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Contents

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Abstract

This dissertation, "Mapping Native Moderns," analyzes Native American literature for its settings in England, France, and Italy. Examples include an unpublished manuscript written in the late 1920s by D'Arcy McNickle (Confederated Salish and Kootenai), as well as late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century novels by Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo), James Welch (Gros Ventre/Blackfeet), and Gerald Vizenor (Anishinaabe). I argue that the latter three writers turned to historical fiction to envision complex, counterhegemonic depictions of American Indians in Europe set in the modernist era and during the Columbian Quincentenary. From the late 1880s to the early 1920s, often referred to as the assimilation and/or allotment era, U.S. federal Indian policies stressed forced cultural assimilation, fee simple land ownership, and Americanization as the means of survival for Native Americans at the onset of modernity. Like the myth of the "vanishing Indian" that attended them, these policies and their destructive effects have influenced writing by and about Indians, from the nineteenth century to 1992 and into the present day. As a result, Native absence is more common than Native presence in modernist and contemporary fiction, and rarer still in settings outside the United States. Drawing on scholarship by Gaston Bachelard, Amy Kaplan, Bertrand Westphal, Scott Richard Lyons (Ojibwe/Dakota), Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca), Vizenor, and others, I explore how McNickle, Silko, Vizenor, and Welch have written American Indian characters into European literary geographies and histories from which Indians have been wrongfully separated. How the novelists studied in this dissertation arrange, compare, contrast, and interpret space in America and Europe, from the American Southwest to Corsica, is a forceful rebuke to the cartographic, historical, and literary making of Euro-American spaces and the erasure and removal of Indians from them.

Introduction

"Indians Are Everywhere"

Once, in a story, I wrote that Indians are everywhere.
Goddamn right.
—Simon J. Ortiz, "Travels in the South," from *Going for the Rain*

Acoma Pueblo poet and short story writer Simon J. Ortiz released his first collection of poetry, *Going for the Rain*, in 1976. The book appeared in Harper & Row's Native American Publishing Program, the same initiative in which Gros Ventre/Blackfeet author James Welch had placed his critically acclaimed novel *Winter in the Blood* (1974) two years earlier. Like Welch, Ortiz is often associated with the so-called "Native American renaissance." First used by critic Kenneth Lincoln, the term describes as a whole a surge of novels, poetry, and short stories written by self-identifying Native Americans during the late 1960s and the 1970s. They include Kiowa writer N. Scott Momaday, whose novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968) won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1969, Laguna Pueblo novelist Leslie Marmon Silko, Anishinaabe writer Gerald Vizenor, Hopi/Miwok poet Wendy Rose, Choctaw poet Jim Barnes, Welch, and many others.[1] On "Travels in the South," the poem referenced in the epigraph above, Lincoln claims that it reflects Ortiz's "scavenge for Indian survival."[2] He bases his analysis on a later stanza, where a ranger at a state park in Florida tells an Indian traveler, "'This place is noted for the Indians / that don't live here anymore.'"[3]

This dissertation, "Mapping Native Moderns," takes for granted that Indians are indeed everywhere. It further supposes that in an otherwise unremarkable exchange between a Native and non-Native, there is five hundred years of Euro-American settler colonialism in the United

States and an ongoing American Indian resistance and response to it. Though the Native poet knows that he is "goddamn right" in his belief that Indians are everywhere, or that everywhere in America there is a Native presence, the presumably non-Native park ranger privileges Native absence in how he interprets the significance of the space he oversees. That the state park stands in miniature for the United States at large and the park ranger its Euro-American citizens, federal officials, historians, and storytellers, is obvious enough.

To tell the story of where Indians are in terms of survival—and in general—is to enlarge the scope of a story usually told more for *how* things happened than for *where* they happened. In the thirty-eight years since the publication of Lincoln's *Native American Renaissance* (1983), an outpouring of work has been done at the critical, legal, literary, and scholarly levels to contest the mainstream narrative of U.S. settler colonialism as Manifest Destiny. For decades, the immediate survival of Native peoples as individuals, communities, families, groups, and sovereign governments, in addition to the protection or repatriation of myriad Native cultural artifacts, languages, lifeways, and sacred places was, by necessity, the primary concern in academic Native American studies. *How* this ongoing effort has been mobilized by thousands of individuals working as attorneys, community organizers, doctors, health care professionals, professors, researchers, writers, and people in countless other capacities, has mattered more than the *where* of it all. Indian Country, and the hundreds of discrete tribal land bases that unify it across America, is not so much the character in this story as it is a setting for action.

Nevertheless, "where" comes to the fore in this dissertation. Following Italian literary scholar Franco Moretti's maxim that "*what* happens depends a lot on *where* it happens," "where" has privileged standing in the forthcoming chapters.[4] Moretti writes that in modern European

novels, “Space is not ‘outside’ of narrative . . . but an internal force that shapes it from within.”[5] Space is just as influential in Native American literature, as it has never been outside the narrative of U.S. settler colonialism. Far from it in fact, as it has always been the struggle for and the removal of Indigenous peoples from space that has defined Euro-American colonization and the genocide and violence against Native American and Indigenous peoples throughout history. At the same time, the tendency in Euro-American literature has been to cut the size of Native American space to nothing. That nothingness has then been cruelly and paradoxically commodified into an extremely valuable historical something, a past worth preserving, such as a state park in Florida or the spaces in and around countless historical markers scattered across the country.

Where, how, and to what ends American Indian fiction writers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries have reversed this trend is the subject of “Mapping Native Moderns.” In the three chapters of this dissertation, I show how novelists D’Arcy McNickle (Confederated Salish and Kootenai), Silko, Vizenor, and Welch have shifted American Indian literature eastward in space and time. Against the tide of nineteenth-century American westward expansion and the precipitous decline of Native land holdings and populations that attended it, and in the horrible midst and aftermath of World War I, Indians adopted innumerable creative strategies for survival. Many took shelter where they could. Ironically, some found it on the far side of the Atlantic Ocean, in the cities and countries at the heart of Euro-American empire.

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That Indians are naturally encountered far from Europe, on the mythological frontier, or at the reaches of Euro-American settlements in the United States, has long been assumed to be true in Euro-American literature. In early American fiction, Indians live where civilized Euro-

Americans do not. As Washington Irving wrote in 1820 in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Sleepy Hollow was where "an old Indian chief . . . held his powwows . . . before the country was discovered by" the English sailor Henry Hudson.[6] From colonial New York, Indians "have disappeared, either from the regions in which their fathers dwelt, or altogether from the earth," in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).[7] In *Edgar Huntly; or, Memoirs of a Sleep Walker* (1799), a gothic novel by Charles Brockden Brown, Indians stalk the edges of Euro-American outposts, venturing forth to murder and terrorize white settlers. As a result, the protagonist, Edgar Huntly, is "haunted by" Indians as a "species of terror," just as Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle shares ghoulish stories of imagined "Indians," "ghosts," and "witches" to scare the children of his village in Irving's short story "Rip Van Winkle" (1819).[8] So too does Hobomok, the title Indian character of Lydia Maria Child's novel *Hobomok, a Tale of Early Times* (1824), like Irving's ghosts and witches, haunt the darkness, as he suddenly springs forward out of the New England night at first mention.[9] Euro-American readers, many of whom had never been far from their urban homes or rural farms nor met a Native American, had little cause to doubt the bloodlessness and orderly neatness that popular American literature brought to the public's understanding of where Indians lived. That diseases such as smallpox or measles, speculative and spurious land claims, government theft, and warfare had forced Indians from "the regions in which their fathers dwelt," registered less than the immediate fact that Indians occupied a safe distance from non-Natives. Ultimately, Indians were "savages," a word derived from the Latin *silvaticus*, meaning "of the woods." Conversely, colonial Euro-Americans were on the vanguard of Christian "civilization," a term derived from the Latin *civis*, meaning "someone who lives in a town." Early American fiction thus kept with an older, more

encompassing and pernicious ordering of different peoples in the New World. Where Euro-Americans and Indians were, was, by Euro-American fiat, who they were.

This dichotomy remained entrenched in American literature, space, and thought into the antebellum period. Critic Mark Rifkin has studied the era for how Native writers of nonfiction contested the "obviousness" in the imperial construction of space in the United States. In *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of U.S. National Space* (2009), he contends that in the early nineteenth century, "U.S. national policy and identity" was "fundamentally . . . animated by . . . an imperial dynamic" that naturalized "domestic space by foreclosing countervailing political geographies."[10] Rifkin adds that, "Internalized peoples [were] presented within U.S. legal discourses as always-already having accepted their place within national space, a process that involved constructing subjectivities for them that confirm[ed] the obviousness of U.S. administrative mappings."[11] In *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance* (2014), Rifkin in part explores the "racializing" of "Indigenous peoples as Indians" in pre-Civil War canonical works of American literature by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Henry David Thoreau. The effect of this, according to Rifkin, is a dislocation of "Native peoples in time" to the extent that in literature, "their presence marks as itself a bygone process, presenting the extension/cohesion of settler jurisdiction as accomplished rather than an open-ended and continuously fraught project."[12] Moreover, Rifkin observes that, "Not only do Native peoples appear as holdovers from the past, rather than active agents and claimants in the contemporary sociopolitical landscape, but the processes through which the United States secures its sovereignty over 'domestic' space seem already to have been completed."[13] There is in Melville's *Pierre; or, the Ambiguities* (1852) a telling instance of colonial cartography, where an "Indian trail" leads "from the open plain into

the dark thickets."[14] Furthermore, the deed to the title character's estate has "long been held," transferred to Pierre's forebears by "three Indian kings."[15] A controversial Indian land deed of much greater worth is the lost treasure of a New England family similar to Pierre's in Hawthorne's *The House of Seven Gables* (1851). Once found, however, the deed is worthless, as eager Euro-American settlers have long since "wrested from the wild hand of nature by their own sturdy toil" the deeded land for themselves.[16] A generation earlier, Brown, Child, Cooper, and Irving depicted settler colonialism as having been seemingly consummated instantly in the eastern United States upon the arrival of Europeans to the New World. Twenty years later, what claims to domestic habitation and/or ownership Native Americans have to their lands register as either non-existent or settled fairly in the distant past.

It followed that as Indians abandoned their lands and moved westward, they would one day vanish from U.S. soil entirely and retreat into history.[17] American poet William Cullen Bryant captured the myth of the so-called "vanishing American" or "vanishing Indian" in an 1824 poem titled "An Indian at the Burying-place of His Fathers." "In the warm noon, we shrink away; And fast they follow as we go / Towards the setting day, — / Till they shall fill the land, and we / Are driven into the western sea," the Native American protagonist laments.[18] Poems like this one "subdued," according to art historian Kate Elliott, "any glimmer of guilt on the part of the [Euro-American] listener."[19] Certainly, the author of one mid-nineteenth-century encyclopedia of world geographies evinced no guilt or sympathy for Native peoples, nor questioned why it was they were fated to die out or how they would do so. "The Indian is truly the man of the woods: and that," writes the author, "like the wild animals he lives upon, he is destined to disappear before the advancing tide of civilization."[20] Statements such as these cast the disappearance of Indians as natural and unavoidable rather than as a result of the spread of

Euro-American diseases, settler colonial genocide and violence, or the plunder of Native land. As historian Brian W. Dippie has noted, these arguments "drove home the point that the abridgment of territory contributed significantly to aboriginal decline, yet assumed that the fault lay not with the white man . . . but with the Indian."[21] That Native peoples were "of the woods" necessarily and inevitably meant they would recede with the forests that fell before the westward progression of Euro-American axes and plows.

Not surprisingly, then, the earliest Native American poets to write in English, some having internalized Euro-American racism and settler colonialism, wrote moving elegies to mourn the vanishing of Indian lands and peoples. Most did not shy from, as critic Robert Dale Parker contends, fervent, "even scornful [criticisms] of white colonialism and the federal government."[22] William Walker Jr., a Wyandot poet, graduate of Kenyon College, the first provisional governor of Nebraska Territory, and a slaveholder, wrote "The Wyandot's Farewell" in 1843. One stanza reads, "Dear scenes of my childhood, in memory blest, / I must bid you farewell for the far distant West. / My heart swells with sorrow, my eyes overflow, / O'er the great Mississippi, alas! I must go."[23] Likewise, a Cherokee poet whom Parker presumes to be Jesse Bushyhead, a Baptist minister and missionary, wrote "An Indian's Farewell" in 1848. As the Native protagonist says goodbye to his homeland, he appends a warning to those would-be Euro-American settlers of Cherokee soil: "Adieu the land that gave me birth; / Thou God that rules the sky, / Protect that little spot of earth / In which our fathers lie / Tread lightly on the sleeping dead, / Proud millions that intrude, / Lest, on your ashes be the tread / Of millions still more rude."[24] The dispossession of Indian lands and the forced removal of Indians west of the Mississippi River to Indian Territory is met by both poets with powerful and plaintive verse couched in melancholy quatrains. Though the poets do not ask if the continued Euro-American

occupation of what was once Indian domestic space remains in doubt, or reference the violence of removal, they make emotional objections to Native displacement.

One early Native American poet of note is Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. Born Jane Johnston, or Bamewawagezhikaquay (Woman of the Sound the Stars Make Rushing Through the Sky) in 1800 in Sault Ste. Marie in what is now Michigan, Schoolcraft was of Ojibwe and Scotch-Irish ancestry. In 1823, she married Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a U.S. Indian agent assigned to Michigan Territory and a prolific American ethnographer. Parker imparts on Jane the distinction of being "first" in many things. She is "the first known American Indian literary writer," "the first known Indian woman writer," "the first known Indian poet," and "the first known poet to write poems in an American Indian language."[25] Yet before she had accomplished anything as a writer (her earliest surviving poem dates to 1815), Jane traveled to Ireland and England from 1809 to 1810. Based on letters written by John Johnston, Jane's father, his daughter was not happy in Europe. Jane, who was then in poor health, stayed in Ireland with her father's sister for several months while he was away on business. When her father returned, he traveled with his daughter to England, where Jane was again miserable until she returned to America in 1810. Though there were hardships, the time Jane spent abroad gained her valuable cultural currency. She may or may not have briefly attended school in Ireland, but the fact that her father later claimed she did is important, as Parker asserts that "an overseas education was a mark of distinction for any woman on the frontier, still more for an Indian."[26] Regardless, in her poem "To the Pine Tree," the protagonist is ebullient "on first seeing it [a pine tree] / on returning from Europe."[27] She greets the land of her youth as a welcome sight for the sore eyes of a homesick young girl: "Not all the trees of England bright, / Not Erin's lawns of green and light / Are half so sweet to memory's eye, / As this dear type of northern sky / Oh 'tis to me a

heart-sweet scene, / The pine—the pine! That ever green."[28] That Jane was able to return home at all is remarkable in and of itself. Three decades later, the Native poets who bid sorrowful farewells to their homes did so permanently and under extreme duress. Few Indians had opportunities to occasion similar joyful homecomings in verse. Fewer still had been so far from home as Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. First in many things, she is as well the first American Indian fiction writer to visit Europe.

Like Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and her poet contemporaries, many early Native American and Indigenous writers of nonfiction critiqued Euro-American settler colonialism and denigrated the hypocrisies and violence on which it relied. In his autobiography *A Son of the Forest* (1831), Pequot Methodist minister William Apess, in a style typical of his fire-and-brimstone oratory, blames Euro-Americans for a ruined childhood. Apess attributes his suffering "in great measure to the whites, inasmuch as they introduced among my countrymen . . . ardent spirits—seduced them into a love of it, and when under its unhappy influence, wronged them out of their lawful possessions."[29] Whites were guilty of committing countless atrocities against Natives, including "violence of the most revolting kind upon" women. "The consequence," writes Apess, was "that they [Native Americans] were scattered abroad."[30]

Apess was active during the era of removal in U.S. history. Throughout the 1830s, tens of thousands of Native Americans like him were similarly and involuntarily scattered abroad. Many were forced against their will from their homes in the east and driven westward or, in smaller numbers, northward.[31] Though the cruelty and injustice of removal was widely acknowledged, it was nonetheless viewed as a necessary evil to furthering American expansion. Upon acquiring the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803, for instance, President Thomas Jefferson declared that, "the best use we can make of the country . . . will be to give establishments in it to the

Indians on the east side of the Mississippi, in exchange for their present country."[32] That this was believed to be true drove removal policy toward the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Though many in the U.S. Congress questioned the rectitude of removal, the legislation authorized the president to exchange tracts of land in the west for eastern lands in states and territories held by Native Americans. Though many objections to removal were voiced in print and from the pulpit by American voters, public intellectuals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, and by Indians governments and public figures, the inevitability of it became self-perpetuating. Widely read continental philosophy, especially on the principles of land use espoused by English philosopher John Locke that stressed the need to improve land for agriculture and commerce, gave Americans, as critic and historian Bernd C. Peyer has observed, "the ideological rationale for removal."[33] Enlightenment ideals, Peyer adds, provided "the moral guise necessary to make it [removal] more plausible to those who were troubled" by the "obvious incongruences" between removal and "the egalitarian aspects of republicanism."[34] The out-of-sight-out-of-mind answer to what was widely known as the "Indian Question" could be justified on principle, and was ultimately better than the immediate demise or extinction of Native Americans in full view of the eastern Euro-American public.

Yet the geographic separation and segregation of Indians from Euro-Americans was as much an admission of governmental and societal failure for some as it was a success for others. Some Euro-Americans favored a course of Native American acculturation and assimilation. As historian Francis Paul Prucha has written, the assimilation of Native Americans into Euro-America society was the supposedly more compassionate alternative to removal. The thought went that by "assimilating . . . Indians into white American society through the acculturative processes of private property, an agricultural . . . economy, formal education in English letters,

and Christianization," American Indian policy makers might bring benighted Native Americans into the fold of civilization.[35] More than a decade before the Indian Removal Act cleared Congress, federal legislators had passed the Civilization Fund Act of 1819 to facilitate assimilation where Euro-American settlements were encroaching upon Indian lands. The act empowered the president "to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them [Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic."[36] Ostensibly, this was done "for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization."[37] Without acknowledging its own complicity in the "decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes," Congress cloaked its hypocrisy in an ideology of benevolent paternalism that, ironically, saw Indians as doomed if not for Euro-American intervention.

Removal and assimilation were thus more alike than dissimilar in that it was always the purpose of both policies to open Indian lands to unrestricted Euro-American exploitation and settlement. Whether it was by forcing Native Americans to the outermost regions of Euro-American society, or absorbing them into it, the result was the same. American government and its Euro-American citizenry sought the total erasure of an Indian presence for the permanency and security of Indian absence. With it, Euro-Americans could then begin commemorating and securing a revisionist version of history in which Indians were everywhere, while guaranteeing a future from which they have been completely removed.

No nineteenth-century Native American or Indigenous writer embodied this paradox more than George Copway. Born in 1818 to Rice Lake Mississauga Ojibwe parents living in Trenton, Ontario, near the north shore of Lake Ontario, Copway, or Kahgegagahbowh (Standing

Firm or Stands Forever), grew up in a Great Lakes world similar to that in which Jane Johnston Schoolcraft came of age. Later in life he recalled his younger days with a romantic fondness, writing that "the days which I have spent in the forest yet cause a momentary joy."[38] In 1826, Copway's father converted to Methodism and was henceforth known as "John Copway." His son followed him into the faith in the summer of 1830 at the urging of his dying mother. Afterward, he took the name "George" and served as a missionary in Michigan and Wisconsin before attending school for three years in Illinois from 1836 to 1839. Before returning to Canada in November of that year, Copway toured the United States, visiting cities such as Boston, Chicago, Detroit, and New York. What he beheld in Boston moved the twenty-one-year-old to tears. "As I saw the prosperity of the white man," Copway writes, "I said, while tears filled my eyes, 'Happy are thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, *O saved by the Lord*!'"[39] The habits and arts of civilization had taken hold in the educated, zealous Copway. Like his fellow convert to Methodism, William Apess, Copway embraced Christianity and the material and spiritual blessings it promised the faithful. Many nineteenth-century Native American and Indigenous writers, including Christian missionaries Catharine Brown (Cherokee) and S. Alice Callahan (Muscogee), did as well. Yet Copway also condemned what he condoned. He later penned a verse for what Natives had lost to Euro-American gain in cities like Boston. "Once more I see my fathers' land / Upon the beach, where oceans roar; / Where whitened bones bestrew the sand, / Of some brave warrior of yore," cries the protagonist in a Copway poem.[40] The protagonist then asks rhetorically: "Where have my proud ancestors gone? / Whose smoke curled up from every dale, / To what land have their free spirits flown? / Whose wigwam stood where cities rise."[41] With one eye on the past and the other on the present, Copway envisions and mourns the

vanishing Indian with equal and contradictory measures of bereavement for the loss of what was and an admiration for that which had taken its place.

Eleven years later, Copway sailed from Boston to England to attend the Third World Peace Congress in Frankfurt am Main, Germany in 1850.[42] The publication of a sensational and successful memoir in 1847 had propelled Copway into the national literary limelight in Canada and the United States.[43] Peyer observes that this happened because the "intellectual urban centers of the northeastern United States, which were far removed in time and space from any conflictive interaction with Indians . . . proved to be a highly fertile ground" for an "idealized . . . narrative of a converted 'child of the forest'" to take hold.[44] Copway met and befriended the American writer Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in 1849, corresponded with Bryant, Cooper, and Irving, and became, as historian Donald Smith puts it, "Canada's first literary celebrity in the United States."[45] In England, Copway was, "lionized by local reporters and the cream of British society," while keeping a busy social calendar visiting English aristocracy.[46] From Britain, Copway crossed the English Channel to Calais, then traveled east through France to Germany. At the congress in Frankfurt, Copway held the crowd spellbound when he spoke on August 24. He incited a "great sensation" and, in a "grandiloquent style," delivered a speech on the Gospel and its message of peace.[47] Copway's name was subsequently splashed across newspapers in England, France, and Germany. He met Prince Frederick, the future German emperor, while leaving the congress, then traveled to Heidelberg, Wiesbaden, Düsseldorf, and Cologne, where he had an audience with leading German intellectuals. Upon his return to London, Copway remained in the United Kingdom, touring and lecturing as far north as Scotland before sailing back to America in the winter of 1851.[48]

Copway immediately capitalized on his notoriety and whirlwind six-month tour of Europe. In the spring of 1851, he published *Running Sketches of Men and Places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland*. Peyer calls the book "the least accomplished" in Copway's oeuvre, while Dakota/Ojibwe critic Scott Richard Lyons comments that it has been relegated to historical obscurity, having "received virtually no sustained critical attention since its release."[49] Art historian and critic Kate Flint notes that the book has been "curiously ignored," while other critics have used it to mock Copway's style, belittle his self-aggrandizement, or question his mental health.[50] Criticisms and interpretations of *Running Sketches* notwithstanding, the book is important if for no other reason that it is the first full-length travelogue published by a Native author.

In his edited volume *The World, the Text, and the Indian: Global Dimensions of Native American Literature* (2017), Lyons takes a generous and openminded approach to deciphering Copway and his *Running Sketches*. He suggests that, as is often the case, instead of reading nineteenth-century Indian subjects such as Copway as being caught spatially "between two worlds"—of being "of the woods" or "someone who lives in a town"—critics might "resituate" subjectivity "in a historical logical of temporality."[51] "Such a shift," Lyons adds, "would affirm the important point that Indians have never lived in different 'worlds' but in *one complicated world*."[52] Lyons thus situates *Running Sketches* into what he calls the "genealogy of Native modernity," which he defines as "a Native embracement of modern logics and a refusal to 'vanish' before them."[53] Far from being nonsense written by an unhinged author or the ramblings of an assimilated Indian that no "authentic" Indian would think fit to write, Lyons considers Copway's books for how they are "precisely the kind of discourse one should expect from a *modern Indian*."[54]

That there should be nothing strange or surprising about a successful Native author traveling to Europe in the mid-nineteenth century to promote his own career interests is a notion pivotal to this dissertation.[55] I argue that in historical fiction published in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, McNickle, Silko, Welch, and Vizenor, like Copway, open new spaces to Indian mobility while creating unique Indian presences over modernist historical landscapes synonymous with Native absence and removal. My own truncated "genealogy of Native modernity" begins and ends in post-World War I Paris. McNickle briefly lived in the French capital as a young man and set a draft of his first novel within the Parisian Lost Generation art scene. Almost a century later, Vizenor published *Blue Ravens: Historical Novel* (2014), a novel wherein two Anishinaabe brothers from Minnesota survive World War I to live and thrive in Paris as expatriate artists. Set in Marseille a generation before the outbreak of large-scale warfare in Europe, Welch's *The Heartsong of Charging Elk* (2000) portrays an Oglala Lakota performer in William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West show. Charging Elk is at first unable to leave France in the winter of 1889 for being entangled in bureaucratic red tape. Sixteen years later, he elects to remain in Marseille, where he has settled into a job and makes his home with his pregnant French wife. Lastly, Silko imagines a modernist transatlantic world in which the Native protagonist of her novel *Gardens in the Dunes* (1999) finds personal and spiritual connections to people and places in England, France, and Italy at the turn of the twentieth century. Unlike Vizenor's novel *The Heirs of Columbus* (1991), which distances itself from Europe and the pernicious effects of Euro-American myths and histories in America, Silko stakes out a unique historical Native presence in the Old World. Collectively, my study of these texts reveals a varied Native presence in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century European settings that contradicts what at the time were spatial ways of thinking that still imagined metaphorical

Indian trails leading into the dark woods or toward extinction. The virulent racism that bolstered a false awareness of where Indians lived and where they were headed was, argues Lyons—more than forced assimilation or acculturation—the enemy that writers such as Copway confronted for its capacity to "deny nonwhites an ability to participate in larger communities and markets."[56] Silko, Welch, and Vizenor illustrate similar threats to Native moderns in their prose. That their characters largely succeed in finding creative entry into European cultural and economic centers is therefore a convincing rebuke of a U.S. settler colonial ideology and an American literary history long predicated on the marginalization of Natives in space. By the same token, these Native characters defy the obviousness of U.S. administrative mappings and are active agents and claimants to the global geopolitical stage. Ultimately, these Indian moderns in Europe distinguish themselves during an era of great loss, both to Native lands and lives, in that they manage to not only make their worlds larger, but gain something in doing so.

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The historical and literary study of Native Americans in Europe has grown in recent years from what in the twentieth century was a nearly non-existent body of work. Historian Carolyn Thomas Foreman's *Indians Abroad, 1493–1938* (1943) remains one of only a handful of comprehensive book-length studies of the Indigenous peoples who went abroad over a span of four and a half centuries. In 2006, historian Alden T. Vaughan published *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776*, building on Foreman's scholarship to document the multifarious ways that Indigenous peoples experienced England prior to the American Revolution. Vaughan contends that though many Natives went to England against their will during this period, either as captives or slaves, "many who crossed the Atlantic went voluntarily."[57] Those who did then "influenced their own people and often the course of Indian-European relations . . . thereby

contributing from the western side of the ocean to an increasingly international/multicultural Atlantic World."[58] The meaning of the Atlantic World in the larger context of almost a thousand years of Native American and Indigenous history is taken up by Cherokee critic and historian Jace Weaver in *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (2014). Just as British historian Paul Gilroy makes Africans and Africa central to the history of the Atlantic World in his book *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993), Weaver does the same for Indians and the Americas in his depiction of the "Red Atlantic." Since the Vikings encountered North American Indigenes in 1000 C. E., Weaver surmises that Natives have crisscrossed the Atlantic World as "spectacles and entertainers, soldiers and sailors, tourists and explorers, captives and slaves, [and] patronage seekers and diplomats."[59] "The Atlantic formed a multilane, two-way bridge," argues Weaver, "across which traveled ideas and things that changed both Europeans and American Indigenes."[60] While Weaver adds that those scholars who see "a loss of Indigenous authenticity" or "a diminution of Indianness" in these exchanges fail "to account of the fact that Natives and their cultures [have] always been highly adaptive."[61] That Indians have, for more than a millennium since first contact with Europeans, inhabited and shaped a complicated Atlantic World is what scholars such as Flint, Foreman, Lyons, Vaughan, and Weaver have shed new light on.

Others have demonstrated how European and Native histories and literatures have been intertwined in the Old World to the extent that it is hard to discern where some discrete Native American and European histories and literatures start and stop. In *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (2016), historian Coll Thrush brings to light "a new kind of London story," one "framed through the firsthand experiences of the Indigenous people who

traveled there," and one that is "simultaneously intimate in its scope and global in its reach."[62] Thrush shows that Natives have been unduly estranged from London, a "result of one of the most powerful narratives in global history: that of historical progress from savagery to civilization."[63] In this narrative, Thrush posits, "the city [serves] as the ultimate avatar of civilization, while Indigenous people [are] its foil, whether savage or noble in their difference."[64] To be savage, or "of the woods," is permanent in the way it purposefully anchors Indigenous peoples in space, time, and in diametrical opposition to those who are civilized and live in towns. By this logic, one cannot be both (or neither) simultaneously—who you are is where you are. In *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776–1930* (2009), Flint maintains that "the capacity of Indians to inhabit British public, intellectual, and social spaces attests to their participation not just on the troubled terrain of the United States and Canada, but within a yet broader transatlantic context of developing modernities."[65] On *Gardens* and *Heartsong*, Flint believes that Silko and Welch "rewrite the possibilities inherent for Native peoples in the late nineteenth century," and that Indian traditions were never "isolated from modernity, but rather in mediation and dialogue with it."[66] Though the practice and rhetoric of assimilation and removal, alongside the archetype of the vanishing Indian, are deeply ingrained in Native American history and literature during the modernist era, there are global dimension to these narratives as well. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period of rapid and often destructive global transformation, Indians found commonplace, albeit somewhat "unexpected" ways, to meet modernity head on.[67]

"Mapping Native Moderns" follows the aforementioned critics, historians, and novelists eastward. Native American literature, as Lyons writes, "has always been . . . a global enterprise," and in this dissertation I attempt to give further credit to that thesis and lobby for its importance.[68] To that end, I gauge the complexities of space and place in the limited number of

Native American novels set in Europe. Where Flint, for example, uncovers evidence to place late nineteenth-century Indians in "public, intellectual, and social spaces," she does not do so to better comprehend these spaces and places themselves so much as she analyzes how Natives existed within them. In that sense, my work is more akin to Thrush's in that where he offers a new London story, I offer analyses not only grounded in and germane to specific European spaces and places, but in which space and place are the subjects, rather than the objects, of inquiry. Native characters shape and are shaped by competing interpretations of space and place that change over time in texts by McNickle, Silko, Vizenor, and Welch. This happens in direct proportion to how Native American spaces were conceived and perceived in twentieth-century cultural, political, and social circles. United States settler colonialism, assimilation, acculturation, removal, and/or the forced relocation of Indians during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries diminished the scale of Native space in the United States and restricted Native movement. In starting with McNickle's manuscript "The Hungry Generations," a draft of his novel *The Surrounded* (1936), I demonstrate that McNickle internalized the government policies and racism that made it seem impossible for an affluent young Native man to live in Paris during the 1920s. When read alongside Vizenor's *Blue Ravens*, however, a novel written almost a century after the "The Hungry Generations," we see in hindsight what is clearer now: that Indians are and can be everywhere.

Though no critic in the fields of Native American literature or Native American studies has undertaken work directly comparable to "Mapping Native Moderns" in terms of its specific European focus, this dissertation is not without peer or precedent. Like Rifkin, American critics Lisa Brooks (Abenaki), James H. Cox, Shari M. Huhndorf (Yup'ik), and Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Band of Seneca), have examined space and place in Native history and writing. In

The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast (2008), Brooks studies colonial-era texts by Mohegan minister Samson Occom, Mohawk military and political leader Joseph Brant, and Apess, for how they reclaim Indian "lands and reconstruct communities."[69] Huhndorf, in *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture* (2009) situates her transnational design "within a broader global fabric" to critique "national identity and imperialism as they radically challenge the histories, geographies, and contemporary social relations that constitute America itself."[70] Similarly, Cox's *The Red Land to the South: American Indian Writers and Indigenous Mexico* (2012), "focuses primarily on the movement of American Indian minds and bodies across the U.S.-Mexican border . . . within the context . . . of [Indigenous] removals and migrations. It is therefore a borderlands study, at least geographically."[71] Cox notes that the writers whose work he scrutinizes, including Todd Downing (Choctaw), Lynn Riggs (Cherokee), and McNickle, question the histories and geographies innate to settler colonialism in the United States and Mexico. Finally, in *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (2013), Goeman interrogates "the use of historically and culturally situated spatial epistemologies, geographic metaphors, and the realities they produce."[72] The texts Goeman explores, "imagine a future that produces new possibilities for Native people," while literature is "an avenue for the 'imaginative' creation of new possibilities, which must happen through imaginative modes precisely because the 'real' of settler colonial society is built on violent erasures of alternative modes of mapping and geographic understandings."[73] That together imagination and literature are a powerful space-making entity, and that "alternative modes of mapping and geographic understandings" are required to, as Goeman writes, "unsettle settler colonialism," is a hypothesis deeply ingrained in "Mapping Native Moderns."[74] Yet Goeman's example is singular in that it puts space and place

in the analytical foreground. The "what," "why," or "how" of place and space do not register with the other critics as much as the characters who move the literary action in, for example, upstate New York, Alaska, or Mexico.[75]

Space and the circumstances of its construction in Native American and Indigenous literature has attracted more thorough interrogation from critics in Europe. Critic Katja Sarkowsky has written the most complete, rigorous, and sophisticated treatment to date of space in Native fiction. In *AlterNative Spaces: Constructions of Space in Native American and First Nations' Literatures* (2007), she convincingly argues for spatial construction as a tactic for cross-cultural political and social negotiations between Euro-Americans and Indigenous peoples. "Space and spaces are constructed," Sarkowsky theorizes, "though multifold interactions of components, shaped by power asymmetries, the interplay of local and global influences, assertations of difference and search for community, and alliances that cut across boundaries of cultural or ethnic identity."[76] Critic Helen May Dennis, in *Native American Literature: Towards a Spatialized Reading* (2007), explores representations of space in Native American women's fiction for how these spaces are "felicitious," for how space differs in oral and written storytelling traditions, and for ceremonial space. Sarkowsky and Dennis might be said to be both of and in the places and spaces of this dissertation, as I draw heavily on their expertise. Space is indeed a site for and of debate and a flashpoint of exchange around the Red Atlantic, while the presupposed applicability and utility of "felicitious space" in Native literature is key to the first chapter herein.

Thus, what to make of the making of space and place in the Native American novels set in Europe is the question I seek to answer. In chapter 1, I draw on French philosopher Gaston Bachelard's groundbreaking and still widely read treatise on phenomenology, *The Poetics of*

Space (1957), to read Vizenor's *The Heirs of Columbus* and Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes* for the emergence of felicitious space. Felicitious space is the space we love, the space that "may be defended against adverse forces," according to Bachelard.[77] Both Silko and Vizenor map the U.S. settler colonial past to engender positive, felicitious Indigenous spaces, presences, and participation against the dominant narrative of Indigenous absence, erasure, and removal. Spaces, and history itself, are by different means and to different ends defended from adversity in both novels. And though London is in *Heirs* a present and historical danger to contemporary Indigenous peoples, England, in addition to France and Italy, are in *Gardens* found to be part of a larger web of international felicitious spaces united against global capitalism and industrialization.

Chapter 2 bridges the French port city of Marseille to the windswept northern plains and the Oglala Lakota agency and reservation at Pine Ridge. I argue that in Welch's *The Heartsong of Charging Elk* (2000), "home" is less about place than it is about process. Home is where the heartsong is, as the Oglala Lakota protagonist Charging Elk finds that home has less to do with questions of "where," and more to do with questions of "who," "when," and "how." Charging Elk lives through and precipitates the surrender of one home after another from 1877 to 1905, an era of rapid U.S. imperial expansion and the vanishing Indian. Yet no matter where he is, Charging Elk is never beyond the reach and grasp of American "manifest domesticity." As described by critic Amy Kaplan, manifest domesticity is a process of domestication that "turns an imperial nation into a home by producing and colonizing specters of the foreign that lurk inside and outside its ever-shifting borders."[78] Yet Charging Elk is also subject and object to domestication in equal measure. In his pursuit of home on two continents, he signs his "x-mark" to the times and places in which he lives and resides, a signature "of consent in a context of

coercion."[79] As Lyons argues, an x-mark, such as those scrawled by many Native American leaders on hundreds of government treaties, is a metaphor for the calculated and forward-looking ways that Natives have accommodated and advanced change over time. Home in *Heartsong* is a similar x-mark, a personal and political negotiation, a shifting and evolving location of power and a lack therefore, and a domestic and domesticated space constructed by and for Charging Elk.

Chapter 3 takes readers almost five hundred miles northward from Marseille to Paris. That a draft of McNickle's "The Hungry Generations" has survived presents critics with an opportunity to study Paris in two disparate examples of Native literature written more than eighty years apart. Using critic Bertrand Westphal's theory of geocriticism, geographer Edward W. Soja's concept of "Thirdspace," and French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad, I argue that McNickle's Paris is an example of "repressive spatiality," while Vizenor's Paris in *Blue Ravens* is an instance of "transgressive spatiality." Additionally, in chapter 3 space differs from place, as I interpret McNickle's Paris to be an example of space and Vizenor's an instance of place. Though "The Hungry Generations" and *Blue Ravens* are set in the same spatiotemporal referent, they are, for reasons important to the study of space and place in Native literature, as dissimilar as night and day, or a darkling plain and the City of Light.

"Mapping Native Moderns" is a transatlantic examination of Native American novels set in Europe that ventures to enlarge what for five centuries of U.S. settler colonialism have been American Indian spaces and worlds stolen, shattered, and made smaller. As geographers, as well as artists, anthropologists, historians, linguists, and legal scholars, Native authors such as McNickle, Silko, Vizenor, and Welch have remade myriad Native spaces while redefining the nature and limits of their boundaries. While space is no substitute for the permanency, political

relevancy, or cosmological import of Native land, space and place are nevertheless meaningful so long as Americans such as Ortiz's park ranger in Florida need reminding that Indians are everywhere. To that I am reminded of Ohlone-Costanoan Esselen poet and writer Deborah A. Miranda's collection of poetry *Indian Cartography* (1999). On what she wants her poems to say, Miranda writes that she wants them, "to say those words that testify to a miracle, that make song out of quivering air: *Here we are, here we are, here we are*."[80]

It is an Indigenous refrain heard round the Red Atlantic.

1

The Worlds at Road's End

Finding Felicitious Space in *The Heirs of Columbus* and *Gardens in the Dunes*

Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor and Laguna Pueblo writer Leslie Marmon Silko anticipated the quincentenary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World with novels that are more critical than commemorative of his landing in the Bahamas at Samana Cay in October 1492. Vizenor's *The Heirs of Columbus*, published in 1991, satirizes and upends the history and identity of the Genoese navigator. Columbus is a descendent of the Maya and Sephardic Jews, drawn to his homeland in the Americas by stories in his blood and genes. Upon his going ashore in the Caribbean, Columbus is seduced by an Indigenous healer. Their sexual union produces the Heirs of Columbus, who in the present day seek the remains of their common ancestor for burial at the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Silko's *Almanac of the Dead*, also published in 1991, envisions a legacy of genocide and settler colonialism perpetrated by Euro-Americans against Indigenous peoples the world over. What Columbus and European explorers like him started is coming to an end, as Indigenous revolutionaries and social movements challenge the legitimacy of Euro-American colonial power and the spurious histories that support it.

Columbus has long been a synecdoche for the best and worst in humanity. America celebrated the quadricentenary of his first voyage in grand fashion at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. On display were the great cultural, entrepreneurial, and scientific achievements of the nineteenth century. Attendees beheld new technological marvels, such as the automatic dishwasher and the zipper, while Americans celebrated "in a manner worthy of" their "position and power as a nation, the discovery of . . . [America] . . . by Columbus."[1] To mark the

occasion, President Benjamin Harrison declared October 12, 1892, Columbus Day.[2] Americans were encouraged to spend this one-time national holiday devoting "themselves to such exercise as may best express honor to the discoverer."[3] Walt Whitman captured the Columbian spirit of the exposition in his final poem, "A Thought of Columbus," finished ten days before his death. A stanza reads: "Four hundred years roll on. / The rapid cumulus—trade, navigation, war, peace, democracy, roll on; / The restless armies and the fleets of time following their leader—the old camps of ages pitch'd in newer, larger areas."[4]

Yet by 1893 the United States had reached the limits of its domestic territorial boundaries. In the American West especially, there were no newer, larger areas for the metaphorical old camps of ages as they trailed Euro-American civilization westward across the continent. At the 1893 meeting of the American Historical Association, held in Chicago, a young historian named Frederick Jackson Turner pronounced the frontier closed. Whitman, Manifest Destiny's most vocal literary champion, died alongside America's unbounded ability to roll on as it had for a hundred years. Americans had ironically and paradoxically reached road's end just as they were heralding an iconic explorer and looking toward a supposedly limitless future.

The Heirs of Columbus evinces a new interpretation of Columbus based on how and why his history and story evolved in the century after the Columbian Exposition. Silko followed *Almanac of the Dead* by writing to the *fin de siècle* in America and Europe. *Gardens in the Dunes*, published in 1999, tracks an ill-fated, upper-class California couple through late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century American and European settings. With them is an Indian girl from the American Southwest, Indigo, whom the couple takes in as a ward after she runs away from an off-reservation Indian boarding school in Riverside, California. Desperate to be reunited with her mother and sister so they can return to their desert gardens and home on the

Arizona/California border, Indigo is instead taken to New York State, then England, Italy, and France, before eventually returning to the United States.

This chapter argues for the importance of Indigo's desert gardens and home as "felicitious space." Espoused by twentieth-century French philosopher Gaston Bachelard in his book *The Poetics of Space* (1957), felicitious spaces are the spaces we love, the spaces that "may be defended against adverse forces."[5] Bachelard's phenomenology of the imagination considers how the ontology of space precedes its emergence in consciousness, or how "the image comes *before* thought."[6] "Imagination augments the values of reality," writes Bachelard, as inhabited spaces, specifically the rooms of a home, such as the attic or cellar, are in their being and meaning laden with "values of intimacy" and the unconscious memories individuals associate with them.[7] Indeed, when speaking or writing on rooms in the home, "they are," Bachelard notes, "in us as much as we are in them."[8] *Gardens in the Dunes* is a defense of Indigo's gardens and home from within and without. Silko's novel is as well a powerful creation and depiction of reality, and a real and unreal refuge from adverse forces in space, story, and time.

Felicitious space is equally central to *The Heirs of Columbus*. On October 12, 1992, the Heirs of Columbus declare Point Assinika a new sovereign nation. Called Point Roberts on modern maps, Point Assinika is a spit of land between Semiahmoo, Washington, and Vancouver Island, Canada. In claiming Point Assinika for themselves by the Doctrine of Discovery, the Heirs ironically recapitulate Columbus's landing in the Bahamas. It is an ambitious new start in a new world, a "Tribal New World" according to critic Iping Liang, and a reclamation of discovery and land by Columbian means to Indigenous ends.[9] In addition to being a felicitious space, Point Assinika is a real and unreal space in a narrative that calls attention to its capacity, and that of language in general, to create new room for itself. "Language is our trick of

discovery," writes Vizenor, "what we name is certain to become that name."[10] In its becoming, Point Assinika emerges as a felicitious space from which to leverage forceful responses to the contemporary and historical effects of settler colonialism on Indigenous bodies and communities.

The Heirs of Columbus and *Gardens in the Dunes* share more than felicitious space, however. They are among only a handful of novels in Native American literature to include a European setting. Vizenor sets a brief but significant scene in England, while the backdrop for some of Silko's narrative is England, France, and Italy. When Felipa Flowers goes to Gravesend (near London) to retrieve the remains of Pocahontas on behalf of the Heirs of Columbus, she is murdered there, just as Pocahontas died in a Gravesend lodge in March 1617. Whereas the Heirs establish Point Assinika as a modern nation for the living to heal from historical traumas, and gather there at the "House of Life," the Old World remains philosophically allied with a "culture of death." Likewise, the world beyond her gardens and home is largely hostile to Indigo and her family. Though her tour of Europe exposes Indigo to ancient gardens and Gnostic teachings similar to her own spiritualities, Europe remains contentious compared to her home and gardens in America.

Slight as it was, the shift overseas in Native American literature that attended the Columbian Quincentenary signaled a new willingness by Native authors to take characters abroad. Part and parcel to that was a move by Vizenor and Silko to purposefully align fiction with the facts of Native American and Indigenous transatlantic histories on a global scale, to exhibit Natives as active agents in the making of the modern world. As such, *The Heirs of Columbus* has been studied for how and why it alters, challenges, deconstructs, or reclaims Euro-American histories for Indigenous gain. The novel is "historiographic metafiction" in that *Heirs* is postmodern fiction in which "the conventions of both fiction and historiography are

simultaneously used and abused, installed and subjected, asserted and denied."[11] *Gardens in the Dunes* for its part has been called "a subtly crafted history of nineteenth-century European and North American imperialism" that "encompasses the conquest of the Americas, . . . forced Christianization, and acts of violence against women, Indigenous peoples, and the earth."[12] More significantly, however, both novels augment history and reality to appropriate and open new geographies in the past and present. Space is subordinate to time, an ordering more traditional to Native epistemologies than the Euro-American ways of conceptualizing space that define it in relation to *when* past events occurred instead of *where* they occurred. Imagination and narrative inform and precede the cartographic dimensions of the real and unreal spaces in *Gardens* and *Heirs*, as the Sand Lizard people, of whom Indigo is one, and the gardens in the dunes are fictional. Nor does the nation of Point Assinika correspond to its own physical referent, while Christopher Columbus was not Maya and may or may not have been a Sephardic Jew.[13] Fiction, however, carries as much spatial import as fact. Vizenor and Silko became explorers in their own right with counterhegemonic versions of Indigenous geographies and histories in story. In doing so, they map new spaces and break new ground for Indigenous authors to roll onward past road's end and the so-called American frontier, to claim and discover new places in the past, present, and future over the old camps of ages.

I

Born in 1934 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Vizenor is of Anishinaabe and French ancestry on his father's side, and Swedish-American heritage on his mother's. A former professor of American studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of New Mexico, Vizenor has

published more than forty books. His scholarship has led critical thinking in Native American studies and Native American literary criticism for decades, having popularized "trickster discourse" in the 1990s and the widespread scholarly use of neologisms such as "postindian" and "transmotion." A common thread through Vizenor's writing is "cultural irony," along with "Native individualism, visionary narratives, chance, natural reason, and survivance."[14] On Vizenor's body of work, critic Karl Kroeber notes that it "aims to repair a peculiarly vicious consequence of genocidal attacks on Natives of the Americas: an inducing in them of their destroyers' view that they are mere survivors."[15]

Survivance in particular is relevant to *The Heirs of Columbus*. Vizenor defines survivance, a term not of his invention but with which he is widely associated, as "an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion."[16] "Survivance stories," he adds, "are renunciations of dominance, detractions, obtrusions, the unbearable sentiments of tragedy, and the legacy of victimry."[17] Survivance manifests change, endures, and perpetuates renewal opposite irrecoverable loss and victimization. In *Heirs*, Columbus is said to have "bore the tribal signature of survivance and ascended the culture of death in the Old World."[18] Similarly, Point Assinika is "the wild estate of tribal memories and genes of survivance in the New World."[19] The Heirs are not survivors, as Native survivance is an essential distinction between *Heirs* and the history of Christopher Columbus—of conqueror and conquered—as feted at the Colombian Exposition. Survivance is key to a novel that Vizenor wrote to oppose that venerated Columbian myth, which he characterizes as "a bad story that victimizes me."[20] In his refusal to abide the conqueror/conquered dichotomy, Vizenor, writes critic Michael Hardin, "establishes a new heterogenous space [Point Assinika] by literally burying the historically constructed narratives of victim and exotic and replacing them with a self-conscious and balanced environment that can

function in a post-capitalist era."[21] The Heirs of Columbus do not inherit a legacy of conquest they are powerless to change. They instead come into a legacy of survivance, a space of survivance at Point Assinika in which to see survivance forward, and a desire to act in its name. By the same token, they reclaim and expand unfinished global histories and processes of transatlantic space-making by burying Columbus at the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and in returning the remains of Pocahontas from the Old World to the New.

The plan to repatriate Pocahontas takes shape after the successful recovery of Columbus's bones and ashes from a vault in the Conquistador Club at the Brotherhood of American Explorers in New York City. Later, Doric Michéd, a member of the Brotherhood, brings legal action against the Heirs of Columbus to determine proprietorship of the remains and take back his property. Stone Columbus, the public voice of the Heirs and a wealthy casino owner, his partner Felipa Flowers, their child Miigis, and other Heirs appear in court to defend their possession of Columbus's bones and ashes by right of "stories in the blood."[22] When the judge asks Chaine Riel Doumet, a private investigator hired by a tribal government to spy on the Heirs, to describe "the cultural distinctions between stories and material ownership," he divulges that "the modern idea of ownership is not the same as the tribal sense of possession."[23] He further explains that "bones are possessed by shamans, but not owned by museums," and that "stories are in bones . . . and stories have natural rights to be heard and liberated."[24] The irony is that if, in the stories the Heirs possess in their blood Columbus is not a conqueror, then his remains should not be interred at the Conquistador Club.

Yet the judge sides with the Heirs of Columbus based not on their cultural logic of what it means to possess versus own, but for lack of physical evidence. With Michéd unable to provide proof that a crime occurred, there is no legal cause to charge the Heirs with theft. The

result is an ironic play on historian and critic Hayden White's notion of "metahistory." Metahistory sees the writing of history as less dispassionate and objective, and more creative, ideological, and literary, than historians would have it. White contends that "there has been a reluctance to consider historical narratives as what they most manifestly are: verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much invented as found."[25] Similarly, Anishinaabe critic and Vizenor scholar Kimberly M. Blaeser has argued that, "Through play and intellectual bantering," Vizenor "forces a reconsideration of the processes and powers of historical reckoning and thus liberates the reader from conceived notions, inciting an imaginative reevaluation of history."[26] Blaser adds that Vizenor frees "historiography . . . from the grasp of political panderers and return[s] it to the realm of story."[27] That historians can or should objectively and solely interpret history as it is recorded in the primary documents that make up the archival historical record is what White aims to counter. So does Vizenor. In *Heirs*, history cannot rise to a burden of proof that story satisfies. Subsequently, Vizenor overturns a Euro-American judicial norm that has disadvantaged Indigenous communities and peoples for centuries.

When a British rare book dealer named Pellegrine Treves, a Sephardic Jew sympathetic to the Heirs of Columbus, learns of their victory in court, he offers Flowers the remains of Pocahontas, believed to be in the chancel at St. George's Parish Church in Gravesend. For fear of being caught trafficking an antiquity, however, Treves insists that he cannot travel to America. He instead invites Flowers to London to retrieve Pocahontas so she can be buried alongside Columbus at the House of Life near the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Though Stone is "suspicious of manners and intentions from the Old World," Flowers insists that "Pocahontas is more important" than any nefarious reasons Treves might have for wanting her in England.[28] She arrives in London "on the same day in March that Pocahontas, weakened with a fever, boarded

the *George* anchored at Tower Steps on the River Thames."[29] Treves then meets Flowers at a performance of *The Vision of Delight*, a masque by the English dramatist and poet Ben Jonson. The masque is being held "to honor the memory of Pocahontas," who had been presented to English courtiers during its performance at Whitehall Palace in January 1617.[30] As Flowers dances with Treves, he alerts her to the fact that three centuries earlier, Pocahontas "boarded a ship on this very day, and tomorrow she would be dead at Gravesend."[31] The following day, Treves escorts Flowers to St. George's, where she finds the remains of Pocahontas in a metal case. Afterward, two men assault Flowers and she is beaten unconscious. Her lifeless body is later found at the base of a statue of Pocahontas at the church, while the metal case is eventually recovered by Treves.

Flowers's death in the assumed role and pursuit of Pocahontas is demonstrative of how ambiguous the terms of possession and ownership can be in Euro-American/Indigenous histories and stories. Where the Heirs of Columbus rightfully possess the remains and story of Columbus, they have no similar title to Pocahontas. As such, there is, as critics Yvette Koepke and Christopher Nelson point out, "No way . . . for her [Felipa Flowers] to . . . restore Pocahontas."[32] More broadly, Hardin contends that for some Native writers, Pocahontas represents "a critical moment in history at which there was the possibility of a return to a non-European existence . . . [a] past [that] is the solution to the problems of the present."[33] Such an essentialized, retrograde cultural and historical mindset is what Vizenor associates with victimry, and pushes back against in *Heirs* and his other survivance novels. The past, present, and future are not so easily undone or newly written. Flowers is therefore not only a victim of settler colonialism or genocide, but of history. Specifically, she is a victim of history as it is mythologized, reified, and signified in the narrative and person of Pocahontas, and for wanting to retrieve that purely metaphorical,

signified history in spite of the risks. Historian Coll Thrush has written that "The space between the ghosted Pocahontas and the ancestral Pocahontas is the space between metaphor and memory, between symbolic 'savages' and the real experiences of Indigenous peoples . . . during their travels in London."[34] The metaphor is more dangerous and often more alluring than the reality of memory, a distinction Stone tries and fails to make Flowers understand. Indeed, it is a metaphor and history that Doric Michéd literally keeps under lock and key and will do anything to possess. He is guilty of conspiring to kill Flowers, though he is never charged with her murder, and of paying for the remains of Pocahontas, a crime for which he is convicted but released on parole. The ownership of history, like space, is fraught with violence and accommodates Euro-American worldviews, while possession favors Indigenous ways of knowing.

History, possession, and ownership are similarly important to space and spatial difference in *The Heirs of Columbus*. In truth, competing interpretations of possession and ownership differentiate the contours of spaces that inevitably overlap. Critic Mary Louise Pratt has famously criticized imperial literary spaces for their manifestations as "contact zones," where "peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."[35] Additionally, contact zones invoke "the space and time where subjects previously separated by geography and history are co-present."[36] What distinguishes the contact zone in *Heirs* is its location at the center of, as opposed to the periphery, of European empire. Modern and historical London is a contact zone where ongoing and past coercions, inequalities, and conflicts disadvantage and threaten Indigenous peoples. London and Europe—the Old World—are synonymous with a historical culture of death. England is at once the Old World and

the older world of the past, a metonym for a metaphorical bygone era toward which is death, an inevitable end at Gravesend literally and "grave's end" figuratively.

Yet what Vizenor means in his use of culture of death is not clear. It has been variously interpreted to be a "culture that arrests play," an acceptance of a secular humanism that abandons an "inalienable right to life," or a Euro-American, Christian culture that perpetuates "a strong inclination to keep to the written and fixed word."[37] The latter is probably the most plausible given that it resembles the "intentions" of which Stone is suspicious, as well as how the narrative interprets a Euro-American desire to keep property, like language, fixed or "dead." The culture of death could therefore be construed as a culture of ownership, wherein its past is as immovable and lifeless as its written word. Conversely, the Heirs of Columbus gather at a stone tavern and burial ground at the House of Life near the Mississippi River. A contact zone in its own right, the House of Life is, as Treves explains it, "a metaphor that means a burial ground or cemetery in Hebrew."[38] Unlike London, the House of Life is where co-present Indigenous and European peoples come together over shared values, where possession matters more than ownership. Just as the Heirs are the legitimate possessors of Columbus's remains, as Sephardic Jews they possess Treves's metaphor. Their spatial example of survivance, of a felicitious space, is a new map of New World history and an ironic getaway from ownership and death in, of all places, a cemetery.

The difference between a liberal and a conservative approach to history was central to competing delineations of Columbus published in 1992. Conservative historian Robert Royal decried those revisionist historians—perhaps with Vizenor in mind—who in the late twentieth century allegedly distorted the facts and historical record around Columbus in the name of political correctness. One of those far-left academics writing about Columbus was historian David E. Stannard. In 1992, Stannard published *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New*

World. Stannard's book is a polemical history of Euro-American colonization in the New World in which Columbus is complicit in the deaths of one hundred million Indigenes. A moderate, historian Claudia L. Bushman neither pilloried nor praised Columbus, but focused instead on how nineteenth-century writers and artists, such as Walt Whitman, exploited his deeds and image to mythologize American exceptionalism and Manifest Destiny.[39] New perspectives had brought change to Columbian historiography and hyperbole. A hundred years earlier, praise for Columbus had driven one historian to write of the so-called discovery of the Americas that it "in its immediate and remote consequences and effects upon the happiness, well-being, and expansion of mankind, fairly transcends every other event in the history of the world."[40] Though Columbus had inspired jubilee and American national devotion in 1892, by 1992 he had become an expression for the spread of Euro-American disease, imperial violence, and settler colonialism in the Western Hemisphere.

Point Assinika is an expression, in literature and space, of this change. Yet the most public shift in thinking about Columbus in 1992 occurred not in print but in practice. On October 12, 1992, the city of Berkeley, California, became the first city in the world to officially celebrate Indigenous Peoples' Day. Indigenous rights activists had been lobbying cities and governments to consider the name change for more than a decade. According to John Curl, a founding member of the Indigenous Peoples' Day Committee in Berkeley, Indigenous Peoples' Day was so named to honor "the resistance and survival and emergence of Native people instead of imperialism."[41] Activists in the Bay Area also convinced government officials to scrap U.S. Congressional plans for a quincentenary event in San Francisco that would have had replicas of Columbus's ships sail under the Golden Gate Bridge and land on the shore of San Francisco Bay. Between 1892 and 1992, the naming of a national holiday after Columbus and the raising of

more than a hundred monuments of his likeness across the United States happened as people embraced the Columbian myth that endures to this day: that "he was good and so are we."[42] So when time and outcry eroded the veneer of goodness around Columbus, the calling into question of his identity threatened, as it does Doric Michéd, the identities of millions of Americans as well.

What to make of that threat and how to manage it in space is taken up by Vizenor in his portrayal of Point Assinika. Assinika means "place of the stones," and in its naming it comes into its name.[43] After the death of Felipa Flowers, Stone Columbus instructs the Heirs of Columbus that they need to move nearer to the ocean and mountains, as "nothing would ever be the same at the headwaters."[44] Stone purchases land at Point Roberts and moves the stone tavern offshore one stone at a time. The stones "hold our tribal words and the past in silence," says Stone, "in the same way that we listen to stories in the blood and hold our past in memories."[45] In the purchase and naming of a new nation at Point Assinika, Vizenor returns space to the realm of story in the manner that he returns history to the same. Point Assinika is a place made of stories, a place that has to be invented before it can be "discovered" by the Heirs. Cultural anthropologist Keith H. Basso, in his seminal book *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (1996), writes that "place-making" consists of "an adventitious fleshing out of historical material that culminates in a posited state of affairs, a particular universe of objects and events—in short, a *place-world*—wherein portions of the past are brought into being."[46] Place-making is as well "a way of constructing history itself, of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of 'what happened here.'"[47] "Long before the advent of literacy," Basso observes, "to say nothing of 'history' as an academic discipline, places served humankind as durable symbols of distant events and as indispensable for remembering and imagining them."[48] Thus, when Western

Apaches describe their land or tell stories "about incidents that have occurred at specific points upon it—they take steps to constitute it in relation to themselves."[49] The result, Basso notes, is that words engender "a massive physical presence" in a "meaningful human universe."[50] How Basso describes the making of place within a Western Apache epistemology closely resembles how Stone Columbus creates Indigenous place-worlds at the House of Life and Point Assinika. The place made of stones is constituted in relation to Stone himself and Christopher Columbus, a new, amalgamized construction of history in story. Imagination therefore augments a new reality at Point Assinika, one "dedicated to healing the wounded with genetic therapies."[51] Moreover, moving away from the collective notion that "Columbus is good and so are we" does not mean accepting that "Columbus was bad and so are we." Columbus, a "trickster healer," is instead an ironic spatial remedy to a history from which contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike need restoring.[52] As Hardin notes, at Point Assinika "the constructs of identity no longer exist. The healing, tribal stories are the important thing."[53] Just as Columbus is not a conquistador in the Heirs' stories, neither are Indigenous peoples conquered at Point Assinika, where story is the remedy and therapy for painful historical traumas.

Memory is as foundational to Bachelard's writing as it is to Vizenor's. Bachelard, however, locates memory not in stone, genes, or blood, but in the soul. So too is the soul the abode for what we have forgotten. Thus, the phenomenology of where we live is what lives in us, or, in Bachelard's examples, the rooms of a home "are in us as much as we are in them."[54] Contemporary philosopher Dylan Trigg has expressed a similar phenomenological view, that "*We carry places with us*."[55] Trigg adds that, "We are never truly 'in' place without already having been in another place . . . coming into a place means bringing that lived history into the present."[56] Physical space therefore takes the shape of things recalled in time, as Bachelard

argues that "In its countless alveoli space contains compressed time. That is what space is for."[57] Space, unlike a house or land, is not owned, but possessed in the unconscious.

Images of felicitious space are necessarily those that have attractive values. No imagined space is completely inert, or only "subject to the measures and estimates of the surveyor," according to Bachelard.[58] Neither is felicitious space "hostile," or a "space of hatred and combat."[59] On the contrary, the imagination tends to concentrate its being "within limits that protect."[60] Memories of protection bring comfort, and in order to sustain them, "Something closed must retain our memories," be it a home, nation, or stone.[61] In that sense, "Memories are motionless."[62] Where matters more than when, for to "localize a memory in time . . . only corresponds to a sort of eternal history . . . to be communicated to others," while the "localization in the spaces of our intimacy is more urgent than determination of dates."[63] Critic Bradley John Monsma has noted that "land . . . in Vizenor's narratives" is not representative "of reality" but is "an active participant in linguistic play."[64] Monsma's thoughtful sentiment reflects how the "where" of memory creates felicitious spaces in America in a way that history, or "when," does not.

The question of what will contain Indigenous and non-Indigenous memories of the past is asked and answered in *The Heirs of Columbus*. At least in part, the answer is postmodern, imaginative spaces such as Point Assinika and similar felicitious spaces, spaces that sustain memory and protect from the adverse forces and hostilities of Euro-American histories and time. In the Heirs' stories of Columbus, the explorer is "ever on the move," as Columbus keeps with "trickster time."[65] Trickster time might also be called "survivance time." This theory of time eschews the legitimacy of a homogenous settler colonial time in which Euro-Americans are modern and Indigenous peoples are not. Survivance time also resists the obviousness of a Euro-

American chronology of past events in which Native American and Indigenous declines run concurrent to Euro-American ascensions starting in 1492. Critic Mark Rifkin has written on the idea of Indigenous "temporal sovereignty," renditions of which indicate "ways of being-in-time that are not reducible to participation in a singular, given time . . . largely contoured by non-Native patterns and priorities."[66] Vizenor hits on the theme of time dilation in *Heirs* and elsewhere, including in his first novel *Darkness in Saint Louis Bearheart* (1978). Belladonna Darwin Winter-Catcher, a Lakota character whom Vizenor holds up as a doomed believer in "terminal creeds," nevertheless keeps with a view of time similar to Stone Columbus's.[67] "My blood moves in the circles of mother earth through dreams without time. My tribal blood is timeless," says Winter-Catcher.[68] Stories in timeless blood are stories that are asynchronous.

A stone is therefore an apt metaphor for Vizenor's survivance in storytelling. Stones are a natural, universal symbol of longevity. Though they are ostensibly immobile in Euro-American thought, they are an ironic metaphor for freedom in *The Heirs of Columbus*. They cannot die nor are they of the culture of death. Though a tribal police woman surmises that because the stones at the stone tavern are on tribal trust land, "the stones are owned by the tribe, not the Heirs of Columbus," they are possessed by the Heirs just as the Heirs possess the remains of Columbus.[69] "Where," then, might not be as significant to story and space in *Heirs* as "wherever." Regardless of when or where, wherever the stories are there is felicitious and protective space. Memory is thus paradoxical, motionless in the stones and on the move in their transport.

Other Native Americans authored their way to new spaces in the vein of Point Assinika during the early 1990s.[70] Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* is a book-length prophecy that foresees an inevitable end to Euro-American civilization in the Americas and a return of the land to the Indigenous peoples to which it belongs. During a time when American president George H. W.

Bush announced a global "new world order" to justify the Persian Gulf War, Silko proposed a more radical new world order of her own. In it, "revolution against . . . European domination [is] inevitable," while would-be Indigenous revolutionaries wait for the "fierce energy of all the dead slaves and dead ancestors haunting the Americas" to drive Euro-Americans away.[71] It is "only a matter of time," writes Silko, before "things European . . . gradually fade from the American continents. History would catch up with the white man whether the Indians did anything or not. History was the sacred text. The most complete history was the most powerful force."[72] On story, space, and tribal peoples, readers find in *Almanac* that, "Wherever their stories are told the spirits of the ancestors were present and their power was alive," and that, as Bachelard might have written, "stories filled rooms with an immense energy."[73] There is as well an equivalent to Vizenor's "culture of death," called the "Gunadeeyah clan." In a Laguna Pueblo story, the Gunadeeyahs are sorcerers with an "appetite for blood" who long ago "craved more death and more dead bodies to open and consume."[74] Gunadeeyahs are kin to Europeans, as "Cortés and Montezuma had been members of the" Gunadeeyah clan.[75] Felicitous space is potentially ubiquitous and wherever story makes it in *Almanac*. It is not isolated from history or a contained liminal space between the United States and Canada as it is in *The Heirs of Columbus*, but the Americas themselves. History is open to creative license only insofar as its new interpretations add to the fullness of Silko's detailed accounting of Euro-American colonization and anti-colonial resistance. A Marxist teleology and a faith in historical materialism enrich story in *Almanac* and are a remedy for historical trauma, while Vizenor scorns history outright as a means to ameliorate its awful legacies. Both authors, however, emphasize the centrality of felicitious spaces over time in how they frame their resistance to transatlantic settler colonial histories and narratives of space-making in America and abroad.

While some Native authors reflected on five hundred years of post-Columbian history and genocide in their fiction, health care professionals and sociologists were beginning to better understand the corporeal and psychological effects of the past on the present. Historical trauma, defined by Hunkpapa/Oglala Lakota researcher Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, is the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences."[76] Early studies of historical trauma revealed that the children of Holocaust survivors showed a greater risk of developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Further study revealed that traumas experienced by their parents, and not discrete exposures to traumatic events, could be identified as the critical factor that put these children at risk. Among American Indians and Alaska Natives, PTSD has been reported to occur at a rate of twenty-two percent, almost three times greater than its general prevalence rate in the United States.[77] Intergenerational trauma and what Brave Heart terms "historical unresolved grief" tie colonization to high mortality rates, depression, suicide, household violence, and substance abuse in some contemporary Native communities.[78]

How Vizenor reconciles historical trauma with survivance is a vital aspect of *The Heirs of Columbus*. Critic Deborah Madsen has labeled *Heirs* a "trauma narrative" because, "whether deliberately or not," Native American fiction writers "engage . . . in the representation of historical trauma as a consequence" of being American Indians.[79] Exactly why trauma should be a matter of course in fiction authored by Native Americans is left unsaid. Yet Madsen argues that when read as a survivance narrative, *Heirs* is an example of how an Indian subject such as Vizenor can write his way out of and against mourning and resist passive victimry. *How* Vizenor does this is of greater interest to Madsen than *where* Vizenor accomplishes Madsen's perceived end. Yet where, in this case Point Assinika, is fundamental and foundational to actively facing

and healing from trauma. The move from the stone tavern at the headwaters of the Mississippi River to Point Assinika is evidence that moving on from historical trauma is more than metaphorical. It is as well a literal retreat from hostile space to a new felicitious space and the start of a new history of felicitious space in memory and story.

This new history includes Indigenous and non-Indigenous characters laying historical traumas to rest at Point Assinika. In the healing, utopian new world there, deleterious cultural constructs—like constructs of racial identity—disappear. When Treves, the symbolic owner of Pocahontas's remains, returns them to the heirs, they are interred in a vault at the new House of Life at Point Assinika alongside Columbus and Felipa Flowers. That it is Treves, an Englishman, who relinquishes control of Pocahontas, speaks to a change in the culture of death. The transfer of Pocahontas from St. George's to the House of Life is an abdication of ownership and a giving over of history to story. Just as Point Assinika can be said to be in the Heirs as much as they are in it, so too is Point Assinika in Treves as much as he is in it after the reburial of Pocahontas. "We heal with opposition, we are held together with opposition, not separation," says Stone.[80] Bringing the Old World and the New into balance by bridging the divide between them is part of, not antithetical to, the restorative purpose of Point Assinika. What the Heirs start at Point Assinika is not an insular, nationalist, or segregated enclave, but a felicitious, global, and inclusive space where separation is akin to violence and where a determined and imaginative opposition to history is the medicine that heals.

Perhaps Point Assinika's ultimate role in *The Heirs of Columbus*, however, is to be an example of narrative preceding place instead of place preceding narrative. Critic Bertrand Westphal has written that in a time before the world had been inventoried by modern cartographers and global positioning systems, European narratives announced "the emergence of

a still-nonexistent space."[81] Westphal uses the example of Homer's *The Odyssey* to describe how in Odysseus's travels, "landscape is the result of poetic creation . . . not the other way around."[82] Such a tradition was thriving in 1492. Columbus read, and in some cases took with him on his first voyage, books by Pliny the Elder, the autobiography of Marco Polo, a book on the histories of Africa, Asia, and Europe by Pope Pius II titled *Historia Rerum*, and the *Imago Mundi*, a "picture of the world" written in 1410 by Pierre d'Ailly, a French Catholic bishop. Columbus was as well familiar with the legendary kingdom of Prester John, a Christian king rumored to govern a vast and wealthy empire in the Orient. None of these books or stories were authored or told by people who had actually seen all they wrote or spoke about. Yet as historian Valerie Irene Jane Flint has argued, Columbus likely carried the words and pictures of these texts and stories in his mind, as they "had been both a popular and effective way of conveying geographical knowledge" throughout the Middle Ages.[83] As a result, they "influenced his descriptions of almost all that he [Columbus] saw."[84] In his mind, Columbus had already been to where he was going before he ever left Spain.

Point Assinika is an analogous attempt to disclose the manifestation of a new Indigenous place-world in story. Like the Americas before Columbus, it has been discovered yet awaits further discovery. For the Columbian Quincentenary, Vizenor did not look to the past or on the present with mourning, but to the future with hope, toward the possibilities that provoked Columbus to hazard the Atlantic Ocean five hundred years earlier. That Indigenous stories in his blood and genes set Columbus on his voyage in *The Heirs of Columbus* is therefore not as radical or revisionist a thought as it might seem. Nor was the destination Columbus reached very different than the nation of healing founded by the Heirs. Both are past road's end, beyond

history and the physical spaces innate to it. Thus, the image of Point Assinika can be said to precede thought, to be a phenomenology of the imagination, a space of and for survivance.

II

Before *The Heirs of Columbus* and *Gardens in the Dunes*, only one self-identified Native American had written a European setting into fiction.[85] Confederated Salish and Kootenai activist, author, and educator D'Arcy McNickle set a novel, "The Hungry Generations," and two short stories, "In the Alien Corn" and "Six Beautiful in Paris," in Paris. The novel and short stories went unpublished in McNickle's lifetime (he died in 1977), however, and did not appear in print until 2007 and 1992, respectively. In 1999, then, one could count by the dozens, not the hundreds, the pages in American Indian literature where Europe, plot, and setting overlap.

Born in 1948, Silko, whose father Lee Marmon, a noted photographer, is of Laguna Pueblo ancestry, released her first and most critically and commercially successful novel to date, *Ceremony*, in 1977. Her second novel, *Almanac of the Dead*, followed in 1991. Both touch on themes related to Native American and Indigenous ideas of belonging, a connection to tribal places and their secular and sacred histories, alienation, settler colonial violence, and the ruinous effects of market capitalism. Silko stresses that the latter is central to *Almanac*, which she has admitted is a "tribute to Marx."[86] To that, *Gardens in the Dunes* can be read as a postscript, though it is less about the inevitable undoing of capitalism on a global scale, and more what Silko has said in an interview with critic Ellen Arnold is a personal account of "what capitalism makes people do to one another."[87] While *Gardens*, like *Almanac*, still has the "world in its structure . . . it's much less political . . . [than] *Almanac*," Silko notes, adding that *Gardens* offers

"another way to see things and possible ways to connect up, in a spiritual way, to withstand."[88] How exactly to do that is in *Gardens*, as it is in *The Heirs of Columbus*, a matter of spatial fortification and spatial thinking.

The contrast between how, when, and where *Gardens* and *Heirs* present felicitious space is proportional to how Silko and Vizenor interpret history. Insomuch as Vizenor constructs from memories and stones the felicitious space at Point Assinika, Silko begins from an already established, albeit fictional, Native American enclave on the Arizona/California border. While Point Assinika is a post-capitalist, futurist, felicitious shelter from Euro-American histories and their economic, national, and racial constructs, in *Gardens* the past itself, as much as the canyon and dunes of the Sand Lizard people, is a felicitious cover from modern industry. To that end, Silko trades spurious histories of Native literary absence and removal during the late nineteenth century for histories of Native presence in literary felicitious spaces set in the same era. There is no comparable need in *Gardens*, then, as there is in *Heirs*, to start anew elsewhere to elude the past, because it is not the past, but the present, from which Silko's characters withdraw. As critic Joy Porter writes, "*Gardens* subverts conventional understandings of" history in that it "powerfully inserts an Indian reading into our literary consciousness of the past."[89] Vizenor sets Europe and a distinct element of its history up as dangerous to the Heirs of Columbus, while Silko experiments with felicitious space where it is Indigo's haven from the present.

Indigo, her sister, Sister Salt; her grandmother, Grandma Fleet; and her mother, Mama, live happily for a time in a remote fictional canyon of the Colorado River Valley near present-day Parker, Arizona. The Sand Lizards are a fictional tribe of the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT): the Chemehuevi, Mohave, Hopi, and Navajo. Today the CRIT reservations straddle the Arizona/California border near Parker. When the first Europeans they contact steal their harvest

and treat the Sand Lizards cruelly, the Sand Lizards fall back "to . . . the hills beyond the river, to . . . the old gardens."[90] There the remaining Sand Lizards live for hundreds of years in relative peace, sustaining themselves on pumpkins, squash, and sunflowers from their gardens. That ends abruptly when Euro-American gold miners kill or take prisoner all the remaining Sand Lizards, with Grandma Fleet and Mama among those taken as captives. Grandma Fleet slips away to the gardens, where Mama joins her after she is sent away pregnant with Sister Salt. Indigo is born later when Mama returns to the gardens after a long absence, pregnant again and accompanied by scores of Indians avoiding arrest by federal government agents and soldiers. The refugees, starving Indian women and children, eat what little food there is at the gardens, forcing Grandma Fleet, Mama, and her children to relocate to Needles, California—a railroad town—to find food and work.

The juxtaposition of the idealized Sand Lizard garden with the late nineteenth-century railroad town of Needles calls up the American literary trope of the "machine in the garden." More than fifty years ago, American studies scholar Leo Marx published a book-length examination of the trope, characterized by a tension between nineteenth-century American pastoralism and the rise of industrial technologies in works by Henry David Thoreau, Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and others. "Since Jefferson's time," writes Marx, "the forces of industrialism have been the chief threat to the bucolic image of America."[91] Indians for their part "fit perfectly into the picture of America as a mere landscape, remote and unspoiled, and a possible setting for a pastoral retreat."[92] Marx's commentary on Virginia-born historian Robert Beverley Jr.'s 1705 book *The History and Present State of Virginia* is particularly salient given that Beverley relies on garden metaphors to describe Virginia and its Native peoples. According to Marx, "the primitive utopia" Beverley found in America had "an intoxicating effect upon"

him, as he wrote that the Indians in their lifestyle were blessed, unlike Europeans, "without the Curse of Industry."[93] Marx concludes of Beverley's book that its author was "groping for the distinction between two garden metaphors: a wild, primitive, or pre-lapsarian Eden in which he thought to have found the Indians, and a cultivated garden embracing values not unlike those represented by the classic Virgilian pasture."[94] The Sand Lizard gardens in the dunes are not pastoral by contrast. Yet they are a bulwark from an encroaching and industrialized, if not dystopian, world from which American writers have historically sought relief in fictional gardens of their own.

This is not to imply that Sand Lizards are primitive or a model of the objectionable noble savage archetype intertwined with American pastoralism. That *Gardens in the Dunes* points to the destructive effects of settler colonial violence and the difficulties inherent to subsistence farming in isolation more than dispels any romantic notions of the old gardens as a utopia. Nevertheless, the metaphors of the garden and the railroad town of Needles, of felicitious and hostile space, dovetail with how similar literary metaphors pit versions of an Edenic garden in opposition to representations of myriad threats to it. At Needles, Indigo and her family are subsumed by the market economy. For years they live in poverty in a makeshift lean-to, scavenge for scraps at the town dump, and rely on others for food. Mama washes hotel linens to earn money, while Grandma Fleet and Sister Salt weave baskets for sale to tourists at the train platform. Indigo is herself commodified, an object for tourists to take pictures with for cash. This lasts until government officials and Indian police begin taking Indian children away to off-reservation Indian boarding schools, prompting Grandma Fleet and Mama to prepare a return to the old gardens to protect Indigo. They delay their departure when word reaches Needles of a Paiute prophet named Wovoka, who foretells of a Messiah, Jesus Christ, whose coming will "dry

up all the white people and all the Indians who followed the white man's ways."[95] Indigo and her family then bear witness as the Messiah and his family reveal themselves. He is not long among his followers, however, as government agents and Indian police arrest the Indians gathered to dance and bring Jesus forth. Indigo, Sister Salt, and Grandma Fleet elude the authorities and make their way to the old gardens. Mama's whereabouts are left unknown, though Indigo suspects her to have fled with the Messiah.

The episode with the Messiah has a lasting and profound influence on how Indigo interprets her surroundings in England, France, and Italy. After Grandma Fleet dies at the old gardens, Indigo and Sister Salt go looking for Mama. Separated when they are arrested by an Indian policeman and taken to Parker, Sister Salt remains in Arizona and Indigo is transferred to the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California.[96] Indigo runs away months later, hiding herself on the property of Hattie and Edward Palmer, a wealthy couple planning a trip to Europe the following summer. Edward is a botanist and Hattie is a scholar of Christianity who has recently had her proposed master's thesis, "The Female Principle in the Early Church," rejected by her thesis committee at Harvard University.

That Hattie and Indigo are from different backgrounds matters less than their shared affiliation with Christianity and its expression in the imagery and metaphor of the garden. What Indigo and her family observe when the Messiah presents himself in the company of Wovoka is Silko's rendering of the Ghost Dance. As critic A. M. Regier has written, "*Gardens in the Dunes* inhabits the Ghost Dance movement in the American Southwest and connects it to a larger geography of transatlantic, transcultural encounters."[97] Led by the Paiute prophet Wovoka, or Jack Wilson, the Ghost Dance religion took hold on dozens of Indian reservations in the American West, culminating between 1889 and 1890. The Ghost Dance promised its believers

deliverance from the everyday hardships and horrors wrought by genocide and settler colonialism. If they danced and lived according to Wovoka's teachings, the Messiah would return the faithful to a premodern paradise where the buffalo and horse herds were plentiful. Historian Louis S. Warren has argued that the Ghost Dance was, however, more than millennialism or Native resistance to modernity. The Ghost Dance should not be construed, notes Warren, as it has been in many works by anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians, as "a primitive effort to go back to the past, to exit history."[98] On the contrary, Warren writes that the Ghost Dance "offered believers hope of sustaining themselves in the world by engaging the modern, industrial Gilded Age in which they found themselves."[99] Wovoka charged his followers not to steal, not to lie, to love one another, and, perhaps surprisingly, "to 'work for the white man,' that is, to work for wages or engage in commerce for money."[100] The path toward a new dispensation led not away from market capitalism, but through it.

Though Silko does not support political economy as a secular means to spiritual ends in the manner that Wovoka preached, she does draw a clear transatlantic line from the Ghost Dance to Christianity, specifically Gnosticism. Hattie is identified as a "Gnostic heretic" when her thesis committee discredits her work based on Coptic scrolls as "Gnostic heresy."[101] At Harvard, Hattie reads of "heresies and heretics never mentioned in catechism class" that fire her imagination and inspire her to question the institutional Christian church in which she was raised.[102] The parallelisms between Gnosticism and the Ghost Dance have not gone overlooked by scholars, with critic Frances W. Kaye highlighting how the Ghost Dance resembles Gnostic traditions deliberately left out of the New Testament.[103] Critic Joanna Ziarkowska has observed that in her illustration of Wovoka, Silko "signals the incorporation of Christian and Gnostic elements into the Native narrative" of the Ghost Dance.[104] Silko herself has acknowledged the

possible existence of "many different Jesuses," and that she wrote *Gardens in the Dunes* while reading historian Elaine Pagels's *The Gnostic Gospels* (1989).[105]

The garden is therefore the common ground where shared experience unites two people of otherwise disparate economic and social standing.[106] Silko brings up the need to find communion in diversity during her interview with Arnold, remarking on the commonality of garden imagery that it is prominent "In the three great monotheistic religions—Judaism, Moslem, and Christianity."[107] Furthermore, Silko contends that "if you set them apart from the politics behind them, people in Europe and the Indigenous peoples in the Americas have a lot more in common than they have that divides them."[108] In *Gardens*, Silko tries to, in her words, "dismantle" a long-perpetuated division in Native American literature between Natives and Euro-Americans, to bring "Indians and Europeans together in a way" that has never happened in a Native American novel.[109] Critic Suzanne Ferguson finds that Silko succeeds in that regard, writing of *Gardens* that in it, "the transport of . . . Indians to a European setting shows that people of different races and cultures can learn to live together in reciprocal affection and respect if they are willing to make the effort."[110]

To my mind, though, it is an oversimplification to purport that a trip to Europe alone engenders a relationship of reciprocal affection and respect between Indigo and Hattie or Indigo and her European hosts. Edward, Hattie, and Indigo travel to Bristol, England, where they board a train to Bath to visit Hattie's aunt. Aunt Bronwyn is an American widow living in England on her grandfather's estate. She avoids modern Bristol, with its coal smoke, dust, and noisy streets, while dismissing modern Bath, where new mansions are under construction, with "a wave of her hand."[111] Having left the Christian church, she instead studies Celtic mythology and pagan customs, such as tending white cattle, and as a member of the Antiquity Rescue Committee,

protects old stones and ancient groves of trees from development. Aunt Bronwyn tells Indigo stories of stones that dance and stones that move, warning her that people are wrong to tamper with the stones or cut down the old groves because "The stones and the groves housed the 'good folk,' the spirits of the dead."[112] Her words are meant to evoke an earlier scene when Grandma Fleet tells Indigo that "family spirits" don't "bother to put themselves in human forms."[113] Silko further accentuates a transatlantic link between the old gardens and England when Indigo discovers the familiar in the foreignness of Aunt Bronwyn's garden. Indigo is excited to find corn plants and baby pumpkins, she tastes water from a garden spring "as good as the water from the spring at the old gardens," and greets a datura flower as an "old friend."[114] What colors Indigo's holiday in the English garden is first and foremost not the new she finds there, but the old she recognizes. She interprets where she is through the lens of where she has been, carrying place with her how Trigg theorizes spatial mobility and its phenomenology. At an archaeological dig near Aunt Bronwyn's estate, the smell of damp earth reminds Indigo "of the odor of the smelly black mud" along the Colorado River, and water bubbling through a layer of sand reminds her "of the dancers bobbing and swaying as they swooned at the sight of the Messiah."[115] Experience is remembering and remembering is experience for Indigo as she tours England with her mind on the old gardens and felicitious spaces of protection.

What affection and respect there is between Indigo and her Euro-American host in England, then, is not so much reciprocal as it is predicated on Aunt Bronwyn's rejection of capitalism and institutional Christianity. Though there is pluralism in their friendship, Indigo, an Indian girl from the American Southwest, and Aunt Bronwyn, a wealthy Euro-American widow living a cloistered life on an English estate, do not meet in the middle of the vast social and cultural distances that divide them. Indigo is not asked or made to acquaint herself with a Bristol

industrialist or an English aristocrat who attends church regularly and controls the machinations of industry. Rather, she encounters a woman who plays pagan and who literally stands in opposition to development. Indigo has only to find in England a woman who shares her anti-modern sentiments and who obliquely harbors a faith, if not in Gnosticism or a Messiah, in stones rather than edifices made from them. Thus, the relationship between Indigo and Aunt Bronwyn is both represented by and set in a garden besieged by technology, a felicitious sanctuary from outside hostilities. Gardens are therefore both the centers of the transatlantic spiritual worlds of *Gardens* and, at the same time, on the peripheries of a rapidly industrializing, modernizing global network of cultural and economic Atlantic exchange.

Silko carries the metaphor of the garden and its antagonists across national and cultural boundaries as the narrative shifts from England to France and Italy. From Bristol, Edward, Hattie, and Indigo sail to Genoa, Italy. When they dock, the Italian city is described as "a port and industrial city similar to Bristol in its congested streets and sweltering bad air."[116] Like Bristol, Genoa is an industrial foil to an idyllic Old European garden. Before heading to Corsica, where Edward hopes to illegally harvest valuable citrus specimens with which to seed a new lemon grove in Riverside, the group stops in Lucca, a Tuscan city east of Genoa. They have been invited to tour a garden there kept by Aunt Bronwyn's friend Laura, a teacher separated from her husband.[117] What Indigo finds in Italy is a garden different in appearance but identical in form and function to Aunt Bronwyn's cloister and the Sand Lizard gardens in the dunes.

In France and Italy, Indigo traces the old Sand Lizard gardens to Europe's past and present. When Indigo comes upon a late eighteenth-century marble head of Medusa in Laura's garden, she associates it with stories told by "old-time people" about "giants and the offspring of men who had sex with mares or cows."[118] Indigo is spellbound further by a terra cotta figure of a

mother bear cradling her cub. The figure reminds Indigo of Grandma Fleet, who when Indigo was young held her as the bear cradles her cub. Indigo even bonds with Laura over a remarkable coincidence, that Laura's grandmother, like Grandma Fleet, relied on snakes to keep mice and rats away and for protection from harm. Critic A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff has written that Aunt Bronwyn and Laura "are American and European equivalents to" Grandma Fleet, an observation which the narrative certainly bears out.[119] And when Indigo and the Palmers reach Corsica, Indigo feels at home despite being more than six thousand miles from the Arizona/California border. The Palmer's are treated to a meal at the house of a local politician's brother, where the sight of a large family gathered around the table reminds Indigo "of the time all the strangers came to dance for the Christ."[120] When their host relays to Indigo and the Palmers that an image of the Blessed Mother has appeared on the door of a nearby school, Indigo takes heart that she is on the trail of the Messiah. Though the Catholic Church in Rome condemns veneration of the apparition and threatens those who do with excommunication, people still flock to see it, including Indigo. Believing that the "farther east they traveled, the closer they came to the place the Messiah and his family and followers traveled," Indigo is overcome with joy when she sees in the apparition of the Virgin Mary the Messiah and his followers dancing in a swirl of snow and light.[121] As summer gives way to fall and Indigo leaves Corsica for Italy and a return voyage to America, she reasons that "The Messiah and the others," are "probably already on their way home," where Indigo intends to follow.[122]

For Indigo, then, remembering is felicitious space and felicitious space is remembering on her tour of Europe. Where she is, in England, France, or Italy, is a phenomenology of where she has been in Arizona/California. Space in European gardens is often a trace, a reminder, of the past and the people and places that structure Indigo's memory. That these spaces, specifically

gardens, overlap across vast spans in transatlantic space and time, and that they are to varying degrees escapes from outside hostilities, creates a world in *Gardens in the Dunes* where borders are sometimes open, regional, and ideological, instead of closed, national, or ethnic. Silko treats this kind of language and inclusivity as critical. She tells Arnold that there is hope in regionalism, and in "Getting rid of national boundaries. Getting rid of all borders."[123] It was, as Silko claims, the "Gunadeeyah, the destroyers, the exploiters," who established the borders that divide people geographically and historically, arbitrary lines of demarcation that in *Gardens* and *Almanac of the Dead* are transgressed from garden to garden.[124] Felicitious spaces are thus similar refuges from modernity and the postmodern in *Gardens* and *The Heirs of Columbus*, respectively. Both are global in scope and local in scale. Both are borderless spaces denoted by the keeping and sustaining of memory by and to different historical means, with history in *Gardens* and against it in *Heirs*.

That a space without borders is any space at all is justifiably counterintuitive. Yet where people put their united interests and sympathies ahead of their differences—where there is community—there is space. Though the old gardens, Aunt Bronwyn's English garden, and Laura's garden in Italy are scattered across half the globe, they are spaces of the same community. Communities need not be made of brick and mortar at the ethnic, national, regional, religious, or state levels. Community needs only memories and imagination to coalesce. To that, how community is phenomenological is crucial to how Bachelard studies the image of a house, a synthesis of what in the soul is the "immemorial and recollected." Bachelard writes:

> In this remote region, memory and imagination remain associated, each one working for their mutual deepening. In the order of value, they both constitute a community of memory and image. Thus, the house is not experienced from day to

> day only, on the thread of a narrative, or in the telling of our own story. Through dreams, the various dwelling-places in our lives co-penetrate and retain the treasures of former days. . . . We live fixations, fixations of happiness. . . . Memories of the outside world will never have the same tonality as those of home.[125]

Indigo experiences the old gardens and the gardens in Europe as a similar community of memory and imagery as described by Bachelard. She holds to the best of former days, fixates on them, and through them interprets the world outside the Sand Lizard's canyon for how it is and is not her former home. Though critic Terre Ryan is right to point out that "Silko uses the image of the garden to illustrate imperialism on international, national, local, and domestic levels," the garden is concurrently an instrument of anti-imperial resistance.[126] More accurate is an assessment by critic Yeonhaun Kang, who argues that "On one level, the novel [*Gardens*] presents the garden as a window into U.S. settler colonialism and the advent of modern agriculture. However, the garden also provides a *communal space* for unexpected encounters."[127] That those encounters (e.g., between Aunt Bronwyn and Indigo and between Laura and Indigo) should not be as unexpected as some readers might assume, validates Silko's comment to Arnold that separating Europeans from Native Americans is not as simple as some would have it seem.

In a more extensive study than anything undertaken in this chapter, critic Helen May Dennis critiques felicitious space for its "notions of safety and happiness" in Native American women's literature, including Silko's *Ceremony*.[128] According to Dennis, "felicitious space speaks to the female literary imagination and is translated by American women writers in eloquent and profound ways."[129] She argues that though African American female writers such as Toni Morrison, and Chicana authors such as Sandra Cisneros, demonstrate the conceptual utility of felicitous space in their writing, it is not clear if "felicitious space translates so well into

the culture of Native American women's writing."[130] Skeptical of Bachelard's "Eurocentric reading of the primitive, and his method of reasoning by analogy from French provincial and bourgeois culture to generate universalizing precepts," Dennis wonders if felicitious space "has the potential to be made actual both politically and historically" in Native women's fiction.[131] Reading Laguna Pueblo author Paula Gunn Allen's 1983 novel *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows*, Dennis finds felicitious space where the protagonist, Ephanie Atencio, a Guadalupe Indian woman of mixed-ancestry, sees her past in a crystal ball:

> "I see that there's a lot of people there. It's like a picnic or something. We go up to them and now I'm looking at a woman. It's Grandma Campbell. Oh, boy." Ephanie brushed away the tears that were coursing down her cheeks. She could hardly control her voice, its trembling. She felt so safe, so good, so warm. "Now," she said quickly, struggling to make her voice loud enough for Teresa to hear, "she's holding me."[132]

Allen's portrait of a female Native protagonist finding comfort in the felicitous space of her grandmother's arms is comparable to the moment in *Gardens* when the image of the terra cotta mother bear and her cub reminds Indigo of Grandma Fleet's embrace. Dennis then turns to *Ceremony* and its protagonist, Tayo, a veteran of World War II who returns to New Mexico from the Asiatic-Pacific theater suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. Unlike Indigo, Tayo, Dennis observes, never experiences a "sense of ontological well-being that a secure and protective familial home confers."[133] Tayo has alternatively to seek out felicitious space in his adult life. He comes to it as the ceremonies and rituals that ease his pain spur him toward a deeper understanding of his place in his tribal community and the cosmic order of things. That this happens is enough for Dennis to assert that felicitious space in *Ceremony* is thus where "cultural spaces and constructs respond to and resonate with the ecological and cosmic structures

they are surrounded by."[134] The right conditions ready the advent of felicitious space, as Indigo recognizes natural and spiritual structures in England, France, and Italy that resonate with her memories of the old gardens.

When the Palmers and Indigo depart Italy for America, Indigo finds herself nearer to a reunion with her family. Though Hattie is obliged under federal law to return Indigo to the boarding school at Riverside, she goes forward determined that Indigo rejoin her mother and sister. When they fail to locate Mama or Sister Salt at Needles, Hattie and Indigo travel farther south along the Colorado River until information about Sister Salt's whereabouts leads them back north to "a small trading post called Road's End" south of the Chemehuevi reservation.[135] Hattie learns that Sister Salt is living with Chemehuevi-Laguna friends there on a small farm. Road's End is "far from any place," while the farm is on poor cropland adjacent to "the best farmland . . . irrigated by a system of ditches from the river."[136] Indigo and Sister Salt are overjoyed in each other's newfound company, though Indigo still grieves for Mama, whom she presumes dead. Sister Salt and Indigo are compelled to quit Road's End when word reaches the Chemehuevi superintendent that the Sand Lizard sisters are living on the reservation without authorization. Before leaving for Needles, Indigo plants "a few gladiolus corms among the pea seeds Aunt Bronwyn had given her."[137] Far from England, France, or Italy, the old gardens, or any place at all, Indigo adds at Road's End another dimension to a global network of protective spaces surrounded by or on the periphery of industry and Euro-American development.

Like *Ceremony* and *Almanac of the Dead*, *Gardens in the Dunes* is a circular novel in that it ends where it begins. At Needles, Indigo and Sister Salt make ready for another coming of the Messiah. The believers dance and sing again as they did earlier in the novel. In this instance, however, white soldiers and Apache policemen break up the dancing and singing before the

Messiah and his family materialize. Sister Salt and Indigo are stunned where they learn that the soldiers and police, escorting Hattie's mother and father, are searching for Hattie, who is with Sister Salt and Indigo. Hattie is now a widow without a fortune after Edward falls ill and the doctor treating him hastens his death to make off with the money Hattie loaned him and Edward to raise a phony business venture. Worse, Hattie has been the victim of a violent physical assault on the Chemehuevi reservation. Traumatized, angry with her parents, and guilt-ridden that she has denied Indigo an opportunity to view the Messiah, Hattie runs away. Indigo and Sister Salt then return to the old gardens. There they find an apricot tree near Grandma Fleet's grave chopped to pieces, and the murdered remains of Grandfather Snake, who according to Grandma Fleet invited his relative the Sand Lizard to first plant her seeds at the old gardens in the dunes. Sister Salt and Indigo bury Grandfather Snake, and the following spring a rattlesnake, his daughter, returns to the water at the garden spring. At the same time, renewal is everywhere, as green shoots sprout from the stumps of the ruined apricot tree, while colorful gladiolus flowers imported from Europe thrive throughout the dunes.

How *Gardens in the Dunes* ends is noteworthy in that its ending is original in a Native American novel for its depictions of characters in space. In a novel set in the assimilation era of U.S. federal Indian policy, and in which an affluent Euro-American couple takes an orphaned Native American child as a temporary ward, readers might expect Indigo to leave her past behind for a permanent home and life of domestic servitude with the Palmers. That Indigo instead retires to the old gardens while assimilating elements of Euro-American culture, such as the gladiolus flowers from England and orchids given to her by Edward, into the fabric of the desert gardens, is remarkable for how it refutes and subverts the necessities of domesticity has they were taught to Native children at off-reservation boarding schools such as the one at Riverside. Just as

extraordinary is Hattie's decision to discard her Christian faith and life in America for paganism and a life in Europe, where she travels with Aunt Bronwyn, visiting old stones in Scotland and planning a trip to Italy to see Laura. No character in Native American literature is like Hattie in that she is so overwhelmed under the weight of orthodox Christianity, the tenets of upper-class Euro-American womanhood, and the cruelty and violence inherent to capitalism, that she renounces the New World for the Old. To contemplate an America at the turn of the last century that is, ironically, no place for a seemingly exemplary American, is to go against the grain of U.S. literary history and remap America and Americans within it.

*

If stones and the spaces they create are symbols of memory and compressed time in *The Heirs of Columbus*, then flowers are symbolic of the same in *Gardens in the Dunes*. Flowers are a phenomenon of the imagination and memory in that to Indigo they are less novel than they embody the lived values of intimacy she equates with memories of protection, security, and familial love—at home and thousands of miles from the old gardens. These memories are entirely localized and have little to do with specific dates or times, as the narrative offers few concrete examples of or reference to either.

Atemporality might also be associated in *Gardens* with sacredness in American and European spaces. The old gardens, the cloister and sacred groves in England, and the garden in Italy are sacred in Sand Lizard, Celtic, and Roman cosmologies, respectively. Such spaces sacred to Indigenous and ancient European traditions are as well sacrosanct for their proximity to the ruined spaces of global industrial capitalism and the institutional Christian church. Silko has written that "All places and all beings of the earth are sacred," and that "It is dangerous to designate some places sacred when all are sacred."[138] Doing so perpetuates a spatial hierarchy in

which most lands and peoples are sacrificed "so that a few designated sacred places may survive."[139] While the survival of a scattering of sacred spaces from the culture of death is a visible feature of *Gardens*, so too is the redemptive message that some people can change for the better and that all places are worthy of protection integral to the narrative. The history of sacredness in Silko's novel is therefore of less importance than the geography of sacredness. As Christianity is shown to take its qualities from incomplete or spurious Euro-American histories that resist revision at the academic or institutional level, the passage of time will be the church's inevitable undoing. More resilient and permanent is Silko's transatlantic "sacred geography" in which "where" is more material than "when." Standing Rock Sioux legal historian and theologian Vine Deloria Jr. has written that "Indian tribes combine history and geography so that they have a 'sacred geography,' that is to say, every location within their original homeland has a multitude of stories that recount the migrations, revelations, and particular historical incidents that cumulatively produced the tribe in its current location."[140] Whereas Christianity and its interpretation of history is temporally located, Deloria notes that "American Indian tribal religions" are "basically spatially located."[141] Sacred locations are sacred in *Gardens* for where they are, just as felicitious spaces, such as the House of Life and Point Assinika are sacred in *Heirs* for where they are and for how in their making they reject Euro-American myths and histories.

In felicitious space and in general, Silko and Vizenor broaden the limits of Native American histories and geographies in *Gardens* and *Heirs*. Indigo's transatlantic crossing extends the boundaries of Indian Country during a period in U.S. history when the federal government, as the novel emphasizes, penalized the unrestricted movement of Native peoples across political borders. In going beyond the closure of a metaphorical frontier and past road's

end, Silko also enlarges the terrain of late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Native history, which has been widely fictionalized and studied on the domestic front, but understudied from international angles. Vizenor as well adopts an attitude of transatlantic expansion that charts new Native spaces beyond his own version of the road's end metaphor, outside the geographic and governmental limits of any sovereign nation save Point Assinika. His brand of historicism, like Silko's, combines the past with place, in an America when and where Native American and Indigenous peoples are central to its historical legacies, and, just as importantly, poised to go beyond them.

From the headwaters of the Mississippi River, to the California/Arizona border, to England, France, and Italy, and a strip of land off the coast of Washington, setting in *Heirs* and *Gardens* is imbued with what Bachelard would call the essence of home. All lived spaces bear this essence. Eurocentrism personifies it in a single-family house with four walls, an attic, a roof, a basement, and a garden—a model of domestic perfection. Yet there is nothing in what Bachelard writes that would rule out catalogizing any and all manner of dwelling or container of memory as felicitious space. Whatever it is, it need only to preserve and protect what is most important to us. It could be a stone, flower, desert spring, an English cloister, an Italian grotto, or even, perhaps, a novel.

2

Home Is Where the Heartsong Is

Manifest Domesticity and X-Marks in *The Heartsong of Charging Elk*

Most people might find it difficult to intuit any offhand connections between the Oglala Lakota Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota, and Marseille, France.[1] One is approximately five thousand miles from the other. Pine Ridge and Marseille share no common climate, culture, geography, or history. The former is an isolated corner of the northern plains known as a place of historical tragedy and contemporary poverty in America, while the latter is one of the oldest ports on the Mediterranean Sea.[2] Viewed side by side, Pine Ridge and Marseille might seem worlds apart in every imaginable way.

Yet the distances between them are not impassable. Gros Ventre/Blackfeet writer James Welch bridges South Dakota and the south of France in his historical novel *The Heartsong of Charging Elk*. The eponymous title character, a twenty-three-year-old Oglala Lakota man employed in William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West show, leaves Pine Ridge to tour Europe in 1889. Just before Christmas, Charging Elk comes down with influenza and falls from his horse during a performance in Marseille, breaking his ribs. Sick, injured, and disoriented, Charging Elk leaves a Marseille hospital before he is discharged. In doing so, he sets in motion a chain of calamitous events leading to his political exile from the United States. Sixteen years later, Cody's Wild West show returns to Marseille, where Charging Elk is working the docks and living with his pregnant French wife, Nathalie.

The plot of *Heartsong* is unique not only for its creativity, but because it has no equivalent in Native American literature. The novel is singular to the genre in that it is set almost

entirely in a European country. *Heartsong* also breaks with the circular "homing in" paradigm. Traditionally, Native protagonists—usually young men—go into the world, endure loss, sickness, or trauma, then return home to their families on an Indian reservation. On the reservation, characters find recuperative and restorative comfort in tribal pasts and traditions, while coming into the knowledge that home is less a place than an ancestral center and community.[3] That Charging Elk is at first denied, then denies himself a long-sought voyage home to his Oglala family at Pine Ridge is, like the novel's French setting, without peer or precedent in American Indian fiction. Though Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor's novel *The Heirs of Columbus* and Laguna Pueblo writer Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Gardens in the Dunes* depict Natives in Europe (see chapter 1), these characters do not remain across the pond.

Charging Elk's decision to stay in Marseille has led critics to make various assumptions about what home is and means in *Heartsong*. Home in Welch's novel, according to Suzanne Ferguson, is a "negotiated wholeness."[4] It is a common ground between the New World and the Old, and between Native and European historical identities, "constructed by individuals of goodwill."[5] For Ulla Haselstein, home is "irretrievably located in the past," and "split and bound up with spatial and cultural distance."[6] Similarly, Arnold Krupat reads Charging Elk to have two homes. The first "centers on his French wife Nathalie and the child soon to be born to them," while the second is in "Paha Sapa, the sacred Black Hills of South Dakota."[7] Undoubtedly, home is a central theme in *Heartsong*, open to myriad personal, societal, and spatial interpretations.

To that end, I argue in this chapter that home in Welch's novel is less about place than it is about process. Home has less to do with questions of "where," and more to do with questions of "who," "when," and "how." Charging Elk lives through and precipitates the surrender of one home after another from 1877 to 1905, an era of rapid industrial and imperial expansion in

America. With it came the trope of the "vanishing Indian," as social Darwinists held that a proportional Native American decline and extinction was inevitable as Euro-American civilization ascended in and across the United States. Charging Elk fails and succeeds in making a new home for himself within this milieu, from when he lives at the Stronghold—a remote outpost near Pine Ridge—to when he settles down with Nathalie in France.

Critic James H. Cox has studied American Indian literature for how Native authors have ventured into landscapes abroad in search of new opportunities and possibilities. In *The Red Land to the South: American Indian Writers and Indigenous Mexico* (2012), Cox probes writings by Todd Downing (Choctaw), D'Arcy McNickle (Confederated Salish and Kootenai), and Lynn Riggs (Cherokee), for how in their writing they focus on Mexico as "a landscape resonant with exciting . . . possibilities that were to them much less visible, or nonexistent, in the United States."[8] Though Marseille is not, like Mexico, a site of explicit anti-colonial resistance, it is, within the larger context of the transatlantic cultural and economic world during the late twentieth century, a place where Natives could find opportunities, such as performing with Buffalo Bill.

Regardless of where he is, however, Charging Elk is never beyond the reach and grasp of American "manifest domesticity." As described by critic Amy Kaplan, manifest domesticity is a process of domestication that "turns an imperial nation into a home by producing and colonizing specters of the foreign that lurk inside and outside its ever-shifting borders."[9] Charging Elk is born and remains throughout the novel a specter of the foreign, as his complicated domestication is manifested inside and outside the United States by and to imperial and coercive means and ends. At Pine Ridge and in Marseille, Charging Elk is part of an assimilation-era domesticity brought widely to bear against Native Americans. What Nez Perce critic Beth H. Piatote has

called “the familial space of the Indian home” was a central component of a “national domestication . . . in which . . . diverse populations were brought under federal jurisdiction” from around 1879 to 1934.[10] By the 1880s, U.S. settler colonialism had permanently and irrevocably altered *where* most Indians made their homes. Following that, the U.S. government and its citizen allies campaigned to transform and gain greater jurisdiction over *how* Indians made their homes as well.

Nevertheless, Charging Elk is neither helpless nor doomed, and is subject and object to domestication in equal measure. In his transatlantic pursuit of home on two continents, he signs his “x-mark” to the times and places in which he lives and resides, a signature “of consent in a context of coercion.”[11] As Ojibwe/Dakota critic Scott Richard Lyons argues, an x-mark, such as those scrawled by many Native Americans on hundreds of government treaties, is a metaphor for the calculated and forward-looking ways that Natives have accommodated and advanced change over time. X-marks signify “power and a lack of power, agency and a lack of agency,” and are, among other things, about choice, the here and there, traditions and transitions, and the past and present.[12] Home in *Heartsong* is the same, an x-mark on the move, a personal and political negotiation, and a shifting and evolving map of modern power and/or a lack therefore. More importantly, home is never irretrievably located in the past, a product of goodwill alone, or easily and neatly bifurcated. Instead, home in *Heartsong* is a domestic and domesticated space constructed by and for Charging Elk and other Indians, the central site in a larger transatlantic struggle against U.S. imperialism and manifest domesticity for control of Indian lives and futures in America and abroad.

I

Welch was born in Browning, Montana, in 1940. His father was of Blackfeet heritage and his mother was of Gros Ventre ancestry. He studied poetry under Richard Hugo at the University of Montana, and after graduating in 1965 he began a successful career as writer. A foundational figure in the so-called "Native American renaissance," Welch's work has long been embraced and studied by academics and is widely popular in Europe, where Welch often traveled. He was named a Chevalier de L'Order des Arts et des Lettres by the French government in 1985, and earned an American Book Award for his novel *Fools Crow*, published in 1986. He died of lung cancer in 2003.

In the prologue of *Heartsong*, Charging Elk is eleven years old as his band of Oglala Lakotas led by Crazy Horse turn themselves over to General George Crook at Red Cloud Agency in the White River valley of Nebraska on May 6, 1877. They have been on the run since the Battle of the Little Bighorn in June 1876, "the fight with the longknives on the Greasy Grass."[13] Now, with nowhere else to go, the Oglalas surrender to the U.S. military rather than face starvation in the Powder River country of northeastern Wyoming and southeastern Montana. They do not go quietly, however. As they give themselves up, the Oglalas sing a "peace song," which to Charging Elk sounds like a "victory song."[14] Though they are surrounded by armed soldiers, Crazy Horse's Oglalas and the Oglalas already at Red Cloud Agency sing until the valley is alive with music. Never vanquished, the Oglalas are instead victorious in their hard-won survival. Though they have been dispossessed of some freedoms, they remain free to abdicate one home for another as they see fit, or to, as Chickasaw critic Amanda Cobb-Greetham writes, choose life, "not inevitable disappearance."[15] Their song is an x-mark, an assent to an existential threat that stresses an important distinction between what is gained in capitulation and what is

lost in conquest. On the actual events of May 6, 1877, historian Kingsley Bray writes that, "Unlike earlier surrenders, people dragging into the agencies in demoralized poverty or in charges of sham bravado, the Oglala capitulation was a well-judged dignified performance. The people reclaimed their place within the Oglala tribe, believing that the strengthened hoop could win from the wasicu [Euro-Americans] a just peace."[16] The Oglala song of peace is a sign of strength and weakness, a mark of influence over what has been, what is, and, with some foreshadowing, what will be.

While the Oglalas and other Lakotas determined for themselves when and how to adopt agency life, the U.S. government had chosen where they would do so nine years earlier. In 1868, the federal government established the Great Sioux Reservation in the Fort Laramie Treaty of that year. At more than forty-eight thousand square miles, the Great Sioux Reservation covered most of western South Dakota, including the Black Hills. In parts of eastern Wyoming, North Dakota, Montana, and northern Nebraska, Sioux were free to hunt an area closed to Euro-American settlement. Lakota adults were ordered to leave off violence against neighboring tribes, as well as violence against Euro-American soldiers, travelers, and illegal homesteaders. They were as well encouraged to begin farming and homemaking at the reservation agencies, while Lakota children were to be educated to ensure their assimilation into Euro-American society as Christian farmers and laborers.[17] Moreover, the treaty stipulated that, "The Indians herein named agree that . . . they will regard said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere."[18] To the treaty, thirty-eight Oglalas signed an x-mark beside their names.

Charging Elk represents the young, impetuous Lakotas who never assented to a treaty signed on their behalf, a cessation of hostilities, or a permanent new home. At ten years old,

Charging Elk views the Lakotas' and Cheyennes' fight with George Armstrong Custer's Seventh U.S. Cavalry as "a great victory," and in its aftermath "was prepared to face the consequences."[19] Taken with the romance of triumph in battle, Charging Elk is ready to follow his idol Crazy Horse anywhere, "even to death."[20] Yet it is toward a righteous peace, not a blaze of glory, that Crazy Horse leads the nearly one thousand Oglalas in his *thióšpaye* (lodge group). Soon afterward, following the murder of Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson (near Red Cloud Agency) in September 1877, the Oglalas are transferred north to Pine Ridge Agency in southern South Dakota. Charging Elk is put in school, where he learns a few words in English before he runs away with his friend Strikes Plenty less than a year later, still kindling a flame of fighting resistance. At the Stronghold, Charging Elk and Strikes Plenty hide out for various intervals during the next nine years, "hunting game, exploring, learning, and continuing the old ways with the help of two old medicine people."[21]

From his teens to his early twenties, Charging Elk's unwavering confidence in the old ways compels him to and keeps him from abandoning the Stronghold for life with his family at Pine Ridge. Specifically, it is "the image of his father that drove Charging Elk time and time again back . . . to the Stronghold."[22] Charging Elk's father, Scrub, had been a distinguished warrior and councilor among the Oglalas. When Crazy Horse had resisted going to Red Cloud Agency when the Oglalas were starving during the winter of 1877, Scrub accused Crazy Horse of being "too stubborn to be a good leader."[23] Scrub later brokered surrender negotiations with the Americans and Oglalas already at Red Cloud Agency, leading Charging Elk to become "ashamed of his father."[24] At Pine Ridge, Charging Elk struggles to look upon his parents' one-room house, with a crucifix on the wall and only a table, two chairs, and a bed for furniture, where Scrub sips commodity coffee and counts the rosary. Ironically, his father's debased

condition is one consequence of the Battle of the Little Bighorn that Charging Elk will not or cannot countenance.

Blinded by his father's apparent betrayal of the old Lakota ways for the meager trappings of Euro-American assimilation, Charging Elk cannot see his parents' home for the x-mark that it is. He fails to appreciate what has been earned for want of what has been lost. His actions, both his preference to live at the Stronghold and the antipathy he shows his parents' house and their faith in Christianity, indicate that Charging Elk still harbors the defiant zeal embodied by Crazy Horse. Recognized then and now as the greatest Lakota warrior of his generation, Crazy Horse personified "what it meant to be Lakota and how to remain Indigenous."[25] Upon his murder, a part of what he epitomized died with him, as Sioux stopped recording several winter counts, their annual pictorial record of memorable yearly events.[26] Time went on regardless, and the legend of Crazy Horse grew to the point that Luther Standing Bear, a twentieth-century Oglala author born in 1868, claimed that Crazy Horse was "an example of the fulfillment of Lakota ideals."[27] The Stronghold is therefore an aptly named last bastion for Charging Elk to make a stand against Euro-American encroachment on Lakota land and gold mining in the Black Hills (begun illegally in 1874). Behind its natural defenses, he sets out to perpetuate the old ways that Crazy Horse and Scrub have given up for gone.

Life at Pine Ridge Agency went on for many historical Lakotas as it did for Charging Elk's parents. Misery was ubiquitous. In lieu of extraordinary deeds or events, what winter counts Lakotas kept in the late 1870s and the 1880s registered suicides, murders, disfunction, sickness, strife, and dispossession. Part and parcel to Sioux despair was the near extinction of the once innumerable American bison herds, the locus of the Lakotas' collective economy, history, and cosmology. With no bison to sustain them, men like Scrub, who had been hunters and

warriors, scratched out paltry livings hauling freight or cutting wood. Women farmed small plots of corn, much as they had for centuries to supplement the Lakotas' diet and provide emergency food stores. When men began planting corn, in addition to squash, oats, potatoes, and watermelons in the 1880s, they pushed women out of their traditional gender role and marginalized their social standing. Lakota children were taken from their families and put on trains to distant boarding schools.[28]

On the one hand, the ledger of Lakota hardship between 1879 and 1889 is long and should not be discounted. On the other hand, there should as well be an accounting of Sioux achievement where owed. In truth, Sioux *earned* the right to live at their agencies as much as agency life was thrust upon them by military force and congressional action. When Crazy Horse surrendered to Crook in 1877, he did so, according to Red Cloud, the Oglala war leader and diplomat, not because he was defeated, but because he deemed it "best as a matter of policy."[29] Weeks later, Crazy Horse told Crook, "In coming this way, I picked out a place where I wish to live here after. I put a stake in the ground to mark the spot. There is plenty of game in this country. All of my relatives here approve of my choice."[30] Likewise, in 1879, Red Cloud was asked to commemorate the building of a new school at Pine Ridge. When he placed a gold ring in a box to be buried beneath the cornerstone of the school, he asked "Almighty God [to] put it into the hearts of the white man, not to disturb us [the Oglalas] in our present home, but allow us to remain here in peace."[31] After the box was in the ground, Red Cloud laid the cornerstone over it and hammered a "wooden spike home, which fastened the first jointing of the sills."[32] Historian Jeffrey Ostler has commented on the meaning of Red Cloud's act. "His people had won the right to live" at Pine Ridge, Ostler notes, and "they would continue to fight to make their agency a place of their own."[33] The hopeful self-determination demonstrated by the two most

prominent Oglalas of their day was not enacted naïvely or without purpose. How Scrub, whose own self-determination led him to Red Cloudy Agency, lives is an extension of that same idealistic assurance of peace and a better future, however flawed or failed. The irony again is that Charging Elk, not Scrub, has betrayed Crazy Horse's choice—his x-mark—to leave places such as the Stronghold behind for peace and a fresh start.

Irony notwithstanding, Charging Elk is similar to Crazy Horse in that he evinces a stubborn refusal to relinquish control over how and where he lives. He and Strikes Plenty flout peace and assimilation as they ride their horses over the Badlands "who knows where, but free to go. Not like reservation Indians who had given up and lived in the wooden houses at the agency, collecting their meager commodities, their spoiled meat, learning to worship the white man's god, learning to talk the strange tongue."[34] Charging Elk goes to Bear Butte, "a cone-shaped holy hill where many Oglalas had sought their visions in the past but which was now surrounded by settlers and mining claims."[35] With help from an old w*icasa wakan* (medicine man), he prays in a sweat lodge, and at sixteen he has his *hanblechia* (vision quest). And on raids with Strikes Plenty, Charging Elk steals things such as rifles, bullets, and boots from gold miners, who fire on but never harm the would-be raiders. Yet Charging Elk's life is seldom carefree or easy. Winter tests him and the others at the Stronghold who are cutoff by weather from Pine Ridge. Without meat, they eat rawhide, and some at the Stronghold starve to death during the harsh winter of 1889. When spring arrives, Strikes Plenty tells Charging Elk that he is returning to his family at Whirlwind Campground near Pine Ridge, where he hopes to grow fat on potatoes and find a wife. He encourages Charging Elk to travel with Buffalo Bill to Europe, because the "[good] times are gone," and they "must see what lies ahead."[36] By putting the past and the old ways to rest in exchange for brighter prospects, Charging Elk ultimately "gives up" and follows Crazy

Horse, Scrub, and Strikes Plenty into an x-mark of his own, the only path to victory and peace as the prologue foretells.

Indeed, to look at home in *Heartsong* is to consider how x-marks signify a longing for better. On treaties, Lyons asserts that to the Natives who signed them, they promised "a new way of life."[37] To that, he adds that "X-marks are made with a view of the new as merely another stopping point in a migration that is always heading for home."[38] Home is less a destination and more "a stopping point" by Lyons's logic that there has never been "only one home for one people forever."[39] Thus, home is never irretrievably located in the past because home is always in the present or the future. To presume otherwise is to presuppose that home is immobile and ahistorical, fixed in space and time. Lyons eschews that common Indian understanding of home, and to a much larger and more meaningful extent that of Native identities and cultures, for a historicist hermeneutic that privileges modernity and a "Native assent to the new" across time, through space, and in discourse.[40] By defining modernity as a regard for life in "'modern times'" distinguished from the traditional ways "'we used to live,'" Lyons carries Native agency and patterns of adaptability and renewal forward, home included.[41] With that in tow, he refutes the notion that modernization was imposed on Natives strictly by Euro-American colonial rule. Historical Native leaders such as Crazy Horse and the fictional Scrub knew what they were doing and what was at stake when they withdrew from what had been—from their own symbolic strongholds—for new lives in modern times. In fact, doing anything at all was probably their best option. Doing engenders survival, or as Lyons puts it, "Being vanishes. Doing keeps on doing."[42] New ways of doing lead old ways of being, as Charging Elk discovers for himself when he eventually renounces his reasons for being at the Stronghold for a job on horseback with Buffalo Bill.

Charging Elk and Strikes Plenty are *kolas* (brother-friends) headed in opposite directions toward the same end when Charging Elk boards an eastbound train with Cody's talent scouts in the spring of 1889. The choices that Charging Elk has, to remain with his family at Pine Ridge or journey to Europe, are less disparate than they are two sides of the same coin. A European tour with Cody is not an escape from or an alternative to the domestic existence that Strikes Plenty sets for himself, but an extension of it. Riding horses, chasing bison, and reenacting the Battle of the Little Bighorn in arenas surrounded by onlookers is a domesticated simulation, not a replication, of the old Lakota ways made less threatening. Historian Louis Warren writes that while the Wild West show was "a cultural reaction against the cult of domesticity," or the Victorian-era middle- and upper-class value system that emphasized the sanctity of home and the civilizing virtues of Euro-American womanhood, it was also a public forum in which to bring Indians into the modern domestic fold.[43] Sensing that his audiences "needed to perceive the show as beneficial to Indians," Cody presented it "as a vehicle for the education of Indians in the rudiments of civilization."[44] Accordingly, the Wild West "show community was kind of a . . . home for Indians abroad in civilization, a place in which they learned about the modern world but were also protected from it."[45] The idea went that while reservation Indians like those who Charging Elk derides for learning English and practicing Christianity received their educations in civilization and assimilation at Pine Ridge, Indians like Charging Elk studied abroad.

Unfortunately, that spatial way of thinking takes two things for granted. The first is that Indians in Buffalo Bill's show were there against their will. They were not. As historian Linda Scarangella McNenly has written, during the late nineteenth century, "Native people in the United States recognized the benefits of working in Wild West shows and actively pursued these opportunities as a viable option to their new living conditions."[46] Charging Elk and Strikes

Plenty, who wishes to tour with Cody but isn't chosen by the talent scouts, view the Wild West show with a similar pragmatism—a possible x-mark. The second is that Natives in Buffalo Bill's show came from worlds that were less than modern. They did not. That flawed line of imperial reasoning purposefully conflates "different" with "modern" to empty land of Indigenous histories and meanings in order to justify U.S. settler colonialism. The reality is that when Charging Elk was born in 1866 the Lakota world was already very modern, transnational, thriving, and cosmopolitan—and had been for centuries. In the Powder River country of the 1860s, historian Pekka Hämäläinen argues, the Lakotas ruled over "a dynamic cosmopolitan world . . . where transnational commercial circuits converged, where Indians enjoyed many comforts and advantages of the industrial age, and where new ideas about being in the world were constantly debated."[47] Modernity did not suddenly show up without warning or introduction at the eastern edge of the Lakotas' territory in the middle of the nineteenth century.[48] The "Lakotas . . . had already forged one of their own," Hämäläinen writes, and with it "a new political philosophy that recognized that Lakotas would have to gradually learn to live with the wasicus. . . . In the long run, it could mean farming and settling in reservations."[49] Natives in Wild West shows, then, were not in need of any introduction to or protection from the modern world, so much as they were eager to map it on their own and make new x-marks in it.

Thus, the Indians who traveled to Europe with Cody did so as active participants in a larger exchange and movement of ideas and people across the "Red Atlantic" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Far from being passive victims swept up in the currents of globalization, industrialization, and modernity, late nineteenth-century Natives, writes Cherokee critic and historian Jace Weaver, engaged, contended with, and adapted "to a modernity defined by (and sometimes prescribed by) their involvement with whites."[50] The Red

Atlantic thus provides a geographic and temporal way of thinking about Indians as central to a thousand years of history in the Atlantic World, as Weaver notes that "Native resources, ideas, and peoples themselves traveled the Atlantic with regularity and became among the most basic defining components of Atlantic cultural exchange."[51] And as with any exchange, there was compromise, while some profited and others lost. Critic and historian Kate Flint, in *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776–1930* (2009), observes that *Heartsong* employs a transatlantic crossing "to explore the sense of dislocation that Native Americans inevitably felt when engaging with modernity," and to "dramatize the accommodations that they inevitably made."[52] On the accommodations Charging Elk makes for himself, Flint contends that "it seems less of a compromise to keep his Indian identity inviolate and private and to stay in France, heading into an unknown, partly assimilated, and hybrid transatlantic future," than it does to return to Pine Ridge.[53] That Charging Elk's identity is inviolate is probably overstated, but that he deduces within the context of the Red Atlantic that his future is in France, is an example of the mapping of and spatial reckoning with modernity negotiated by historical Native moderns.

Yet the aforementioned historiography is not the usual history that informs critical analyses of *Heartsong*. Critics have largely read Custer's defeat, Crazy Horse's surrender, the Oglala removal to Pine Ridge Agency, and Native participation in Cody's Wild West show, as inherent only to the American metanarrative of Native American genocide and displacement. How these episodes accomplished and validated the actions and legacies of U.S. settler colonialism and the inevitability of the vanishing Indian trope, has been studied in *Heartsong* by writers such as Kathryn M. Shanley (Nakoda), Hans Bak, Andrea Opitz, James J. Donahue, Krupat, and Haselstein. Often, there is a marked mutual exclusivity between the hegemonic Euro-American version of history that subverts Native perspectives, and the tribal histories that

bolster Native memory. On the prologue of *Heartsong*, Optiz surmises that it "functions . . . as a haunting reminder of the . . . violence that informs the history of the West and of the nation."[54] And on Charging Elk's involvement with Cody's Wild West show, Bak contends that it "unwillingly and unwittingly makes him an accomplice in the erasure of history as embedded in the tribe's collective memory and the construction of a revised and officially sanctioned historical American memory."[55] These arguments are well made in that they address the harms perpetrated upon Natives in the reification of American history as Manifest Destiny. Yet they are also incomplete. Asserting that the prologue has more to do with colonial violence than it does an Oglala desire for peace, and stating categorically that Charging Elk is a victim of his own complicity in Cody's Wild West drama, does nothing to combat historical erasure. On the contrary, doing so *perpetuates* the loss of Native agency by ignoring or denying the history and validity of Native x-marks.

Such criticisms also elide the syncretism in the larger project of historical deconstruction that Welch began in his acclaimed historical novel *Fools Crow*, continued in the nonfiction account of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, *Killing Custer* (1994), and furthered in *Heartsong.* Native American and Euro-American history are not separate and distinct halves of the same whole. Rather, they overlap, cross, and interconnect, and through time are to varying degrees one and the same. Choctaw-Cherokee critic Louis Owens is mistaken when he writes of *Fools Crow* that it depicts an "intact" and "traditional Blackfoot world."[56] So too is Weaver wrong to note that *Heartsong* is simply a story "of Buffalo Bill's Indian."[57] The traditional Blackfoot world in *Fools Crow* is intact and traditional solely to its own time, as much modern as the Lakotas' territories of the 1860s. Tradition is only part of the story in *Fools Crow*, just as Charging Elk being an Indian in Buffalo Bill's show is only a piece of *Heartsong*.

Taking all that into consideration, the expanse that separates Pine Ridge and Marseille is not so wide. Insofar as the distance between them is measurable in anything other than miles, the gap diminishes if home in *Heartsong* is made more of doing than of being. I suggest that Welch's narrative challenges readers to look beyond the idea that Pine Ridge and Marseille are fixed representations of historically contrived spatial and temporal counterparts. One is not all or nothing any more than history is the same. More important are the narrative complexities and ambiguities in space and time, and how their doing more than their being manifests new maps of Native space, of iterations of home at Red Cloud Agency, the Stronghold, Pine Ridge Agency (which became Pine Ridge Reservation in 1889), and in Marseille. When *Heartsong* is read with and for history, home is never a one-sided affair, but an x-mark, a sign of assent. To view home as an x-mark is to read how Crazy Horse, Scrub, Strikes Plenty, and Charging Elk wager their futures on their own best bets. Consequently, how Charging Elk specifically manages and reconciles with the effects of domesticity, or what others think best for him, is a win against long odds, an instance of his making a new home—and an x-mark—manifest for himself.

II

Aside from being sick with influenza, suffering from a rib injury, and having little knowledge of his surroundings, Charging Elk is homeless in the first chapter as he recalls from his Marseille hospital bed the events that put him there. He has no residence in France, and lacking American, French, or any formal national citizenship, he is a man without a country. Subsequently, when Franklin Bell, an American diplomat stationed in Marseille, and another man visit Charging Elk in the hospital, Charging Elk "couldn't tell the men in suits where his home was."[58] The

statement contains different valences of meaning in that Charging Elk, who does not speak English or French, cannot put home into words nor comprehend exactly where home is in a geographic sense given what he left behind in America. Though the narrator assumes that the men in suits must know that Charging Elk is "from Pine Ridge, his home," the narration is opaque enough to leave that conclusion in doubt.[59]

That confusion is part of Charging Elk awakening in the hospital to a future in which his past and homes prior exist only in memory. These memories of home retreat as the narrative moves onward, but not before home is revealed to have a complex history of its own. Home is variously "the little shack with his mother and father in the village of his people," "the open plains, the river bottoms, [and] the pines of Paha Sapa," and with "his mother picking berries in the Bighorns and his father cleaning his many-shots gun in the lodge on the Greasy Grass."[60] Notably, home is never the Stronghold. Where Charging Elk had been averse to his parents' small shack when living with Strikes Plenty, it looms larger when Charging Elk remembers it from the extreme isolation of France. Recalling the winter of 1889, the narrator claims that Charging Elk "would have gone through ten such winters just to be back home. But this time he would be with his mother and father."[61] As he has rejected the old ways, the Stronghold is no longer imbued with the same significance for Charging Elk, as he has no reason to be ashamed of what his parents' home represents by comparison. Furthermore, home matters not so much for where or what it is, but for the people who make it. His family, Charging Elk's mother, father, and other Oglalas, stand for home, a connection Charging Elk makes when he wishes to "go home to his people" while he is still new to Marseille.[62]

The authorities who take responsibility for Charging Elk, however, are less concerned with getting him home to America then they are with finding a suitable home for him in France.

As Charging Elk wanders the streets on Christmas Eve, he is arrested on a charge of *vagabondage*, literally the crime of being homeless. While Charging Elk is in jail, a newspaper article about his plight in prison attracts the attention of René Soulas, a pious Marseille fishmonger. Soulas offers to take Charging Elk in while the French judiciary, which has barred Charging Elk from leaving France on the grounds that without American citizenship or a valid passport he entered the country illegally, deliberates how to proceed. Bell is happy to oblige, and escorts Charging Elk to the fishmonger's flat.

Like Bell in France, stateside American bureaucrats had by 1890 become preoccupied with finding homes for Native Americans. Many had once envisioned Indians living more or less by parameters similar to those set forth in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, as Christians—and perhaps citizens—in permanent dwellings on farmland of their own far from Euro-Americans. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, however, and the gradual westward expansion of people and industry that it quickened, their priorities had shifted by the 1880s. In 1882, Hiram Price, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, lamented that Euro-Americans were now insisting that the "fertile valleys and mountains rich in mineral deposits . . . no longer remain locked up and shut out from the enterprise and industry of the white man," and that "railroads are penetrating . . . reservations once set apart for the home of the Indian."[63] Many believed that Euro-Americans and Native Americans would have to live in close proximity until Natives disappeared—either by extinction or absorption into Euro-American society. Government officials pressed the urgent need for immediate Indian assimilation and social conformity by any effective means, to which something like vagabondage—similar to Charging Elk living at the Stronghold—was antithetical. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Horace R. Chase cut right to the point when he proposed in 1888 that, "A greater effort ought to be made on the

part of citizens who are friends of the Indian cause to make and secure good homes for those [Indians] who . . . would otherwise return to the reservation."[64] A year later, the superintendent of Indian schools juxtaposed Native vagrancy with supposedly better conduct when he asked, "In what condition shall the Indian be absorbed into our life; diseased, degraded, and debauched, or elevated, enlightened, and ennobled; hateful or helpful; faithless and frail or full of faith and fortitude; a pauper, a vagabond, a criminal, or an intelligent, industrious, and loyal citizen?"[65] Bell toes the same bureaucratic line, foreseeing that the sooner Natives "vanished or joined America, the better off they would be."[66] Agreeing to let Charging Elk live with the Soulas family is therefore not just a convenient solution for Bell to discharge Charging Elk from his immediate care and free him from prison. It also symbolizes a push by an imperial American government to get Indians into homes of their own or the homes of others, and the charitable piety of Christian Euro-Americans who considered their hospitality an act of benevolence crucial to Native survival.

Not just any house would do, however. To make a house a home took more than four walls, a roof, and a door. The Soulas' flat is made of better things, which the narrator describes when Bell first enters the Soulas' apartment:

> Franklin Bell was surprised at the spaciousness of the fishmonger's flat. He had no idea of the kind of money a fishmonger might make, but the large flat was clean and gracious, with its soft velvet furnishings and trimmed and tasseled drapes, its polished wood tables and cabinets, the doilies and antimacassars draped in strategic spots. There were even a couple of electric lamps. This was a home.[67]

As a foreign service employee more concerned with a promotion and maintaining profitable trade agreements between American and French merchants than with Charging Elk's welfare,

Bell is the personification of American imperialism and its commercial interests abroad. From this perspective, he judges the Soulas apartment for how, like Bell himself, it holds up the pinnacle of nineteenth-century Euro-American civilization, represented in this case by the upper- and middle-class Euro-American household kept tidy and tastefully furnished with the latest and best commodities. Each time he checks in on Charging Elk while the French court drags out his repatriation case, Bell is "always impressed by the [living] room and its furnishings," as they remind him of his childhood home in Philadelphia that he never visits.[68] Possessions, more than people or place, constitute home for the single-minded Bell, who the narrative suggests returns to America in disgrace only after he has been relieved of his duties. His reward is a cruel irony, as it only comes to Bell after he realizes the depth to which he has failed to secure the same thing for Charging Elk, who wants it more.

The domestic ideal that the Soulas home presents an image of loosely coheres to a nineteenth-century separate spheres ideology. Governed by maternal influence and white Euro-American womanhood, the refined and orderly private space of the home is the feminine and familial analog to the vulgar masculine world of labor and market capitalism. Yet many studies have shown the spheres were less separate than they are permeable, and in the context of U.S. imperialism and settler colonialism, united in their advancement internationally and in America.[69] As Kaplan writes, "The border between the domestic and foreign . . . deconstructs when we think of domesticity not as a static condition but as the process of domestication, which entails conquering and taming the wild, the natural, and the alien."[70] In the United States, domesticity was an ally, not an innocent bystander, in the violent colonization of Native lands and peoples. Indeed, "In the assimilation era," argues Piatote, "the tools of conquest where not so much armed commanders as administrative circulars," with field commanders replaced or

supplemented by field matrons.[71] As well, historian Jane Simonsen has noted that in Native communities in the American West and elsewhere, Euro-American "domesticity . . . had to be made—through imposing legal order."[72] This was accomplished most damagingly and effectively at the congressional level with passage of the General Allotment Act in 1887, which allotted millions of acres of communally held tribal land into 80-, 160-, and 320-acre homesteads for Native individual and family use. Henry Dawes, the U.S. senator from Massachusetts who authored allotment legislation, believed in individualism and thought the problem with communal living was that it did nothing to inspire in Indians a drive to "make your home any better than that of your neighbors."[73] To Euro-American reformers, home could not simply be taken for how it was found in a river bottom or the open plains—it had to be made.

That the domestication of Native Americans occurred in the assimilation era along separate but overlapping divisions of gendered labor is apparent in *Heartsong*. Madeleine Soulas, René's wife, initially abhors the thought of a savage living so near to her and her children. She cannot understand why her husband "would want to bring this *indien* into their home," convinced that, "God didn't intend for Christians and savages to live together!"[74] Home for Madeleine is the standard Victorian-era domestic sanctuary where the threatening Other is not. So fearful is Madeleine that she sends her children, Chloe and Mathias, to her parents' during Charging Elk's first night under her roof, certain that with him nearby they will be unable "to sleep for fear of being scalped."[75] Conversely, Renè views Charging Elk as a noble savage, an exotic "dark prince," and a "magnificent creature" above the social "station of the *prolétaire*."[76] René beams with pride when he drags Charging Elk to work at the quay, where baffled fishmongers stare at him or rush clumsily to shake his hand. Additionally, Renè sees in Charging Elk a chance to test his piety and flex his moral superiority, as he refuses a church's offer to care

for Charging Elk on the pretense that he and Madeleine can better serve their ward. In part, he is motivated to do this because, while in the audience at Buffalo Bill's show, he hears that Indians "are disappearing . . . and soon they will be gone."[77] René's attitude of benevolent paternalism and his belief in Native domestication through work as the only (albeit temporary) alternative to Native extinction, closely resembles the reform policies and rhetoric espoused by U.S. government officials like Bell. Like them, René never concedes his or any direct Euro-American involvement in the violence against or forced removal of Indian people and the destruction of Native cultures. He instead accepts Buffalo Bill's version of Manifest Destiny and the regrettable but purportedly natural demise of American Indians that it enacted.

Many nineteenth-century examples of manifest domesticity promoted similarly exploitative and wistfully sentimental narratives of Native disappearance and assimilation. Books by American writers Lydia Maria Child, Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, Caroline Kirkland, Margaret Fuller, and Catharine Beecher "sentimentalized conquest," according to critic Roland Finger, and derogated "Natives to stimulate the supposed core values and elements of white civilization."[78] These narratives disclose how the women's domestic sphere normalized the bloodless and unpreventable passing, removal, or assimilation of Native Americans, from New England westward. Domesticity was shown to be relatively peaceful, a "means," writes Finger, "to relieve the tensions produced by pursuit of material gain resulting from policies of genocide and removal of Indians."[79] Some Native American women writers of the late nineteenth century carried a similar belief in manifest domesticity or spoke out against it. Muscogee author S. Alice Callahan's 1891 novel *Wynema: A Child of the Forest*, is an overtly didactic *Bildungsroman* in which the Muscogee protagonist Wynema expresses her support for allotment, predicting that Indians "would have pride enough to cultivate their land

and build up their homes."[80] In contrast, Yankton Dakota author Zitkála- Šá (Red Bird), or Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, refuted the accepted purpose and banality of manifest domesticity. Hers was not a benighted Indian home to be domesticated by encroaching Euro-Americans. As critic Susan Bernardin has written, Zitkála- Šá framed her childhood home not as something foreign to the domestic sphere, but as a site of domesticity itself. Zitkála- Šá contradicted compulsory Native assimilation and the rectitude of allotment by laying bare the worst of its effects.[81]

Though female authorship, feminine influence, and the sentimental extolment of affluent, white Euro-American womanhood are not by themselves a major force of domesticity in *Heartsong*, domesticity is nevertheless similarly appropriated in the novel by a Native author and protagonist. Welch neither entirely renounces nor completely embraces manifest domesticity in his historical deconstruction of its iteration in a stereotypical white Christian household. His measured ambivalence is an x-mark in that it embraces how home can and does change in Native memories and histories. The Soulas flat in that regard is a microcosm of the effects of U.S. imperialism and manifest domesticity writ large at the Stronghold and Pine Ridge.

Ambivalence also characterizes how Charging Elk takes to life at the Soulas apartment. He quickly picks up that Madeleine is uncomfortable sharing her home with him, but understands that in their new relationship she has no reason to like or dislike him. He tolerates René's fumbling goodwill, but cannot make out why the fishmonger fawns over him for what he is—an Indian—instead of admiring him for the performer he once was. He thinks of running away, but hesitates when he realizes he has nowhere to go and recalls how sick and hungry he felt after leaving the hospital. Even "home" is not so unequivocal. Charging Elk stops himself from welcoming death for fear that his *nagi* (spirit) will lose its way home. Home in this case is

not the Black Hills or Pine Ridge, but a spiritual realm of and beyond these places. The narrator equivocates again when Mathias shows Charging Elk a globe while the pair shop in a bookstore. When Mathias points to the globe and says "*Amérique*," then "*Dakota*," Charging Elk eagerly repeats "Dakota," recognizing Dakota Sioux as relatives.[82] Yet when Charging Elk asks Mathias in Lakota how he can go home, Mathias cannot answer him. That Mathias is unable to respond is more than a linguistic failure. Charging Elk's question goes answered because Mathias equates home with a fixed point on an arbitrary, Euro-American-made map of the world, whereas Charging Elk equates home with a kinship network. People, more than place, are again the home to which Charging Elk desires a return.

His goal seems less attainable when Bell reveals to René that due to another bureaucratic mishap, the French government has declared Charging Elk legally dead and unable to leave France, perhaps indefinitely. The news thrills René, who is certain Charging Elk has grown used to "the life he leads," and that Charging Elk "will be at home" with his family.[83] Charging Elk has spent months with the Soulases when Bell delivers the news, and in that time has fostered a closer bond to Mathias and Chloe. Madeleine has warmed to him as well. Kaplan notes that in novels of manifest domesticity, "we often find subjectivity scripted by narratives of nation and empire," and it seems the same fate awaits Charging Elk.[84] To this point, his subjectivity in France has been shaped by Bell's imperial motives and the Marseille customs embodied by the Soulases, signs that gesture toward Charging Elk's further imperial acculturation.

It comes as a surprise, then, to read that more than three years later, in August 1893, Charging Elk has an apartment of his own in Marseille and is employed at a local soap factory. On his own for four months, he leaves the "fishmonger's world" because "he had realized that he was becoming almost a child to the Soulases."[85] Charging Elk eats dinner on Sundays at their

home, but otherwise he works, drinks anisette at a café near his apartment, and fantasizes about finding a woman. In his neighborhood, Le Panier (the basket), later revealed to be disreputable, Charging Elk is surrounded by foreigners. They are North Africans and Middle Easterners, but to Charging Elk they are people "closer to his own than any of the others he had come across since he left Pine Ridge."[86] And still he is eager to go home. When he gets a small raise, Charging Elk takes it as a sign that "Wakan Tanka . . . wanted his child to come home to him even sooner than the original plan."[87] Home is again more cosmological than geographical, while Charging Elk's labor and domestic situation do not keep him from as much as they are crucial to his getting there. In shaping his subjectivity by making a home for himself away from the Soulases, and by willfully manifesting a desire for it, Charging Elk mobilizes and assents to a nationalized Euro-American domesticity, one in which he remains a foreigner but not a vagabond. Like Scrub, he is impoverished, and like Scrub, Charging Elk makes an x-mark in his deal with the demands of his new life in modern times.

Yet like his father, Crazy Horse, and Red Cloud, Charging Elk has only scant capital with which to bargain. X-marks, like any agreement made under duress and on unequal terms, perpetuate inequality and power imbalances, which can and do define subjectivities. With that, half measures of domesticity are akin to no measures at all. If "the conditions of domesticity," as Kaplan writes, "become markers that distinguish civilization from savagery," then his parents' shack and Charging Elk's apartment are related.[88] They are x-marks that represent domesticated versions of the foreign that has been appropriated, compartmentalized, and internalized by civilization in order to distinguish itself from, but never eliminate, that which civilization deems savage by comparison. Welch's deconstruction, in *Heartsong* and his other novels, confronts and

complicates this domestic dichotomy by emphasizing how it exploited, and to a lesser extent was exploited by, Natives in individual and tribal histories and memories.

After Charging Elk elects to leave the fishmonger's world, the plot sets itself up to follow the archetypal homing pattern. Readers might expect Charging Elk to turn from Marseille and individualism toward Pine Ridge and community just as Abel, the protagonist in Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday's novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968), leaves Los Angeles for his home at Jemez Pueblo in New Mexico. Welch employs a similar plot structure in his novels *Winter in the Blood* (1974) and *The Indian Lawyer* (1990). In *Winter in the Blood*, a listless and unnamed male protagonist returns home to his family's cattle ranch on an unspecified Indian reservation in Montana. There he discovers a renewed sense of purpose and healing truths in his lineage. Similarly, in *The Indian Lawyer*, the protagonist, Sylvester Yellow Calf, resigns from a lucrative legal practice in Helena, Montana, to practice law at home on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Browning. With *Heartsong*, the assumption is that Charging Elk will return to Pine Ridge, reconnect with his parents, and recover from his ordeal in France by reembracing the old Lakota ways and traditions he was wrong to leave behind.

The novel fulfills and falls short of these expectations. Charging Elk finds a way home in the end, but unlike many novels by Native Americans, wherein a reservation home is setup as a refuge in comparison to a hostile wider world, *Heartsong* inverts that juxtaposition. To Featherman, Charging Elk's Oglala friend who dies of influenza in France and for whom bureaucrats mistake Charging Elk, "there was nothing left at home."[89] Where Strikes Plenty embraces family life at Whirlwind Campground, and Featherman goes to Europe to find adventure and "a woman who would take care of him," Charging Elk is neither all one or the other.[90] He aspires to be home with his family at Pine Ridge, but he moves out of the Soulas

apartment "to look for a woman."[91] The common thread between the three Lakota young men is their search for companionship, not home per se, but a person with whom to make it. They effect major changes—x-marks—not with the naïve hope of retrieving anything lost to the past, but of finding something worth having in the future.

As he settles into living on his own, Charging Elk paradoxically inches closer to home and farther from Pine Ridge. After a confrontation with drunken American sailors at a café, during which Charging Elk sings his death song before a fight that never materializes, it dawns on him for the first time that Marseille has "become his home."[92] That possibility had been "unthinkable," but when his death song helps him quit the café unharmed, he afterward carries himself with more confidence, drinks wine, purchases fancy new clothes, and feels emboldened enough to visit a brothel.[93] Like the Oglala peace song from the prologue, Charging Elk's death song attends a jarring transition from an old way of being to a new way of doing—an x-mark. What is more, that Marseille becomes home not as a direct result of burdensome French regulations, Bell's negligence, or the Soulases' good graces, but by Charging Elk's faith in Wakan Tanka, is a notable form of resistance to Euro-American imperialism and the object of manifest domesticity. Four years earlier, Charging Elk was sure that "With the help of Wakan Tanka, he would find his own way home," an accurate but generalized prediction.[94] Where home is goes unspecified, the first of many indications in the novel that Charging Elk might go home without ever leaving France.

In a 2001 interview, Shanley asked Welch about his method of writing literary accounts of historical events. Welch replied that historical fiction interested him because "when you write about history . . . you can almost correct perceptions about Indians from long ago."[95] Later, Welch told interviewer and author Owen Perkins that writers have to be careful when creating a

character from a different historical era, because such a character must be "a believable person of that culture and of that time."[96] And in an interview with publisher Cindy Heidemann, Heidemann praises Welch for his ability to write "historical fiction . . . in the idiom of the time."[97] How deliberate Welch is with his historical research is debatable given that in his conversation with Shanley he mentions that Lakotas in the late nineteenth century "wanted never to see a white man as long as they lived."[98] That oversimplification fails to account for numerous political and economic realities Sioux faced at the time. More relevant, however, is Welch's careful use of "almost" and "believable" when describing his artistic approach. *Heartsong* asks readers to buy into a version of imaginative history that, though rooted in fact, is mostly fiction. No such person named Charging Elk ever traveled with Cody's Wild West show or lived in Marseille. Had he done so, he may have worked and lived and yearned to go home as Charging Elk does. Essential to that same air of believability, though, is the degree to which Welch restricts how he can and cannot, or "almost," effect a convincing and accurate historical narrative.

When the plot of *Heartsong* unfolds after Charging Elk falls in love with Marie Coulet, a prostitute, it captures the hypocrisies in domesticity and the Euro-American assimilation of American Indians. Charging Elk visits Marie once a week for months, buys her gifts, and imagines marrying and fathering children with her. He lives paycheck to paycheck, spending his money on wine, dining out, and having his clothes cleaned. He no longer saves to purchase a ticket on a steamship home, while "his hope that one day he would get back to his land and his people" becomes "more and more a distant dream."[99] As he begins to bring about what he thinks will be an ideal domestic situation with Marie, and as Marseille becomes more and more like home, Charging Elk is proportionally less inclined to make a return trip to Pine Ridge. When he

is offered a new job and another raise at the soap factory, Charging Elk visits Marie and invites her to live with him. Though she has romantic feelings for Charging Elk, Marie refuses his request, as she cannot fancy a happy future "married to a freak."[100] At the same time, Marie reluctantly abets Armand Breteuil, a local chef who fellates Charging Elk after Marie drugs Charging Elk's wine. When Charging Elk regains consciousness, he murders Breteuil, leaves the brothel, and lies down in the street to await arrest. Afterward, as Charging Elk lays on a prison cell cot, the narrator exclaims that "he had no pleasure left in his life. He would never go home."[101]

In Charging Elk's relationship with Marie and in his sexual encounter with and killing of Breteuil, the narrative weighs which is more believable: that Charging Elk might wed, settle down, and have children with a French prostitute, or that he finds himself stabbing a Frenchman to death who has violated him sexually. Ostensibly, the former certainly seems more plausible than the latter, which is as violent and tragic as it is absurd. Within the context of Euro-American domesticity and its proprieties, however, it is taboo for Marie to marry a foreigner and a "freak," and for Charging Elk, himself a foreigner, to marry a prostitute. Neither Marie nor Charging Elk carries the cultural legitimacy needed to establish a proper family with one another. When their relationship is seen in that light, it becomes more conceivable that Charging Elk would fall victim to a "deviant," as Charging Elk's attorney calls Breteuil when Charging Elk is on trial for murder, than start a household with Marie.[102] That hypocrisy is on full display in the character of Martin St-Cyr, a journalist sympathetic to Charging Elk. St-Cyr is from a wealthy French family and often visits a prostitute named Fortune. Yet he plans to use Charging Elk's "pathetic attempt to become a Frenchmen" in his articles as a way to garner public sympathy for Charging Elk during his trial.[103] Moreover, the prosecutor hypocritically defends Breteuil's homosexuality and

sexual assault, claiming that "While we all, as God-fearing men, frown upon the nature of the homosexual act, in some quarters, indeed in the deceased's milieu, it is considered quite normal."[104] What for St-Cyr is normal is pathetic for Charging Elk because St-Cyr is a rich Frenchmen with no thoughts of marrying Fortune. Additionally, what deviancy is and is not depends on how its definition upholds legal and domestic order. Breteuil's crime is the lesser evil compared to Charging Elk's, as French domesticity has made spatial accommodations for homosexuality (in some quarters), whereas Charging Elk is a foreigner for whom there is no similar place in Marseille.

Since he cannot return to Le Panier, and because the French court has barred itself from deporting Charging Elk to Pine Ridge, either confinement or death awaits him. When the jury finds Charging Elk guilty of homicide, the chief magistrate spares him from the guillotine not because he takes into account the unusual circumstances that occasion the crime, but for the aberrant nature of its perpetrator. By reason that Charging Elk is "not of a civilized race of people," he cannot, according to the chief magistrate, "conform to even the most elementary code of conduct."[105] Charging Elk is therefore sentenced to life in prison not only for *what* he has done, but for *who* he is. That hypocrisy of law, which has kept Charging Elk in France for years will, ironically, detain him there for the rest of his life. Later, when Charging Elk's jailer tells him that his jail cell "is your home now," the novel underscores a similar point, that how one is at home in France depends as much, if not more so, on being than it does on doing.[106] Charging Elk's x-mark, his attempt to become French, is thus not only "pathetic," but impossible from any perspective save his own. Far from diminishing the import of Charging Elk's efforts to secure a new life for himself, the narrative draws them out to critique and expose a stark reality of

assimilation during the late nineteenth century: that being an Indian could be and was as much a crime as *vagabondage* and murder.

III

Irony and paradox follow Charging Elk from the courtroom to prison. He is incarcerated from August 1894 to March 1904 in La Tombe, a penitentiary near Montséegur, France. The name suggests that though Charging Elk has avoided the guillotine, he has been metaphorically and legally put to death in his permanent removal from all society save the prison itself. Just as cruelly, when the jailer bids Charging Elk take care of his cell because the cell is now his home, his words resemble similar commands uttered by Bell and René Soulas. Charging Elk has been kept against his will in France and instructed to make the country his home since his accident at the end of 1889, first as a dead man then as prisoner, an obvious irony that links domesticity and imprisonment as institutions of social control.

The paradox is that Charging Elk is legally and illegally detained in France. Though he is guilty of murder under French law, and by that measure legally incarcerated, he is neither a French nor American citizen, and as such is held illegally as a political prisoner. That paradox is put into clearer relief when Charging Elk is finally freed from prison when the Catholic Relief Society of Marseille takes an interest in his case and lobbies to have him released. Where the law and its representatives, including Bell, the prosecuting attorney, and the chief magistrate, have exploited legal incongruities and a misapplication of law to deny Charging Elk his freedom—to find him a home—the Catholic Relief Society convinces the French government to pardon Charging Elk and admit it "made a mistake."[107] Piatote notes that "Literature challenges law by

imagining other plots and other resolutions that at times are figured as nonresolution or states of suspension," and the same is happening in *Heartsong*.[108] Law holds Charging Elk in a state of suspension during most of his time in France, with an imaginative resolution to his limbo coming only when others hold law accountable on Charging Elk's behalf.

Another way to interpret this is to take into account how one arm of assimilation-era Indian reform maneuvers Charging Elk into prison, while another frees him from it. With politicians such as Henry Dawes, and in hand with policies instituted under late nineteenth-century U.S. presidents and commissioners of Indian affairs, groups of influential men and women marshalled moral rectitude, Christian religious fervor, and benevolent paternalism to extinguish "Indianness" and "Americanize the American Indian." Like the federal government, the so-called "friends of the Indian" believed that the welfare of Indians could only be guaranteed through a widespread acceptance of Christianity, U.S. citizenship, and the fee simple ownership of land. Organizations such as the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee, the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), and the Indian Rights Association presented civilization to Native Americans as their only tenable means of survival.[109] The WNIA, in particular, was made up of white women from upper- and middle-class Protestant backgrounds who brought to their association "a near sacred characterization of domesticity."[110] Members of the WNIA, write historians, made it their mission to "replace . . . Native American kinship networks with Anglo-American nuclear families, using both the physical space and the symbolic qualities of the wooden home as catalysts for this transformation."[111] On the vanguard of manifest domesticity, the WNIA heeded Horace R. Chase's 1888 call to secure good homes for Native Americans, going so far as to subsidize construction themselves.[112]

The narrative, then, doubles down on its commitment to historical realism when Charging Elk is released into the guardianship of an orchard keeper. Vincent Gazier, like René Soulas, is a family man of industry and Christian piety whose faith compels him to take Charging Elk in as a boarder and extra hand to work his orchard near Agen, France. When he greets Charging Elk at the train station, Gazier informs Charging Elk that soon Charging Elk will be situated in "his new home," just as René Soulas welcomed Charging Elk to his Marseille flat years earlier.[113] And just as Charging Elk came to be with the Soulases, he imagines that with the Gaziers he will "come to feel a part of their world."[114]

The recapitulation of a nearly identical plot scenario speaks to the centrality and ubiquity of domesticity in *Heartsong*. Home, and on a larger scale the making of it, is the tie that binds, from Pine Ridge to Marseille to Agen. Home is always an end and a beginning, a stopping point and an x-mark. With the same temperament, the same ascent to the new that he put into his job at the soap factory in Marseille, Charging Elk grows accustomed to the rhythms of life on the Gazier farm. In time, he falls in love with Vincent's teenage daughter, Nathalie, who, like Marie, reciprocates romantic feelings for Charging Elk. And like Marie, Nathalie questions how a romantic relationship with Charging Elk might be perceived publicly. Unlike Marie, however, Nathalie elects not to care what others think. When Charging Elk asks her to marry him, Nathalie says yes, and though Vincent initially objects to their "ungodly union," he relents and gives the couple his blessing.[115] After the wedding, Charging Elk and Nathalie relocate to Marseille.

These parallelisms, between Charging Elk's stay with the Soulases and his courtship of Marie, and his time with the Gaziers and his courtship of Nathalie, are too conspicuous to be anything but didactic. Why does the former end in tragedy and the latter in triumph? Consider that when Madame Loiseau of the Catholic Relief Society entrusts Charging Elk to Vincent's

care, she does so to safeguard Charging Elk from the "distractions" and "temptations" of Marseille.[116] Likewise, when Vincent notifies Loiseau of the marriage, she replies that there is nothing blasphemous about it, and that Vincent's "chaste daughter will do much to ensure Charging Elk's future happiness."[117] Where Charging Elk had a decade earlier trespassed Euro-American domestic norms by living in Le Panier, spending his money freely, visiting and then proposing marriage to a prostitute, and encountering a homosexual, he has returned to Marseille married to the virtuous, heteronormative daughter of a virtuous, heteronormative French farmer. One powerful Indian reformer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan, wrote in 1889 that the only future promise for Native Americans was to "win their way in life just as other people do, by hard work, virtuous conduct, and thrift," a promise that Charging Elk fulfills.[118] New ways of doing lead old ways of being as Charging Elk finally goes home, not to Pine Ridge but to Marseille, Nathalie, and their unborn child. There, Ferguson posits, Marseille "becomes for Charging Elk a kind of neutral space where he and his French wife can construct their own 'normal' life," an apt observation if we deem a normal life to be a household ordered and sanctioned by the strict provisions of Euro-American domesticity.[119]

That the first and last chapters of *Heartsong* begin and end in Marseille is therefore not an example of homing in, but of "squaring the circle." Simonsen uses the phrase to describe how a nineteenth-century Indian advocate, E. Jane Gay, took the "square idea undergirding white, middle-class domesticity" to Nez Perces in Washington State.[120] The Nez Perces had long lived in circular lodges and complex kinship networks instead of wooden single-family homes and discrete nuclear families. That changed over time, just as Scrub abnegated the circle for his cabin at Pine Ridge.

How the narrative juxtaposes and reconciles squared-shaped Euro-American domesticity with Oglala lodges and kinship occurs when Cody's Wild West show returns to Marseille in November 1905. Charging Elk attends a performance and afterward walks to the tipi of Andrew Little Ring, a Lakota actor younger than Charging Elk. Little Ring relates to Charging Elk that Charging Elk's mother is alive, but that his father died of influenza in 1902. Little Ring then asks Charging Elk, "Why not go home?"[121] According to the narrator, Charging Elk does not "know how to answer."[122] Traveling with Little Ring is his wife Sarah and his impetuous nephew Joseph, who conveys to Charging Elk the details of the Hunkpapa leader Sitting Bull's murder in 1890 and the Wounded Knee Massacre that followed. News of these tragedies prompts Charging Elk to feel more optimism than despair. All is not lost, as Charging Elk looks upon Little Ring and his family and says, "You three young ones fill my heart with your strength. . . . We will go on because we are strong people, we Lakotas."[123] As he leaves, Charging Elk tells Joseph that he is going home to Nathalie. Little Ring stops him at the door, where Charging Elk thanks him for being hospitable to a "poor stranger."[124] "You are Lakota, wherever you might go. You are one of us always," Little Ring assures him.[125] Moments later, Joseph tracks Charging Elk down and pleads with him to return home to Pine Ridge and his mother. "This is my home now, Joseph," says Charging Elk, adding, "I have a wife. . . . Soon we will have another life and the same heart will sing in all of us."[126] The mention of one heart singing in unison—a heartsong—is reminiscent of the peace song sung in the prologue by the Oglalas at Fort Robinson in 1877. A Lakota song of kinship and victory that simultaneously signals an end and a beginning—an x-mark—thus opens the novel and brings it to a close. Lakota kinship ties remain, and will endure, with and alongside the square of Euro-American domestic life.

Thus, critics who decry Charging Elk's intention to remain in Marseille as a betrayal of his Oglala identity miss the point that such a betrayal is impossible. Crow Creek Sioux critic Elizabeth Cook-Lynn writes that "Charging Elk embodies the 'vanishing American' theory so well known in Indian history," and that *Heartsong* implies "that it is important to escape roots and legacies and geographies even while imagining them in ironic and sophisticated ways."[127] In a similar vein, critic Stuart Christie laments that living with Nathalie in Marseille prohibits Charging Elk from returning to Pine Ridge, while critic Mary Jane Lupton bemoans that in France, "Charging Elk loses his identity, just as a generation of reservation Indians had lost theirs."[128] None of this has critical or historical merit. Charging Elk does not vanish any more than the Oglalas vanished at Fort Robinson. Neither is he running from his roots by living in Europe, as Charging Elk is Lakota no matter where he is. Furthermore, it is a perverse teleology that would deny Charging Elk familial happiness for a transoceanic homecoming he no longer desires, and Charging Elk loses nothing in France that he had not already willfully abandoned when he left the Stronghold. Alleging, then, that Charging Elk loses his identity entirely overlooks the fact that not only is he, as Bak observes, "unmistakably Lakota," but that change does not and cannot compromise his Oglala identity because change has been and is intrinsic to his Oglala identity.[129] To that, Krupat argues, "It is far too reductive for critics to require that for Indians real or fiction to be 'good' or 'authentic' Indians they must return 'home.'"[130] I would add that critics should never lose sight of the fact that in this novel, be it in South Dakota or the south of France, home is where the heartsong is.

*

If the messages in and lessons to be gleaned from *Heartsong* ultimately hinge on a choice Charging Elk makes, then it is also right to acknowledge how the novel withholds choice from

others. Women have almost no voice and little agency in the narrative. Those who talk, Madeleine Soulas, Marie Coulet, and Nathalie Gazier, do so mostly in the service of men and are universally submissive to male authority. At best, their silence can be construed as an ironic critique of domesticity and its subjugation of women. At worst, the novel perpetuates the misogyny in domesticity while rewarding predatory male heterosexuality. Either way, it is unfortunate and inexcusable that in a narrative so preoccupied with family, the patriarchs speak for everyone.

Nor is the virulent homophobia that propels the narrative explicitly or implicitly condemned. Male homosexuality is denounced by the French judiciary, René Soulas, and Charging Elk as amoral, a sign of perversion, or evil. Though Charging Elk condones his killing of Breteuil as customary in an Oglala worldview, that alone should not pardon him or spare him from punishment. What must be accounted for as well is the fact that Charging Elk murders the chef when an act of male homosexuality threatens the domestic existence Charging Elk is planning with Marie. That Breteuil is a *siyoko* (evil), and thus to Charging Elk's mind in need of killing, is irrelevant. Where the Euro-American logic of domesticity that vilifies homosexuality as antithetical to the heteronormativity family ends, and Charging Elk's Oglala interpretation of his crime starts, is not easily discernible. As Shanley has observed, though "Charging Elk and his friend René see Breteuil through different cultural lenses . . . the net result is not different."[131] On homophobia in *Heartsong*, Muscogee critic Craig S. Womack notes that it ironically spares Charging Elk from a death sentence. Given that homophobia sways the chief magistrate's decision to sentence Charging Elk to life in prison, Womack infers that it is "civilization's fear of same-sex desire" that keeps Charging Elk from the guillotine.[132] A generous interpretation might scrutinize this as another ironic appraisal of Euro-American domesticity. Yet Welch could have,

for example, imprisoned Charging Elk for murdering an American sailor in a bar fight or stealing money from his employer. That Welch did not, combined with the evidence that nothing in the narrative indicates that the heteronormative nuclear family is anything but the apogee of the Victorian-era household for European or Native American men alike, should deny the homophobia in *Heartsong* any credible ambiguity.

So too is the dispossession of Sioux land and the consequences that attended it more problematic than might be supposed in reading *Heartsong* for its x-marks. Though I accentuate in this chapter how Charging Elk achieves by his own resolve a home for himself within the dynamic transatlantic world of the late nineteenth century, there is as much loss to this story as there is gain. While Charging Elk procures familial contentment and stability in France, the history of that happiness is irrevocably linked to the genocidal violence and land theft that ultimately prompted Charging Elk's move abroad in the first place. Thus, to put an all-is-well-that-ends-well spin on this history, as Welch does, is to potentially misrepresent what were for many Sioux a hard reality more like Scrub's than Charging Elk's. Similarly, to accept that Charging Elk is Lakota wherever he might go is to obviate the realities of his place-based and community-based identity. The benevolent, cosmopolitan vision of a "panhuman identity" that Lyons affiliates with American Indian mobility and x-marks supports an expansionist interpretation of Native community that a literary character such as Charging Elk personifies.[133] Paradoxically, this ideology threatens the continued existence and meaning of communities such the fictional Pine Ridge that Charging Elk leaves behind, as it empties, like settler colonialism, Native lands of Native peoples.

"Why not go home?" It is the question that lingers. Charging Elk cannot answer it, which I believe is because the question is profoundly rhetorical. All roads lead home in *Heartsong*.

Scrub, Strikes Plenty, and Charging Elk share the same domestic fate—at Pine Ridge, Whirlwind Campground, or Marseille. A return to America would do nothing to change that. Charging Elk has also, like Scrub, Strikes Plenty, and Red Cloud, worked hard, suffered much, and won the right to live as he sees fit, to make his home his own with his new family. His x-mark, like Red Cloud's stake in the ground, is a symbol of how he regards his life in modern times, a life of adaptability, renewal, and perseverance. Against the mechanizations of geopolitics and the currents of manifest domesticity, Charging Elk finds a way to remarkably and successfully determine for himself the most basic expression of what much larger forces seek to manipulate: how, where, and with whom he makes his home.

3

Palimpsest and Process

Paris in *Blue Ravens* and "The Hungry Generations"

Two strokes of good fortune attend the fact that Confederated Salish and Kootenai activist, author, and educator D'Arcy McNickle never found a publisher for his manuscript "The Hungry Generations." The first is that the manuscript went unpublished in McNickle's lifetime. It is passable but uninspired fiction, and may have discredited and frustrated an otherwise talented author in his mid-twenties. Seeing "The Hungry Generations" in print might have caused McNickle to wish he had taken seriously suggestions for revision that New York publishers sent him in rejection letters. Encouragement from editors who saw potential in McNickle's work ultimately led him to turn a mediocre manuscript into a much better novel, *The Surrounded* (1936).[1]

The second bit of luck is that McNickle left a handwritten copy of "The Hungry Generations" in the McNickle Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Given that its author is a prominent figure in twentieth-century Native American rights advocacy and literature, the manuscript is, despite its lesser qualities, an important historical and literary artifact. As McNickle scholar and critic Birgit Hans points out in the introduction to her published edition of "The Hungry Generations," the manuscript "provides us with a rare opportunity to study the development of an American Indian writer."[2]

McNickle's manuscript now provides researchers with an additional study opportunity that is equally hard to come by. In 2014, Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor published *Blue Ravens: Historical Novel*. "The Hungry Generations" has since taken on greater critical value.

Blue Ravens and "The Hungry Generations" warrant a level of comparative analysis unusual in American Indian fiction written more than eighty years apart. Both are about young and artistic Native American male protagonists living on Indian reservations and in Europe during the early twentieth century. Characters in both texts travel to France, specifically Paris, albeit for disparate reasons and to varying degrees of artistic achievement. And both texts have in their endings a sense of geographic belonging shaped by travel abroad.

Yet it is the differences that stand out. McNickle's manuscript is, for instance, modernist realism. Vizenor's novel is harder to classify. It might be historical magical realism or postmodern hyperrealism. One critic, Jay Whitaker, puts it under the rambling heading "Native American transnational travel fiction," while another critic, James Mackay, uses a shorter but no less simple description: "cosmoprimitivism."[3] Whatever the case, the contrast informs how space and place arrange, and are arranged in, the narratives.

This chapter explores why and how space and place joins and distinguishes *Blue Ravens* to and from "The Hungry Generations." It favors a literary reading of geography over history, of space over time. I argue that space and place characterize and drive narrative development in both texts, just as space and place are catalysts for and products of their dissimilarities. McNickle's description of Paris is hardly like Vizenor's likeness of it, though they both engage with the same referent synonymous with early twentieth-century Euro-American literary modernism and avant-garde art.

The study of two congruous narratives that cast incongruous shadows of an identical city in time supports a conspicuous and ongoing shift in the study of spatiality. Literary theorist Frederic Jameson has made note of this phenomenon, writing that, "our daily life . . . [is] . . . dominated by categories of space rather than by categories of time, as in the preceding period of

high modernism."[4] Literature is one of many spatial categories in which to read this change in action. Geocriticism specifically, which privileges a multifocal analysis of geographies big and small, from Paris, France, to Paris, Texas, magnifies how reality influences fiction. The opposite is true as well, as critic Bertrand Westphal writes that fiction exerts "influence over reality, or, more precisely, over the representation of reality."[5] Literature and other mimetic arts have historically distorted Native American geographies in the public imagination to the extent that they might be said to be more "real" than the geographies they purport to represent.

Moreover, representations of space do not exist independently of each other. As critic José Rabasa has argued, spatial representations of reality function as a palimpsest, an overlapping series of "erasures and overwritings."[6] Certainly, Paris, in art and architecture, from its catacombs to the top of the Eiffel Tower, from Balzac to Baudelaire to Baldwin, is a city of innumerable erasures and overwritings. McNickle's Paris is a facsimile of these and other literary Parises. Paris in "The Hungry Generations" is more reference than referent. *Blue Ravens*, however, is less an attempt at spatial or representational verisimilitude, and more an effort to occasion a new world out of art. In other words, Vizenor's Paris *establishes* more than it *reproduces* a referent.

Why such different Parises? One reason might be that McNickle could not deconstruct the generic on- and off-reservation spaces and places that in his day were staples in fiction written by and about Native Americans. To get his work published, McNickle had to be discreet with his metaphors and plots. Urban spaces were mostly off limits, just as depictions of Indian Territory or an Indian reservation could not be done without. Left unexplored were liminal or inventive aesthetic spaces, or what urban geographer Edward W. Soja has called "Thirdspace." A "real-and-imagined" space that resists precise definition, Thirdspace is "a product of a 'thirding'

of the spatial imagination . . . [it] draws upon the material and mental spaces of . . . traditional dualism."[7] Thirdspace also opens "spatial imaginaries to ways of thinking and acting politically that respond to . . . binarisms, to any attempt to confine thought and political action to only two alternatives, by interjecting an-Other set of choices."[8] Choctaw-Cherokee literary critic Louis Owens has argued that "The Hungry Generations" guides readers over a "map of the mind" and a "darkling plain" of language toward "the American dream" or "the Indian road."[9] Like *The Surrounded*, "The Hungry Generations" is about a young Native American artist named Archilde Leon and his search for a place in the world. Both the published novel and the manuscript start and end on an unnamed reservation in Montana, but under contrasting circumstances and by different routes, as *The Surrounded* is set entirely in Montana, while "The Hungry Generations" shifts from America to Europe and back again. Their narrative dissimilarities notwithstanding, between Indian traditionalism on the reservation and mainstream American assimilation off it, there is no Thirdspace on McNickle's meandering editorial path from "The Hungry Generations" to *The Surrounded*. Space instead sustains a prescriptive geographic and representational order, the outcome of which is that "The Hungry Generations," like *The Surrounded*, countenances what I call a "repressive spatiality."

Vizenor has Thirdspace in which and with to work. An eagerness to unmoor plot, thought, and political action from binaries is typical of Vizenor's style and exemplifies what I term a "transgressive spatiality." In *Blue Ravens*, Vizenor writes from a present when and where space is less dichotomous and seldom stable. Space, at least in opinions such as Jameson's, defines our time. The French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault has famously referred to the present as "the epoch of space," an "epoch of simultaneity . . . of juxtaposition . . . of the near and far . . . the side-by-side, of the dispersed."[10] Urban geographer David Harvey contends that

neoliberalism and global capitalism is causing a "space-time compression."[11] Literary critics have taken notice of these spatial theories, with Robert T. Tally Jr. positing that "The transformational effects of postcolonialism, globalization, and the rise of ever more advanced information technologies . . . [has pushed] . . . space and spatiality into the foreground."[12] As this chapter demonstrates, space matters in *Blue Ravens* and "The Hungry Generations," where modernist and postmodern spatial epistemologies take effect. Spatial opposites that once seemed inviolable, such as Paris and any given Indian reservation, or the metaphors of the American dream and the Indian road, now overlap.

Paris, as space and place, is scene and player in this chapter. How to distinguish space from place? They cannot always be arbitrarily interchanged. Anthony Giddens, a prolific sociologist, associates the latter with the premodern, the former with the advent of modernity. Where at one time personal and societal ontologies were rooted in a finite geoconsciousness of place, the homogenizing effects of modernity turned place into an infinite, abstract space no longer central and unique to its inhabitants. From a postcolonial perspective, theorist and critic Bill Ashcroft has taken a parallel approach to space and place. Ashcroft presumes that space replaced place during the era of Euro-American colonization, a violent and disruptive time when Indigenous precolonial understandings of place within specific geographic and temporal frameworks gave way to secular spatialities.[13] These definitions of space and place relate to my encompassing understanding of how these concepts apply to the study of space and place in a transatlantic context. In this chapter, space is not only Parisian geography, but where the possible *can* happen. Place is just as geographic, but where the possible *has* happened. Space and place are differentiated by realized and unrealized opportunities, a process of literary transition and revision tied to collective histories, individual occurrences, the imagination, or mimesis.

That events in time render space from place is not controversial. Where opinions differ, there is agreement around the constructivist nature of space and place. Lefebvre notes that while it may sound bizarre "to speak of 'producing space,'" its production is nevertheless "a *process*" made by and through the distribution of spatial topographies.[14] The making of space and place is complicated and interpellative, no less so through and in language and literature. Literary critic Katja Sarkowsky claims that in Native American fiction, "Space . . . [is] . . . constructed through multifold interactions of components, shaped by power asymmetries, the interplay of local and global influences, assertions of difference, and the search for community and alliances that cut across boundaries of cultural or ethnic identity."[15] To study literary space and place, then, is to take stock of geographies big and small, local and global citizenships and identities, and more.

More significantly, space and place are relevant and essential to better assessing the meanings of Native absence and presence in American history and literature. In the late 1920s, the processes of U.S. settler colonialism that had dispossessed millions of acres of Native land, and the concurrent erasure of Natives from nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American literature, made for a representational map of Indians and Indian Country defined by shrinking sovereign political borders that were difficult for Natives to traverse at will. This is the map in which McNickle sets *The Surrounded* and "The Hungry Generations." Eight decades later, Vizenor sets *Blue Ravens* in a cosmopolitan, transatlantic world in which Natives not only cross international borders as soldiers in World War I, but as expatriate artists who prefer Paris to a kind of prescriptive reservation existence that Archilde Leon ultimately embraces in *The Surrounded* and "The Hungry Generations." Conversely, Vizenor's Thirdspace reveals in story the true complexities of what Cherokee critic and historian Jace Weaver has termed the "Red Atlantic," and the multifarious place of Indigenous peoples within it.[16]

Space and place are therefore worth investigating in *Blue Ravens* and "The Hungry Generations." In "The Hungry Generations," repressive spatiality defines the Native American Parisian experience. McNickle's Paris is bleak and cut off from new representational possibilities—a metaphorical "fancy land forlorn" according to McNickle scholar John Lloyd Purdy.[17] A less poetic way to put that is to say that Paris in "The Hungry Generations" is no place for an Indian. That might explain why McNickle dropped Paris from *The Surrounded*. Indeed, Archilde Leon, the Confederated Salish and Kootenai protagonist in "The Hungry Generations" and *The Surrounded*, hears from his sister Agnes that "a wolf knows his hole."[18] Experience leads Archilde to resign himself to her repressive spatial aphorism. He accepts the material comforts and security of assimilation on his Euro-American father's ranch in Montana, where he is convinced that he belongs.

Vizenor's post-World War I Paris is only nominally like McNickle's. The city is a metropolis of trangressivity wherein boundless possibilities become realities. At its center are Vizenor's Anishinaabe protagonists, brothers by adoption Basile Hudon Beaulieu and Aloysius Hudon Beaulieu. They are decorated veterans of World War I and a writer and painter of blue ravens, respectively. Paris in *Blue Ravens* is a Thirdspace, charged with an Anishinaabe presence and anchored to Anishinaabe and French histories. A restaurant on Rue des Rosiers becomes a "reservation without a federal agent," and Basile and Aloysius are "excited and ready to become citizens of France."[19] Space becomes place in the French capital, where the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, and France and its fur trade history in North America, coalesce. Ultimately, Paris, in and across *Blue Ravens* and "The Hungry Generations," is like night and day, as dissimilar as a darkling plain and the City of Light.

I

William D'Arcy McNickle was born in 1904 in St. Ignatius, Montana, to an Irish immigrant father and a Métis mother. Admitted at a young age into the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes, he spent most of his childhood on the Flathead Indian Reservation. In 1921, he enrolled at the University of Montana. One of his professors, H. G. Merriam, had in 1904 been in the inaugural class of Rhodes scholars chosen to attend Oxford University. Merriam advised his students to go abroad as he had, firing McNickle's desire to advance his education overseas. Needing money to pay for his trip, he sold his eighty-acre allotment of reservation land and, with a letter of introduction from Merriam and without earning a degree, left for England in September 1925.

McNickle found more disappointment than discovery when he reached Europe. Oxford did not accept his college credits and neither the chilly reception he received from the university and its students, nor the damp and cool English weather, suited him. He stayed only through his first semester before moving to Paris at the end of December, where he remained until the following May.[20] How he took in the sights, sounds, and smells that surrounded him during the winter and spring of 1926 remains unknown. The diary he kept while in Paris is lost and for the rest of his life McNickle rarely spoke of his first trip to Europe. Hans speculates that McNickle might have had some contact with expatriate American writers or musicians, while Purdy contends that McNickle drew on his life in Paris for material in "The Hungry Generations."[21] McNickle was bashful in his youth, however, too shy to even chat with his classmates at Oxford. It seems implausible, then, that he would have had the courage to orbit any Lost Generation artistic crowds. The trouble with language and the loneliness and displeasure with Paris that

Archilde evinces in “The Hungry Generations” are probably nearer to what McNickle knew firsthand than Archilde’s friendships and love affair.

McNickle was living in New York City when he started writing his first novel in 1927. His future at the time was no less certain than it was for many Native Americans. The passage of the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 had ostensibly ushered in a measure of economic and political security by thereafter guaranteeing Indians U.S. citizenship. That legislation, however, was enacted to drive Indians off federal government dependency and erode tribal political sovereignty. Less than forty years early and prior to the passage of the Dawes Act, or the General Allotment Act of 1887, Native American landholdings had totaled roughly 140 million acres, or approximately 8 percent of the lower 48 states. By 1927, reservation acreage had fallen precipitously, eventually dropping to 52 million acres in 1934.[22] Each year, Indian allottees such as McNickle sold small swaths of allotted land, with 141,422 acres sold in 1927.[23] Most sold out of financial necessity, as McNickle had in 1925. The Meriam Report, or *The Problem of Indian Administration*, detailed why. Published in 1928, the report revealed how the federal government had failed its treaty obligations to meet the economic, educational, health, and housing needs of Native Americans living on and off reservations. The situation was dire enough that the authors of the Meriam Report wrote, “General social and economic forces will inevitably operate to accelerate the migration of Indians from the reservations to industrial communities.”[24]

The mention of an inevitable American Indian exodus from reservations to urban centers repeated a timeworn thought in U.S. history. By the 1920s, hundreds of years of Euro-American settler colonialism—and the perpetual removal of and violence against Native Americans that went with it—had left Indians with few places of their own. For all the federal government had promised to leave Indians in peace after land traded hands in treaty, it was always the same. As

critic Roy Harvey Pearce writes, "Americans who were setting out to make a new society could find a place in it for the Indian only if he would become what they were—settled, steady, civilized."[25] There was, then, no place for Indians at all, as they "belonged in the American past and . . . [were] . . . socially and morally significant only as part of that past."[26] I read Pearce to use "place" as human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan finds meaning in the word, as an existential "pause" opposed to "space," or that "which allows movement."[27] The cruel and ironic fact was that neither the freedom of space nor the shelter of place were open to Indians so long as they remained Indian.

Late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century writing by Native Americans underscores the search for spaces and places over a changing American landscape. Many authors believed that Euro-American encroachment on Indian land was imminent. Muscogee novelist S. Alice Callahan chronicles as much in her novel *Wynema: A Child of the Forest* (1891). *Wynema* is a *Bildungsroman* in which the eponymous title character ages from life in the forest to life in a city during the late nineteenth century. From the bucolic Muscogee village of her youth, Wynema grows up to be a devout Christian living in a Euro-American city, educated by Euro-American mentors, missionaries, and teachers. At the end of the novel, an elderly Muscogee woman intones the popular prophecy that "the Indian will be a people of the past," while earlier an optimistic and happily assimilated Wynema praises "industrious and enterprising" Indians who make profitable use of their allotments.[28] The narrator adds that "Railroads and telegraphs were . . . welcomed" by Muscogees because "the Indians are always pleased with progress in the right direction."[29] Traditionalism and industrialism are metaphorically headed in opposite directions in a rapidly modernizing Muscogee world. The Indian road and the American Dream run also counter to each other in *Cogewea, The Half Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana*

Cattle Range (1927), a novel by Syilx/Okanagon novelist Mourning Dove (Hum-Ishu-ma), or Christine Quintasket. Cogewea, who is of Syilx/Okanagon and Euro-American descent, says elegiacally of her Indian grandmother that she "is lingering pathetically in the sunset of a closing era."[30] In contrast, younger Indians have "progressed beyond the pristine days. The airy tepee has given place to . . . stuffy houses."[31] The challenge for Wynema and Cogewea, as it is for Archilde Leon, is to navigate what critic Dexter Fisher writes is, "the middle road that will afford . . . the amenities of civilization without compromising . . . traditional beliefs."[32] These shifts in thinking about the geoconsciousness of space and place are notable, as they adhere to how Giddens and Ashcroft theorize the workings of modernity and its homogenizing effects in Indigenous spaces and places.

That there is an intrinsic relationship between space, time, and literature has been studied most famously by early twentieth-century Russian formalist critic M. M. Bakhtin. In "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," Bakhtin defines the chronotope, a word meaning "time space," as "a spatial and temporal indicator . . . fused into one carefully thought-out concrete whole."[33] In the chronotope, "space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history."[34] Time carries more value, as Bakhtin writes that, "in literature the primary category in the chronotope is time," while concluding that the significance of any chronotope is in its capacity to be an organizing epicenter "of the fundamental narrative events of the novel."[35] He ends with a surprisingly geocritical thought. Though "there is a sharp and categorical boundary . . . between the actual world as source of representation and the world represented in the work," Bakhtin notes that the two "are nevertheless indissolubly tied up with each other . . . The work and the world represented in it enter the real world and enrich it, and the real world enters the work and its world as part of the process of its creation."[36] Bakhtin upholds

an association between real and imagined spaces, as well as the constructivist aspects of space. Yet his position is one that geocritics and some cultural theorists forgo in search of finding more in the margins of the real-and-imagined.

Time is an immediate concern in most Native American fiction written during the modernist era. *Wynema*; *Cogewea*; the short stories by Yankton Sioux author and activist Zitkála-Šá; the novels by Cherokee writer John M. Oskison; *Sundown* (1934), a novel by Osage novelist John Joseph Mathews; and, most famously, the Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Laughing Boy* (1929) by non-Native author Oliver LaFarge, privilege history over where it is made. Plots and settings vary, but many of these works unfold largely in or around tribal reservations. That uniformity lends itself to a geocritical reading of, for instance, the American Southwest or Oklahoma, but little else, as the oft-ignored referent is the backbone of geocriticism. As Westphal phrases it, "one moves from the writer to the place, not the other way around, using complex chronology and diverse points of view."[37] A geocriticism of Tucson, Arizona, for instance, would include Laguna Pueblo author Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Almanac of the Dead* (1991), David Foster Wallace's novel *Infinite Jest* (1996), and films in the Western genre set there. A geocriticism of Minneapolis would allow for Anishinaabe novelist David Treuer's *The Hiawatha* (1999), Anishinaabe author Louise Erdrich's *Shadow Tag* (2010), Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street* (1920), and more. Even a geocriticism of a geography as remote and enormous as the Arctic would at the very least include Robert J. Flaherty's documentary *Nanook of the North* (1922) and Inuk producer Zacharias Kunuk's film *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (2001).

Among its peers, then, "The Hungry Generations" is an outlier for how it, unlike many works of early Native American literature, privileges geography over history and exposes the

chronotopic ordering of space more than time. Space is charged by narrative energy and substantiates a narrative momentum of its own. Where that momentum stops reflects the aesthetic, political, and social limits of what during the 1920s and 1930s was a materialist, repressive spatial framework in which Native authors wrote.

In structure and organization, "The Hungry Generations" is principally spatial. The three more of less equal parts of the manuscript are titled "Montana," "Paris," and "Montana," in that order. The back-and-forth movement of the plot between contrasting geographies imbues space with a privileged chronotopic bearing and discloses the crucial metonymic and diametrical aspects of Montana and Paris. The two place names are more than settings: they are reified versions of what can roughly be named "Indian space" and "Euro-American space." As representational spaces, they are as well, at least broadly, metaphors for wilderness and civilization.

"The Hungry Generations" begins with Archilde's return from the Pacific Northwest to his father's wheat ranch in northwest Montana. He greets his Indian mother, who disapproves of his travel and playing the violin for money, telling Archilde that "Indian boys should stay home."[38] Worse, Archilde's emotionally abusive Euro-American father, Max Leon, thinks even less of Archilde and little of Indians in general. Archilde's sister Agnes tries to dissuade him from leaving the ranch again when she reminds him that "a wolf knows his hole," and that "An Indian should stay with his people."[39] Archilde is reluctant to agree with his mother and sister, but when he takes in the scenery near the ranch house, he admits that the ranch "was his home."[40]

Home, the manuscript emphasizes, is a wilderness. It was to Montana where the Jesuit priest Father Grepilloux "brought life to a little world in the wilderness," and where the priest

had, as Max remembers at Grepilloux's funeral, "worked . . . like a peasant to make a garden . . . [in the] . . . wilderness."[41] Because of Grepilloux, "industry had flowed in to fill the valley from mountain to mountain."[42] That Montana is far from the eastern United States and its cities is also reinforced. Sara Moser, the wife of an Indian-hating, cash-poor general store owner and mortgage holder eager to sell his assets to Max, longs to return to her home in Pennsylvania. Montana is to her a "desolate place" where she associates "with Indians all day."[43] She accuses her husband of staying to grow his business interests and because he's forgotten that the grass is greener where people like themselves reside. Even Archilde turns his focus eastward after Max dies and he inherits Max's estate. Archilde makes plans to go east and enroll in a university, promising his nephews that if they do well in school, he will show them a "big world" and "all the fine cities."[44] Montana is desolate and forsaken in comparison, where there are no fine cities or universities and only Indians for company.

People identify themselves with and are identified by their proximities to wilderness and civilization. That identification is not always a matter of personal choice. For Foucault, bodies in space are subject and submissive to authority. Space in Foucauldian philosophy is a metaphor for the containers power creates—wilderness and civilization are examples—to check, repress, and coordinate social functions.[45] Civilization is an example of what Foucault calls a "utopia," or "society itself in a perfected form."[46] Inherently abstract, utopias are unmappable nowhere and everywhere spaces that are "fundamentally unreal."[47] Wilderness is also a utopia and equally unreal and uncharted, as Foucault imagines utopias to be "society turned upside down."[48] To the extent that a boundary has been drawn between wilderness and civilization through U.S. history and in American literature, that line—the frontier—separates utopias that are paradoxically the same but different. When westward traveling Euro-Americans cross the wilderness/civilization

or Indian/Euro-American divide they come into a renewed sense of self capable of greater things in thought and deed.[49] Thus, this symbolic ordering of time and space provides the frames of reference by which people on both sides of the frontier are told who and what they are in society.[50] As French sociologist and cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu puts it, "spatial structures structure not only a group's representation of the world but the group itself, which orders itself in accordance with this representation."[51] It is arguably more correct to say that groups order themselves as well as others, that there is an interpellative and repressive element to the processes of spatial grouping and organization. When Agnes informs Max that Archilde "doesn't want to be Indian . . . I don't think he likes it here [the ranch]," her words reflect the associative and repressive nature of repressive spatiality as they pertain to being and becoming Native American in the early twentieth century.[52]

How Indians at the time wrote of travelling eastward is not entirely different. Examples of this appear more in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century autobiographies by Native Americans than in literature of the same period. The most prominent example is *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (1916), by Charles Eastman. Of Santee Dakota descent, Eastman describes portions of his boyhood spent with his family along the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone rivers during the early 1870s. He later became a physician and prominent intellectual, the driving force behind the founding of the Society of American Indians in 1911. In *From the Deep Woods*, Eastman writes that part of his mission is to preserve for Indian children what "wilderness life" was like.[53] Though Eastman bemoans the loss of wilderness and recognizes the "savagery of civilization," he nevertheless considers himself an "advocate of civilization . . . because . . . I have learned much from civilization, for which I am grateful."[54] That Eastman puts his version of assimilative becoming into an easily understood spatiotemporal metaphor underlines the

wilderness/civilization spatial paradigm and its prevalence. Without questioning why, Eastman geographically arranges and represents Indians in much the same way that Bourdieu thinks about spatial organization, that is, by one group's random and arbitrary representation of the world and those in it. Neither is the knowledge that Eastman comes into after his boundary crossing unlike what happens to Euro-Americans who do the same. Though Eastman recognizes the worst in civilization, he comes to believe in it when he finds an elevated place within its system.

So it goes for Archilde. In sending him to Paris, McNickle takes the next step in a Native American literary transition from wilderness to civilization common in the work of his contemporaries. Only a few pages into the "Paris" section of the manuscript, Archilde has been living a desultory life in France. After failing to fit in at Columbia University in New York City for two years, he leaves upon hearing other students go "into ecstasies over the word 'Paris,'" which they refer to as "the peak of the world."[55] That the narrative attaches meaning to the word "Paris" and its standing (the peak of the world is an obvious synonym for civilization), more than to descriptions of the place itself, is telling. Archilde and his peers at Columbia understand Paris to be the uppermost idea of civilization because of how Paris throughout history, as a palimpsest and process, is a "representational space." One third of Lefebvre's triad of space, the other being "spatial practice" (perceived space) and "representations of space" (conceived space), representational space (lived space) is "lived through its associated images and symbols."[56] Representational space is as well "redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements . . . that have their source in history—in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people."[57] Over time, representational spaces achieve prominence as people learn, without asking why or how, what they are. During the 1920s, Paris was civilization and Montana was wilderness.

Paris is a representational space in "The Hungry Generations." Though McNickle never mentions the Eiffel Tower, the Champs-Elysees, the Louvre, the Métro, or the Arc de Triomphe, his Paris is all the Paris it needs to be because of the faithfulness with which it depicts the city as a metonym of Euro-American civilization. McNickle's Paris is a utopia that is fundamentally real and unreal, real-and-imagined, a chronotope given meaning by a plot and history that ascribes its own significance to the narrative.

Archilde's listless routine changes when he befriends a boarder at his hotel who introduces him to an American woman with whom Archilde falls in love. Afterward, Archilde spends the rest of his time in Paris reaching for, then rejecting, the civilized existence his friends represent. The boarder, Mitchell Feure, an aspiring pianist and closeted homosexual from Nebraska, sees in Archilde a primitivist artifact from somewhere more provincial than Omaha. Claudia Burness, an American poet instantly attracted to the same primitivist virtues that draw Feure to Archilde, lives in Paris with her family. Whereas he had, before meeting Claudia, gone to violin lessons, practiced the violin alone in his room, dined alone in dark cafés and restaurants along Boulevard Saint-Michel (in the Latin Quarter), strolled through the Luxembourg Gardens, or walked aimlessly up and down Rue de Vangirard, Archilde, after meeting Claudia, begins to visit her at her home and explore Paris with Feure. Where Archilde had previously made his way through the beating heart of what critic Patricia Clements calls French "mythologized modernism," he begins to interact with expatriate artists ostensibly like himself.[58] He does this in a Paris that as a representational space is its own referent to the Paris of Euro-American literary modernism and the avant-garde, a geocritical example of literature's profound influence on reality.

Montana is not easily left behind, however. When Archilde meets Claudia's father Frank, Frank calls Archilde a "Western boy" and notices that Archilde is "part Indian."[59] When they meet again, Frank calls Archilde "Montana" and greets him with "hello, cowboy!"[60] A former ranch hand and railroad engineer in the American West, Frank is bedridden with rheumatism. He not only identifies Archilde by geographic proximity, he tells Archilde that he is "not a piano player."[61] The ethos and corporality that Frank assumes he and Archilde favor by their shared connection to the American West is germane to the localization of representational space, and dovetails with what Westphal terms a spatial "discursive coherence." This mental and often artistic coherence is, as Westphal writes, "like a language's in its ability to express more basic coherence with the world."[62] Though Frank is neither from Montana nor an Indian, he presupposes that he and Archilde are of the same representational space that is not civilization. To Frank's mind, Archilde cannot be a piano player because he is an Indian and a Westerner, and as a cowboy *and* an Indian, he has a doubly privileged association with the representational space of the American West and wilderness.

What "The Hungry Generations" indicates, then, is that it is not simply enough "to be." It must be asked "*what* to be?" and "*where* to be?" What you are is where you are, epitomized by the feelings rooted in traits that Claudia's father believes he and Archilde share. The point is made in earnest when Claudia introduces Archilde to the poet Dave Marsh. Marsh has been in Paris for twenty years when Archilde meets him at a café, and is among those that Claudia claims "linger on" in Paris because it is the "capital of wit and learning."[63] Archilde pegs Marsh for a "cripple" and "a great lazy dog," and when Claudia asks Marsh on Archilde's behalf why people are drawn to Paris, he claims that in Paris "a man has his body to do with as he pleases," and that it "takes no effort to live."[64] To be in such a shiftless way unsettles Archilde, who sees

in Marsh's lethargy a body capable of work wasted and decaying, a symbol of civilization. Spurred by his confrontation with Marsh, and learning that his mother has died, Archilde gives up on those who Claudia ironically calls the "cream of civilization" and leaves Paris for Montana.[65]

McNickle's Paris is Dave Marsh's Paris. It is Ford Madox Ford's, Gertrude Stein's, Ezra Pound's, and Ernest Hemingway's Paris. By and in its design, Paris serves a crucial aesthetic and representational purpose. It is a space of literary homogeneity and continuity. It is a palimpsest, a recognizable and identifiable modernist landscape that despite its lack of features and descriptions is, as a figure of speech for art and civilization, every bit as real as it is imagined. There is no manual labor, extreme poverty, oppression, political unrest, or violence in Dave Marsh's Paris. There are only the ingredients essential to its discursive functionality and its representational utility as a metonym of modernist civilization and the art and artists associated with it. As the organizing focal point of narrative movement, Paris, the real-and-imagined Paris, is an ideal chronotope with which to compare a real-and-imagined Montana.

A change in being and a shift in his becoming go home with Archilde. "Archilde was a farmer now," writes McNickle in the opening sentence of the third section of the manuscript and the second titled "Montana."[66] The sentence is an immediate reminder of the connections between identity and space emphasized in the "The Hungry Generations." It also reveals the extent to which the narrative leans on frames of reference to denote societal ordering and the place of Archilde, and Native Americans in general, within it. Paris is space more than place, a foreign and static representational space in which opportunities and possibilities are withheld from Archilde. Working against him are factors of history, traditions in Euro-American literary

mimesis, and a spatial consciousness inexorably bound to what were contemporary American social and political ideas and actions in the 1920s and 1930s.

The same processes that attribute thoughts and feelings to space travel just as well in Montana as they do in Paris. When he doubles back across the line separating wilderness and civilization, Archilde achieves the anticipated greater comprehension of himself. In Montana, Archilde grows "into manhood" as he sets about improving the ranch, reaping his harvest, and looking after his nephews.[67] In his becoming more Euro-American, Archilde ironically leaves Paris almost entirely behind him, as books and memories of Claudia are the only things Archilde brings "with him from the outside."[68] Representational spaces are by definition exclusive, as they are what they are in relation to what they are not. Archilde's occupation and reputation as a farmer or a violinist are equally spatialized. Archilde is a farmer, not a violin player, in Montana. In Paris, he is not a farmer, but a directionless musician.

An able and willing farmer, Archilde is the apotheosis of what federal government officials believed modernist-era Native American citizenship could be. He is a successfully assimilated Indian with property and ambition who understands that "work is the first virtue."[69] When a murder charge against him is eventually dropped, the judge presiding over his case shakes Archilde's hand and tells him that he "will make a fine citizen."[70] That acculturated and self-reliant Native Americans like Archilde would become Americans and find prosperity in agriculture was the first goal of the Dawes Act, and a cornerstone of progressivist Indian policies promoted during the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.[71] Domesticity followed agriculture, as literary historian Amy Kaplan has argued that domesticity "refers not to a static condition, but to a process of domestication, which entails conquering and taming the wild. . . . 'Domestic' in this sense is related to the imperial project of civilizing, and the

conditions of domesticity often become markers that distinguish civilization from savagery."[72] When pointed at Native Americans, domesticity is about repression, the control and surveillance of space, and place-making through the restriction of Native movement.

Places such as the home and farm are the representational underpinnings of domestic subjectivity. Wilderness gives way to civilization with their construction. They are as well the embodiment of an assimilationist ideology based on containment, a spatial process that in U.S. history has, as critic Mark Rifkin has written, constructed subjectivities for Native Americans "that confirm the obviousness" of place-making policies.[73] Archilde's leaving for Paris is antithetical to these practices, as his socially and politically prescribed place is on the ranch. Archilde cannot be the farmer that paternal others want him to be, in this case Max Leon as a stand in for Euro-American governance, if he leaves Montana to play the violin in Paris. In setting Archilde content to stay on his land and gain from his industry at the end of the manuscript, McNickle goes farther than even Callahan or Mourning Dove, and well past Oskison, Mathews, or Zitkála-Šá, in stressing that for acculturated Native Americans of his day, subjectivity is space and space is subjectivity.

The question remains: Why cut Paris from *The Surrounded*? According to Purdy, "The Hungry Generations" was revised "to change its voice from that of an American novelist writing about Indians to that of a . . . [Confederated Salish and Kootenai] . . . storyteller," and to affirm "traditional Salish values."[74] Owens insists that in writing *The Surrounded*, McNickle veered toward an "Indian identity and . . . consciousness" that would remain with him for the rest of his life.[75] But McNickle could have reached identical results had he sent his protagonist off the reservation, in this case to Paris, only to return again and find a new Indian consciousness and

identity. Kiowa writer N. Scott Momaday, Silko, and Gros Ventre/Blackfeet author James Welch, would all do something similar in novels published in the late 1960s and the 1970s.

One answer is that later novels in Native American fiction, in addition to the "The Hungry Generations," *Cogewea*, *Wynema*, *Sundown*, and others, attempt to affect change for the better. In its bleak fatalism and dark historicism, *The Surrounded* does not. The reservation where Archilde lives is known as "Sniél-emen," meaning "mountains of the surrounded." Despite that name, Archilde believes that traveling to Europe is possible. Yet everything changes when he is arrested for his complicity in a murder, and told by an Indian agent that Indians "can't run away."[76] For the surrounded, the American dream and the Indian road lead by different routes to the same dead end: a repressed space or darkling plain—real and imagined—from which there is no escape. In this stark reality, McNickle obviates the need for Archilde to reject Paris in favor of an agrarian Euro-American life in Montana because Archilde has no power to choose one over the other.

The essential contrast, therefore, between "The Hungry Generations" and *The Surrounded* is of spatial metonymy and spatial metaphor. On the one hand, "The Hungry Generations" leaves room for freedom of movement across metonymic spatial dichotomies and fluid expressions of space and subjectivity, while maintaining the successful imperial obviousness of U.S. government place-making. On the other hand, *The Surrounded* combines space, repression, and subjectivity into a tragic, punitive, and equally obvious metaphor for Native Americans facing a present and future in which they have no place.

II

Born in 1934 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Gerald Vizenor is of Anishinaabe and French descent on his father's side, and Swedish-American heritage on his mother's. He began his writing career in the 1960s at the beginning of the so-called "Native American renaissance." The phrase describes a resurgence of American Indian writing published during the 1960s and 1970s, when Momaday's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968), Silko's novel *Ceremony* (1977), and Vizenor's novel *Darkness in St. Louis Braveheart* (1978), attracted critical praise.[77]

These novels resemble "The Hungry Generations" and *The Surrounded* in that they are about young Native men returning home. Further comparisons stop there. In Native American renaissance fiction, American Indian protagonists go home to a restorative permanence on reservations, where they find new identities by staying. Momaday's Abel and Silko's Tayo are exemplars of the "homing in" archetype.[78] Veterans of foreign wars both, Abel and Tayo return home to convalesce, and in their acceptance of tribal ways of being, knowing, and understanding, find relief from historical and lived traumas.

Concurrent to the Native American renaissance, the American Indian Movement (AIM) and its demands for Native American self-determination and the recognition of tribal sovereignty, gained national attention. During the "Red Power" era, Native activists protested in places such as Alcatraz Island in California from 1969 to 1971, and the town of Wounded Knee in South Dakota for more than two months in early 1973. Members of AIM decried the historical and still prevalent abuse of Native Americans, while publicly denouncing the harmful policies of termination and relocation. Cherokee literary critic Sean Teuton observes that in their novels, Red Power-era American Indian writers "imagined a new narrative for Indian Country . . . then offered . . . new knowledge to empower the people."[79] What new knowledge they had to give often came from Native homelands.

Generating a new narrative for Indian Country necessitated an affirmative literary reimagining of Indian Country itself. Twenty years earlier, the post-World War II economic boom prompted federal law and policy makers to lobby for a unilateral abrogation of Indian treaty rights, the termination of federal Indian trust agreements, and the dissolvement of reservation land. On August 1, 1953, the U.S. Congress officially announced its intent to disavow its treaty obligations to tribal governments and to terminate Indian reservations state by state. All federal aid, funding, and services provided to Indian communities would be withheld as the federal government pursued assimilationist policies engineered to relocate Indians from rural to urban areas. Three years later, Congress passed Public Law 959, or the Indian Relocation Act of 1956, to further the process. The act created government-sponsored programs that incentivized leaving reservations for job training in cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Oklahoma City.

Predictably, termination and relocation wrought new hardships in Native American households. Though recent scholarship has shown that some Indians accomplished much after relocating, many did not.[80] As they went looking for work, a majority of Native Americans, according to legal historian Charles F. Wilkinson, "lacked the education and skills for anything but menial labor."[81] As a result, "large numbers went straight to slum neighborhoods or skid rows."[82] Many returned home when it became apparent that life in the city offered them no more to gain, or less, than life on the reservation.

The return of thousands of Indians to reservations laid the groundwork for the Native American renaissance. As Teuton explains it, "in the Red Power novel, American Indians have already left home, and their stories begin on their return."[83] Going home initiates healing and recovery from the terrible emotional and corporeal effects of settler colonialism, which can

happen "only at home."[84] In their similarities, Red Power novels, Teuton concludes, "draw on traditional tribal narratives of quest, feat, return, and regeneration."[85]

What happens after regeneration is a matter of speculation. What becomes of Tayo, Abel, and the unnamed narrator of Welch's novel *Winter in the Blood* (1974)? Does Sylvester Yellow Calf, a Blackfeet attorney who gives up a lucrative career in Helena, Montana, to practice law on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Browning in Welch's novel *The Indian Lawyer* (1990), regret his decision? Is there a bright future on the horizon for the residents of Erdrich's Minnesota and North Dakota reservations? Is every homecoming in Native American fiction an end, a beginning, or both?

Vizenor ventures an answer to this last question in *Blue Ravens*. Born in 1895 on the Anishinaabe White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, Basile Hudon Beaulieu and Aloysius Hudon Beaulieu spend their youth pursuing their ambitions as a writer and painter of blue ravens, respectively. In 1918, the brothers enlist in the American Expeditionary Force and ship out to France. They serve in World War I with distinction, and at war's end furlough in Paris. Basile and Aloysius take to the city, and with the help of an art dealer, fall in with expatriate American and European artists. From Paris, the brothers go home to the White Earth Reservation, restless and haunted by memories of war. They stay only a year before heading to Minneapolis in 1920, where they find jobs as stagehands in a theatre. They pack up again in 1921 when they decide "to become expatriate native artists, a painter and a writer, in Paris," and return to Europe.[86]

There is quest, feat, and return, but there is no regenerative homecoming. Back on the White Earth Reservation, Basile and Aloysius find no solace sharing an isolated cabin on Bad Medicine Lake and hunting around it. Neither brother can fire on ducks or whitetail deer without torment. Nor can Misaabe, "a great healer by stories," do enough to ease their pain.[87] The

medicinal powers that reliably doctor Native veterans in Native American renaissance literature, such as Abel and Tayo, are no remedy to Basile and Aloysius. Nothing on the reservation ever will be. As Basile declares during his time at the Orpheum Theatre in Minneapolis: "for my brother and me, the reservation would never be enough to cope with the world or to envision the new and wild cosmopolitan world of exotic art, literature, music, and vaudeville at the Orpheum."[88] In the end, only Paris will satisfy. The Paris Métro train feels like home to Basile and Aloysius, and "more secure because of our reservation experiences."[89] The White Earth Reservation in Minnesota is part of the story as a means to a recuperative end, but it is not *the* end—Native "stories never end on a reservation" one learns from the narrative.[90]

That Vizenor runs a streak of nonconformism through his plot and characters keeps with his self-styled trickster persona. Throughout his career, he has been a foil to popular conventions and essentialist thinking when it comes to Indians. Entrenched historical ideas that espouse antiquated, erroneous, or stereotypical notions about Native American cultures and identities, come under fire in Vizenor's novels and criticism. At dinner in Paris, Basile makes known to the table that, "Explorers and priests concocted the savage and primitivism as cultural entertainment," during an edifying speech repudiating the primitivist art fad in Europe.[91] When Basile tells Marie Vassilieff, a Russian painter who opened a popular *atelier* (studio) in the Parisian neighborhood of Montparnasse in 1912, about his uncle's newspaper the *Tomahawk*, Vassilieff cannot believe Indians "actually read international news stories on the reservation."[92] France's "romance with natives and nature," Basile explains to her, "excluded the possibility of any . . . [Indian] . . . cosmopolitan experiences in the world."[93] Other didactic passages defend an inclusive past open to myriad Native American histories and spaces.

Indeed, with every new story in *Blue Ravens* come original and transgressive spaces and places. Historical twists and turns are the brick and mortar of Paris as space, place, and palimpsest. If the representational utility of Paris in "The Hungry Generations" is its capacity to depict the exclusive political, geographical, and social ordering of Native Americans in homogenous and repressed spatial and societal dichotomies, then Paris and its history in *Blue Ravens* is a heterogenous and transgressive alternative—a representation of space, a new referent. Just as "The Hungry Generations" and Native American renaissance novels ask "where to be Indian?" and "how to be Indian?" *Blue Ravens* follows suit. But where "The Hungry Generations" stands for being and becoming in a repressive spatial context, Vizenor's novel does not. It is less about politically controlled space or geographic determinism, and more about Basile and Aloysius' place-making narrative of their transatlantic, cosmopolitan experiences.

Such experiences emulate an outward motion that Sarkowsky refers to as constituting Native literary space: the "search for community and alliances that cut across boundaries of cultural or ethnic identity."[94] Where that search takes the brothers and what alliances they forge are proportional to their movements abroad. Weaver has notably identified similar pursuits as a defining characteristic of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American Indian literature and American Indian literary nationalism. A "commitment to Native community" is crucial to understanding Native literature, Weaver contends, because "How a given work is received, consumed, appropriated, by Native community is part of the work itself."[95] Weaver comments further that "a shared quest for belonging, a search for community" ends on Native land, as "the linkage of land and people within the concept of community, reflecting the spatial orientation of Native peoples, is crucial."[96] Paris is no Native land or community by that equivalence alone. The city is as well hard to square with international Native American and Indigenous spatial

alliances. On the global scale of what Yup'ik critic Shari M. Huhndorf defines as "transnationalism," coalitions transcend political and geographic boundaries insofar as they foster "connections that tie Indigenous communities together."[97] No writer has envisioned Paris as a similarly nationalist or transnationalist Native space or place.

Yet a handful of critics have begun to regard Europe in new ways. Weaver's *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World* (2014), restores agency, a central place, and a share of modernity to Native Americans in an almost thousand-year history of artistic and mercantile trade around the Atlantic Ocean. Literature, including American Indian literature, is for Weaver a "vital component . . . of the Red Atlantic."[98] Its "principal literary aspect," is "how Europeans and, later, Americans, came to define themselves in comparison with, and in contrast to, the Indigenous peoples of the Americas."[99] On *Blue Ravens*, Weaver only sparingly comments that it contributes to the history of "Native doughboys' participation in the Red Atlantic during the Great War."[100] Ojibwe/Dakota critic Scott Richard Lyons and his contributors venture further and farther in *The World, the Text, and Indian: Global Dimensions of Native American Literature* (2017). They "unpack the complex fact," as Lyons asserts, that "Native American literature has always been . . . a global enterprise."[101] Contributors delve into how writing by Native authors from the seventeenth century onward has circulated as a globally consumed and globally produced commodity that in its consumption and production has done "things in the world."[102] Inasmuch as it creates space by doing things, *Blue Ravens* puts Weaver's principal literary aspect of the Red Atlantic in reverse—its Native protagonists define themselves in comparison with, and in contrast to, Europeans and Europe.

The histories and historicisms that Weaver and Lyons carry abroad travel easily in Vizenor's France. Where history stops and literature starts in *Blue Ravens* is not clear. Basile and

Aloysius are by Vizenor's admission "composed from perceptions" of his relatives, but the characters of Ignatius and Lawrence Vizenor are based on Vizenor's great-uncles and their recorded feats of heroism in World War I.[103] Vassilieff, James Joyce, and Gertrude Stein, all lived in post-World War I Paris, but never met the fictional Basile Hudon Beaulieu. That, though, does not immediately diminish the import of their literary encounters with him. On the contrary, critics Peter Middleton and Tim Woods stress the significance in postmodern historical fiction of the narrowing "between epistemology and ontology, or between historical knowledge and literary fiction."[104] What is real and imagined, in space and history, might be as ambiguous in literature as it is in non-fiction. Historian and critic Hayden White, an expert on history, reality, and its equivocal representations, similarly contrasts genre and form discursively. One is "'the discourse of the real,'" while the other is the "'discourse of the imaginary.'"[105] The former is "a discourse that openly adopts a perspective that looks out on the world and reports it," with the latter being "a discourse that feigns to make the world speak itself" by conveying "itself as a story."[106] "The Hungry Generations" and *Blue Ravens* register at opposite ends of White's discursive range. In its realism, "The Hungry Generations" is a repressed representation of American Indians based on what in the 1920s were purportedly authentic and exclusive discourses of American history and literature. That *Blue Ravens* is equally committed to the historical and literary discourses of its own time credits Middleton and Woods' closing of the epistemological and ontological, or the historical and literary, gap. History *is* story, just as story *is* history, in Vizenor's novel. Indeed, war stories recounted by World War I veterans are "the only trustworthy memories and histories of the war," says a French solider.[107]

Blue Ravens, then, prompts readers to not only ask "when?" but "where?" The novel is provisional to Anishinaabe and French history and literature, but geographically expansive by

the same token. Space is not only suffused with narrative and historical energy, it is a force of its own, just as it is in "The Hungry Generations." Paris should be read as doing more to, as Bakhtin puts it, "enter the real world and enrich it," than the real world does to supplement the narrative.[108] That this is possible speaks to a contemporary diffusion and transgression of the aesthetic limitations that hindered American Indian fiction in the early nineteenth century.

Perhaps the most productive way to follow spatial cues in the novel is to examine if space precedes the narrative or narrative precedes the space. In modern realism, the latter is usually taken for granted. Instead of land preceding the narrative, though, as it does in most American Indian fiction, narrative precedes the land in *Blue Ravens*. Interestingly, Westphal reads this kind of processual literary space-making as ancient and innate to Greek and Euro-American traditions, specifically *The Odyssey*. In Homer's epic, "the landscape is the result of poetic creation and of situations, not the other way around," as the poem does not "reproduce the configuration of places," but arranges "locations according to the order of the sentence."[109] Like *The Odyssey*, *Blue Ravens* is about leaving for and returning from war in a distant land. There are twenty-four chapters in *Blue Ravens*, just as there are twenty-four books in *The Odyssey*, the first of which Basile reads at basic training on the eve of his deployment. As he does, he records that "my literature [*Blue Ravens*] of native memories and endurance in the war became *The Odyssey*."[110] Verses from *The Odyssey* accompany Basile's reading of it during the war, in Paris, on the White Earth Reservation, and in Paris again. An excerpt from book twenty-four of *The Odyssey* closes the novel, with Basile writing before it, "Paris was my best story, and no other place would ever be the same."[111] Comparable to Odysseus, who Westphal argues "draws a map made entirely of his words," Basile rears Paris with narrative, a palimpsest of indistinguishable literary and geographical referents, facts, and fiction.[112]

As a story and a map of the White Earth Reservation, Minneapolis, and the streets, bridges, galleries, river banks, expatriate hideouts, and famous landmarks in Paris, *Blue Ravens* charts American Indian community on two sides of the Red Atlantic.[113] Paris is a "reservation without a federal agent."[114] The Café du Dôme (in Montparnasse), where Basile and Aloysius congregate with other Native expatriates, is a "new commune of native storiers that had started many centuries earlier on the Mississippi River."[115] Paris announces and expounds the emergence and existence of a transatlantic Native community in and across time and distance. The city is a temporal and cartographic linkage of land and people, from the Mississippi River to Minnesota to Montparnasse, that illustrates a historical and geographical spatial orientation of American Indians in modernity and the Atlantic World.

Blue Ravens also imparts an empowering historical knowledge à la Red Power novels. It gives voice to an inherited silence where historical Native representation should or could be. As such, it counters the obviousness of the homing in plot and 1920s-era Native American political subjectivity. Maps, the "conceived space" known as "representations of space" in Lefebvre's spatial triad, are "where ideology and knowledge are barely discernible."[116] The same is true of Vizenor's post-World War I Paris that is part assumptive reality, part real and imaginary. Less discernible as well are the usually clear lines of demarcation that usually identify Natives from non-Natives in American Indian literature. The Beaulieus and Vizenors are Anishinaabe and live on the White Earth Reservation, but they are also "native fur trade families" and "descendants of New France."[117] Basile and Aloysius are proud to fight in France for the United States, even without U.S. citizenship, but they serve as well to "save one of the nations of our ancestors."[118] Of a "distinct culture," they trace their lineage to "*voyageur* fur traders, not colonists."[119] Basile and Aloysius, "fur trade boys from the reservation," are more than their French line and surname

meaning "good place."[120] The brothers self-identity in a way that is exclusive in its unique combination of spatial histories. In doing so, they compromise nothing in their identities by leaving or staying in Minnesota or France.

Like Archilde, Basile and Aloysius hold Paris in high standing. The city is their "vision of art and literature" where they might be recognized "as native artists."[121] By train, they travel from Koblenz, Germany, to the Gare de l'Est. When they disembark, Basile and Aloysius walk Boulevard de Strasbourg and Boulevard de Sebastopol toward the Seine, passing boulangeries and cafés before crossing the Pont au Change. They continue to the Latin Quarter and the Café du Départ to have lunch in the shadow of Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris.

What could be construed as ordinary occurrences are more than that. Though they are thousands of miles from the White Earth Reservation, Basile and Aloysius are nonetheless at home in Paris. Basile's detailed topography opens and charts the city, while Aloysius stakes out "a native presence" by painting in his notebook blue ravens over the Seine and on bridges near it.[122] His brother's art, Basile writes, is a celebration of their "notable surname and fur trade ancestors from France," and he imagines the artists and writers like themselves in whose footsteps they walk through Paris.[123] In their being and doing, Basile and Aloysius solidify their place and presence in the city, and in Parisian art and history by way of artistic and genealogical connections to the fur trade.

Moreover, Basile and Aloysius' cosmopolitan experiences are indicative of spatial alternatives and mediations. Where it is spatial repression and all or nothing for Archilde in the representational dichotomy of Montana and Paris, there is a transgressive third option in *Blue Ravens*. Paris is just as Soja spells out in *Thirdspace*: "a product of a 'thirding' of the spatial imagination" in that it offers "ways of thinking and acting politically that respond to binarisms . .

. by interjecting an-Other set of choices."[124] Paris is a choice, a narrative for Indian space created by mimesis, historical knowledge and recovery, and spatial and temporal pluralities. Vizenor's imaginative Paris locates Native American space not at a traditional and arbitrarily appointed periphery set far and apart from Euro-American civilization, but at the heart of Euro-American civilization itself. No chronotope like it exists in Native literature. It is an organizing narrative focal point around which Native land orbits and toward which is a new way home. Likewise, *Blue Ravens* pushes its characters, readers, and critics to acknowledge another third space. Indian-English cultural theorist Homi K. Bhabha's "Third Space" is a theoretical, liminal space of difference and discontinuity. It maps and confronts "our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past."[125] A homogenizing American past validates Archilde's place on the ranch and upholds a reified version of history that dichotomizes Montana and Paris in "The Hungry Generations." *Blue Ravens* is different. It brings Paris and Minnesota into a type of singular Third Space wherein history is not homogenizing and the divide between Paris and Minnesota is more geographical than it is cultural.

Tellingly, Vizenor puts the White Earth Reservation and Paris into conversations with and against the brothers' cosmopolitan experiences. Their newspaper-owning uncle, Augustus, mocks early twentieth-century American politician and socialist Eugene Debs, who said "I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; I am a citizen of the world."[126] Augustus counterclaims that though Natives are citizens of the world, "only a vagrant would not fight for his country," and that "natives have fought for centuries to be citizens of the earth, the reservation, and of the country."[127] Nationalism is not antithetical to cosmopolitanism in this context, but exists with and as an expression of its legitimacy. The cosmopolitan experiences that

Basile and Aloysius share are a gray area between the enforcement of familial, historical, and political nationalisms, and rootless, disloyal, or apolitical cosmopolitanisms. How one belongs, or how one experiences cosmopolitanism, rates more than who belongs and the arbitrary enforcement of national, state, or tribal authorities over obligations to the nation, the tribe, or the world.

Arnold Krupat is the leading proponent of cosmopolitanism in American Indian literary criticism. It is his research that Vizenor is referencing. In Krupat's cosmopolitanism, Native American cultural and identity production is part of a universal design in which Natives are and always have been "citizens of the world."[128] He notes in a state-of-the-field essay that throughout history "a great many Native people did intentionally become . . . citizens of the world."[129] That the reach of cosmopolitanism exceeds its grasp is clear. Yet for all that Krupat embellishes and oversimplifies the definitions and complexities of globe citizenship, he hits on the possibilities that Vizenor takes advantage of in *Blue Ravens*. Basile and Aloysius intentionally set out to become citizens of France, the country of their ancestors synonymous with worldly cosmopolitanism. Theirs is a not an arbitrary, spurious, or unfounded claim to that citizenship any more than their Anishinaabe and fur trade kinship ties are the same.

Regardless, Basile and Aloysius should not be identified as citizens of the world. That nebulous rootlessness denies cosmopolitanism meaning for lack of a referent, or fixed cultural, historical, or political realities and the processes of space- and place-making that are part and parcel to them. That Basile and Aloysius want to become citizens of France should instead be seen as evidence of Vizenor's concept of "transmotion," or "a phenomenological spatialization of survivance, an abstraction of real territory into metaphor for the omnipresence of Native space and a sense of unbounded, unrestricted movement."[130] Vizenor's neologism resembles the way

Tuan defines space for how it affords unfettered movement. Native space is ubiquitous, just as the possibilities for making space out of place are equally limitless. Transmotion is "never granted by a government," according to Vizenor, but is "a natural human right that is not bound by borders."[131] There is therefore no call in *Blue Ravens* for an unrealistic cosmopolitanism without boundaries or borders. Vizenor instead puts the metaphor of transmotion to use as a realist cosmopolitanism that is not anywhere and everywhere, but specific to discrete spaces and places.

British-Ghanaian philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah has written to tensions between cosmopolitanism and the realities of everyday life.[132] Individuals who work for, with, and in the places where they have "pitched [their] tents" are identified as "*partial* cosmopolitans."[133] This description is somewhat redundant given that if it takes a person pitching her tent everywhere to be something more than a *partial* cosmopolitan, then all cosmopolitans are partial and the modifier is superfluous. Better reasoned is Appiah's notion that, "Who we are, as any viable cosmopolitanism must acknowledge, helps determine what we care about."[134] I think this idea has more substance if we add that *where* we are determines what and who we care about. Interpretations of this shared spatial experience at the national level are most prominently expressed in narrative, notes Appiah. More importantly, he adds that in novels, movies, and stories, groups are "bound together through representations in which the community itself is an actor; and what binds each of us to the community . . . is our participation . . . in that action."[135] These heterogenous and cosmopolitan spaces and places in art relate to Westphal's discursive coherence. *Blue Ravens* is coherent because of Paris in that its setting is not random and it cannot be forgotten. It informs and is informed by the plot, as it manipulates and is manipulated by the place-making actions of Basile and Aloysius.

Thus, the decision that Basile and Aloysius make to "pitch their tent" in Paris instead of northern Minnesota is not exactly a departure from the homing in plot, but an extension of it. It is neither a repudiation of the White Earth Reservation nor a rejection of their Native identity. Paris is a celebration of transgressive Anishinaabe nationalism within the style of human freedom that Appiah views as inherent to cosmopolitanism. Basile claims:

> I was a native literary expatriate, not an exile. My brother was a visionary expatriate painter, not an exile. We created our native sense of presence with imagination, a sense of chance, and not with the sorrow of lost tradition. Yes, we were exiles on a federal reservation but not as soldiers, and were never exiles in Paris. So, we were expatriates in the City of Light, in the city of avant-garde art and literature. Paris was our sense of presence and liberty.[136]

In writing that his presence in Paris is a liberating and imaginative creation, Basile elucidates a geocritical affiliation between art and a shift from Parisian space to Parisian place. Where there could be and is no liberating presence in Paris for Archilde, for Basile and Aloysius the city is a transgressive place engendered bit by bit in the narrative. Nor are Basile and Aloysius one thing in Minnesota and another in Paris. Who they are is still where they are, but unlike Archilde in "The Hungry Generations," who the brothers are is not mutually exclusive to where they are in a contemporary, innovative, inclusive, and modernist Thirdspace.

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If there is anything to recommend geocriticism as a heuristic, it is an exhaustive inclusivity. McNickle's Paris and Vizenor's Paris are as much a part of a geocritical analysis of the City of Light as a Monet painting or *The Three Musketeers* (1844) by Alexandre Dumas. So too is the Paris on the Las Vegas strip, as well as the Parises from innumerable books, films, and paintings,

part of McNickle's and Vizenor's artistic legacies. That this is possible is a credit to the influence of fiction on reality, and the importance of mimetic representation as an essential dimension of the real.

So it is dispiriting that in Vizenor's inclusive and transgressive space, there is still room for repression. Female characters are lovers, mothers, and teachers to Basile and Aloysius, but they do not speak for themselves. They are afforded space but not place, as they are for the most part denied the same place-making privileges granted to Basile and Aloysius. In this regard, *Blue Ravens* recapitulates the same processes of Native American erasure and removal inherent to Euro-American fiction. Perhaps that is unavoidable given that to make and define space and place requires exclusion. That assumption notwithstanding, readers might argue that Paris in *Blue Ravens* does not reflect something new in the Parisian palimpsest and the artistic processes of erasure and overwriting of other depictions of the city, but more of the same.

Yet the fact that *Blue Ravens* is a published novel and not an archived manuscript is evidence of a modern transformation from space to place in Native American fiction. Where in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Paris was a space irreconcilable with *The Surrounded*, Paris now has a distinct place in the landscape of American Indian literature. It is not on Fisher's middle road or Owens's map of the mind, but is distinct in narrative, geography, and history. Like Red Power novels, *Blue Ravens* is an affirmative retelling of Indian Country, this time breaking new ground in the Old World. By imagining a new narrative and history of a Native presence and community in France, Vizenor invites authors to find Native presence elsewhere and anywhere, in the past, present, and future.

Conclusion

From Buck Creek to Oxford and Beyond

Osage poet and scholar of medieval literature Carter Revard has perhaps spent more time in Europe than any self-identified Native American writer. Originally from the Buck Creek Valley on the Osage Indian Reservation in northeast Oklahoma, Revard was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to study language and literature at Oxford University (Merton College) in 1952. After earning a Ph.D. in English from Yale University in 1959, Revard taught throughout the United States, while taking frequent trips to Europe. It is not surprising, then, that Revard's autobiographical book *Winning the Dust Bowl* (2001), which contains a selection of new and previously published poetry as well as anecdotes from his life, brims with references to Europe and places of European high culture, from the Acropolis to Lake Como. To his readers, Revard notes that his book "moves from Oklahoma to Oxford and the Isle of Skye, to Jerusalem, Paris, and the Isle of Patmos, to Knossos, Bellagio, St. Louis, Cahokia Mounds, and California."[1] Chapter 5, under the title "Buck Creek to Oxford by Birch Canoe," explores what Revard writes is the matter of "*locating a self*."[2] He lands on the image of a birchbark canoe to illustrate the story of his Osage and Euro-American ancestry, of "being a mixed self, afloat between cultures and times, between heaven and earth, between North America and Europe."[3] That he draws on the riddle poem, an Old English poetic device, to express himself in "Birch Canoe," is as unique to American Indian literature as it is an example of ontology in space and place.

Europe is thus a passive setting and an active element in Revard's oeuvre. We can identify him with and compare him, at least obliquely, to his fictional counterparts Archilde Leon, Indigo, Basile Hudon Beaulieu, Aloysius Hudon Beaulieu, and Charging Elk in that

Europe is a character and scene in fiction by D'Arcy McNickle, Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerald Vizenor, and James Welch. To take this comparison a step further, there is reason to question why Revard succeeded where McNickle fell short at Oxford and in liking Paris. The obvious answer is that people, especially young people far from home at a foreign school or in a foreign city, respond differently to strange new environments. By itself, however, that fails to account for why McNickle edited "The Hungry Generations" as he did, to explain why he removed the Paris section. As noted in chapter 3, critics have argued that McNickle made the change to reflect the values of Confederated Salish and Kootenai storytelling and to embrace his Confederated Salish and Kootenai background. Yet Revard, who like McNickle is of Euro-American and Native American heritage and grew up on a rural reservation, does not perceive England, Greece, Italy, or Paris as antithetical to his identity. Why did McNickle hold himself to a different standard and why have his critics done the same?

Those questions are central to the claims I have sought to advance in this dissertation. Silko, Vizenor, and Welch took on the complex task of locating a self, specifically American Indian selves, in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European literary settings and within the larger historical world of the Red Atlantic. They did this while writing in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, when they began to experiment with historical fiction as a method to introduce Native presences into narratives of modernity from which Indians had long been wrongfully removed. That McNickle could not accomplish the same thing during the modernist era speaks to the force of what at the time were artistic and political trends that perpetuated a separate spheres ideology. The ideal American Indian in the early twentieth century lived as an assimilated farmer in rural America, not as an idle musician in Paris. While McNickle was ultimately unable to bridge the cultural chasms between Montana and Paris, his

successors were able to bring America and Europe closer together. That Silko, Vizenor, and Welch compare and contrast the American Southwest with England, Italy, and France, the White Earth Reservation with Paris, and the northern plains with Marseille, respectively, is a forceful rebuke of the Euro-American mindset that still sees these geographies as mutually exclusive. These narratives push readers to gauge not only the contrasts between peoples and places, but the similarities as well.

Adding knowledge of the world with story is not new in some traditions of Native American and Indigenous storytelling. In a collection of poignant essays, *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit* (1996), Silko shares that Puebloan hunting stories "described key landmarks and locations of fresh water. Thus, a deer-hunt story might also serve as a map."[4] More broadly, Mishuana Goeman has shown how U.S. colonial power has historically been refuted by the "marking of Native place passed on through stories," and that colonial maps are unsettled by stories that "fill in the space between Native lives mapped onto reservations."[5] On a transatlantic scale, the Native novelists whose work appears in this dissertation unsettle colonial histories and maps by the same token. Where there was false Native absence decades ago—where there were gaps—there is now Native existence imbued with powerful truths about certain European spaces and the calculated omission of Indians from their histories. In how they stake out literary spaces and places for American Indians in Europe and in American and European history, *Gardens in the Dunes*, *The Heartsong of Charging Elk*, *The Heirs of Columbus*, *Blue Ravens*, and "The Hungry Generations" are acts of resistance on a global level.

Unlike "space," "land" will always be the watchword in Native American studies and Native American literary criticism. Space will never challenge the primacy of Native land and its connections to Native political autonomy and sovereignty, history, self-governance, self-

determination, education, language revitalization and sustainability, economic development, sacred geography, and much more. Yet space and place are fertile ground for future research. This is because spaces and places overlap and cut across each other by means that land does not. Space and place can be and often are mutual to a degree that land is usually not in terms of possession, ownership, or use. That Euro-American theories of space and place, such as Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad of lived space (space that is felt), perceived space (space that is seen), and conceived space (space in thought), might be arbitrary or meaningless to some in Native American studies, misses a larger point. Though spatial theories from without should not or need not be foundational or go uncriticized within the field, neither should they dismissed entirely.

Countless spaces and places, then, invite further critical analysis and exploration. If for no other reason, space and place should attract research because, contrary to many widely held beliefs, one could argue that the world is getting bigger. On the one hand, technology has made the planet seem smaller, and advances in transportation have made it possible for some people to go wherever they like on the globe in less than twenty-four hours. On the other hand, the world gets bigger by the day, as it is fuller now than it ever has been of ideas, people, and things. How Native American and Indigenous storytellers will chart and make sense of these new landmarks remains to be seen, just as new paths through them, from Buck Creek to Oxford and beyond, await further traveling.

Notes

Introduction

1. Others of note include Joy Harjo (Muscogee), Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna Pueblo), Maurice Kenney (Mohawk), Ray Young Bear (Meskwaki), Diane Glancy (Cherokee), Luci Tapahonso (Navajo), and Janet Campbell Hale (Coeur d'Alene). See Alan R. Velie and A. Robert Lee, eds., *The Native American Renaissance: Literary Imagination and Achievement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

2. Lincoln, *Native American Renaissance*, 197.

3. Ortiz, *Going for the Rain*, 37.

4. Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, 70; original emphasis.

5. Ibid.

6. Irving, "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," 13.

7. Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, vii.

8. Brown, *Edgar Huntly*, 166, and Irving, "Rip Van Winkle," 7.

9. Child, *Hobomok*, 17.

10. Rifkin, *Manifesting America*, 3–4.

11. Ibid., 13–14.

12. Rifkin, *Settler Common Sense*, 31.

13. Ibid.

14. Melville, *Pierre*, 84.

15. Ibid., 6.

16. Hawthorne, *The House of Seven Gables*, 26.

17. As critic Roy Harvey Pearce summarizes it, “Indians were forced out of American life into American history.” See Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 58. Similarly, historian Jean O’Brien (White Earth Ojibwe) has written that in nineteenth-century New England, “non-Indians refused to regard culture change as normative for Indian peoples. Thus, while Indians adapted to changes wrought by colonialism . . . such transformations stretched beyond the imaginations of New Englanders: Indians could only be ancients, and refusal to behave as such rendered Indians inauthentic in their minds. Indians, then, can never be modern.” See Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xxii.

18. Qtd. in Elliott, *Framing First Contact*, 46.

19. Ibid.

20. Prescott, *The Volume of the World*, 40.

21. Dippie, *The Vanishing American*, 41.

22. Parker, “The Garden of the Mind,” in *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 11.

23. Walker Jr., “A Wyandot’s Farewell,” in *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 66.

24. Bushyhead, “An Indian’s Farewell,” in *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 69.

25. Parker, *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 51.

26. Parker, “Introduction,” in *The Sound the Stars Make*, 15.

27. Schoolcraft, “To the Pine Tree,” in *Changing Is Not Vanishing*, 55.

28. Ibid., 55–56.

29. Apess, “A Son of the Forest,” in *A Son of the Forest*, 7.

30. Ibid.

31. For more on northern Indian removal, see John Bowes, *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016).

32. Jefferson, "Letter to John C. Breckenridge, August 12, 1803," Teaching American History, accessed March 1, 2021, https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/letter-to-john-c-breckinridge/.

33. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 120.

34. Ibid.

35. Prucha, *The Great Father*, 64.

36. "Civilization Fund Act," in *Documents of United States Federal Indian Policy*, 33.

37. Ibid.

38. Qtd. in Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 231.

39. Qtd. in ibid., 238; original emphasis.

40. Qtd. in ibid.

41. Qtd. in ibid.

42. The third congress was one of six held in Europe between 1848 and 1853. Delegates, mostly Europeans and Americans, were driven to organize and attend these congresses based on what historian David Nicholls views as "a momentary triumphalism that inspired a section of the bourgeoisie to believe that the scourge of war could be eradicated." See David Nicholls, "Richard Cobden and the International Peace Congress Movement, 1848–1853," *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 4 (October 1991): 351.

43. See George Copway, *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway), a Convert to the Christian Faith, and a Missionary to His People for Twelve Years;*

with a Sketch of the Present State of the Ojibwa Nation, in Regard to Christianity and Their Future Prospects (Albany, NY: Weed & Parsons, 1847).

44. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 243.

45. Smith, "Kahgegagahbowh," in *Life, Letters and Speeches*, 23.

46. Peyer, *The Tutor'd Mind*, 249.

47. Qtd in ibid., 250–51.

48. Ibid., 253–54.

49. Ibid., 254, and Lyons, "Migrations to Modernity," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian*, 145.

50. Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 216.

51. Lyons, "Migrations to Modernity," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian*, 145.

52. Ibid.; original emphasis.

53. Ibid., 146.

54. Ibid., 147; original emphasis.

55. Many contemporary American Indian writers have gone to Europe to advance their work, teach, or travel. Many have also welcomed Europe into their writing. As critic James Mackay writes, "It is striking that contemporary Native American poetry, almost without exception, depicts Europe as a place of hospitality and beauty. Only Simon Ortiz, perhaps the most politically radical of all Native American poets, refuses the European welcome in his poetry: otherwise, writers as diverse as Drucilla Wall (Muscogee), Ralph Salisbury (Cherokee), Luci Tapahonso (Diné), Jim Barnes (Choctaw), Joy Harjo (Muscogee), James Thomas Stevens (Kanien'kehá:ka), Sherman Alexie (Spokane-Coeur d'Alene) and Gordon Henry (Anishinaabe) strongly emphasize Europe as a space for pleasure." See James Mackay, "Wanton and sensuous

in the Musée du Quai Branly: Gerald Vizenor's cosmoprimitivist visions of France," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 51, no. 4 (2015): 170. Additionally, Cherokee playwright Lynn Riggs went to Europe on a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1928, while Momaday taught at the University of Moscow in 1974. He has since spent significant time in western Siberia.

56. Lyons, "Migrations to Modernity," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian*, 154.

57. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, xiv.

58. Ibid.

59. Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*, 16.

60. Ibid., 30.

61. Ibid.

62. Thrush, *Indigenous London*, 3.

63. Ibid., 13.

64. Ibid.

65. Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 10.

66. Ibid., 296.

67. For the "unexpected" ways that Indians experienced modernity, see Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

68. Lyons, "Introduction: Globalizing the Word," in *The World, the Text*, *and the Indian*, 13.

69. Brooks, *The Common Pot*, xxii.

70. Huhndorf, *Mapping the Americas*, 19.

71. Cox, *The Red Land to the South*, 19.

72. Goeman, *Mapping Our Nations*, 1.

73. Ibid., 2.

74. Ibid., 1.

75. Palestinian critic and historian Edward W. Said has made similar criticisms of European authors and intellectuals. In *Orientalism* (1978), Said surveys how groups establish arbitrary boundaries between familiar and unfamiliar spaces, between "ours" and "theirs" in the examples of Europe and the "imaginative geographies" of "the Orient." One "articulates" the other, where "Europe is powerful . . . Asia is defeated and distant." Said uses the example of Aeschylus, the Greek playwright who in representing Asia gives voice to its people by fiat. Space, according to Said, thus adopts an "emotional and even rational sense by a kind of poetic process, whereby the vacant or anonymous reaches of distance are converted into meaning." See Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 57, 55. Said has as well accused historians and literary scholars of having ignored "the *geographical* notion . . . that underlies Western fiction." Said stresses in his readings of Jane Austen or Joseph Conrad the importance of "territories, lands, geographical domains, the actual geographical underpinnings of the imperial." The geographies of imperialism and settler colonialism support the structures of empire that irrevocably alter the topography, ecology, and architecture of colonized spaces. Said observes, for example, that in twentieth-century Africa the struggle for space and place played out "over territories designed and redesigned by explorers from Europe for generations," and that "resistance . . . must to a certain degree work to recover forms already established . . . by the culture of empire." See Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 58, 78, 210; original emphasis.

76. Sarkowsky, *AlterNative Spaces*, 17.

77. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 4.

78. Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 602.

79. Lyons, *X-Marks*, 2.

80. Miranda, *Indian Cartography*, xiii; original emphasis.

Chapter 1

1. Qtd. in Vogel, "Whitman's Columbia," 6.

2. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, under political pressure from the influential Catholic organization the Knights of Columbus, designated Columbus Day, or October 12, a permanent national holiday in 1937. Columbus Day became a legal federal holiday in 1971 by order of President Richard M. Nixon. It has since been observed in the United States on the second Monday of October.

3. Qtd. in Vogel, "Whitman's Columbia," 5.

4. Whitman, "A Thought of Columbus," Walt Whitman Archive, accessed April 5, 2021, https://whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/poems/per.00149.

5. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 4.

6. Ibid.; original emphasis.

7. Ibid., 25, 36.

8. Ibid., 21.

9. Liang, "Opposition Play," 124.

10. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 169.

11. Hutcheon, "Historiographic Metafiction," in *Intertextuality and Contemporary American Fiction*, 5.

12. Ryan, "The Nineteenth-Century Garden," 115.

13. Writer and activist Kirkpatrick Sale has argued that there is "no substance" to the notion that Columbus was a Sephardic Jew. "The argument" that Columbus was Jewish, Sale notes, "has so little foundation that it properly belongs in the same corner of Columbiana" where Columbus is Polish or a convert to Christianity. See Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Plume, 1991), 358.

14. Vizenor, "Aesthetics of Survivance," in *Survivance*, 17.

15. Kroeber, "Why It's a Good Thing Gerald Vizenor Isn't an Indian," in *Survivance*, 25.

16. Vizenor, "Aesthetics of Survivance," in *Survivance*, 1.

17. Ibid.

18. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 3.

19. Ibid., 119.

20. Vizenor, "The Trickster Heir of Columbus," 102.

21. Hardin, "The Trickster of History," 26.

22. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 9.

23. Ibid., 75.

24. Ibid., 76, 78.

25. White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 82.

26. Blaser, *Gerald Vizenor*, 85.

27. Ibid.

28. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 95–96.

29. Ibid., 97.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid., 99.

32. Koepke and Nelson, "Genetic Crossing," 10.

33. Hardin, "The Trickster of History," 41.

34. Thrush, *Indigenous London*, 237.

35. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

36. Ibid.

37. Laga, "Gerald Vizenor," 83; Krupat, "Postcolonialism, Ideology, and Native American Literature," in *Postcolonial Theory and the United States*, 92; and Nagy, "The Reconceptualization of the Columbian Heritage," 247.

38. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 94.

39. See Robert Royal, *1492 and All That: Political Manipulations of History* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992); David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Claudia L. Bushman, C*olumbus Discovers America: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 1992). See also David Ewing Duncan, "In 1992, What's Columbus to Me and You?" *Washington Post*, October 11, 1992, accessed December 1, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/entertainment/books/1992/10/11/in-1992-whats-columbus-to-me-and-you/710a26d5-1dbf-464f-8128-5a79ef298fba/.

40. Hakes, *The Discovery of America*, 132. It bears mentioning that Columbus had his critics in 1892. Charles Kendall Adams, a leading American historian and president of Cornell University from 1885 until 1892, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison from 1892 until 1901, wrote in an 1892 biography of Columbus that "it is not possible to acquit Columbus of responsibility for the course that was taken" regarding the Spanish enslavement of Indigenous peoples. See

Charles Kendall Adams, *Christopher Columbus: His Life and Works* (New York: Dodd and Mead), 254.

41. Qtd. in Feldman, "Berkeley celebrates Indigenous Peoples' Day with 27th annual powwow," *Daily Californian*, October 13, 2019, accessed October 14, 2020, https://www.dailycal.org/2019/10/13/berkeley-celebrates-indigenous-peoples-day-with-27th-annual-powwow/.

42. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, 60.

43. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 170.

44. Ibid., 120.

45. Ibid., 9.

46. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 16–17.

47. Ibid., 17.

48. Ibid., 17–18.

49. Ibid., 42.

50. Ibid.

51. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 144.

52. Ibid., 3.

53. Hardin, "The Trickster of History," 43.

54. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 21.

55. Trigg, *Memory of Place*, 11; original emphasis.

56. Ibid., 17.

57. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 30.

58. Ibid., 19.

59. Ibid., 20.

60. Ibid., 19.

61. Ibid., 28.

62. Ibid., 31.

63. Ibid.

64. Monsma, “Liminal Landscapes,” 70.

65. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 11, 113.

66. Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, 3.

67. The phrase “terminal creeds” appears throughout Vizenor’s oeuvre. Like with many of his neologisms, Vizenor avoids attaching an exact definition to the term. He consistently employs terminal creeds to describe and criticize Native beliefs in their inevitable disappearance or in systems of thought that deny any possibilities for change. Choctaw-Cherokee critic Louis Owens defines terminal creeds as “beliefs which seek to fix, to impose static definitions upon the world.” See Louis Owens, “‘Ecstatic Strategies’: Gerald Vizenor’s *Darkness in Saint Louis Braveheart*,” in *Narrative Chance: Postmodern Discourse on American Indian Literature*, edited by Gerald Vizenor (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 144.

68. Vizenor, *Darkness in Saint Louis*, 192.

69. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 121.

70. Though not for felicitious space, see Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich, *The Crown of Columbus* (1991). *Crown* is about a Native protagonist finding the truth about Columbus to win a “grand payback” against him by exploiting that truth to support Indigenous land claims and repatriation claims around the world. See Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich, *The Crown of Columbus* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 164, 204.

71. Silko, *Almanac of the Dead*, 290, 518.

72. Ibid., 316.

73. Ibid., 520.

74. Ibid., 759–60.

75. Ibid., 760.

76. Brave Heart, "The Historical Trauma Response," 7.

77. Ibid., 10.

78. Ibid., 7.

79. Madsen, "On Objectivity and Survivance," in *Survivance*, 62.

80. Vizenor, *The Heirs of Columbus*, 176.

81. Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 80.

82. Ibid.

83. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape*, 4.

84. Ibid.

85. In the summer of 1906, E. Pauline Johnson, a Canadian-born writer, poet, and actress of Mohawk and English ancestry, published a non-fiction essay about an Iroquois poet's description of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. "A Pagan in St. Paul's Cathedral: Iroquois Poetess' Impressions in London's Cathedral" ran in *The London Daily Express*. The narrator sees little difference between how worshippers at St. Paul's practice their liturgies and how Iroquois do the same. She asks, "Why may we not worship with the graceful movement of our feet? The paleface worships by moving his lips and tongue; the difference is but slight." See E. Pauline Johnson, *The Moccasin Maker* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 142.

86. Arnold and Silko, "Listening to the Spirits," 31.

87. Ibid., 21.

88. Ibid., 21–22.

89. Porter, "History in *Gardens in the Dunes*," in *Reading Leslie Marmon Silko*, 57, 68.

90. Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*, 17.

91. Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 26.

92. Ibid., 36

93. Ibid., 80.

94. Ibid., 86.

95. Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*, 23.

96. This is not historically accurate. The year when Indigo is sent to boarding school is approximately 1899. The Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, an off-reservation Indian boarding school, opened in the fall of 1902. Prior to that the school had been known as the Perris Indian School, which began operating in Perris, California, about twenty miles south of Riverside, in 1894. The institute is now Sherman Indian High School. See Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900–1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

97. Regier, "Revolutionary Enunciatory Spaces," 136.

98. Warren, *God's Red Son*, 4.

99. Ibid., 7.

100. Ibid.

101. Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*, 77, 79.

102. Ibid., 97.

103. Kaye, *Goodlands*, 102.

104. Ziarkowska, *Retold Stories, Untold Histories*, 208.

105. Arnold and Silko, "Listening to the Spirits," 3. See also David L. Moore, "Ghost Dancing through History in Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes* and *Almanac of the Dead*," in *Reading Leslie Marmon Silko: Critical Perspectives through Gardens in the Dunes*, edited by Laura Coltelli (Pisa, Italy: Pisa University Press, 2007), 91–118.

106. Critic Stephanie Li takes a similarly universal approach to the garden in *Gardens in the Dunes*, writing that "gardening reflects social values and the complex ways that humans relate to and conceive of the natural world." See Stephanie Li, "Domestic Resistance: Gardening, Mothering, and Storytelling in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes*," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 19.

107. Ibid., 6.

108. Ibid., 9.

109. Ibid., 10.

110. Ferguson, "Europe and the Quest for Home," 50.

111. Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*, 235.

112. Ibid., 252.

113. Ibid., 28.

114. Ibid., 242, 245.

115. Ibid., 255–56.

116. Ibid., 276.

117. The narrative offers a clue as to what year it is when the Palmers arrive in Italy. It reads, "Their arrival [the Palmers and Indigo] was overshadowed by the news of the assassination of the Italian king only days before, in Milan, by anarchists, to avenge the executions of their

comrades. Victor Emmanuel III took the throne." King Umberto I of Italy was assassinated on July 29, 1900, and was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel III. See Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes*, 275–76.

118. Ibid., 290.

119. Ruoff, "Images of Europe," in *Sites of Ethnicity*, 183.

120. Ibid., 316.

121. Ibid., 318.

122. Ibid., 328.

123. Arnold and Silko, "Listening to the Spirits," 24.

124. Ibid., 9.

125. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 27–28.

126. Ryan, "The Nineteenth-Century Garden," 115–116.

127. Kang, "The Garden in Motion," 104; original emphasis.

128. Dennis, *Native American Literature*, 6.

129. Ibid., 17.

130. Ibid.

131. Ibid., 16–17.

132. Qtd. in Dennis, *Native American Literature*, 30. See also Paula Gunn Allen, *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows* (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books, 1983), 78–79.

133. Ibid., 62.

134. Ibid., 68.

135. Silko, *Gardens*, 393.

136. Ibid., 399, 405.

137. Ibid., 417.

138. Silko, *Storyteller*, 94.

139. Ibid.

140. Deloria Jr., *God Is Red*, 121.

141. Ibid., 120.

Chapter 2

1. Like Welch, I follow the preferred French spelling of Marseille instead of the English version, spelled "Marseilles."

2. For more on the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, see Jerome A. Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), and Heather Cox Richardson, *Wounded Knee: Party Politics and the Road to an American Massacre* (New York: Basic Books, 2011). For the use of Wounded Knee as a metonym for historical trauma and injustice, see Elizabeth Rich, "'Remember Wounded Knee': AIM's Use of Metonymy in 21st Century Protest," *College Literature* 31, no. 3 (2004): 70–91.

3. See Bevis, "Native American Novels," in *Recovering the Word*, 585.

4. Ferguson, "Europe and the Quest for Home," 17.

5. Ibid., 50.

6. Haselstein, "Double Translation," in *Transatlantic Voices*, 228, 245.

7. Krupat, "Issues of Identity," in *Companion to James Welch's* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 200.

8. Cox, *The Red Land to the South*, 3.

9. Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 602.

10. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 2, 5.

11. Lyons, *X-Marks*, 2.

12. Ibid., 2–3.

13. Welch, *Heartsong*, 1.

14. Ibid., 4.

15. Cobb-Greetham "The Unexpected Indian," in *Companion to James Welch's* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 165.

16. Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 285. A more precise definition of wašiču is "person with other-than-human abilities." See Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*, 13.

17. See Ostler, *The Plains Sioux,* 54.

18. Digital History, "Fort Laramie Treaty," accessed April 6, 2021, https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=3&psid=4020.

19. Welch, *Heartsong*, 12.

20. Ibid., 12.

21. Ibid., 14.

22. Ibid., 17.

23. Ibid., 12.

24. Ibid., 17.

25. Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*, 303–04.

26. See ibid., 380.

27. Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 138.

28. See Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 137–59. See also Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*, 374.

29. Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 283.

30. Qtd. in ibid., 303.

31. Qtd. in Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 127.

32. Qtd. in ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Welch, *Heartsong*, 20.

35. Ibid., 24.

36. Ibid., 37.

37. Lyons, *X-Marks*, 9.

38. Ibid., 10.

39. Ibid., 4.

40. Ibid., 33.

41. Ibid., 11.

42. Ibid., 60.

43. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America*, 367.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. McNenly, *Native Performers*, 192. See also Ostler, *The Plains Sioux*, 144.

47. Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*, 298.

48. Lyons has been rightly criticized for insinuating that Native nationhood was born out of modernity and the x-mark. Critic Mark Rifkin has written that "in taking the 'x-mark' moment as one in which 'treaty signers committed themselves to nation status' . . . a kind of political order that he equates with 'the modern,' Lyons creates a clear bifurcation, a singular before-and-after in which everything prior to or outside the frame of nationhood is 'cultural' or indicative of a

nonmodern '*ethnie*.'" This is a fair point, but does not in my opinion make the x-mark any less effective has a heuristic. See Mark Rifkin, "Book Reviews," *American Literature* 82, no. 2 (June 2011): 451.

49. Hämäläinen, *Lakota America*, 299.

50. Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*, 16.

51. Ibid., 17.

52. Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian*, 296.

53. Ibid., 294.

54. Opitz, "'The Primitive Has Escaped Control,'" 100.

55. Bak, "Tribal or Transnational?" in *Companion to James Welch's* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 117.

56. Owens, *Other Destinies*, 157–58.

57. Weaver, *Other Words*, 90.

58. Welch, *Heartsong*, 15.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 20, 74, 97.

61. Ibid., 130.

62. Ibid., 107.

63. United States Indian Service, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1882*, vii.

64. United States Indian Service, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1888*, 267.

65. United States Indian Service, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: 1889*, 342.

66. Welch, *Heartsong*, 82.

67. Ibid., 117.

68. Ibid., 172.

69. See Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity"; Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*; Simonsen, *Making Home Work*; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in the Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

70. Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 582.

71. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 3.

72. Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 2.

73. Qtd. in Kidwell, *The Choctaws in Oklahoma*, 137.

74. Welch, *Heartsong*, 110.

75. Ibid., 134.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid., 137.

78. Finger, "Native Americans and Manifest Domesticity," 14.

79. Ibid., 6.

80. Callahan, *Wynema*, 51.

81. See Bernardin, "The Lessons of a Sentimental Education," 229.

82. Welch, *Heartsong*, 164.

83. Ibid., 181.

84. Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” 601.

85. Welch, *Heartsong*, 187.

86. Ibid., 190.

87. Ibid., 191.

88. Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” 582.

89. Welch, *Heartsong*, 29.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid., 187.

92. Ibid., 204.

93. Ibid., 75.

94. Ibid., 23.

95. Qtd. in Shanley, “Kathryn W. Shanley Interview,” in *Companion to James Welch’s* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 4.

96. Qtd. in Perkins, “Owen Perkins Interview,” in *Companion to James Welch’s* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 14.

97. Heidemann, “Cindy Heidemann Interview,” in *Companion to James Welch’s* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 20.

98. Qtd. in Shanley, “Kathryn W. Shanley Interview,” in *Companion to James Welch’s* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 4.

99. Welch, *Heartsong*, 251.

100. Ibid., 273.

101. Ibid., 296.

102. Ibid., 326.

103. Ibid., 295.

104. Ibid., 326.

105. Ibid., 341.

106. Ibid., 347.

107. Ibid., 361.

108. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 10.

109. See Prucha, "Introduction," in *Americanizing the American Indians,* 1–10.

110. Mathes et al., "Conclusion," in *The Women's National Indian Association*, 290.

111. Ibid.

112. See Jacobson, "'Environed by Civilization,'" in *The Women's National Indian Association*, 65–83.

113. Welch, *Heartsong*, 372.

114. Ibid., 372–73.

115. Ibid., 400.

116. Ibid., 369.

117. Ibid., 404.

118. Morgan, "Supplemental Report on Indian Education," in *Americanizing the American Indians*, 234.

119. Ferguson, "Europe and the Quest for Home," 49.

120. Simonsen, *Making Home Work*, 2.

121. Welch, *Heartsong*, 431.

122. Ibid., 432.

123. Ibid., 435.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., 437.

127. Cook-Lynn, *Notebooks of Elizabeth Cook-Lynn*, 86, and Cook-Lynn, *New Indians, Old Wars*, 31.

128. Christie, *Plural Sovereignties*, 88, and Lupton, *James Welch*, 128.

129. Bak, "Tribal or Transnational?" in *Companion to James Welch's* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 137.

130. Krupat, "Issues of Identity," in *Companion to James Welch's* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 205. Bak similarly notes that "home is where the heart is." See Bak, "Tribal or Transnational?" in *Companion to James Welch's* The Heartsong of Charging Elk, 137.

131. Shanley, "'Looking for the Way Back,'" in *Companion to James Welch's* Heartsong of Charging Elk, 188.

132. Womack, "The Fatal Blow Job," in *Companion to James Welch's* Heartsong of Charging Elk*,* 231. See also Lydia R. Cooper, "Straight Talk: Two Spirit Erasure as the Price of Sovereignty in James Welch's *The Heartsong of Charging Elk*," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 30, nos. 3–4 (Fall-Winter 2018): 96–120.

133. See Joshua B. Nelson, *Progressive Traditions: Identity in Cherokee Literature and Culture* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 22–23.

Chapter 3

1. "The Hungry Generations" is the most studied draft of any major novel in Native American fiction. Nothing similar to it has received more critical acknowledgment or attention. See, for

example, Owens, *Other Destines*, 60–89; Purdy, *Word Ways*, 14–20; Parker, *Singing an Indian Song*; and Hans, *D'Arcy McNickle's*.

2. Hans, *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 38. McNickle began writing what would become *The Surrounded* in the late 1920s. He submitted his manuscript to several publishers under the titles "The Hungry Generations," "Dead Grass," and "The Surrounded," before *The Surrounded* was finally published in 1936. *The Surrounded* and "Dead Grass" differ enough from "The Hungry Generations" to make it obvious, according to Hans, that the manuscript in the Newberry Library, which does not have a title page, must be "The Hungry Generations." See Hans, *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 17.

3. Whitaker, "Native American Transnational Travel Fiction," and Mackay, "Wanton and sensuous in the Musée du Quai Branly," 178.

4. Jameson, *Postmodernism*, 16.

5. Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 116.

6. Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 202.

7. Soja, *Thirdspace*, 11.

8. Ibid., 6.

9. Owens, *Other Destinies*, 70–87.

10. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 22.

11. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 240.

12. Tally Jr., "Introduction," in *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, 2.

13. See Sarkowsky, *AlterNative Spaces*, 41. Sarkowsky clarifies that for Giddens "place" has been irrevocably lost, while Ashcroft thinks a sense of "place" is retrievable through decolonization and resistance to modernity.

14. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 15, 34; original emphasis.

15. Sarkowsky, *AlterNative Spaces*, 17.

16. See Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000–1927* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

17. Purdy misquotes British poet John Keats's famous poem "Ode to a Nightingale." Purdy quotes the poem to read "Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam / Of perilous seas, in fancy lands forlorn." It should be "Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn." See Purdy, *Word Ways*, 14, 17.

18. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," in *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 59.

19. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 227, 255.

20. See Parker, *Singing an Indian Song*, 22–29.

21. See Hans, *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 20, and Purdy, *Word Ways*, 18.

22. See Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle*, 43. The General Allotment Act of 1887, or the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, authorized the executive branch of the federal government to divide most Native American landholdings into 160- or 80-acre fee simple family or individual land allotments to be held in trust for 25 years. Millions of acres of excess tribal land were subsequently sold at a discount or given to corporate speculators and individual Euro-American settlers.

23. United States Indian Service, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1927*, 13.

24. Institute for Government Research Studies in Administration, *The Problem of Indian Administration* [The Meriam Report], 667.

25. Pierce, *Savagism and Civilization*, 53.

26. Ibid., 160.

27. Tuan, *Space and Place*, 6.

28. Callahan, *Wynema*, 104, 51.

29. Ibid., 103.

30. Mourning Dove, *Cogewea*, 41.

31. Ibid.

32. Fisher, "Introduction," in *Cogewea*, xix.

33. Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination*, 84.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., 85, 250.

36. Ibid., 253, 254.

37. Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 113.

38. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," in *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 50.

39. Ibid., 59, 60.

40. Ibid., 60.

41. Ibid., 69, 111.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., 85.

44. Ibid., 145.

45. Qtd. in Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 213.

46. Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 24.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. See Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*, 14.

50. See Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 214.

51. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 163.

52. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," in *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 95.

53. Eastman, *From the Deep Woods*, 139.

54. Ibid., 139, 195.

55. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," in *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 171.

56. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 39.

57. Ibid., 41.

58. See Clements, *Baudelaire and the English Tradition*, 214.

59. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," in *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 206.

60. Ibid., 216.

61. Ibid., 218.

62. Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 77–78.

63. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," 221.

64. Ibid., 223.

65. Ibid., 225.

66. Ibid., 265.

67. Ibid., 273.

68. Ibid., 277.

69. McNickle, "The Hungry Generations," in *D'Arcy McNickle's*, 318.

70. Ibid., 336.

71. For more on assimilation-era federal Indian policies and progressivist activism, see Frederick E. Hoxie, *The Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

72. Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire*, 25.

73. Rifkin, *Manifesting America*, 14.

74. Purdy, *Word Ways*, 33, 39.

75. Owens, "The Red Road to Nowhere," 240.

76. McNickle, *The Surrounded*, 297.

77. See Kenneth Lincoln, *Native American Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), and Alan R. Velie and A. Robert Lee, eds., *The Native American Renaissance: Literary Imagination and Achievement* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

78. See Bevis, "Native American Novels," in *Recovering the Word*, 585.

79. Teuton, *Red Land, Red Power*, 2.

80. As historian Douglas K. Miller writes, "many relocatees achieved varying degrees of success on relocation. If they struggled, it was not necessarily with the idea of working and living in the city. Their relative triumphs and tragedies reflected diverse socioeconomic strata among Indians before relocation as well as divergent goals upon arrival." See Douglas K. Miller, *Indians on the Move: Native American Mobility and Urbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 110.

81. Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle*, 85.

82. Ibid.

83. Teuton, *Red Land, Red Power*, 37.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., 35.

86. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 211.

87. Ibid., 193.

88. Ibid., 197.

89. Ibid., 217.

90. Ibid., 189.

91. Ibid., 222.

92. Ibid., 161.

93. Ibid.

94. Sarkowsky, *AlterNative Spaces*, 17.

95. Weaver, *That the People Might Live*, xiii, 45.

96. Ibid., 38.

97. Huhndorf, *Mapping the Americas*, 2. A handful of historians and literary scholars have recently sought out the Indigenous corners of Paris and European cities like it. Historian Coll Thrush makes plain how stories of Indigenous travel and settlement in London have been negated by the historical "estrangement of Indigenous people from modernity." Moreover, "Indigenous people," Thrush writes, "who remain in or move to urban places are all too often portrayed, if at all, as somehow out of place . . . The result is a blindness read back onto the past from the present, an inherited silence where history should be." See Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 13–14. Critic Alden T. Vaughn, building on historian Carolyn Thomas Foreman's decades-old study of American Indian travel overseas, *Indians Abroad* (1943), historicizes intercontinental movements between American Indian travelers and captives in *Transatlantic*

Encounters: American Indians in Britain (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Monographs by Kate Flint and Emily C. Burns are noteworthy as well for their treatment of the transatlantic brokerage of Indian bodies and likenesses, in art and literature, between the United States and Europe. See Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1778–1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), and Emily C. Burns, *Transnational Frontiers: The American West in France* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018).

98. Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*, 216.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid., 249.

101. Lyons, "Introduction," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian*, 13.

102. Ibid., 15.

103. Vizenor, "Empire Treasons," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian*, 23.

104. Middleton and Woods, *Literatures of Memory*, 60.

105. White, *The Content of the Form*, 20.

106. Ibid., 2.

107. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 245.

108. Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination*, 254.

109. Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 80–81.

110. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 103.

111. Ibid., 285.

112. Westphal, *Geocriticism*, 80.

113. Abenaki critic and historian Lisa Brooks phrases this similarly in her book *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xx.

114. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 222.

115. Ibid., 240.

116. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 45.

117. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 9.

118. Ibid., 10.

119. Ibid., 94, 274. See also Gerald Vizenor, *Wordarrows: Indians and Whites in the New Fur Trade* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1978).

120. Ibid., 172.

121. Ibid., 144.

122. Ibid., 151.

123. Ibid.

124. Soja, *Thirdspace*, 11.

125. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 37.

126. Ibid., 91. For the Debs quote see: https://socialistworker.org/2004-1/500/500_06_Zinn.php.

127. Ibid.

128. Krupat, *Red Matters*, 14–15.

129. Krupat, "Native American Literary Criticism in Global Context," in *The World, the Text, and the Indian*, 55.

130. Herman, "'The Making of Relatives,'" in *Foundations of First Peoples' Sovereignty*, 35.

131. Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses*, 189.

132. See Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity*; and *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007). Appiah's father Joe remined his children to remember that they are "citizens of the world." See Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity*, 216.

133. Appiah, *The Ethics of Identity*, 241–42; original emphasis.

134. Ibid., 242.

135. Ibid., 245.

136. Vizenor, *Blue Ravens*, 256.

Conclusion

1. Revard, *Winning the Dust Bowl*, xiii.

2. Ibid., 19; original emphasis.

3. Ibid.

4. Silko, *Yellow Woman*, 32.

5. Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 21, 11.

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