this dissertation using this very practice. However, I would argue the application still leaves Native voices stagnant. There is a difference between recovered absent /present Indigenous voices that simply attest to "having been" and recovering reciprocal discussions between Indigenous voices/communities, the stories told about us, and the stories we are seeking to tell. By advocating for place/land centered story narrative structures over linear time constructs we move towards decolonial practices of reauthoring our own lands, bodies, and Nation in a way so as to include Indigenous-descended Louisiana. We are a gumbo people, sopping rich seafood laden kafi roux with up with banaha, our dense Choctaw tamales. In the meeting of our taste buds is a topography of story.

This turtle is a story: This story is a turtle

Turtle travels the loop current, moving from the Caribbean, Latinidad, and Indigenous U.S. South, landing on Louisiana shores, and bringing with her the experience of her travels. She washes to shore and so do the waves carrying waters, debris, and depositing countless molecules from Afro-Caribbean-Indian eco-histories. Turtle is symbolic of the land herself, as Thomas King (Cherokee) is want to remind us, for on Turtle’s back sits Earth and underneath it is “turtles all the way down” (King 2). Turtles holding land, turtles in the sea. The loop current, one of the most powerful currents of the Gulf of Mexico, flows from Cuba to the Yucatán peninsula, around the Gulf (Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi) and out through the Florida straits. Like the loop current whose influence touches upon the Caribbean, Mexico, and the U.S. Gulf South, this cross-cultural wash of events inhabits the land. The land keeps memories, yakni isht ikhana — and like it is with land: culture rises up from land into people. Or as Linda

Hogan articulates it, memory “like geography, lives in the body and it is marrow deep…recorded there, laid down along the tracks and pathways and synapses” (*The Woman* 59). In this way we recognize that we people carry culture with us... like crayfish, like turtles.

Endnotes

[1] Hachotakni, meaning a large turtle, most commonly known as the loggerhead or sea turtle in Choctaw.

[2] Choctaw. Translation follows.

[3] I capitalize Indigenous, Indigeneity, Indian, and all language associated with Native American/First Peoples/Indigenous peoples in my work. Throughout not only the history of the Americas but American literature, Indigenous peoples have been scripted as "less than," and while it has become common practice to capitalize the various ways to designate other ethnicities and races, Indigenous (the designation that is inclusive for all First Peoples of the Americas), is often left in lower-case. In capitalizing these terms, I assert proper noun status.

[4] I use paracolonial deliberately, drawing from Aimé Césaire, Gerald Vizenor (White Earth Anishinaabe), and Kimberly Wieser (Roppolo) to name a few**,** as Indigenous peoples of the Americas are not products of a post-colonial occupation but still under the political, ideological, and legal constraints imposed by outside colonizing forces. For further articulations on foundations of Native applications of paracolonial constructions see Gerald Vizenor's *Manifest Manners: Narrative on Postindian Survivance*.

[5] I too have drawn upon the absent/presence of Indian hauntings within southern literature written by western (i.e. non-Indigenous or non-Tribal of color authors) in various ways.

[6] Andrew Jolivétte defines Latinidad in "Louisiana Creoles and Latinidad: Locating Culture and Community" as "multiple intersections of different worlds colliding together under a colonial force that while hegemonic and destructive, was and continues to be a racial project resisted and reshaped by the people themselves…" (1). Louisiana Latinidad is "Born at the multiple intersections of Native American peoples, Europeans, and Blacks, it connotes an amalgam of ritual traditions and values… The geographical coordinates of its diaspora are no less complex" (2).

[7] Like Creoles of Louisiana, Louisiana Hoodoo or Voodoo is something specific to Louisiana. It combines Haitian Vodou and Vodun from Benin with Southeastern Native American spiritual traditions and Catholicism, to form its own religious practices, root working, and spiritualism. See Kameelah Martin Samuel, *Conjuring Moments in African American Literature: Women, Spirit Work, and Other Such Hoodoo;* Martha Ward, *Voodoo Queen: The Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau;* and Zora Neale Hurston, *Jonah's Gourd Vine ; Mules and Men ; Their Eyes Were Watching God*. Ed. Henry Louis Gates. New York: Quality Paperback, 1990.

[8] Sybil Kein, also known as Dr. Consuela Provost, is a poet, playwright, musician, scholar, and author of *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 2000.

[9] See: Herbert, Julie Elizabeth. "Identifying Cajun Identity." *Identifying Cajun Identity*. Loyola Historical Journal, 99-2000. Web. 20 Sept. 2013; Brasseaux, Carl A. *Acadian to Cajun: Transformation of a People, 1803-1 877*. Jackson:University of Mississippi, 1992.

[10] Banda music refers to a form of music that has become popular as Mexican Country, Country-pop Rancheria, known for its two-steps and *caballero/ vaquero* fashions.

[11] See Gomez, Rain, and Andrew Jolivétte. "Native American Roots and the Creole Culture." *I Am Creole Radio*. BlogTalk Radio. 2010. Radio; Evans, Freddi Williams. *Congo Square: African Roots in New Orleans*. Lafayette, LA: University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2011; Sublette, Ned. *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2008.

[12] Note this doesn’t include the zone popularly known as “the isle of denial” which was high ground and traditionally the meeting ground for tribes during trade seasons.

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Appendix I: FAP BIA Criteria

http://www.doi.gov/bia/bar/acknowl.htm#Mandatory criteria for Federal acknowledgment

(date accessed originally downloaded: 11/29/2005)

25 CFR 83.7

83 .7 Mandatory criteria for Federal acknowledgment.

[Editorial note: the seven criteria are given the letters a,b,c,d,e,f,g. Some of these criteria have sub-parts, and sub-sub-parts. I have placed lines to separate the seven criteria from each other for greater clarity]

The mandatory criteria are:

(a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met. Evidence to be relied upon in determining a group's Indian identity may include one or a combination of the following, as well as other evidence of identification by other than the petitioner itself or its members.

(1) Identification as an Indian entity by Federal authorities.

(2) Relationships with State governments based on identification of the group as Indian.

(3) Dealings with a county, parish, or other local government in a relationship based on the group's Indian identity.

(4) Identification as an Indian entity by anthropologists, historians, and/or other scholars.

(5) Identification as an Indian entity in newspapers and books.

(6) Identification as an Indian entity in relationships with Indian tribes or with national, regional, or state Indian organizations.

(b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.

(1) This criterion may be demonstrated by some combination of the following evidence and/or other evidence that the petitioner meets the definition of community set forth in § 83.1:

(i) Significant rates of marriage within the group, and/or, as may be culturally required, patterned out-marriages with other Indian populations.

(ii) Significant social relationships connecting individual members.

(iii) Significant rates of informal social interaction which exist broadly among the members of a group.

(iv) A significant degree of shared or cooperative labor or other economic activity among the membership.

(v) Evidence of strong patterns of discrimination or other social distinctions by non-members.

(vi) Shared sacred or secular ritual activity encompassing most of the group.

(vii) Cultural patterns shared among a significant portion of the group that are different from those of the non-Indian populations with whom it interacts. These patterns must function as more than a symbolic identification of the group as Indian. They may include, but are not limited to, language, kinship organization, or religious beliefs and practices.

(viii) The persistence of a named, collective Indian identity continuously over a period of more than 50 years, notwithstanding changes in name.

(ix) A demonstration of historical political influence under the criterion in § 83.7(c) shall be evidence for demonstrating historical community.

(2) A petitioner shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence of community at a given point in time if evidence is provided to demonstrate any one of the following:

(i) More than 50 percent of the members reside in a geographical area exclusively or almost exclusively composed of members of the group, and the balance of the group maintains consistent interaction with some members of the community;

(ii) At least 50 percent of the marriages in the group are between members of the group;

(iii) At least 50 percent of the group members maintain distinct cultural patterns such as, but not limited to, language, kinship organization, or religious beliefs and practices;

(iv) There are distinct community social institutions encompassing most of the members, such as kinship organizations, formal or informal economic cooperation, or religious organizations; or

(v) The group has met the criterion in § 83.7(c) using evidence described in §83.7(c)(2).

(c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.

(1) This criterion may be demonstrated by some combination of the evidence listed below and/or by other evidence that the petitioner meets the definition of political influence or authority in § 83.1.

(i) The group is able to mobilize significant numbers of members and significant resources from its members for group purposes.

(ii) Most of the membership considers issues acted upon or actions taken by group leaders or governing bodies to be of importance.

(iii) There is widespread knowledge, communication and involvement in political processes by most of the group's members.

(iv) The group meets the criterion in § 83;.7(b) at more than a minimal level.

(v) There are internal conflicts which show controversy over valued group goals, properties, policies, processes and/or decisions.

(2) A petitioning group shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate the exercise of political influence or authority at a given point in time by demonstrating that group leaders and/or other mechanisms exist or existed which:

(i) Allocate group resources such as land, residence rights and the like on a consistent basis.

(ii) Settle disputes between members or subgroups by mediation or other means on a regular basis;

(iii) Exert strong influence on the behavior of individual members, such as the establishment or maintenance of norms and the enforcement of sanctions to direct or control behavior;

(iv) Organize or influence economic subsistence activities among the members, including shared or cooperative labor.

(3) A group that has met the requirements in paragraph 83.7(b)(2) at a given point in time shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to meet this criterion at that point in time.

(d) A copy of the group's present governing document including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.

(e) The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(1) Evidence acceptable to the Secretary which can be used for this purpose includes but is not limited to:

(i) Rolls prepared by the Secretary on a descendancy basis for purposes of distributing claims money, providing allotments, or other purposes;

(ii) State, Federal, or other official records or evidence identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(iii) Church, school, and other similar enrollment records identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(iv) Affidavits of recognition by tribal elders, leaders, or the tribal governing body identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(v) Other records or evidence identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.

(2) The petitioner must provide an official membership list, separately certified by the group's governing body, of all known current members of the group. This list must include each member's full name (including maiden name), date of birth, and current residential address. The petitioner must also provide a copy of each available former list of members based on the group's own defined criteria, as well as a statement describing

the circumstances surrounding the preparation of the current list and, insofar as possible, the circumstances surrounding the preparation of former lists.

(f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. However, under certain conditions a petitioning group may be acknowledged even if its membership is composed principally of persons whose names have appeared on rolls of, or who have been otherwise associated with, an acknowledged Indian tribe. The conditions are that the group must establish that it has functioned throughout history until the present as a separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity, that its members do not maintain a bilateral political relationship with the acknowledged tribe, and that its members have provided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.

(g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

(1) demonstrate that it has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900;

(2) show that a predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present;

(3) demonstrate that it has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present;

(4) provide a copy of the group's present governing document including its membership criteria;

(5) demonstrate that its membership consists of individuals who descend from the historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity and provide a current membership list;

(6) show that the membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe; and

(7) demonstrate that neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship.

Appendix II: UN Declaration Indigenous Definition

PFII/2004/WS.1/3

Original: English

UNITED NATIONS **NATIONS UNIES**

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Division for Social Policy and Development

Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

WORKSHOP ON DATA COLLECTION

AND DISAGGREGATION

FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

(New York, 19-21 January 2004)

THE CONCEPT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Background paper prepared
by the Secretariat of the Permanent Forum
on Indigenous Issues

Introduction

1. In the thirty-year history of indigenous issues at the United Nations, and the longer history in the ILO on this question, considerable thinking and debate have been devoted to the question of definition of “indigenous peoples”, but no such definition has ever been adopted by any UN-system body. One of the most cited descriptions of the concept of the indigenous was given by Jose R. Martinez Cobo, the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, in his famous Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations.[1] Significant discussions on the subject have been held within the context of the preparation of a Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[2] by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations since 1982. An understanding of the concept of

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[1] UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7 and Add. 1-4. The conclusions and recommendations of the study, in Addendum 4, are also available as a United Nations sales publication (U.N. Sales No. E.86.XIV.3). The study was launched in 1972 and was completed in 1986, thus making it the most voluminous study of its kind, based on 37 monographs.

[2] The Draft Declaration is contained in UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1994/2/Add.1 and is currently under consideration by a Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights.

“indigenous and tribal peoples” is contained in article 1 of the 1989 Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, No. 169, adopted by the International Labour Organization.

Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations

2. After long consideration of the issues involved, the Special Rapporteur who prepared the above-mentioned study offered a working definition of “indigenous communities, peoples and nations”. In doing so he expressed a number of basic ideas to provide the intellectual framework for this effort, which included the right of indigenous peoples themselves to define what and who is indigenous. The working definition reads as follows:

“Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

"This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);
d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;
f) Other relevant factors.

"On an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group).

"This preserves for these communities the sovereign right and power to decide who belongs to them, without external interference".[3]

Working Group on Indigenous Populations

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[3] Supra 1, paragraphs 379-382.

3. During the many years of debate at the Working Group, the observers from indigenous organizations developed a common position and rejected the idea of a formal definition of indigenous peoples that would be adopted by States.[4] Similarly governmental delegations expressed the view that it was neither desirable nor necessary to elaborate a universal definition of indigenous peoples. Finally, at its fifteenth session, in 1997, the Working Group concluded that a definition of indigenous peoples at the global level was not possible at that time, and certainly not necessary for the adoption of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[5] Article 8 of the Draft Declaration, states that

"Indigenous peoples have a collective and individual right to maintain and develop their distinct identities and characteristics, including the right to identify themselves as indigenous and to be recognized as such." [6]

International Labour Organization Convention No. 169

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[4] An example of the position of indigenous representatives is listed in the 1996 report of the Working Group (UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1996/21) as follows:
"We, the Indigenous Peoples present at the Indigenous Peoples Preparatory Meeting on Saturday, 27 July 1996, at the World Council of Churches, have reached a consensus on the issue of defining Indigenous Peoples and have unanimously endorsed Sub-Commission resolution 1995/32. We categorically reject any attempts that Governments define Indigenous Peoples. We further endorse the Martinez Cobo report (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/Add.4) in regard to the concept of "indigenous". Also, we acknowledge the conclusions and recommendations by Chairperson-Rapporteur Madame Erica Daes in her working paper on the concept of indigenous peoples (E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.4/1996/2)."

[5] UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1997/14, para.129. See also UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1996/21, paras. 153-154.

[6] Supra 2.

4. Article 1 of ILO Convention No. 169 contains a statement of coverage rather than a definition, indicating that the Convention applies to:

"a) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations;

"b) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions."

5. Article 1 also indicates that self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply.

6. The two terms "indigenous peoples" and "tribal peoples" are used by the ILO because there are tribal peoples who are not "indigenous" in the literal sense in the countries in which they live, but who nevertheless live in a similar situation – an example would be Afro-descended tribal peoples in Central America; or tribal peoples in Africa such as the San or Maasai who may not have lived in the region they inhabit longer than other population groups. Nevertheless, many of these peoples refer to

themselves as “indigenous” in order to fall under discussions taking place at the United Nations. For practical purposes the terms “indigenous” and “tribal” are used as synonyms in the UN system when the peoples concerned identify themselves under the indigenous agenda.

Conclusion

7. In the sixty-year history of developing International Law within the United Nations system, various terms have not been formally defined, the most vivid examples being the notions of “peoples” and of “minorities”. Yet, the United Nations has recognized the right of peoples to self-determination[7] and has adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.[8] The lack of formal definition of “peoples” or “minorities” has not been crucial to the Organization’s successes or failures in those domains nor to the promotion, protection or monitoring of the rights recognized for these entities.

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[7] The right of peoples to self-determination is recognized in article 1 common to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, both adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 and ratified by the overwhelming majority of States.

[8] Adopted by the General Assembly in 1992.

8. Similarly, in the case of the concept of “indigenous peoples”, the prevailing view today is that no formal universal definition of the term is necessary. For practical purposes the understanding of the term commonly accepted is the one provided in the Martinez Cobo study mentioned above.[9]

United Nations Definitions of Indigenous Peoples Fact sheet:

http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf

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[99] In some parts of Asia and Africa the term “ethnic groups” or “ethnic minorities” is used by governments, although some of these groups have identified themselves as “indigenous”.