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# Indigenous Resistance: Settler-Colonialism, Nation Building, and Colonial Patriarchy

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Indigenous Resistance:  
Settler-Colonialism, Nation Building, and Colonial Patriarchy

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in English

by

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## **Abstract**

“Indigenous Resistance: Settler-Colonialism, Nation Building, and Colonial Patriarchy,” interrogates the Western Hemisphere’s spatial construction by settler-states, Indigenous nations, and activists groups. In this project, I assert that Indigenous/Settler contact zones are significantly more convoluted than current scholarship’s use of contact zones in that the distinctions between Indigenous actors and settler-colonial ones are often blurred. These hybrid contact zones sometimes contain negative outcomes for all participants and often include undercurrents of insidious power dynamics within and across settler-states and Indigenous peoples alike. Using critical cartographic theory and deconstruction methods, this project first illustrates how empires ascribed a racialized patriarchy onto the Western Hemisphere through sixteenth century decorative maps and atlases. From there, I trace continued patriarchal manipulations of the hemisphere’s racial hierarchy into the nineteenth century as newly independent settler-states used intermarriage and assimilation to regulate their Indigenous populations. Finally, this project turns to Indigenous activist groups, especially as related to Indigenous women. In doing so, this project positions colonial patriarchy as integral to the global capital system and the types of Indigenous knowledge production that draw attention to related institutional failings. By working within a hemispheric dialogue across Indigenous America, this project draws out types of multivalent Indigenous resistance to settler-states, identifies the lasting effects of colonial patriarchies, and demonstrates how much settler-state power rests on the erasure of Indigenous women.

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## **Dedication**

To my sister, Shannon, for listening, reading, and listening some more. To my mother, Sheila, for telling me to do what I love, even when it doesn't come easy. And to my father, Mark, for always turning on the lights.

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facilitate the identification of those maps and my ability to reproduce them here include the Library of Congress, The Huntington Library, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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## Introduction

In the summer of 1781, United States commissioners met with Cherokee leaders in what is today northeastern Tennessee. They discussed white settlers encroaching into Cherokee lands and the resulting violent outbreaks. The talks would result in the 1781 Peace Treaty of Long Island on the Holston, which primarily established a temporary peace between each nation and included a prisoner exchange. Unfortunately, the surviving negotiation transcripts are heavily damaged, with large sections deteriorated or torn away and likely with multiple pages missing. However, what remains of the diplomatic talks include several moments that epitomize the relationship between settler-colonialism, nation building, and colonial patriarchy.<sup>1</sup> Each of which are the interrelated concepts that I explore in this project.

On Saturday, July 28th, 1781, the third day of negotiations, a Cherokee leader identified as Tassel reflected on past broken treaties between the United States and the Cherokee.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the speeches given earlier in treaty negotiations, Tassel did not shy away from speaking plainly and openly about earlier treaty breakage. He reflected that four years prior:

When I was at Home in Peace and [ ], many of my / People at Times, would come up the River hunting, not / expecting the white People had gone so far out as they had / and there the white People [ ] plunder my People by / taking their Horses,[ ] and Kettles. All this did / not satisfy my elder Brothers.<sup>3</sup>

In this statement Tassel gives specific examples of how the past treaty between the United States and Cherokee Nation was broken on the part of white settlers. In focusing on these particular offenses, he makes clear that the treaty breaking is most of all a violation of national space. The encroachment of settlers is described as unexpected, disruptive, and intrusive not only to individual Cherokees but also to systems of travel (i.e. “come up the river”), systems of subsistence (the taking of horses and kettles), and the land on which Cherokees live (i.e. “gone as far out”). The invasion of Cherokee space represents the prolonged, disruptive nature of settler-

colonial land grabs. The contested lands referenced by Tassel indicate a space of conflict between Euro-American and Cherokee cultures. In such a statement, Tassel—and much of these 1781 negotiations—encapsulate the messy nature of contact zones within Indigenous and settler-colonial space.<sup>4</sup>

### Hybrid Contact Zones

To understand the types of spaces and contact zones that make up this study, I offer some of the core theoretical concepts at the center of this project. I turn first to settler-colonialism. Colonialism and settler-colonialism differ in that the latter involves colonists working to permanently occupy the space, actively supplanting existing nations or power structures, and expanding in physical size and numbers to become the dominant class. Lorenzo Veracini further explains that settler-colonialism “is premised on the domination of a majority that has become indigenous (settlers are made by conquest *and* immigration), external domination exercised by a metropolitan core and a skewed demographic balance are less relevant definitory traits.”<sup>5</sup> More specifically, Patrick Wolfe distinguishes between colonialism and settler-colonialism in that colonialism’s Indigenous populations are indispensable since the colonizer largely relies on Indigenous peoples for the import and export of goods, maintaining formal control of space, and to make up the majority of the colonized population. In contrast, settler-colonialism’s Indigenous peoples become dispensable because the settler takes on the roles that the Indigenous population would occupy under colonialism, i.e. Veracini’s settler who “has become indigenous.” In order to make way for the settler to do so, Indigenous populations must be reduced to a negligible minority within settler-colonialism.<sup>6</sup>

One example of a settler-colonial mindset at work comes from the rejection of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007 by Australia,

Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. In the settler-colonial mindset as described by Veracini and Wolfe, Indigenous populations must be supplanted and erased to achieve settler dominance. In the case of UNDRIP, opposition could be interpreted as disregarding Indigenous rights because Indigenous peoples were considered no longer present in a settler-colonial imaginary. Within Indigenous Studies, a comparison of UNDRIP opposition would focus on Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States as continuing settler-colonial erasure of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous rights, especially concerning Indigenous control of land. However, through a hemispheric approach it is possible to draw out a disconnect in the above settler-colonial view of Indigenous peoples. Except for Colombia, which abstained, all countries in the Americas south of the United States-Mexico border voted to approve UNDRIP. Without a North-South hemispheric approach, Indigenous Studies runs the risk of maintaining an Anglo-exceptionalist approach (i.e. focusing on Indigenous populations within Anglo-European colonized spaces) even if scholars also advocate for Indigenous national sovereignty, self-determination, and resistance. In order to achieve decolonization goals within Indigenous Studies, it is necessary to extract scholarship from an Anglo-, or even Franco-, exceptionalist view, even if such a view is unintentional.

Under settler-colonialism, concepts like modernity, coloniality, and capitalism become conflated. One way to navigate the networked connections between such concepts is through Walter Mignolo's "colonial matrix of power," which might more adequately be termed a "settler-colonial matrix of power" in regard to Indigenous populations that underwent and largely still live under settler-colonial rule. Mignolo's power matrix consists of several components that exert control on the underlying population: (1) knowledge and subjectivity, (2) the economy, (3) authority, and (4) race, gender, and sexuality.<sup>7</sup> Mignolo bases his power matrix on Anfal

Quijano's "coloniality of power" which positions race and racial hierarchies as an invention of colonialism in order for the colonizer to maintain power over the colonized.<sup>8</sup> Within Indigenous Studies, it is possible to see Mignolo's and Quijano's theories of colonial power as reliant on settler-manipulated race and gender hierarchies. Such power dynamics often reside at the core of the hybrid contact zones discussed in this project like those present in the Treaty at Long Island on the Holston negotiations.

Treaties and treaty negotiations, like that which occurred in 1781, almost always represent a sort of contact zone via the land being fought over and the clash of cultures present at the negotiation table. In her presidential address to the Modern Language Association, Mary Louise Pratt first coined the term contact zone as "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths."<sup>9</sup> Contact zones, like settler-colonialism and nationalism, have been explored within Indigenous studies, but I contend still often suffer from the sort of binary opposition to which Linda Tuhiwai Smith alludes to in her seminal work, *Decolonizing Methodologies*. In her discussion of imperialism, history, writing, and theory, Smith questions multiple constructs about history, such as the idea that history is a totalizing discourse, that there is a universal history, that history is one large chronology, that it is about development and progress, that history can be told in one coherent narrative, that it is constructed around binary categories, and that history is patriarchal.<sup>10</sup> At the core of each construct that Smith identifies is the dominance of settler-colonial narratives in telling Indigenous stories, as well as the binary opposition placed between settler and Indigenous produced narratives. Certain works, like Richard White's *The Middle Ground* or Kathleen DuVal's *The Native Ground*, work

to reverse settler-dominant histories as a totalizing or universal discourse.<sup>11</sup> As such, both works emphasize Indigenous voices and Indigenous histories within Indigenous spaces.

Both White and DuVal might also be read as highlighting Indigenous/colonial contact zones, whether that is in the Great Lakes Region or the Arkansas River Basin. White's work emphasizes a mutual relationship of accommodation and commonality between European fur traders and Indigenous suppliers. In contrast, DuVal argues for incorporation of Europeans within Indigenous cultural systems in an Indigenous controlled space. While both scholars present Indigenous-centered histories with complex cultural interactions, often they still rely on the binary opposition of Indigenous and European ways of being. However, Indigenous/settler-colonial contact zones are significantly more convoluted in that the distinctions between Indigenous actors and settler-colonial ones are often blurred. These hybrid contact zones sometimes contain negative outcomes for all participants and often include undercurrents of insidious power dynamics within and across settler-states and Indigenous peoples alike.

#### Nancy Ward's Interjection

Following Tassel's list of wrongdoings to Cherokee Nation by white settlers, Nancy Ward, a Cherokee beloved woman, arose to speak. A *Ghigau* or most beloved woman, like Ward, would have sat in both war and peace council meetings, including the women's council, determined outcomes for war captives, and participated as a crucial member of many ceremonies.<sup>12</sup> As such, Ward held an incredible position of power that Euro-American colonists never seemed to quite understand. This lack of understanding carries over to scholarship. Ward is often misrepresented in settler-state mythology and scholarship alike by reducing her power into the single act of saving a white woman.<sup>13</sup> Like many of the Indigenous figures that populate this project, Ward often gets positioned as supportive of the colonizing mission. Key to unraveling

such narratives is to consider Ward's actions and rhetoric as existing within a contact zone of conflicting worldviews.

The transition from Tassel to Ward in the negotiation transcripts is heavily deteriorated, with multiple lines, including Ward's introduction, if one ever existed, having been lost. Today, it is only possible to tell where Tassel ends and Ward begins by personal references made within each speech and, most significantly, by the different kinship terms used. Tassel, like his other male Cherokee counterparts, relies on the language of brother, specifically elder brother, throughout the negotiations. In contrast, Ward uses mother and son kinship terms. The same sort of kinship terms are used in one of the last days of negotiations when a group of Cherokee women addressed the commission. Before discussing the significance of Ward's kinship terms and Col. William Christian's response, it is necessary to consider the remnants of Ward's preceding few lines.

The last part of Ward's speech, which relies most heavily on mother/son kinship terms are the most often cited in scholarship. However, Ward's few preceding lines receive little attention. Likely, this is due to scholars' heavy reliance on Samuel Cole Williams's discussion of the 1781 treaty negotiations, which only quote Ward's most famous lines.<sup>14</sup> Such a reliance on Williams's quotes causes several problems. Perhaps the most significant is the scholarly loss of the other parts of Ward's speech. Another problem is the assumption that his transcription, not only of Ward's but of Tassel's speeches, is accurate.<sup>15</sup> One sizable omission on Williams's part is Tassel's "calling-out" of white encroachment on Cherokee lands. Ward makes a similar rhetorical move, which Williams equally omits.

Even though the beginning of Ward's speech is lost, we know she eventually adopted a direct style of address similar to that of Tassel. Ward bluntly told U.S. Commissioners,

You came [ ] and settled on our Land / and took it [ ] main Force; therefore / we call you [ ] If by then will you quarrel with us. [ ] the former Treaty, held on / this beloved ground [ ] We know the white People / are more and stronger than us but will you take every Thing / from us and let us starve.<sup>16</sup>

In the remnants of this address, Ward points out that the United States forcibly took land from Cherokees. Even though only fragments remain, Ward's rhetoric appears to demand the attention of the U.S. Commissioners, and her statements on white violence are not open to debate.

Moreover, Ward's matter-of-fact statement is quickly followed with a rhetorical question that simultaneously draws on feelings of colonial paternalism. First, she offers the admission that "the white People / are more and stronger than us." Ward's admission positions the Cherokee as dependent on the United States. It also appeals to the paternalistic egos of the U.S. military officers who sit before her. After rhetorically positioning the Commissioners in seats of paternal power, Ward proceeds to ask "will you take every Thing / from us and let us starve." Unlike Tassel, who never directly asks the Commissioners for help or alludes to a dependent relationship, Ward seems perfectly comfortable doing so. As her later use of mother-son kinship terms further emphasizes, Ward appears cognizant of Euro-American gender relations in her appeal to the power and protection of the male U.S. Commissioners.

Ward's rhetorical bait-and-switch in the above lines begins to illustrate the sort of hybrid contact zones that populate this study. Ward asserts Cherokee sovereignty and nationhood by bluntly positioning white settler's actions as an invasion; after all, it is impossible to invade a space that is not independently sovereign. At the same time, she appeals to and even positions herself within Euro-American gender constructions as requiring the masculine protection of her fictive "sons," the U.S. Commissioners. Pratt terms such an adoption of colonial norms by Indigenous peoples as autoethnographic texts, or "a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them."<sup>17</sup> According to



Pratt these types of blended texts have multiple audiences and multiple meanings. I take this one step further to say Ward, and other actors within hybrid contact zones, use “representations others have made of them” and even core aspects of colonial culture within their texts in ways that resist or speak back against the colonizing power.

The hybridity of Indigenous/settler contact zones is evident if we juxtapose Pratt’s definition of contact zones with Homi Bhabha’s theories of hybridity. In his interrogation of the concepts of nation, narration, and hybridity, Bhabha argues that the “temporality of culture and social consciousness” make the nation a conceptual object that is highly dependent on the “performativity of language in the narratives.”<sup>18</sup> In other words, a changing national narrative (since narratives change over time and space) subsequently affects the social and cultural perceptions of the nation itself. In this way, the nation does not shape the culture but rather the culture shapes the nation. By exposing the nation as an ambiguous space built on multiple narrative performances, Bhabha questions the concept of a homogenous nation. Furthermore, Bhabha contends that people are “constructed within a range of discourses,” which continues to trouble an ideologically homogenous nation.<sup>19</sup> Narrative hybridity, according to Bhabha, is especially present among minority groups who exist on the margins of the nation. Bhabha’s theories of national hybridity demonstrate how actors within contact zones also produce multiple narratives that do not necessarily rest in stark opposition to one another. As this project will show, not all hybrid contact zones are necessarily purposeful or positive. The binary opposition between Indigenous and settler-state becomes blurred as Ward uses her ability to reside in the middle, largely through exploiting gender relations within settler-colonial culture all the while maintaining her position of power as a Beloved woman in Cherokee Nation.

Despite the hybridity inherent within national cultures, Kwame Anthony Appiah claims that national culture and other similar collective identities have a tendency to exert dominance over other identities.<sup>20</sup> However, the hybrid identity still exists as a readily apparent undercurrent that, I contend, pushes back against settler-colonial narratives of dominance. The hybrid nature of such resistant identities takes on or blends components of the settler-colonial nation-state. That is why Nancy Ward in the 1781 treaty negotiations can blend Cherokee and United States meaning when she positions herself as a woman and mother, and why Col. William Christian can recognize and dismiss Ward's agency as a Cherokee Beloved woman while simultaneously maintaining his identity as a Euro-American Christian man.

Ward uses her position as a woman to appeal to the morality of the U.S. Commissioners in a way that Tassel and other Cherokee men at the negotiations cannot. She follows up her rhetorical question with her most famous lines, which also conclude her entire speech:

We did never concern in the [ ] Treaty, which has been / broken, but we do in this, and on our Recount, who are / your Mothers, let it never [ ] broken. You know Women / are always looked upon as nothing; but we are your Mothers. / You are our Sons. Our [ ] all for Peace; let it continue / because we are Your Mothers. This Peace must last forever. / Let your Women's Sons be ours, and let our Sons be yours. / Let your Women hear our Words.<sup>21</sup>

As Ward's most quoted lines from the 1781 negotiations, there already exist a number of scholarly interpretations. Most often scholars note the sort of power dynamics Ward references in exerting her position not only as a Beloved woman but also as the U.S. Commissioners' figurative mother in her matriarchal society. For instance, Laura Donaldson compares Ward's statements at the 1781 negotiations with her 1817 petition to the Cherokee Council as evidence that Cherokee women lost substantial political standing during the first several decades after the American Revolution.<sup>22</sup> Donaldson goes on to note that Ward's and Col. Christian's uses of "woman" and "same woman" demonstrate a misunderstanding on the part of the colonial

patriarchy represented by Col. Christian, to understand a woman outside of a patriarchal system as linked to Christianity. While I do not disagree with Donaldson's claim that Col. Christian misunderstood Ward, it is necessary to modify the reading of Ward's use of kinship terms in light of the rhetorical moves she makes in her earlier lines. Because Donaldson does not discuss the earlier lines and cites Pat Alderman's quote of them, who cites William's quote of Ward rather than the manuscript transcripts themselves, it is not possible for Donaldson to read Ward's kinship terms within that context.

Without Ward's calling out of white violence or her rhetorical plea for help from the U.S. Commissioners, the end of her speech is most evidently interpreted as a display of her power within Cherokee society and attempting to remind the Commissioners of that power. Her famous lines also demonstrate a distinction between Cherokee gender relations and Euro-American ones. When Ward says "You know Women / are always looked upon as nothing; but we are your Mothers" scholars like Donaldson explain this as a description of women within the settler-colonial patriarchy (i.e. "you"), but not of Ward's own position (i.e. "but we are your Mothers"). Ward is still in a space where she can exert agency, and in these lines she does so. It is that agency which Christian is unable to recognize.

However, when Ward's kinship terms are put in context with her earlier lines, the use of "you," "we," and "women" changes. First she points out that "we," as in women, were not included in the previous Treaty negotiations. More significantly, Ward seems to imply a causal relationship between not consulting Cherokee women, as traditional peacekeepers, and the breakage of the former treaty when she says, "We did never concern in the [ ] Treaty, which has been / broken, but we do in this." By recognizing the, "on our Recount, who are / your Mothers, let it never [ ] broken" that comes immediately before the oft-quoted, "You know Women" line,

it is possible to re-read Ward's use of the second person. Rather than only drawing a distinction between how women were treated within Euro-American society, Ward allows the second person to occupy the same sort of complex in-between space of a messy contact zone similar to how she uses her gender to do the same several lines before. In the first instance Ward's use of second person could once again position her within both Euro-American and Indigenous realms. By relating herself and the other women present as mothers to the U.S. Commissioners, Ward similarly speaks to a colonial paternalism, basing the promise of the treaty on the ability of her "sons" to keep a promise to their "mothers."

### Erasing Indigenous Women

In addition to noting that Ward exerts her own power as a Beloved woman in her most famous quote from the 1781 treaty negotiations, scholarship also often discusses Col. Christian's response. Typically, Christian's response is interpreted as a misunderstanding of Ward's position within Cherokee society through his statement that, "Our Women shall hear your Words and we know will / feel and think of them. We all descended from the same / Woman; we will not quarrel with you, because you are / our Mothers."<sup>23</sup> In this response, Christian only positions Euro-American women as hearing Ward's words, and not the U.S. Commissioners, who are the actual audience. In this way, Christian not only misunderstands Ward's exertion of agency, from both her allusions to Euro-American mother/son relationships and her position in Cherokee society, but Christian also engages in the settler-colonial practice of erasing Indigenous women. By positioning an absent audience, Euro-American women, as the recipients of Ward's address, Christian can bypass much of the content of Ward's speech.

Like Ward's popular lines, Christian's misunderstanding as currently discussed in scholarship can also benefit from added context found in the remaining negotiation manuscripts.

A sizeable portion of Christian's response is lost, but I reproduce what remains below:

Mothers,

We have listened well to your Talk, it is humane / soft and [ ]. No Man can hear it, without being / [ ] by it. Such Words and Thoughts from unlearned / Women shows to the World that human Nature is the same. / [ ] your [ ] World [ ] / are the same; the color [ ] in the Heart / or Mind. Your People [ ]. Let your Sons / be brought up with [ ] be the same; and / bring ours up with you, [ ] be the same as / yours.

Our Women shall hear your Words and we know will / feel and think of them. We all descended from the same / Woman; we will not quarrel with you, because you are / our Mothers. We will not meddle with your People / if they will be still, and quiet at Home, and let us / live in Peace.<sup>24</sup>

Even though the first paragraph is heavily deteriorated, it is possible to discern Christian's view of Ward as existing within Euro-American gender norms. In describing Ward as "humane" and "soft." At the same time Christian does not recognize the sort of blending between Euro-American and Cherokee worlds that Ward relies on in her speech. Instead Ward is an "unlearned" woman. Perhaps more significant than the fragments that occur prior to Col. Christian's references to Christianity (i.e. "We all descended from the same / Woman"), is the sentence that occurs after. In this line, Christian reinforces his distinction between Euro-American and Cherokee peoples. The onus of keeping the peace is placed on Cherokees and their ability to "be still and quiet." By placing the responsibility for peace as well as any acts of violence committed by settlers on to the Cherokee, Christian does more than misunderstand Ward's kinship terms.

Like Tassel and Ward's calling out and Ward's blending of gender norms within each culture, Col. Christian, I wager, uses a similar, if more sinister, rhetorical move. The first several sentences of his second paragraph work as a cursory dismissal of Ward's exertion of power

within the negotiations. Whether Christian misunderstands Ward's position within Cherokee society and the kinship power on which she draws or if he only sees her as functioning within Euro-American gender norms, he quickly bypasses her several calls for peace on the part of white settlers by repeating her words back to her with the inclusion of Christian religious belief. After which, he too makes a rhetorical switch that suggests prior acts of violence committed against Cherokees were the fault of Cherokees themselves. By allowing for multiple levels of meaning in Ward's and Christian's speeches, it is possible to see that neither stands in binary opposition within this contact zone. Instead, both blend and reject aspects of each culture so that their presumed binary opposition is no longer binary.

This project does not only consider the hybrid ways in which contact zones take shape within settler-colonial space. It also considers how that space rests on the establishment of colonial patriarchies that erase Indigenous women as integral to maintaining colonial power dynamics. In the 1781 negotiations, this erasure is evidenced by Christian's refusal to admit Ward's position within Cherokee society. As such, I turn to Gloria Anzaldúa's notion of hybridity as related to the rape of her Borderland body. Diverse types of hybridity, as elucidated by Anzaldúa, break down the reading norms of theory and help to question sites of knowledge production. Anzaldúa illustrates her theory of hybridity through the concept of borders, such as when she writes: "Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them*. A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition."<sup>25</sup> Borderlands, as explained by Anzaldúa, are hybrid spaces that reside between "us" and "them," such that the space includes the people and cultures of both us and them, while also allowing for the formation of new hybrid versions. If Borderlands are read

as types of contact zones, then those Borderland peoples and cultures are necessarily hybrid. In this way, the contact zone that includes such hybrid cultures must also be hybrid rather than dichotomous. By intimately connecting her Borderland identity to the border's metaphorical rape of her body, specifically, "running down the length of my body, / staking fence rods in my flesh," Anzaldúa also links contact zones (as represented by the border) with violence against women.<sup>26</sup> However, the linkage between settler-colonialism, colonial patriarchies, and violence or even erasures of women, especially Indigenous women, is not confined to Anzaldúa. By combining discussions of sexual domination in radical feminism of the 1970s and 1980s with Franz Fanon's discussion of colonialism as patriarchy, Amber Musser argues that "we can see how distance and voyeurism collude to regulate the colonial subject and how crippling objectification prevents meaningful connection, thereby enacting a form of antisociality."<sup>27</sup> In other words, transforming colonized peoples into objects, the colonizer effectively removes the colonized subjects' agency and communicative abilities. Moreover, by erasing Indigenous women's traditional roles within their societies, patriarchal colonialism also refuses to acknowledge cultural and governmental systems that include women as more than sexual objects. Through the combination of patriarchal colonialism with gendered erasure, and not only via sexual objectification, a dominant racial hierarchy was established within the Americas.

### The Hemispheric Turn

In reading the 1781 treaty negotiations as a clash of cultures where each culture does not stand in binary opposition to one another, it is possible to see such hybrid contact zones as spaces that allow for a healthy nationalism that incorporates a transnational approach across the Western Hemisphere. This sort of hemispheric nationalism, as further illustrated by this project's comparisons of texts across the Americas, draws out types of multivalent Indigenous resistance

to settler-states, identifies the lasting effects of colonial patriarchies, and demonstrates how settler-state power rests on the erasure of Indigenous women.

Except for the first chapter, which considers how some initial Indigenous/settler power dynamics, particularly in regard to racial hierarchies and the dehumanization of Indigenous peoples, were formed in the early decades of contact, this project focuses on contact zones after the rise of nation-states in the nineteenth century. With that in mind, this project takes multiple visual and textual forms and genres in its investigation of settler-colonial space. Some texts fit more neatly into traditional literary studies, like Chapter 2's Peruvian novel and Dakota autobiography, Chapter 5's Anishinaabe novel, and Chapter 5's two films from the deserts of Mexico and Arizona. However, many of this project's texts fall outside of traditional literary study, like cartographic illustrations, bilingual newspapers, online blog and social media posts, and government reports. This project's textual scope not only speaks to the need to open literary studies to a broader set of cultural texts, but also allows scholars to see hybrid contact zones as a concept that is not confined to traditionally defined literary texts. By including a broad range of genres, this project demonstrates the value of cross-genre comparative work as the kind of engagement necessary within decolonial scholarship because these comparisons more readily work to break down dominant historical narratives.

This project's comparative approach also allows scholarship to argue for inclusive rather than exclusive types of nationalism. Transnational and hemispheric methodologies make it possible to recognize the importance of Indigenous sovereignty, while maintaining the importance of other foci. In that vein, this project adds to a growing body of scholarship, like that of Chadwick Allen and Shari Huhndorf, who seeks to foster comparative work between North



American Indigenous cultures with Indigenous cultures from around the world. For instance, in Allen's *Trans-Indigenous*, he argues:

The point is not to displace the necessary, invigorating study of specific traditions and contexts but rather to complement these by augmenting and expanding broader, globally Indigenous fields of inquiry. The point is to invite specific studies into different kinds of conversations, and to acknowledge the mobility and multiple interactions of Indigenous peoples, cultures, histories, and texts.<sup>28</sup>

In other words, Allen expresses the dual need of Indigenous studies to uphold the importance of local Indigenous concerns, whether that is figured in terms of a nation or not, while also recognizing how bringing together different Indigenous groups allows for new conversations about issues that cannot be had if the conversation happens only at the national level. Similar to Allen, Huhndorf defines Indigenous transnationalism as an “alliance[s] among tribes and the social structures and practices that transcend their boundaries, as well as processes on a global scale such as colonialism and capitalism.”<sup>29</sup> In other words, transnationalism specifically offers Indigenous studies a way to grasp the cultural hybridity within Indigenous and settler-colonial spaces, as well as a way to read global, national, racial, or gendered influences on Indigenous/Settler contact zones. For instance, it is possible to read LeAnne Howe's *Shell Shaker* as displaying a Choctaw narrative temporality. But what sort of new insights are gained if we consider the novel's narrative network in comparison to similar networks in Graciela Limón's *Erased Faces*, which subsequently draws on Mayan cosmology?

By focusing on the Western Hemisphere, and specifically along a North-South axis rather than an East-West axis, this project also adds to the even smaller body of work, namely M. Bianet Castellanos's, Lourdes Gutiérrez Nájera's, and Arturo J. Aldama's collection *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas*, that currently attempts a move towards a Hemispheric Indigenous Studies. In comparing texts from across cultures and time spans, I adapt

the transnational methodologies of scholars like Allen, Smith, and Huhndorf within American Studies's hemispheric turn. Despite current and historical migrations across the Americas, little scholarship exists that attempts to put Indigenous literatures from the hemisphere into conversation. Works like Anna Brickhouse's *The Unsettling of the Americas* or Jace Weaver's *The Red Atlantic* do make significant attempts to bring different hemispheric locales into dialogue.<sup>30</sup> In doing so, however, they still unknowingly reinforce North American exceptionalism—or as Smith might describe it, they still subscribe to a totalizing historical discourse. Other North American Indigenous scholarship that connects with the rest of the hemisphere often fails to actually reference Latin American texts or authors, instead focusing on U.S. or Canadian texts set in Latin America, like James Cox's *The Red Land to the South*.<sup>31</sup> Likewise, scholarship that connects Latin America with the U.S. or Canada tends to emphasize an Indigenous past, as pointed out in Sheila Marie Contreras' *Blood Lines*, or work to connect Indigenous Latin America only to Chicanos/as, as does Jose Saldívar's *Trans-Americanity* or Elisa Facio's and Irene Lara's *Fleshing the Spirit*.<sup>32</sup> My project takes a North-South hemispheric approach so that the hybrid nature of contact zones within settler-colonial space has the potential to form networks across the hemisphere rather than further divide it along national borders.

Some developments towards a Hemispheric Indigenous Studies have been made in the edited collection *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach* and *Comparative American Studies*'s 2013 special issue. As a body of scholarship, Hemispheric Indigenous Studies is still relatively new, with only a handful of collected editions and journal special issues. As I allude to above, George Hartley also points toward issues within Native North American Studies for re-enacting US exceptionalism in how they prioritize texts and issues.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, as indicated by Penelope Kelsey, Latin American Studies is often

critiqued for neglecting the Indigenous aspects of many of Latin American mixed raced inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> While certainly a significant amount of Latin American Studies scholarship discusses Indigenous groups, cultures, and identities, the tendency to ignore Indigenous ancestry, as pointed out by several Hemispheric Indigenous Studies critics, is related to the positioning of Indigenous ancestry in the past, such as invoking Aztlán as the ancient homeland of the Aztecs prior to their migration south to central Mexico.<sup>35</sup> In this way, contemporary indigeneity gets left out. In addition to the critiques of North and Latin American focused studies, Hemispheric Indigenous Studies examines the national frame by calling attention to the ways in which we can see the connections between American Indigenous groups. In this way, studies such as Antonio Barrenechea's and Heidrun Moertl's, look at how pan-Indigeneity can be interrogated when created or prescribed by the settler-state or dominant settler-state culture, but also how pan-Indigeneity can help establish connections that form an Amerindian culture or identity while still maintaining the importance of tribally specific traditions and knowledge.<sup>36</sup>

### A Clash of Nationalisms

At its most basic level, a nation is a political nation-state recognized by other political nation-states. At a more complex level, nations can be a great many things. For example, Benedict Anderson argues that the nation can only exist as an imagined community since no person can know all other people within the nation.<sup>37</sup> In contrast, Eric Hobsbawm argues that land becomes the figure of the nation because people are undoubtedly linked to a specific space.<sup>38</sup> While both Anderson and Hobsbawm, among many others, define the nation differently, space remains a crucial factor. For Hobsbawm land is the utmost symbol of the nation, and for Anderson, land determines the imagined community's boundaries. Within Indigenous U.S. and Canada, a nation similarly relies on space but often as outlined in treaties, federal recognition, or

court cases. Working with this definition, American Indian Literary Nationalism, according to Craig Womack, focuses on the nation as the most important lens for literary analysis.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, Jace Weaver claims that Indigenous Studies scholarship should primarily advocate for Native nations and national sovereignty.<sup>40</sup>

Within Indigenous Studies, scholarship that upholds the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples is crucially important, and yet, I disagree with Womack and Weaver about the importance literary nationalism should hold. In the sort of comparative work this project pursues, literary nationalism cannot be the primary focus. The term “nation” cannot be applied to many of the spaces, peoples, and texts I will talk about in this project because many Indigenous peoples, especially within Latin America, do not have independent political nation-states, but are rather incorporated into the settler-state. Through incorporation, many Latin American Indigenous groups face erasure through the relegation of indigeneity to the past. With some exceptions, many Indigenous groups within Latin America work to improve relations with their settler-state and better the lives of their people within the settler-state framework.<sup>41</sup> The lack of Indigenous nation-state designation, and thus the legal differences between Indigenous and settler-state spaces in places like the United States and Mexico, underlies the motivation for many of my comparisons. When Indigenous Studies scholars, such as Womack, Weaver, or Elizabeth Cook-Lynn among others, argue for the importance of literary nationalism first, they inherently, if inadvertently, erase many Indigenous peoples who are not part of an Indigenous nation-state, especially those residing south of the U.S.-Mexico border.

Within a Latin American context, other scholars have also pointed towards the limits of a national frame. For example, Mignolo forwards the idea of the post-nation, which “conveys the dreams of and desire for the end of nation-state boundaries and opens doors to free trade.”<sup>42</sup>

However, Mignolo admits that in non-European (or really non-Western) spaces, post-national is “the affirmation of an identity that preceded the birth of nationalism in Europe and its dispersion around the world.”<sup>43</sup> Likewise, in *Trans-Americanity* Jose David Saldívar takes the stance that scholarship needs a unit of analysis beyond that of the nation-state. Ultimately, Saldívar seeks to illustrate how “state-centric thinking” limits much of contemporary American studies and posits instead a trans-American or global cultural studies that pays attention to the “multiple and overlapping levels of cultural production and critique” that occur in today’s global society.<sup>44</sup>

Both Mignolo and Saldívar imagine a global system of influence that moves beyond the national frame. Each of these scholar’s ideas allude to the need to escape European and United States centric modes of analysis as one reason for their critiques of nation-based organizational models.

In a more direct way, works like Caroline Levander’s and Robert Levine’s collection *Hemispheric American Studies* argue that the United States’ focus on literature in relation to the nation reproduces US exceptionalism within American Studies. As such, Hemispheric American Studies seeks to trouble US exceptionalism by focusing on connections between multiple locations within the American hemisphere. This project takes up Levander’s and Levine’s claim that “the nation as a relational identity that emerges through constant collaboration, dialogue, and dissension. Such a relational approach to national identity attends to the uneven power relations that form and are too often erased within concepts of national unity.”<sup>45</sup> I take up Mignolo’s, Saldívar’s, Levander’s, and Levine’s calls to move beyond the nation in terms of scholarly comparisons but not in reference to the political termination of Indigenous Nation-states attempted by the United States in the mid-twentieth century. If we apply Mignolo’s, Saldívar’s, Levander’s, and Levine’s critiques of the national frame and the desire to move beyond the nation as a type of methodological analysis for Indigenous studies, scholarship can move towards

ways in which an alternative analytical unit allows Indigenous populations to come together regardless of national affiliation.

Instead of Literary Nationalism via Womack and Weaver, I come down on the side of scholars like Huhndorf, who retain the importance of national sovereignty but also work to maintain a focus on other, equally important arguments; ones that I contend appear most readily in comparative studies. Huhndorf critiques North American Indigenous nationalism for being “primarily concerned with the cultural distinctiveness and political autonomy of individual tribes and with the redrawing of community boundaries after colonization.”<sup>46</sup> Instead she advocates for a transnational frame rather than national lens within North American Indigenous Studies. Within her critique, Huhndorf also points toward Native nationalists’ tendency to ignore certain Indigenous populations. One such group is Indigenous women. In the introduction to their collection, *Indigenous Women and Feminism*, Cheryl Suzack and Huhndorf remark on the consistent marginalization of Indigenous feminism within Indigenous studies and feminism writ-large. They particularly position Indigenous feminism against post-1960s Indigenous nationalism that “devalued issues of gender.”<sup>47</sup> As such, Huhndorf and Suzack argue that one of the most important issues within Indigenous feminism today includes “find[ing] a basis for collective political action and engagement in broader anti-colonial struggles that also addresses the particularities of Indigenous women’s social positions.”<sup>48</sup> Part of my project considers how certain hybrid contact zones might allow for Indigenous feminism’s “collective political action” to come forth.

Before embarking on this project’s discussions of specific hybrid contact zones, it is necessary to set up Euro-American conceptions of the Western Hemisphere and its Indigenous inhabitants. To do so, this project’s first chapter, “Cartographic Mythmaking,” considers

cartographic space as a hybrid contact zone. In the sixteenth century some of the first cartographic depictions of the Americas started to appear throughout Europe. Such maps were highly decorative in nature and formed an elite gift exchange among the European aristocracy who subsequently controlled public perceptions of the Americas and funded imperial missions to the New World. New maps and atlases were notable for their depictions of the constant state of European knowledge revision. The cartographic space of the Americas changed and grew as European sailors and cartographers gained more knowledge of the Western Hemisphere. Even though today we might consider these maps as evidently fictional, sixteenth century cartographers were attempting to create factual visual representations of a world of which they had little to no knowledge and that's peoples, landscapes, and resources Europeans had yet to encounter. By imaginatively filling in the gaps, so to speak, in their knowledge, these cartographers shaped imperial perceptions of the Americas and its peoples that lasted well into the nineteenth century. The settler-state myths established and embellished by these decorative maps form the basis of similarly constructed myths that led to assimilation, allotment, removal, and erasure within independent settler-states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Each successive chapter after the first illustrates hybrid contact zones of resistance to the settler-colonial mission and its myths. The remainder of this project considers moments of contact and conflict between Indigenous peoples and settler-states. Those moments do not contain clear binaries, and sometimes not even clear distinctions between Indigenous and settler-state actors. In these hybrid contact zones, it is possible to see new conceptions of a multifaceted Indigenous space and to reimagine Indigenous resistance as equally complex.

In examining Indigenous/Settler contact zones, especially in relation to colonial patriarchy and the erasure of Indigenous women, I start in the nineteenth century. Across the

hemisphere new independent settler-states began implementing various policies to promote the “civilization” of Indigenous Americans. Sometimes these policies took the form of official government platforms and other times of populist movements. Chapter 2, “The Civilized Indian,” considers practices of intermarriage and assimilation as attempted methods of reconciling Indigenous populations with settler-state’s national, cultural, and physical spaces. As such, the chapter juxtaposes a Peruvian novel, *Aves sin nido* (1889) by Clorinda Matto de Turner and Charles Eastman’s *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (1916). In scholarship, Eastman has long been a contentious figure, like Ward, who continues to face criticism for having assimilated via his Western education, conversion to Christianity, and marriage to a white woman. Besides problematizing that depiction of Eastman, this chapter also highlights the differences between assimilation narratives of Indigenous men and those of Indigenous women.

Chapter 3, “The Newsprint Indian,” illustrates how Cherokee Nation, through the form of 19th century print culture, adopted assimilationist rhetoric in order to argue against removal and for their own national sovereignty. Through the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Indigenous produced paper in the United States, the editor-in-chief, Elias Boudinot, overemphasized the “civilized” conversion of Cherokee Nation, including laws, religion, literacy, and daily life. Furthermore, by engaging in nineteenth century print networks via reprinting other paper’s articles and having its own articles reprinted, the *Phoenix* exposed its anti-removal argument to a wider audience. Boudinot, like Eastman and Ward, is still a highly contentious figure. Often he too is critiqued as being inauthentic due to his promotion of fictionalized assimilation narratives, education, religious practice, marriage to a white woman, and most significantly, his eventual support of Cherokee removal west of the Mississippi River. This chapter maintains that Boudinot was much more complex in his devotion to preserving Cherokee Nation, via the *Phoenix*, through



presenting his people as more “civilized” than he knew to be true. Like many other figures within Indigenous history, Boudinot finds a certain type of agency within (and often in conflict with) his own assimilation.

From Chapter 2 and 3’s focus on the nineteenth I move into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries for the final two chapters. Chapter 4, “The Indigenous Insurgent,” considers how Indigenous resistance takes shape with the advent of the internet. For that, I focus on the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN), as the first Indigenous activist movement to harness the power of the internet and continue to do so today. In today’s online posts, the EZLN often employs satirical references to Western pop culture in order to critique the global capital system that produces that pop culture in the first place. By using a sarcastic rhetoric, the EZLN harnesses the power of the internet while maintaining a conflicted stance towards the authenticity of such activism, especially when considered alongside their long and continued history of on-the-ground action in southern Mexico. Unlike the moments of resistance discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, this chapter also considers how the EZLN cues in on the role of Indigenous women within their movement. By bringing forth Indigenous women’s voices, recognition of multiple genders in their *comuniqúes*, and including women in positions of power within the organization, the EZLN combats settler-colonialism’s erasure of Indigenous women.

Finally, Chapter 5: “Gendered Resistance,” draws together threads from previous chapters to discuss how violence against Indigenous women and their continued colonial erasure remains an integral part of the settler-state patriarchal system. Within this discussion I juxtapose male-centered revenge narratives, namely Louise Erdrich’s *The Round House* and Jason Momoa’s 2014 film, *Road to Paloma*, with Carlos Carrera’s 2009 film, *El Traspatio*, which utilizes a female-centered narrative that considers broader institutional factors than either of the

male-dominated texts. Through such a comparison, violence against Indigenous women is shown as an indoctrinated crime that is still subject to a colonial patriarchy from settler-state and Indigenous peoples alike.

## Chapter 1

### Cartographic Mythmaking

Today when we think of maps, we often see them as tools of accuracy that help people navigate the world, that tell us how to get from point A to point B, where a river travels, a town lies, or a continent ends. Modern-day assumptions about maps as accurate cartographic representations are in fact just that: modern. The turn to accurate geographic representations gained ground during the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment put greater emphasis on the importance of the scientific method, and thus, more precise ways in which maps attempted to represent the world. Even though maps became more focused on accuracy, they still remained, as one could argue they do today, fictions designed to claim land. As just one example, we might consider the Mercator projection that can still be found in educational settings to teach world geography.<sup>1</sup> Besides the obvious scale problems that make the Northern Hemisphere significantly larger than the Southern Hemisphere, the map also centrally positions Western Europe and the United States, in turn placing all other locations on the margins.

One of the most significant influences on modern scientific cartography came from the work of Alexander von Humboldt. Between 1799 and 1804, Humboldt travelled Latin America, describing geography in what would later be recognized as one of the first modern scientific studies of the Western Hemisphere. Humboldt eventually became one of the most influential scholars of his time, with celebrations occurring to commemorate his life and work over a hundred years after his death. Significantly, Humboldt also influenced early nineteenth century explorations west of the Mississippi River funded by the United States. Explorers and surveyors such as Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and John Fremont drew on Humboldt's style of exact

measurement and detailed notes to create maps that would contribute to the United States' expansion to the Pacific Coast, and visually render the nation as fulfilling its Manifest Destiny.

Even though Humboldt's maps, charts, and reports established long-held scientific standards, some elements link his study of the Americas to a much longer cartographic history of artistry and embellishment. To elaborate on the significance of Humboldt's position as a fulcrum between the perceived scientific accuracy of maps and the long history of cartographic fictions, I turn briefly to the frontispiece of his 1814 atlas, *Atlas Géographique et Physique du Nouveau Continent*, by French painter François Gérard (see fig. 8).<sup>2</sup> The engraving depicts two Roman gods, Minerva and Mercury. It also depicts a third figure. Sometimes read as a symbol of the Americas, sometimes of only Latin America, or even only South America, the third figure is unquestionably Indigenous. Given the surrounding iconography and Humboldt's location during his travels, I would more specifically term this an Aztec figure.

The juxtaposition of the symbols of European and Indigenous America reinforce European civilization and the disappearance of Indigenous Americans, stereotypes that link Humboldt to centuries of cartographers. While I will return to a reading of this engraving at the end of the chapter, in order to first trace back and tease out some of the stereotypes relied on in the engraving, it is necessary to start much earlier than Humboldt. For this purpose, I start with mid-sixteenth century decorative maps and atlases. The sixteenth century is a key point in the era of exploration, and will produce cartographic iconography that shaped centuries' worth of depictions of Indigenous Americans.

As objects of decoration and display, mid-sixteenth century maps started to establish cultural conceptions about Indigenous Americans for European elite, who would shape settler-colonial perceptions about Indigenous peoples and American space. Those perceptions continued

to grow and become embedded within settler-colonial culture so much so that remnants remain in many of the hybrid contact zones explored in coming chapters. In order to discuss those later contact zones as instances of Indigenous resistance or speaking back to a settler-colonial worldview, it is necessary to establish how images in mid-sixteenth century maps simultaneously mythologized and dehumanized Indigenous Americans, and then how these images created a European popular imaginary that would ripple into future settler-colonial nation-states.

Before turning to myths created by such maps, some caveats need to be clarified. In this chapter, I do not cover how maps were made or technical elements, such as the different drawing or navigational techniques employed by different schools of cartography, but rather look at maps as interpretative objects that visually represent cultural knowledge, or the creation and dissemination of cultural knowledge. Additionally, I focus primarily on one cartographic school of style and its depictions of the Americas. The selected maps are mid-sixteenth century Norman maps prior to the publication of Theodore de Bry's illustrated travelogues in 1590. More commonly known as the Dieppe School of Cartography, Norman maps produced between 1540 and 1560 were decorative commodities that were displayed and circulated among European elite, and would have had a considerable impact on the creation of cultural knowledge of the Americas and its people more so than the practical, more detailed, and less illustrative maps or guides used by sailors and soldiers.

Even though it appears at least thirty years after decorative Norman maps, de Bry's work is often cited as firmly shaping European public conceptions of Indigenous Americans due to its popularity, having been printed in Latin, German, French, and English within years of its initial publication. In his discussion of de Bry and connections between monstrosity and alchemy, Sean Teuton explains that:

As Europeans broadened their experience geographically (and hence culturally) through trade and conquest, they were constantly forced to redefine their world: previous definitions of humans, animals, women, or men, and their “normal” behaviors were being called into question, and so definitions had to be written, categories invented, new boundaries drawn.<sup>3</sup>

Rather than compare the sense of “wonder” in European encounters as similar to alchemy, I apply Teuton’s broadening of European redefinitions of humanity to changes in cultural and geographical knowledge. This reapplication establishes not a sense of wonder (as in Stephen Greenblatt’s *Marvelous Possessions*) but rather notions of mythological savagery and dehumanization of non-Europeans.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, I contend that de Bry’s illustrations come out of an earlier trend within mid-century Norman maps that similarly mythologize and dehumanize Indigenous Americans. Equally important to this dehumanization was the overemphasis on European presence and power created by cartographic illustrations, which enforced European superiority in the Americas long before Europeans contacted or explored the majority of the hemisphere. Focusing on earlier images than de Bry positions these slightly earlier maps as more influential on the creation of cultural knowledge that lingers within settler-colonial worldviews.

When discussing these maps I use present-day place names to help orient readers. For instance, sixteenth century maps would sometimes use Canada, New France, or Labrador, among other names, when depicting the landmass along the easternmost coast of northern North America. However, other maps, like those of present day South America, would often use terms like Brazil, Peru, La Plata, Patagonia, or America Septentrionale, for the entire continent. In these instances, I will give the name used by the map, but also clarify the present-day place to which that refers. During the course of this chapter, I will use modern terminology when possible, and use specific names of people, places, and groups when those are determinable.

Fact vs. Fiction: Critical Cartography

This chapter's discussion of European maps positions such documents as illustrating a type of contact zone that brings several parties into conflict. Those parties in conflict include European colonial ideology that creates representations of Indigenous populations in the "New World" which conflict with Indigenous reality, European knowledge gaps, and ultimately, formed lasting settler-colonial cultural knowledge that comes into conflict with Indigenous peoples in each of the coming chapters. In position these maps as contact zones, I rely on Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* and her goal to interrogate how "travel books by Europeans about non-European parts of the world went (and go) about creating the 'domestic subject' of Euroimperialism."<sup>5</sup> Instead of looking at travel books from nearly a century after Indigenous-European contact, I consider how maps created simultaneously with or shortly after contact similarly created Euroamerican cultural knowledge about Indigenous peoples and the space of the Western Hemisphere. Within North American Indigenous Studies, domestic subjects, as defined by Beth Piatote, situates Indigenous peoples in opposition to the United States "as within but not of the settler nation."<sup>6</sup> Even though Piatote's book focuses on Indigenous domestic subjects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this project contends that the positioning of Indigenous peoples as "within but not of" started much earlier, as European empires sought to exert control over the Americas and began developing settler-colonial practices.

In modern Western society, it is commonly believed that good maps are accurate maps. Typical cartographic interpretations often position maps within dichotomous relationships of good or bad, true or false. J.B. Harley, however, contends that maps actually "redescribe the world—like any other document—in terms of relations of power and of cultural practices, preferences, and priorities."<sup>7</sup> Raymond Craib takes this concept one step further in claiming that because of their perceived objectivity, maps could arguably be "the most oppressive and

dangerous of all cultural artifacts” because they “may be the ones so naturalized and presumably commonsensical as to avoid critique.”<sup>8</sup> Since Harley, scholars, like Craib, have taken up the call to approach cartography in a more critical fashion, deconstructing maps to better understand the power dynamics encoded within them. Often, this occurs through considering the technical elements of the map, namely the map projection, grid system, or centerpoint, as demonstrated in my earlier example of the Mercator projection. However, little attention has been paid to the sociopolitical power contained within a map’s decorative elements.

### Mapmaking in Sixteenth Century Europe

The first images of Indigenous Americans came from illustrated versions of Columbus’s letter, and were further popularized by the publication of Amerigo Vespucci’s letters, after which depictions of Indigenous Americans became much more violent in nature. Early into Spanish conquest of Mexico, the Spanish king forbade the publishing of news about Mexico, primarily to hide it from other imperial rivals and potentially, to counter anti-Spanish publications that built the Black Legend. The Spanish Crown did allow the publication of news on Aztecs, so long as Aztecs were depicted in a negative light. As such, Oviedo’s *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* and its accompanying illustrations became very popular.<sup>9</sup> Because of this silencing from Spain, the majority of the images of Indigenous Americans produced in the mid-sixteenth century came from France, who had opened trade in both North and South America.

While some early sixteenth century travel books do contain images of the Americas and its peoples, it was not until Theodore de Bry that travel books started to become lavishly illustrated.<sup>10</sup> De Bry is credited as the first to illustrate travel in the Americas with *Historia Americae*, a series that began in 1590 and continued for a massive fourteen volumes, each including large engravings. As such, his work also served as the first extensive exposure of the



Americas to a European public. Notably, some early scholars such as Michael Alexander seemed to be quite biased towards de Bry and even claimed that his illustrations were “realistic.”

Alexander goes on to claim that travel books prior to de Bry which contained much fewer images were largely based on the “imagination of the artist or the untutored sketches of travellers.”<sup>11</sup> In actuality, de Bry’s illustrations were just as much based on imagination as fact since he too never crossed the Atlantic and could hardly stand up to today’s audience’s expectations of “realistic.” Rather, de Bry’s illustrations perpetuated stereotypes of Indigenous savagery found in maps created fifty years prior to his books, which would continue to dehumanize Indigenous Americans for centuries.

De Bry’s most well known illustrations were of cannibals and other acts of Indigenous violence. Henry Keazor traces many of de Bry’s illustrations back to earlier travel books and artists in demonstrating that even though de Bry might be responsible for popularizing such images, he certainly wasn’t their originator.<sup>12</sup> Even though Keazor teases out de Bry’s direct influences, primarily through tracing the illustrations back through the travels of others that de Bry reprinted in his volumes, nowhere does Keazor mention the significant number of illustrations contained in maps of the same time period, many of which are concurrent with or predate many of the expeditions de Bry retells. As a result, the impact of such maps on images of Indigenous Americans is again lost.

It is also important to note that a number of de Bry’s illustrations show Europeans in the Americas; but as a whole, the travelogue, even without necessarily depicting Europeans, sought to demonstrate European moral superiority over that of Indigenous peoples. According to Patricia Gravatt, de Bry also positioned Indigenous Americans as foils for European society, thus offering a mirror by which Europeans could examine their own civilization.<sup>13</sup> While this may be

a motivating factor, as de Bry even alludes to in the preface to his volumes, the longer lasting effect of de Bry's representations of Indigenous Americans is the cultural knowledge they purported to impart on his European audience. With this in mind, it is probable that the cultural conceptions popularized by de Bry's texts helped contribute to the growing European mission to either eradicate or civilize Indigenous populations.

The need for European empires to visualize their possession of the Americas is also expressed in map iconography. Stephanie Pratt, for instance, considers this need by analyzing the movement of illustrations of Indigenous peoples from within landmasses to cartouches to disappearing entirely as Europeans and later independent nations sought to dominate the Americas.<sup>14</sup> I would add that even as these illustrations move across and eventually off maps, European power and Indigenous savagery was constantly reinforced in each type of illustration, whether it was in the hinterland of the Americas, a map's border, or its cartouche. Such myths of Indigenous savagery, even once map decoration falls out of fashion in the eighteenth century, take hold in popular culture making its way into present day Hollywood, most notably through the Western genre. In making her argument, Stephanie Pratt, like others, locates images of Indigenous people in seventeenth and eighteenth century maps as stemming from de Bry's *Historia Americae*.<sup>15</sup> This perhaps is our greatest point of departure, as my discussion of mid-sixteenth century, and therefore pre-de Bry, maps shows. Despite de Bry's popularity, it is possible to see threads of the same type of illustrations in many earlier texts, primarily maps that also circulated among European elite. By considering the importance of these earlier maps on Europe's cultural construction of American space, it is possible to see the greater importance of mapmaking on cultural knowledge.

Of particular note are the highly decorated maps produced by Norman cartographers in the mid-sixteenth century. Most scholarship on sixteenth century Norman maps investigates the presence of a large, fictional land mass, identified as Java-la-Grande. Some cartographic historians attempt, with questionable success, to interpret the presence of Java-la-Grande as evidence of Portuguese exploration in Australia long before Dutch arrival.<sup>16</sup> Others, like Tony Campbell and Howard Worth, use Java-la-Grande to consider trends across the Dieppe school. Campbell, for instance, focuses on a world atlas, Egerton MS 1513, held in the British Museum that has received little attention by scholars, even though it is the largest work from the sixteenth century Norman school, and its stark differences in depicting Java-la-Grande. Other mapmakers, like Guillaume Le Testu included notes that explicitly stated that this land mass was imagined, supposedly to warn explorers that the area was unknown and thus to be careful of what they might find when sailing there. Egerton MS 1513, on the other hand, uses incredible detail and includes no note of explanation. Campbell thus posits that such detail should prevent anyone from remaining skeptical as to the argument that Java-la-Grande is Australia.<sup>17</sup> Even though I question such a claim about Java-la-Grande for a variety of reasons, I apply this logic to the detailed illustrations inside the land masses of the Americas. Europeans certainly knew that Indigenous people existed within the Americas, and such detailed illustrations of them within land they occupied on maps would by association create supposedly factual knowledge about those same people. After all, maps, however decorative or embellished, were still very much considered to be documents that conveyed knowledge.

Surviving works by Norman cartographers demonstrate that these maps were clearly meant to be decorative objects.<sup>18</sup> Due to their relatively good condition, large size, awkward scale, and extreme decoration, Sarah Toulouse argues Norman maps were always meant for



Fig. 1. John Smith, *Virginia*, 1606.

display or for libraries rather than ships.<sup>19</sup> In fact, sailors would have used portolan charts, or charts of ports, if they used maps at all. Throughout the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century, many sailors used dead reckoning, or a navigational method using compass headings, sailing times, and astronomy among other information, rather than maps.<sup>20</sup> If sailors were venturing inland, then they would likely have used more detailed maps when possible of rivers, mountains, known towns (including known Indigenous towns), and maps that would label land as belonging to certain groups (European and Indigenous alike). John Smith's 1606 map of Virginia demonstrates the differences between a primarily functional map and the purely decorative ones of the Dieppe school (fig. 1). The minimal decorative illustrations on Smith's map, like the scene on the left and the figure on the right, as well as several other illustrations in

his *Generall Historie* (1624) are likely copies or adaptations of de Bry's illustrations of *Virginia* from 1590 rather than found on an everyday use version of the map.<sup>21</sup>

Other maps like Smith's would have contained almost no decoration because the maps needed to be functional. These detailed maps, with rivers, landscape changes, and names of towns were not necessarily European creations either. As John Rennie Short explains in *Cartographic Encounters*, useful, navigational maps, like Smith's, were the product of "cartographic collaboration" between European explorers and Indigenous peoples, who actually contained the detailed spatial knowledge to create such documents.<sup>22</sup> Due to the functional use of such detailed maps, few quality examples remain of sixteenth century maps of the Americas that were used daily. Even examples like Smith's occur nearly sixty years after the decorative maps of the Dieppe School.

On the other hand, most of the decorative maps discussed in this chapter are too big to have been functional, let alone the cost of their decoration, which would have made them too valuable to put on a ship. As Surekha Davies explains, Norman decorative maps, due to their high-level of decoration were part of a sixteenth century gift economy:

Large, illuminated manuscript maps and atlases that were given as gifts embodied artefactual, intellectual, and political value. As expensive, decorative objects made by skilled artisans, they were status symbols that signalled the education and taste of those who commissioned and owned them. Their rarity and value indicated the high regard held by the donor for the receiver. Maps were also intrinsically intellectual artefacts. In the sixteenth century, they gave viewers a synthesized overview of a fast-changing world-picture, incorporating new information about numerous parts of the world.<sup>23</sup>

As prestige goods, mid-sixteenth century maps as "intellectual artefacts" contributed to a European popular imaginary about the Americas within the aristocratic gift economy. In this way, decorative maps further cemented notions of European dominance in the Americas before such power was actually achieved, as well as establishing longer lasting notions of Indigenous

savagery, disappearance, and wonder. The creation of myths of savagery and power by these maps is intimately tied to the mapping of land, and that act's production of space, borders, and centuries later, of nations.

### The Map and Empire

In the age of exploration and imperial expansion, maps played a crucial role. On a practical level, maps allowed imperial ships to transverse the world, enter ports safely, and eventually transport thousands of settlers to the New World. Maps, however, also functioned on an ideological level through the symbols they projected onto their depicted worlds and into their consuming societies. Empires named, renamed, and claimed lands they had no control over and often had very little physical presence in. Imperial ideology was not only confined to the technical representations of land and water or in the names ascribed onto spaces, but was readily apparent in a map's decorative elements. Some of these decorations served to dehumanize Indigenous Americans. More crucially in regard to emphasizing imperial power were the ways in which illustrations of settlers and soldiers exaggerated a European presence in the Americas.

Drawing on the work of Derrida and Foucault in his analysis, Harley points out that maps were often used by empires to claim lands on paper long before those same lands were successfully occupied.<sup>24</sup> Harley explains that "maps were used to legitimize the reality of conquest and empire" that often required the creation and dissemination of myths that furthered conquest aims.<sup>25</sup> Later, nation-states would use maps in a similar fashion. Likewise, W. Dirk Raat explains that as European conquest expanded, maps "reflected the geopolitical concerns of the colonizers," such as through the act of naming and positioning land under imperial control when in fact it was not.<sup>26</sup> Like Harley, Raat considers the rhetorical purpose of such a move, arguing that doing so allowed Europeans to cartographically create their own vision of

America.<sup>27</sup> In a similar way, Craib claims that the argument that spaces become places only when people assign meaning to them comes from a colonial mindframe that does not consider who assigned meaning to a space long before the arrival of colonial powers.<sup>28</sup> The process of depicting imperial control of land when it did not exist is similar to Linda Smith's discussion of the colonizer's control of history's totalizing discourse.<sup>29</sup> In order to decolonize sixteenth century maps, contemporary scholars must consider how the power claimed by Europeans was fabricated to fit a settler-colonial narrative. Scholars must reach for the history the map distorts as opposed to the one it creates. The European cartographic illusion of land control became the dominant, and sometimes only, stories told of those spaces. By interrogating the spatial meaning applied by an imperial cartographer, we are encouraged to not only ask, "how do they obscure the people who ascribed meaning to space prior to this one" but also "what are the ripple effects of such meaning" and "how is such space actually shared?"

To grasp the cultural capital of mid-sixteenth century cartographic decorations, particularly in reference to the place of empire in early periods of contact, I turn to a small collection of Norman decorative maps that primarily depict present-day Canada and South America. Notably the land that becomes the present-day United States is largely left out of this chapter. Primarily, this absence stems from confining this chapter's discussion to the Dieppe School and similar decorative maps from the mid-sixteenth century. At that point little European exploration of present day United States had occurred with Spanish Florida as the primary exception. As such, the majority of the decorative maps from this chapter's time frame focus on French explorations of present day Newfoundland, Labrador, and Hudson Bay in Canada, and Spanish, French, and Portuguese explorations of present day Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and Argentina.

Some debate occurs regarding initial contact between Europeans and Indigenous Americans due to continued archeological finds of Viking and European fishing presences along the North American coast. What is certain, is that the first European imperial claims on land in the Americas came with Christopher Columbus's 1492 journey to the Caribbean, which was quickly followed by multiple Spanish colonies within Central and South America. The first colony in present-day Canada was established by France in the 1530s. In contrast, the first colony outside of Spanish Florida wasn't established in the present-day United States until the 1600s. Shortly after initial European land claims in the early sixteenth century, Norman mapmakers began depicting the coast, often accompanied by rich illustrations.

One such map comes from the *Vallard Atlas* of 1547 (see fig. 2).<sup>30</sup> Nicolas Vallard was a French cartographer from the Dieppe school. His atlas, along with Jean Rotz's 1542 "Booke of Idrography," showcases many common features among this school, including intricately colored illustrations. The *Vallard Atlas*, as well as most other similar works, would have been displayed as a work of art, meant for wealthy Europeans rather than a useful tool for sailors and explorers. In Vallard's map of New France, we see Indigenous peoples around the edges, dressed in fur, armed with spears or bows. Some are looking toward the settlers and pointing, while others seem to look on in curiosity or go about daily activities like hunting. At the same time, settlers appear heavily armed, both in the large group standing in the foreground, and the settlers in the middleground of the map, who have erected ramparts, cannon and all. Despite the heavily armed appearance, the settlers seem to be standing around conversing rather than on the point of engaging with Indigenous peoples directly.



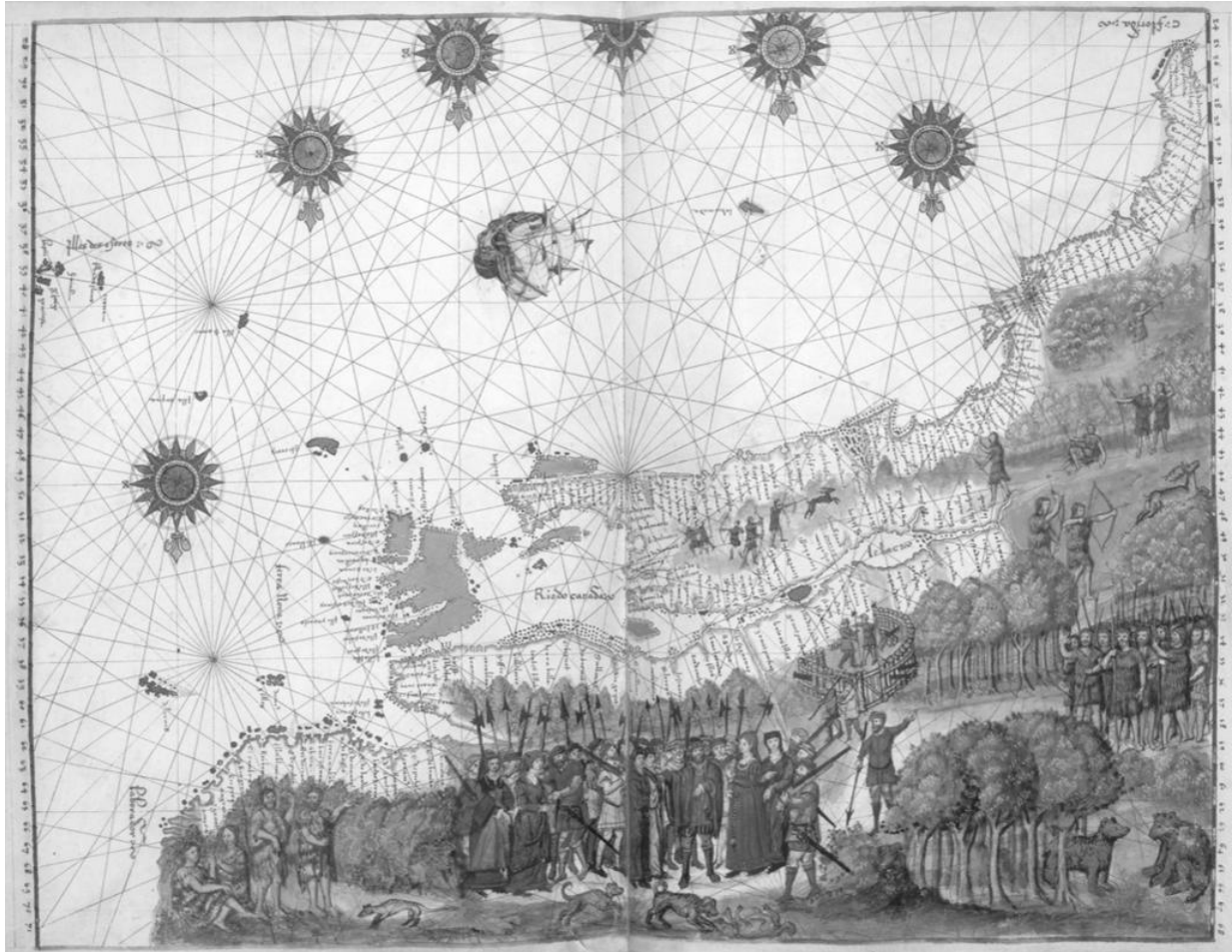


Fig. 2. “North America, east coast,” *Vallard Atlas*, 1547

Apparent in this map is the positioning of European figures in places of importance and Indigenous Americans on the periphery. Basic design principles tell us that a viewer’s eye is naturally drawn to the center of an image before looking at the edges, as well as considering the foreground before the middleground and then the background. By placing both groups of settlers and soldiers in the rough center of the map, and in the foreground and middleground, the cartographer draws the viewer to these illustrations first. Unlike the Europeans on the map, the Indigenous figures are located on the periphery. Only one small grouping appears in the foreground, while the largest grouping falls off the edge of the map in the middle ground. While Indigenous peoples are at least shown in this map (as opposed to the many maps that do not include them in this atlas), their presence is de-emphasized by their placement, as well as

appearing to equal or be less in number than their European counterparts. This suggests that imperial presence was already equal to that of an Indigenous one and that Europeans certainly held a position of greater power than that of Indigenous peoples on their own lands. Narratives of European's immediate dominance in the Americas lasted for centuries and arguably continue today. However, work by scholars like Richard White, Kathleen DuVal, and Michael Witgen among others, seek to reassert a Native presence and even dominance in the Americas long after the start of European settlement. In his discussion of the "long invisibility" of Indigenous peoples in early settler-colonial narratives, Witgen highlights the "parallel development and eventual convergence" of a "Native New World" with a European, trans-Atlantic world.<sup>31</sup> In my discussion of Dieppe era maps, I draw on Witgen's notions of the "long invisibility" crafted by European narratives, which I contend trace back to early cartographic illustrations that rely on types of Indigenous erasure.

European importance is also reinforced by the colors used in Vallard's illustration. Both groups of settlers have the most variety of color, with red being the most popular, followed by blue, and yellow. In contrast, the rest of the map, including Indigenous peoples and animals, appear in shades of greens and browns. The emphasis on the settlers by their placement at the center is ensured by the colors used, whereas Indigenous peoples, along with everything else, fade into the surrounding landscape. The vivid colors given to the European settlers should not be confused with the typical black and white palette used for European pilgrims a century later. In many illustrations of settlers and conquistadors, especially those of Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, Europeans are depicted in vibrant colors and Indigenous Americans seem to fade into the background in neutral tones.

When comparing the above map of New France with other maps in the *Vallard Atlas*, other narratives arise. Even though a European presence is evident in each of the maps of the Americas in the *Vallard Atlas*, French power is not always emphasized. Most other maps in the atlas show a far greater number of Indigenous inhabitants, include illustrations that play into notions of Indigenous savagery and fantasy, and show the Americas as a world yet to be conquered. This is especially true of depictions of land already claimed or increasingly occupied by the Spanish empire. Instead of illustrating the presence of other European empires, the *Vallard Atlas* only emphasizes French imperial desires. As such, the heavy emphasis on a French settler presence in the map of New France conveys a message of successful colonization, an expanding French empire, and specifically, the power of France in Canada.

In a similar fashion to the *Vallard Atlas*, Pierre Desceliers' *mappemondes* also contributed to narratives of European imperial power in the Americas. Desceliers created multiple world maps in his life, only a few of which survive today. I focus on two, one from 1546 and the other from 1550. Both were made for French kings. However, unlike the *Vallard Atlas*, neither of these world maps focus on the French empire. Instead, the Desceliers' world maps rely more heavily on narratives of Indigenous savagery. However, elements of them still imply European dominance in the Americas, only this time in South America.

Of particular note is an illustration appearing on both the 1546 and 1550 world maps in the top left corner of South America. Here, Desceliers depicts a large battle between Spanish conquistadors and Indigenous peoples (see fig. 3 and fig 4).<sup>32</sup> Given the date of the earlier map, the location of the illustrations, and the details within the illustrations, likely Desceliers is depicting the Battle of Cajamarca between Pizarro and Atahualpa, the last sovereign Incan emperor, thus marking the downfall of the Incan empire. The battle, or perhaps more correctly

termed ambush, pitted roughly 150 heavily armed Spanish soldiers against nearly 8,000, mostly unarmed Incas.<sup>33</sup> Both of Desceliers' maps depict Atahualpa sitting on a throne outside a fortress or walled city. Above Atahualpa, both maps also show the battle between Pizarro and the Incas, with the Incas armed only with bows and arrows, and the Spanish armed with guns and cannons. The 1546 map shows the Spanish with horses and greatly outnumbering the Incas and a line of cannons surrounding the walled city. The 1550 map does not include horses, has a slightly higher number of Incas present than Spanish, but also depicts a Spanish fort.

In each version of the battle, the dominant narrative is one of European superiority. The 1546 map shows conquistadors firing cannons at the walled city, along with vastly higher numbers, and much better armed with horses, banners, spears, and cannons. The Incas are shown



Fig. 3. Detail of Pierre Desceliers, *Mappemonde*, 1546.



Fig. 4. Detail of Pierre Desceliers, *Planisphere*, 1550.  
 © British Library Board (British Library Add. MS 24065)

with simple bows and arrows, although most are not firing. The Spanish are actively attacking, while the Incas are in a defensive position. Even more so, Atahualpa is passive, perhaps even letting the overthrow of his own people occur. The 1550 map may show the Spanish as fewer in number, but their weaponry and fort still depict them as better equipped for the ensuing battle than the Inca. When this battle scene is coupled with the maps' scenes of cannibalism and infighting on the other half of South America, the implication is that European empires will easily conquer other forms of Indigenous resistance, even when numbers do not favor the conqueror.

In pairing the battle with the scenes of cannibalistic horror, the Desceliers's maps also imply European moral superiority as integral to European conquest of the Americas. Early instances of depicting European moral superiority over Indigenous Americans have also been noted in the significantly more popular work of de Bry several decades later. For instance,

Teuton argues that de Bry's illustrations of Indigenous Americans challenged boundaries long-established in European society. In response, de Bry, and other travel writers, illustrators, and cartographers, depicted Indigenous peoples as monstrous. According to Teuton, this allowed the European reader to "be pacified by the knowledge that the monstrous nonhuman at times could also be saved by their conversion to Christianity and subordination within European colonial hierarchies, controlling them and thereby making them less monstrous, less threatening."<sup>34</sup>

Linking moral (read: Christian) superiority to civilization allowed for future generations of Euro-American settler-colonialists to press for "civilization" or the eradication of Indigenous America (both the peoples and the cultures) as a method to deal with the cultural "Other" that Indigenous peoples came to represent. Early instances of erasure includes practices of the Spanish Empire such as the forced conversions and exploitation of labor that resulted in the deaths of millions of Indigenous peoples and the resulting "Black Legend" that took hold in Europe.

Similar but fictionalized visual narratives of erasure can be seen in early decorative maps. Desceliers's 1546 and 1550 battle illustrations tell a European audience multiple things about this so-called New World. They position the Americas as a dangerous place, but also a place that is already coming under European rule. By altering the historically accurate number for each group in the battle depictions, the map also shows the New World as populated but barely so, and thus a space that quite soon will be ready for colonization. As decorative maps, the potential for such a message to affect or even encourage European elite to continue colonial pursuits was significant. As precursors to settler-colonialism, these maps also help to show where and why nineteenth century erasure solutions to the Indian Problem came about. Imperial competition necessitated an audience that believed in European success in the Americas. Cartographic fictions encouraged such beliefs.

## The Savage Fantasy

More obvious than an emphasis on European power in mid-sixteenth century decorative maps, are the ways in which Indigenous Americans and the Americas more broadly are mythologized, and in turn, dehumanized. It is important to note that cartographic illustrations would not necessarily have been considered a purposeful distortion, but rather they would have been seen as communicating knowledge about the landscape. While it is easy to assume that map viewers understood certain aspects of the illustrations to be imagined, like obviously fantastic creatures, when those illustrations contained depictions of people, they are more likely assumed to be illustrations that also convey knowledge like the maps themselves. In other words, fantastical illustrations have the potential to allow viewers to commit an association fallacy, in which viewers interpret the visual relationship between the fantastical creature and Indigenous peoples to mean that the people depicted must also be fantastical.

Likely due to obvious sorts of fictional illustrations, such as unicorns and giant toads, decorative elements of maps were often considered irrelevant in scholarship to the meaning maps communicated. As Harley points out, however “decorative title pages, lettering, cartouches, vignettes, dedications, compass roses, and borders, all of which may incorporate motifs from the wider vocabulary of artistic expression, helped to strengthen and focus the political meanings of the maps on which they appeared.”<sup>35</sup> As already discussed, the political meaning of maps from this era often promoted imperial aims within the Americas. I contend that these aims also necessitated dehumanizing the people who already occupied the land Europeans wanted to control. In pursuing this idea, I was struck by the concept explained by Harley, yet relatively unpursued within scholarship that the “decoration plays a part in attaching a series of racial

stereotypes and prejudices to the areas being represented.”<sup>36</sup> It is here then, that I turn to cartographic illustrations’ dual purpose of promoting savagery and myth.

Other maps in the *Vallard Atlas*, as well as a number of other maps from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, include Indigenous Americans alongside or engaging with unicorns, dragons, and giant frogs, among other mythical animals.<sup>37</sup> At times, Indigenous Americans are even described as giants themselves.<sup>38</sup> Following in a similar style, another Desceliers’ world map, ca. 1547, includes images of Native peoples partaking in a variety of activities like hunting and trading with European settlers. This map places Indigenous peoples as occupying the same land as fantastical creatures, namely unicorns. By combining illustrations of Indigenous peoples with fantastical creatures, maps like this one among others contributed to the mythologization of the Americas and its Indigenous inhabitants.

One good example of juxtaposing Indigenous peoples with the fantastical comes from Giovanni Battista Ramusio’s “La Nuova Francia” map included in his 1556 collection of explorers’ accounts, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*.<sup>39</sup> Like de Bry’s travelogue forty years later, Ramusio’s collection was quickly translated and reprinted throughout Europe, indicating its popularity and also its ability to shape European knowledge of the Americas. The map illustrates New France as an occupied Indigenous space (see fig. 5). Unlike Vallard and Desceliers, Ramusio was an Italian geographer, travel writer, and not part of the Dieppe school. I include him in this discussion, however, as representative of savage Indigenous mythmaking present throughout European cartographic schools during the age of exploration. His map of New France is one of the few maps or illustrations included in the travelogue. It shows Indigenous peoples in huts, hunting, fishing, dancing, and even sleeping in the shade of a canoe. However, they are also presented with mythological creatures—this time bat-winged demons.





Fig. 4. Detail of Giovanni Battista Ramusio, “La Nvova Francia,” 1556.

Indigenous peoples are similarly figured as fantastical and thus unreal through occupying a space with fantastical creatures, including creatures that appear partially human. As a conveyor of cultural knowledge to a public with limited personal knowledge of the Americas (Ramusio himself travelled very little), his maps and illustrations along with similarly illustrated maps of the time functioned as crucial influences on public perception of Indigenous Americans. In order to determine what cartographic illustrations might have meant to map viewers, Surekha Davies explains that without captions on the Norman maps, we must turn to other texts available at the time, like Ramusio's travel book. Davies turns to expeditions by the likes of Jacques le Moyne, André Thévet, Amerigo Vespucci, and Jean Rotz, all of whom used maps and illustrations in writing about their exploits and were retold in travelogues like de Bry's.<sup>40</sup> Some of these expeditions occurred substantially later than many Norman era maps such as Le Moyne, contain violent passages and woodcuts of American cannibals as in Vespucci, or are considered to be part of the Norman group itself as with Rotz. At best, these explanatory texts tell us little more than the maps themselves, or re-emphasize cannibalism, even if they simultaneously depict other Indigenous groups as peaceful traders. When taken as a whole group of documents, decorative Norman maps and illustrated travelogues create the association of Indigenous peoples as mythological and therefore, unreal, which implied a certain type of emptiness among the Americas. The Americas could be a place that excited European imagination through the fantastical and unknown, as well as a place devoid of recognizable human civilization.

While including mythical creatures with Indigenous peoples may help to mythologize them, the violent acts included in many cartographic illustrations arguably do more to dehumanize them. Some violence is included in mid-sixteenth century maps of North America, but by and large the bulk of Indigenous violence is shown in maps of South America. Due to the

prevalence of violent illustrations, especially that of cannibalism, some scholarship does attempt to tease out the political and cultural significance of such maps. For instance, Davies largely relates depictions of Indigenous Americans, mainly that of the Tupi tribes in Brazil, to medieval European tales of wild men. As Davies explains, wild men were typically shown as having excessive hair, naked or wearing animal skins or foliage, with clubs as weapons, and living in the wilderness, but also having the potential to “be civilized through exposure to other lifestyles.”<sup>41</sup> Representing Indigenous Americans in a similar way could lead to the association that Indigenous Americans might also be civilized through exposure, a theory attempted as settler-colonialism took hold in the Americas. I would add that such similar representations could also help to mythologize Indigenous peoples as a relic of the past, much like the wild men.

Perhaps the best example of violent depictions of Indigenous peoples in the Americas is that of cannibals in Brazil. Davies argues that Norman mapmakers purposefully emphasized trade over cannibalism and other forms of violence in their depictions, while Cynthia Chambers disagrees that cannibalism is simply conquest propaganda and argues, quite conservatively, that illustrations of cannibals only occurred where reports of cannibalism existed. Chambers claims that this likely served two purposes: “as a warning to navigators and as a real desire to graphically represent knowledge of the New World.”<sup>42</sup> The problem with this assumption, or her later one that cartographers desired to publish “accurate maps with the most up-to-date information,” is that Chambers focuses on issues of accuracy instead of admitting the political influences rampant in map creation.<sup>43</sup>

That is not to say that I disagree that illustrations of cannibals are more common in Brazil because narratives of cannibals were more common there. Rather, when coupled with the need to emphasize European power in cartographic illustrations (as well as in a map’s technical

construction), the violent illustrations, including that of cannibals, should not be separated from the cultural knowledge such illustrations conveyed. As a crucial part of the imperial project, decorative, sixteenth century maps not only needed to showcase European presence and power in the Americas, but needed to represent the land as either empty or filled with inhabitants that were morally less than: figures who needed to be exterminated or civilized by good Christian Europeans.

Like that of the maps previously discussed, Guillaume Le Testu's 1555 atlas, *Cosmographie Universelle*, contained fantastical creatures, such as dragons.<sup>44</sup> In maps of South America, specifically of Brazil, there are also multiple violent acts, including cannibalism (see fig. 6). Like Vallard's map of New France, Le Testu's map of Brazil also uses color to make imperial elements stand out. Blues, reds, and yellows are used on French flags, sigils, boats, imperial place names, and the compass rose. Except for blood, almost everything else on the map is colored in shades of green or brown. Even though there are no Europeans depicted in this map (unless you count the boat off shore), the viewer's eye is still drawn first to European elements and then to the Indigenous peoples filling the landscape.

At the bottom right corner of the map, a man works to dismember another man laid out on a table. To the left, between two trees, a hammock contains a man and a woman. On an initial glance, this might appear to be a tranquil scene immediately next to a horrific one. Closer inspection reveals that the hammock rests over an open fire and is surrounded by multiple human limbs. Instead of a tranquil scene, it is one of cannibal meal preparation. Similar scenes appear throughout a number of decorative European maps of South America in the sixteenth century, not just maps from Normandy.<sup>45</sup> Like maps that emphasized European power, maps that emphasized Indigenous cannibalism and mythical creatures, influenced cultural knowledge as

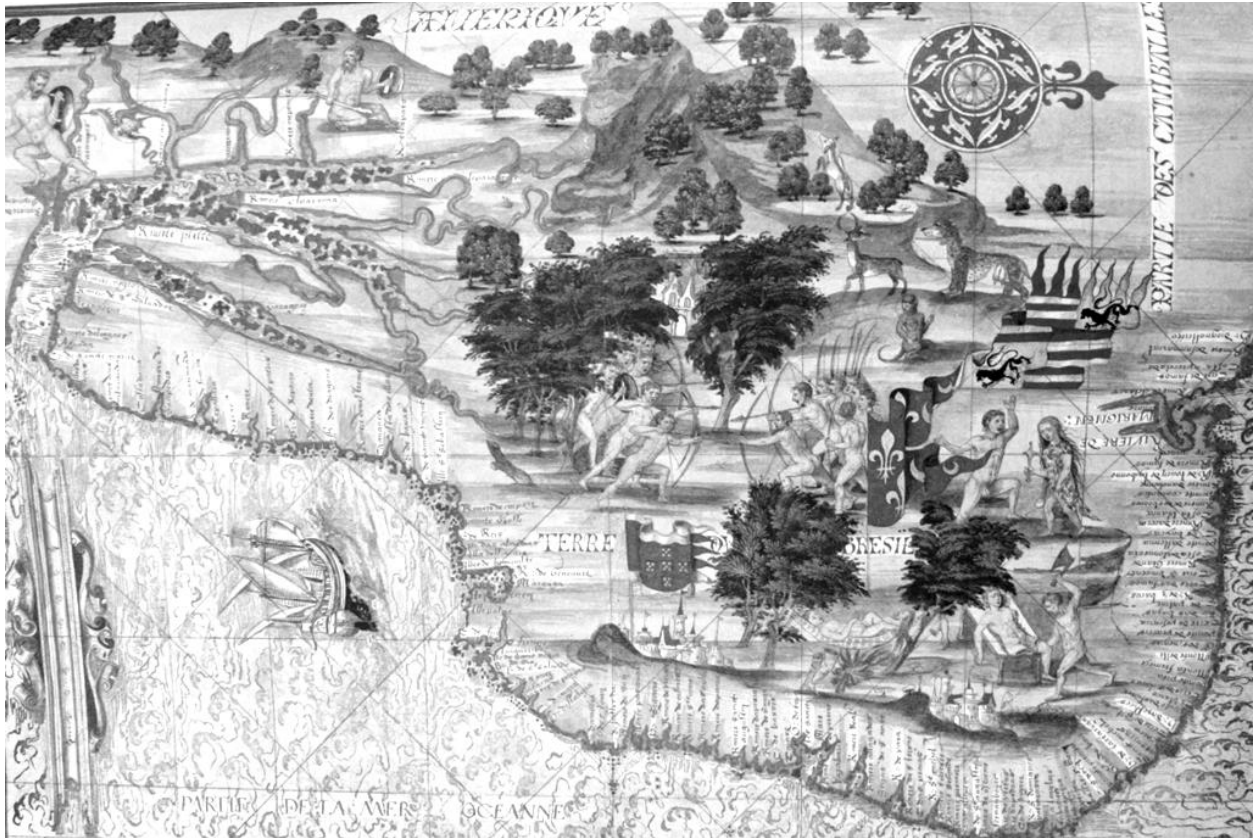


Fig. 6. Guillaume Le Testu, “Bresil,” from *Cosmographie Universelle*, 1555.

well as political aims. The Americas could be imagined as a space devoid of civilization, ready and waiting for European expansion.

### Women in the Map

In Le Testu’s map of Brazil, one figure stands alone among the warring and cannibalistic Indigenous men. This figure is the only living woman on this page of the atlas. The woman also stands out as the only clothed figure on the map. Even though her tunic still heavily relies on the same natural tones used for the Indigenous men and the surrounding landscape, it also incorporates shades of red, yellow, and gold, potentially gold leaf. She carries a cross and sphere, or *globus cruciger*. Despite her elaborate decoration in comparison to those around her, the woman’s tunic appears tattered, her hair disheveled, and most importantly, several tears run down her cheek. Her tears in conjunction with the Church symbols she carries identify the

woman as belonging to the tradition of Our Lady of Sorrows depictions of the Virgin Mary.<sup>46</sup> This connection to Marian iconography is further cemented by her placement next to the *rivere de marionen*, or River of Marian. Like the implied moral superiority within Desceliers's world maps, the incorporation of a Marian figure in Le Testu's map of Brazil also implies the coming of Christianity and the New World. As I discussed earlier, European notions of salvation through Christian conversion, according to Teuton, positioned Indigenous peoples in a subservient role.<sup>47</sup> Le Testu's juxtaposition of the Virgin Mary with Brazilian cannibals furthers the ideas of European superiority and Indigenous monstrosity as related to religious devotion. More specifically, because the Marian figure is a representation of Our Lady of Sorrows, the image further implies judgment on the Indigenous people pictured. A causal relationship between the warring cannibals and Mary's sorrow begins to appear. While rare in the Dieppe maps, the presence of Mary also suggests the power that adaptations of the Virgin Mary would have throughout Latin America, most notably through Our Lady of Guadalupe.<sup>48</sup> The contrast between Le Testu's Marian figure and the Indigenous men she encounters also creates a sort of visual contact zone that require scholars to decolonize the hegemonic narrative of European superiority at play in the map in order to read the power of the cartographic fictions. In doing so, it is possible to reinterpret maps, as Harley suggests, as "signifying system[s]" of society and cultural knowledge that requires us to equally consider what the map emphasizes as well as what it silences.<sup>49</sup>

In contrast to the presence of Our Lady of Sorrows, living Indigenous women are not shown in Le Testu's map of Brazil and are rare in much of the atlas's depictions of the Americas. With few exceptions, Le Testu populates his maps of the Americas with naked or nearly naked Indigenous men, often engaged in battle or cannibalistic actions. In the few instances when



Indigenous women are shown, like in Le Testu's map of La Plata (see fig. 7), they are almost always naked, like their male companions. Unlike illustrations of Indigenous men, Indigenous women are typically not shown as violent; although such depictions certainly occur. Instead, women are more often shown taking part in some sort of dance or ceremony, like in Le Testu's map of "La Plata," or are shown cooking or taking care of children or animals.

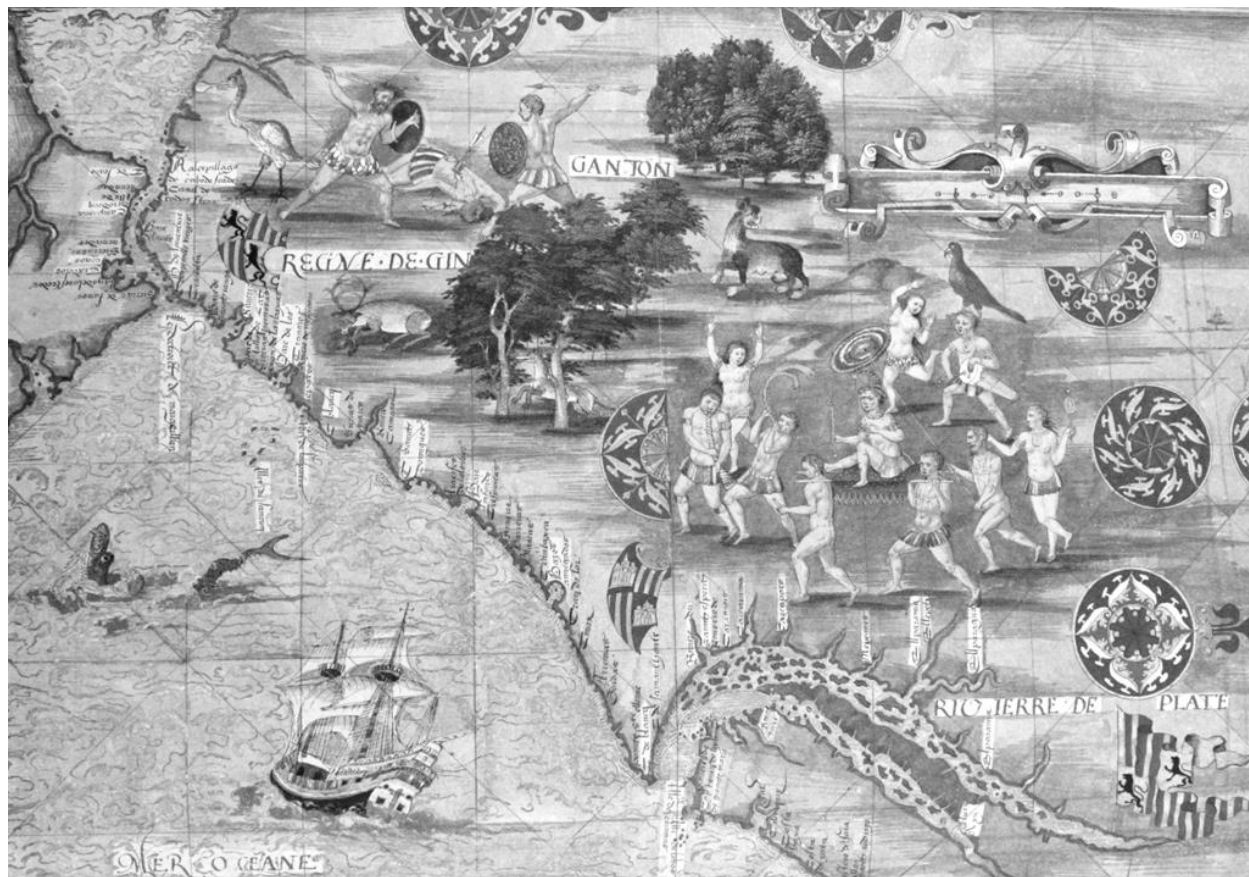


Fig. 7. Guillaume Le Testu, "La Plata," from *Cosmographie Universelle*, 1555

Rather than incorporated into the space of the Americas, Indigenous women are more likely to appear within cartouches or frontispieces. The placement of Indigenous women or figurative representations of America as a woman continue for several centuries, as evidenced in the work of Joan Blaeu's 1667 *Le Grand Atlas*, Reiner and Josua Otten's 1756 *Atlas*, or Johannes Cöven's 1761 *Atlas Nouveau*.<sup>50</sup> The relative absence of Indigenous women within cartographic illustrations could point to the early imposition of a European colonial patriarchy that

necessitates the erasure of Indigenous women, a topic I take up at length in the coming chapters. Reading for the silences in map iconography allows scholars to reconsider the role of Indigenous women and attempts at their erasure within the settler-colonial mission.

### Cartographic Power

The exaggerated emphasis on European power and savage fantasy in maps may have strengthened imperial aims and influenced cultural knowledge in mid-sixteenth century Europe, but the influence of these cartographic fictions lasted much longer than the sixteenth or even the seventeenth century. Not only did such fictions continue to influence cartography, but, I contend, they went on to help form the bedrock of settler-colonial cultural knowledge about Indigenous Americans that would result in various policies of assimilation and erasure in the centuries to come.

To give one example of sixteenth century cartographic influence into the nineteenth century, I return to the engraving including at the front of Humboldt's 1814 atlas (see fig. 8).<sup>51</sup> Once again, the engraving depicts Minerva, Mercury, and an Aztec figure. As the goddess of wisdom, war, art, and civilization, Minerva encapsulates the sentiments left by the inscription, "Humanitas. Literæ. Fruges," or humanity, literature, agriculture. As a symbol of both war and civilization, Minerva encapsulates much of European colonization of the Americas. As previously shown, the same themes, European success in battle and European culture as the only civilized one, were rampant in sixteenth century maps. In regard to Humboldt's frontispiece, war and civilization would continue to shape Indigenous settler-colonial existence throughout much of the nineteenth century.

The Aztec figure, as indicated by the surrounding landscape features and iconography, could easily stand in for Indigenous America, much as Minerva and Mercury stand in for





Fig. 8. From Alexander von Humboldt,  
*Atlas Géographique et Physique du Nouveau Continent*, 1814.

European colonizers. Others, such as Anthony Pagden, claim that Humboldt used this image coupled with the “Humanitas. Literæ, Fruges” inscription from Pliny the Younger to illustrate Humboldt’s desire that Indigenous Americans would assimilate into their settler-state, or more specifically, into European culture.<sup>52</sup> If we accept Pagden’s argument, then Humboldt certainly fits into the larger settler-colonial ideas of assimilation and erasure. Moreover, by using an engraving as the frontispiece that employs body language that places symbols of Europe in positions of power over that of Indigenous America in his modern, scientific atlas, Humboldt continues a long cartographic history of emphasizing European and descendent nation-states’ dominance in the Americas.

In the engraving, Mercury is accompanied by his standard indicators of a winged helmet, winged sandals, and just on the edge of the image, a caduceus. As a symbol of communication, trade, and travel, it makes sense for Mercury to appear in an engraving that shows a meeting of ancient European civilizations with symbols of the Americas. More significant than the meeting of Old World and New is the gesture with which Mercury engages the Aztec figure. Mercury, not Minerva, is touching him. Grasping one another’s forearms, Mercury appears to be pulling up on the other man. It is necessary to remember that Mercury is also the conductor of souls into the afterlife. As such, Mercury’s body language appears to symbolize the death of Indigenous Americans, whose last moments are looked down upon by their benevolent, yet more powerful, European successors. Through the submission and death of the Aztec figure, Indigenous America is positioned in the past, a people who have long since died off in favor of a greater civilization.

Euro-American settler-colonial nations that gained independence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continued many of the myths that trace back to the time of European decorative maps of the Americas discussed in this chapter. For example, Adam Rosen-Carole

argues that Europe tried to reimagine the “New World” as a space of untouched, innocent nature where Europeans could in fact be “reborn” or start over without ties to the past, either individually or imperially.<sup>53</sup> Such imaginings continued with the creation of the United States as a sovereign nation-state, who continued to employ European imperial “spatializing practices that eradicate(d) Indigenous people(s) and cartographies while simultaneously effacing the gross violences of (neo)colonialism” (134). In other words, we can see the same sort of mythmaking present as early as sixteenth century European maps as we see in nineteenth century settler-state maps from all across the Americas. Even though cartographic decoration had in large part fallen out of style by the nineteenth century, cartographic fictions were still very much present through place names, map authorship, and emphasized or de-emphasized spaces. Through considering travelogues and other sixteenth century writings of the Americas, Rosen-Carole contends that Indigenous Americans “come into view only as the inverted reflection of European self-representations” (136). In this way, Indigenous peoples are rendered exploitable, or as Rosen-Carole claims, “beast-like beings fated to oblivion” (136). By figuring Indigenous peoples as foils for Europeans, Europeans and their settler-state offspring reaffirmed their own civilized identities (Rosen-Carole 136). The act of foiling is made evident in the early maps discussed in this chapter and continued to appear in many of the Indigenous-Settler cultural clashes to come. Where this project differs from Rosen-Carole or other scholars that seek to interrogate acts of foiling or contact zones is the attention paid to hybridity within the contact zones at the heart of each of the coming chapters.

Even though the European-created maps included within this chapter seem to rely on “us vs. them” illustrations, once we push back on the dominant narratives of such illustrations, it is possible to see the ways in which European cartographers produced cultural knowledge that was

largely fabricated or exaggerated. Perhaps more significantly, a study of such maps indicates, in a visual fashion, the way in which space is always socially, culturally, and politically constructed. Textual representations of space, including visual texts like maps, always serve a rhetorical purpose. As such, they are always somewhat fictionalized, whether that be to suit the goals of the empire, the settler-state, or even the Indigenous nation.

## Chapter 2

### The Civilized Indian

When Pierre Desceliers, Guillaume Le Testu, and Gerardus Mercator created their decorative maps and atlases, a small number of empires claimed power over much of the world. By the time Alexander von Humboldt started his expedition through Latin America that would produce his 1814 atlas, settler states across the Western Hemisphere began fighting for and winning their independence from imperial powers. Modern nation-states began to take shape just as the nineteenth century started to unfold. The Americas as a whole were struggling to find their national identities. Working from the previous chapter's foregrounding of settler-colonial mythmaking, this chapter moves out of the realm of empire and into that of the nation. In shifting from imperial spatial constructions to settler-state ones, this chapter considers how settler states imagined Indigenous peoples within national space during the nineteenth century. Such a consideration hinges on how settler states devised solutions to the Indian Problem. Throughout the Americas, the Indian Problem, or what to do with Indigenous populations living on land already acquired by or soon-to-be acquired by settler states, ultimately boiled down to the following set of questions: How could the settler state bring the Indian into modernity—or, how to “civilize” the Indian; and how could that civilization be implemented to reduce Indigenous land ownership?

While each new settler state, whether it was Peru or the United States, Mexico or Canada, would have unique concerns regarding the Indian Problem, they all strove for control over the space within or surrounding their borders and worked to exert that control over Indigenous populations through forms of assimilation. Nineteenth century texts like Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* and Charles Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* showcase

nineteenth century hybrid contact zones that positioned settler-colonial views of Indigenous savagery against white, Christian, Western culture.

Both Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* and Eastman's *Deep Woods* depict strategies implemented by settler-colonial nations to control their Indigenous populations. Moreover, both texts also illustrate the hybrid contact zone located within civilization policies in which the assimilated subject becomes the site of conflict. Interpreting civilization policies through this lens makes it possible to see Indigenous resistance, even when outward appearances maybe largely assimilated. For instance, in scholarship, Eastman has long been a contentious figure, like Nancy Ward or Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee newspaper editor in the 1820s. Primary criticisms of Eastman as inauthentic stem from his Western education, conversion to and advocacy of Christianity, as well as his marriage to a white woman. Besides problematizing the notion that Eastman was inauthentic due to his assimilation or even that he too readily accepted Euro-American culture, this chapter also uses his autobiography as a catalyst for discussing gendered narratives of assimilation. Works like Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* advocate for the ethnic and cultural whitening of Peru's Indigenous population as a way to bring them into the newly formed national culture. As a major Peruvian canonical text, Matto de Turner's novel also offers key insights into settler-colonialists' perceptions of Indigenous assimilation. Moreover, *Aves sin nido* provides a rare glimpse into strategies used to modernize Indigenous women, a group whose voices so often get silenced among the competing narratives of colonial Othering. Reading *Aves sin nido* for Indigenous women's voices allows us to contrast it with the predominance of Indigenous male voices, like that of Charles Eastman.

This chapter's use of an Indigenous and a non-Indigenous text helps to further illustrate the integral relationship between colonialism, textual production, and the depiction of colonized

groups within imperial and imperially resistant texts. Crucial to this point is Edward Said's argument that "institutions of nationalism" imbue the novel (and literature more generally) with national beliefs and values, which are inscribed onto colonized people living within the nation.<sup>1</sup> Scholars, therefore, should read texts for the silences of colonial attitudes within them. Colonized literature should also be read in much the same way. Doing so reveals the adoption of colonial attitudes within colonized culture. The silences taken up in this chapter include the silencing of Indigenous voices due to perceptions of authenticity, like Eastman, and the silencing of Indigenous women, like the characters in Matto de Turner's novel. By focusing on the hybrid contact zones of assimilation and intermarriage, it is possible to disrupt the dominant settler narrative and read instead for Indigenous voices.

#### The Indian Problem: Racial Hierarchy and the Nation-State

Because creating settler-state national imaginaries was often deeply intertwined with solutions to the Indian Problem, it would do well to reflect on Benedict Anderson's foundational claims about the nation as "an imagined political community."<sup>2</sup> Like Anderson, Ernest Gellner's core traits of nationalism also include an imposed homogeneity.<sup>3</sup> For both Anderson and Gellner, the homogenization of the populace must take place to establish national culture, resulting in an imagined or mythical entity that attempts to subvert or extinguish real diverse localities in order to forge "the nation." More specifically, Eric Hobsbawm explains that the imposition of ethnic homogeneity occurs via the ruling elite. Ethnic differences are used by the elite to actively subordinate minority and lower class populations.<sup>4</sup> In this way, it is possible to see American settler states homogenizing their respective populations by building lasting racial hierarchies that set people of European descent apart from people of Indigenous or African descent.

Since contact, European empires and later American nations have largely viewed Indigenous populations through the lens of a settler-imposed racial hierarchy, as evidenced by sixteenth century maps and initial European writings of the Americas like that of Christopher Columbus and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés.<sup>5</sup> In scholarship, viewing race as a social classification method that also maintains colonial power stems from Aníbal Quijano and his considerations of the “implications of coloniality of power” within Latin America.<sup>6</sup> Quijano explains that prior to the colonization of America the modern concept of race did not exist; after colonization, settler states constructed race to indicate believed biological differences between the colonizer and the colonized.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, race became inextricably linked to skin color, with color being “the emblematic characteristic” of race and “white” becoming the way in which the dominant group classified itself and continued to legitimize colonial power dynamics through differences in skin color.<sup>8</sup> Such colonial power dynamics are evident in decorative maps from as early as the sixteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapter. Over time, colonial power systems across the Americas created and managed the concept of race in order for the continued subordination of non-white populations.

Even though settler-colonial nations throughout the Americas drew on racial hierarchies in grappling with their respective Indian Problem, components of that “problem” differed significantly. In Latin America, Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc see the Indian Problem as an attempt to determine “what kind of rights Indigenous people should be granted as citizens of democratic nation-states.”<sup>9</sup> For Postero and Zamosc, the answer to this question arises from contemplating the issues of nationhood and citizenship, the legacy of colonialism, ethnic relations, and the position of Indigenous peoples within the national imagination.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, for the United States and Canada, the Indian Problem also arises from Indigenous relations with the



settler-colonial nation, but on different terms. Rose Stremmler defines the Indian Problem in the United States as “the refusal or inability of Native people to assimilate into American society,” and argues that by the early 1880s most critics of the U.S. government’s Indian policies agreed on the solution.<sup>11</sup> Their solution was based on the idea that kinship systems “undermined individualism and social order” and thus individual Indigenous families needed to be removed from the kinship system, which was often determined through the maternal line, in contrast to Western society’s patrilineal nuclear family.<sup>12</sup> According to Stremmler, the need to remove kinship systems in favor of male-dominated households was a primary motivator for allotment, or the division of communally held Indigenous land into individually owned plots, which subsequently caused the loss of over half of Indigenous-owned land in the United States. I offer a repositioning of Stremmler’s argument in that the root problem identified in the United States’ Indian Problem was not kinship systems but rather land ownership. The solution to the Indian Problem was not getting rid of kinship systems through reducing Indigenous land to individual allotments, but rather reducing Indigenous land holdings through allotment caused more white land ownership, which had a negative effect on kinship systems. Admittedly, Postero’s, Zamora’s, and my revision of Stremmler’s definition of the Indian Problem are all quite broad. The various solutions to this perceived problem across the Americas spoke to rights, citizenry, continued colonial discriminations, ethnic relations, and land ownership which ultimately all stem from the last issue that Postero and Zamora briefly mention: indigeneity in the national imagination.

The ethnic homogeneity required by settler-colonial nations coupled with its racial hierarchies often played out in the Americas’ solutions to the Indian Problem. Perhaps the most hybrid of these contact zones occurs within Indigenous individuals who take on some or many

Euro-American cultural features for the purpose of assimilation. In this vein, literature from the nineteenth century depicted solutions to the Indian Problem in one of two ways. The first is now known as “The Disappearing Indian,” a trope with a long and enduring history ranging from James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans* to Kevin Costner’s *Dances with Wolves*. The second and perhaps less popular depiction is “The Civilized Indian,” a solution relying heavily on intermarriage and assimilation.

### Methods of Colonization

The different ways empires colonized the Americas had lingering effects on the cultures of later settler states and on the ways those cultures associated with Indigenous populations. One way to grasp the differences in methods of colonization is through observing two figures whose cultural impact is greater and significantly different than their historical roots: Malinche and Pocahontas. Like Nancy Ward, the stories of these two Indigenous women have undergone revision and levels of erasure, primarily in making each woman a supporter of the settler-colonial mission due to a single action rather than allowing for the complexity of their lives. That complexity positions Malinche and Pocahontas, like Ward, in multiple hybrid contact zones in which the lines between Indigenous and settler-colonial actors blur.

The historical woman known as Malinche was a Nahua slave under Hernán Cortés. As a speaker of several Mayan dialects and Nahuatl, Malinche served as a crucial interpreter for Cortés as he traveled through Mexico on his way to conquer the Aztecs. In many works about the conquest of Mexico, Malinche and Cortés are almost always pictured together.<sup>13</sup> After the fall of Tenochtitlán, Malinche gave birth to Cortés’ son. La Malinche, the cultural persona, has a much contested history. Often, she is figured negatively, as allowing or ensuring Cortés’ violent takeover. La Malinche became the betrayer of Indigenous peoples, who is also the mother of

Mexico, having given birth to the first *mestizo*. The myth of La Malinche reverberates throughout Mexico, and to an extent, much of the hemisphere. She is related to (or births) other cultural folktales like that of *la Llorona*, derogatory symbols like that of *la Chingada*, numerous literary works forwarding Malinche as betrayer like Octavio Paz's "The Sons of La Malinche," and responses that seek to reclaim Malinche as victim like that of Elena Garro's *Los recuerdos del porvenir*. The mythical version of Malinche, as the mother of the *mestizo*, further symbolizes the mixture of race and class in Spanish colonies. Moreover, Malinche serves as an example of the ways in which Indigenous agents were incorporated into Spanish conquest and colonial rule, much like in the *encomienda* system. The revision of Malinche's narrative to a traitorous one also erases what little agency she may have held as interpreter, her lack of power to leave Cortés, and her individual tribal allegiance that would have positioned her against the Aztec empire regardless of Spanish presence. Malinche occupies several conflicting spaces, some negative, some positive, but still she remains a symbolic intermediary between the "civilized" and "uncivilized" Indian within Mexico's national imaginary.

Like Malinche, the *encomienda* system positioned Indigenous people in an intermediary space, no longer totally Indigenous, but not totally Spanish either. Unlike colonizing methods under the British or French empires, the *encomienda*, in its ideal form, established a dependent relationship between a Spaniard and a group of Indigenous people under the Spaniard's protection. Under this ideal version, Indigenous leaders paid tribute to the Spaniard and the *encomenderos* protected their Indigenous group from other warring parties, as well as offering instruction on Catholicism, Spanish, and other items related to assimilating Indigenous peoples into the culture of the empire. A similar system to the *encomienda* causes the initial strife that kicks off the plot in Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido*. Published in 1889, *Aves sin nido* sheds

light on the Indian Problem in Peru during a time when the country was still searching for political and economic stability in the decades after its independence. Split into two parts, the novel first focuses on the Yupanqui family, an Indigenous family who cannot pay their debts (or tributes) to the wealthy landowners for whom they work. After turning to the Maríns, *nouveau riche* newcomers and sympathizers with the local Indigenous plight, the Yupanquis are killed by a mob enticed by their former *encomendero*, also the town's mayor. The orphaned Yupanqui daughters are quickly taken in by the Maríns. The second half of the novel focuses on the trial over the killing of Juan and Marcela Yupanqui, as well as the growing love between Margarita Yupanqui, one of the orphaned daughters, and Manuel, the corrupt mayor's adopted son. While the novel certainly critiques several institutions, particularly the corrupt government and Catholic Church, its treatment of the Indian Problem demonstrates an attempt to bring Indigenous populations into the modern settler state through both intermarriage and assimilation.

The effectiveness and destructive nature of the *encomienda* system varied across Spanish colonies and over time, with many early forms amounting to little more than slavery, with some areas using the system to purposefully break up Indigenous tribes and families, and with other areas drawing on existing tribute systems, such as in the former Incan Empire. The *encomienda* coupled with the imposed caste system, created a hierarchical society in Spanish colonies and later settler states that conflated race and economic class so that the whiter a person claimed to be the higher their class. In *Aves sin nido*, this is evident through Manuel's attempted courting of an assimilated Margarita. Margarita can only move out of her Indigenous lower class by adopting the culture of the dominant, white class, and solidifying such upward mobility by marrying into the class in which the Maríns work to assimilate her.

In contrast, this sort of racial inclusion within society is notably absent in British settler-colonial methods. To explain, I turn now to considering Pocahontas. The historical Pocahontas was the daughter of Powhatan, a chief of a tribal network extending across a large portion of Virginia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Captured and held for ransom by the English in 1613, Pocahontas converted to Christianity and took the English name, Rebecca. Eventually, she chose to remain with the English, marrying John Rolfe in 1614, and giving birth to Thomas Rolfe in 1615. She travelled to England as an example of a civilized or Westernized Native. Before she could return to Virginia, she died. Like Malinche, Pocahontas's story evolved into a much more mythical and Romanticized version. The most popular version is the story told by John Smith in *A True Relation of Virginia*. In this version, Pocahontas saves Smith from execution by placing her head on top of Smith's just before his execution by her father. From this debatably truthful anecdote, the Romanticized Pocahontas becomes an Indian Princess, who was in a clandestine love affair with John Smith. Part of such a Romanticization also positions Pocahontas as a figure who symbolizes the "noble savage," as representative of the potential for Indigenous Americans to be civilized and eventually, to assimilate into Anglo-European society. While the Pocahontas and Malinche myths have some differences, they are notably enjoined by their relationships with white, European men. These relationships play critical roles in how Indigenous women are rewritten and erased due to their relationships with settler-colonial men. Relations between Indigenous women and settler men function as a type of marriage allegory in which Indigenous culture and peoples could be effectively assimilated through intermarriage, as we see in Matto de Turner's novel.

On the other hand, Indigenous men, while similarly engaged in intermarriage with settler women and also similarly outcast as blood traitors, leave behind narratives of education, religion,

and work. Eastman, or Ohiyesa, converted to Christianity at a young age after being reunited with his father, Jacob Eastman, who was believed to have died in the Dakota War of 1862. Jacob firmly believed in Westernized education and encouraged his sons to enroll at the local mission schools. Charles Eastman would later leave the Dakotas to attend Beloit College in Wisconsin, Knox College in Illinois, Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, and finally medical school at Boston University. After graduation, Eastman returned to South Dakota reservations, namely Pine Ridge, to work as a physician, before becoming a Native rights lobbyist, working to establish Native chapters of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and revising Sioux allotment rolls with Christian names or consistent English translations of traditional names. During this time, he wrote a number of books and essays about Sioux life, including his autobiography, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, originally published in 1916. Eastman's writing has encountered critiques of authenticity and authorship, with scholars speculating how much was actually written or heavily revised by his wife, Elaine Goodale Eastman.<sup>14</sup> Even so, his narrative is not defined by his marriage, or even his interactions with settler-colonial actors, but by his own reflections on and advocacy for Euro-American cultural practices. Ultimately, Eastman's indigeneity is not erased or questioned due to his marriage, but by his religion and education.

Due to the heavy economic rather than conquest influences on initial attempts at colonization, British colonies and descendent nations like the United States, did not include centralized conversion tactics. Unlike Spanish colonization, attempts to incorporate Indigenous peoples into British culture and religion were limited and certainly did not allow for the incorporation of Indigenous iconography, belief systems, or languages. To convert to Christianity, as in the Romanticized Pocahontas myth or as shown in Eastman's autobiography,

was to become more Euro-American and less Indian, to leave behind the savage deep woods and to become civilized.

### The Civilized Indian

Charles Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* presents a highly assimilated narrative, an issue that often brought Eastman and others like him heavy criticism.<sup>15</sup> This criticism has not escaped its own rebuke. For example, Erik Peterson summarizes and critiques other scholarship on Eastman in a similar way to much of the scholarship on Elias Boudinot. Peterson is critical of viewing Eastman as contaminated or "less Indian" because of his assimilated aspects.<sup>16</sup> Like Peterson, in reading Eastman's *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, I focus not on Eastman's process of acculturation into Christian white society, but rather his conflicts with white society and his own cultural whitening after the process had occurred.

Eastman, like Matto de Turner, was highly influenced by Social Darwinism and Progressive politics. Through the lens of social evolution, it is possible to see Eastman's autobiography as simultaneously advocating for and resisting cultural assimilation. Other scholars have also noted Eastman's associations with social evolutionary thought. For example, Christine Allred argues that eventually Eastman resists social evolution in order to advocate for something closer to cultural relativism that became popular in American anthropology in the early 1900s, but he still retained evolutionary or assimilationist strains.<sup>17</sup> In a similar fashion, Tova Cooper works against critics who dismiss Eastman as assimilationist and therefore, not advocating for Indigenous nationhood. Instead, Cooper argues that the assimilationist vein within *Deep Woods* is a genre convention of American minority autobiography that Eastman uses in order to critique United States institutions.<sup>18</sup> In other words, Cooper views Eastman's attempts at assimilation as a way for him to find agency within the US.<sup>19</sup> Largely, Cooper bases his

argument on the concept of “consensual citizenship” that required Indigenous peoples and other minorities to demonstrate civilization if they wanted United States citizenship.<sup>20</sup> This chapter teases out Eastman’s conflicts with his own assimilation in order to show how nineteenth century civilization policy fostered hybrid contact zones between Indigenous and Euro-American cultures within settler-colonial national space.

Eastman is not a sellout nor does he reject his own people as doomed to history. Rather, he embraces the conflicting components of his identity.<sup>21</sup> Such components include his assimilation into white society through his education at Dartmouth, practice of Western medicine, conversion to and advocacy of Christianity as an ideal society, and participating in the whitening of Native peoples through ascribing white names to them. At the same time he maintains his Indigenous identity by working on Pine Ridge Reservation during the rise of the Ghost Dance, witnessing the aftermath of the massacre at Wounded Knee, and eventually, leaving white society to live in seclusion on the banks of Lake Huron. By recognizing Eastman’s inclusion of both Euro-American and Indigenous identities, it is possible to see him embodying a hybrid contact zone, living between Sioux and American society, comfortable with the conflict.

Peterson argues that Eastman has a two-pronged argument, which I mirror in my own discussion. First, Eastman appeals to assimilationist viewpoints, which often included Social Darwinism and the eventual demise of Indigenous peoples and cultures. Second, Eastman was aware of assimilation’s ability to erase Indigenous identity, so Eastman also actively argued for its preservation, which challenged erasure. In this manner, I agree with Peterson that Eastman simultaneously accepts and rejects assimilation.<sup>22</sup> Peterson is critical of other scholars’ critiques of Eastman for what he calls “essentialisms of cultural authenticity” that do not accept the differences that occur between people of multiple cultures and argues that scholarship must



examine “the borders we draw between different cultural experiences, borders that can delimit diversity rather than accommodate it.”<sup>23</sup> I too am more conscious of the racial and cultural hybridity created through Eastman’s assimilation process, but for very different reasons.

Peterson wants the recognition of borders to allow us to reexamine Eastman’s life, which I agree with, but I focus on the recognition of Eastman’s work as including multiple hybrid contact zones that allow for Eastman to maintain his Indigenous identity while not being subjected to claims of inauthenticity due to his adoption of some Euro-American cultural mores.

In Eastman’s autobiography, his cultural assimilation primarily appears via his conversion to Christianity. Even after he witnesses the aftermath of the 1890 Massacre at Wounded Knee, Eastman still returns to Christian ideals as the epitome of a perfect society.

Eastman explains this ideal in *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* when he writes:

It was here and now that my eyes were opened intelligently to the greatness of Christian civilization, the ideal civilization, as it unfolded itself before my eyes. I saw it as the development of every natural resource; the broad brotherhood of mankind; the blending of all languages and the gathering of all races under one religious faith. There must be no more warfare within our borders; we must quit the forest trail for the breaking-plow, since pastoral life was the next thing for the Indian. I renounced finally my bow and arrows for the spade and the pen; I took of my soft moccasins and put on the heavy and clumsy but durable shoes. Every day of my life I put into use every English word that I knew, and for the first time permitted myself to think and act as a white man.<sup>24</sup>

Even in this passage, which mostly praises Christian society for its progress, peacefulness, and practicality, Eastman subtly betrays his own dedication to that society. The change of his “soft moccasins” for “the heavy and clumsy but durable shoes” seems to foreshadow the more explicit critiques of white, capitalist society Eastman makes later in the autobiography, a society which he eventually distinguishes from a Christian one. Unlike the forest trail, breaking-plow, pastoral life, bow and arrows, or spade and pen that Eastman lists off previously, which have no modifying adjectives or have unbiased ones, such as the “forest trail,” the “durable shoes” are

given two additional adjectives, and therefore, more description than anything else in the long exposition on the value of Christian life. Notably, neither of the additional modifiers present positive connotations for the otherwise positively termed “durable shoe.” Instead, the reader sees an image of heaviness, perhaps of a dragging down or prevention of mobility and change coupled with clumsy’s Procrustean associations with inhibition and conformity.

As Eastman’s autobiography nears Wounded Knee, he becomes more critical of white, capitalist society, while still retaining Christianity as the model example for all others. In a writing convention he employs throughout the text, Eastman lists off a variety of grievances the Sioux have against the United States, defending the new Ghost Dance religion, or “Messiah craze,” as non-violent hopefulness in the face of dire circumstances, and notes that when other similar religious movements in other Native groups that were left alone, unlike the Sioux, the movement eventually died out without any violence at all (Eastman 58). Eventually, Eastman admits that he had “accepted civilization and Christianity at their face value—a great mistake” (71). In doing so, he begins to separate his ideal of a true Christian society with that of white, capitalist one. He argues that if the United States were to fully adopt Christian values and not simply purport to do so, that many of the wrongs committed against Indigenous populations would not occur (Eastman 86). Through such arguments, Eastman attempts to convert as many Indigenous North Americans as he can, largely through his work with the YMCA. In similar ways, Eastman also argues for the benefits of a Westernized education.

Shortly before the autobiography ends, Eastman reviews his experiences with the YMCA, including ventures to convert various Ojibway groups living in island communities in the Wisconsin wilderness. During this section of the autobiography, the reader gets a rare glimpse at Eastman completely outside of white society after years spent becoming acculturated.

While Allred claims that the metaphors about the wood or nature disappear from the autobiography upon Eastman's completed assimilation with white society, which she locates roughly in Chapter 4, I argue that Eastman eventually returns to nature based descriptions at the end of *Deep Woods*, especially during the YMCA episodes.<sup>25</sup> Like the earlier passage about trading in his moccasins for durable shoes, Eastman's travels through Ojibway country in the second to last chapter of *Deep Woods* contain significantly more descriptions than much of the rest of the autobiography, including before his Christian conversion. After he admits that "the sweet roving instinct of the wild took forcible hold upon me," Eastman continues to describe one particular canoe trip when he writes:

I was eager to realize for a few perfect days the old, wild life as I knew it in my boyhood, and I set out with an Ojibway guide in his birch canoe, taking with me little that belonged to the white man, except his guns, fishing tackle, knives, and tobacco. The guide carried some Indian-made maple sugar and a sack of wild rice, a packet of black tea and a kettle, and we had a blanket apiece. Only think of pitching your tent upon a new island every day in the year! Upon many a little rocky terrace, shaded by pine and cedar trees, hard by a tiny harbor with its fleet of birchen canoes, the frail bark lodges stood about in groups, looking as if they had grown there. Before each lodge there is a fireplace, and near at hand the women of the family may often be seen making nets and baskets, or cooking the simple meal. 98

In this description, Eastman follows one of his typical writing practices of listing, in this case his and his guide's supplies. Unlike descriptions within much of the autobiography preceding this event, Eastman now gives vivid details of the surrounding nature, adding additional adjectives like little, pine and cedar, tiny, birchen, and frail. More unique than these additional descriptors, is the anthropomorphization of the lodges while simultaneously turning the man-made lodges into natural objects. In the description of this village, and the surrounding passages about the islands and lakes, Eastman offers greater detail than almost all previous events in the text. This is especially true when compared to events that take place when he is entrenched in white culture

or in the process of becoming so. His return to nature seems to return him to a different aesthetic or sensibility towards the world around him, perhaps signifying his eventual decision to reside in a secluded cabin on the shores of Lake Huron.

For much of *Deep Woods*, Eastman advocates for assimilation. By not paying attention to his differences in description, Eastman's resistance to assimilation could easily be overlooked. Focusing on those differences positions Eastman as participating in and resisting United States solutions to the "Indian Problem." In other words, he is simultaneously on each side of the contact zone between his Indigenous culture and the settler state's.

### The Cosmic Race

In Latin America, nineteenth century solutions to the Indian Problem, according to Deborah Rosenthal, came down to two solutions, a liberal one and a social one. The liberal one sought to destroy Indigenous culture by arguing that Indigenous peoples would never assimilate and would be destroyed via industrialization and modernization. In contrast, the social solution favored interracial mixing as a way to cause Indigenous populations to slowly lose their own race or culture and eventually adapt to dominant settler society. Rosenthal notes that despite a writer's affiliation with either liberal or social views, *indigenista* novels, or works by non-Indigenous authors supposedly writing on behalf of Indigenous rights, "glorify Indians' salvation, inevitably the Native is denied a future as an Indian."<sup>26</sup> The failure to bring Indigenous peoples into modernity in *indigenista* texts is a theme Elisabeth Austin also takes up. Like many of her *indigenista* counterparts, Matto de Turner, according to Austin, believed *Aves sin nido* "[would] inform and enlighten, and consequently change Peru for the better."<sup>27</sup> At the same time others, like George Thomas, position the Indian Problem in Matto de Turner's novel as emblematic of a realist model within nineteenth century Latin American literature.<sup>28</sup> By situating

Matto de Turner as having an “overtly compassionate perspective toward the Peruvian subaltern,” Austin argues that the surprise turn of events at the novel’s end undermines much of the novel’s social arguments on solving the Indian Problem through education and intermarriage located in the preceding story.<sup>29</sup> Ultimately, the impossible union of Manual and Margarita signifies the inevitable destruction of Indigenous peoples and cultures via modernization, a trope that becomes even more common in mid-twentieth century *indigenista* texts.<sup>30</sup> I build on Austin’s and Rosenthal’s arguments concerning the novel’s failed social project in claiming that the racial and cultural assimilation, even a failed assimilation, present in *Aves sin nido* is still an attempt to incorporate Indigenous Andeans into the space of the modern Peruvian state. The Indigenous Yupanqui daughters, Margarita and Rosalía, occupy hybrid contact zones in which each girl must navigate their internal identity conflicts, much like Eastman expresses throughout *Deep Woods*.

In *Aves sin nido* Margarita, the oldest Yupanqui daughter adopted by the Maríns, is setup to “pass” throughout the novel. Remarkable as exceptional rather than common, Margarita is noticeably different from her sister, Rosalía, who is forgotten during much of the narrative action. For example, Margarita is described as “cerca de ella estaba Margarita, más linda que nunca, con su cabellera suelta sujeta a la parte de la frente con una cinta de listón, y se ocupaba en acomodar en una caja de cartón las fichas del *tablero contador*, en el cual ya conocía todas las letras” [prettier than ever, her flowing hair tied over her forehead with a silk ribbon, busily filling a cardboard box with the pieces from a spelling game, all of whose letters she had already learned].<sup>31</sup> In this description Margarita adopted the dress of the landowning class and is noted as a quick, or even exceptional, learner, having spent a brief amount of time in the Marín household before she learns the entire alphabet and begins spelling and reading new words.<sup>32</sup> By making

Margarita exceptional, Matto de Turner does not make a case for equal inclusion or equal rights for all of Peru's Indigenous peoples. Instead, she advocates for special efforts to include exceptional outliers, while still ignoring the "everyday Indian." In regard to a nineteenth century settler-colonial imaginary, only the exceptional subaltern-turned-hegemonic subject can take part in the new modern nation.

Matto de Turner does not only make Margarita exceptional. She also allows the narrative and the reader to conveniently forget about Rosalía. Descriptions of Rosalía are rare. Readers have little sense of her character, how she deals with the sudden deaths of both parents, her adoption by the Maríns, and her sister's drastic changes. Besides this absence, Rosalía's few descriptions reveal significant reasons for said exclusion. Immediately after the above description of Margarita, Matto de Turner writes, "Rosalía, junto con una muchachita de su edad, reía, lo más alegre del mundo, de una muñeca de trapo a la que acababan de lavar la cara con un resto de té que había en una taza" [Rosalía and another little girl her age were laughing as merrily as could be at a rag doll whose face they had just washed with some left-over tea from a cup] (83/83). While the difference can initially be dismissed due to the girls' ages, there seems to be a relationship between those differences and Rosalía's inability to assimilate. Margarita is given a toy that helps her learn, whereas Rosalía's toy is a simple rag doll, a description that contrasts with the silk-ribboned older sister. More importantly, Rosalía stains the doll's face with tea, presumably to change the doll from white to brown and make it more closely resemble herself. In other words, she performs an act of reverse racial whitening on the doll. Within a nineteenth century settler-colonial imaginary, Rosalía's reverse whitening indicates her incompatibility with white society and signifies the exclusion of the subaltern subject that stays subaltern. Rosalía takes part in her own culture clash, but unlike Margarita, Rosalía remains on

one side of that clash rather than blurring the lines between cultures. In this way Rosalía maintains a traditional contact zone's binary opposition between Indigenous culture and the settler-colonial nation. However, it is through her refusal to become part of the Peruvian hegemonic culture that Rosalía is silenced in the novel.

The difference between the sisters exposes Margarita's cultural whitening over the course of the novel. This is done through her assimilation, as guided by the Maríns, and also through her ancestry. A crucial difference between the girls has to do with ethnicity. Rosalía is full-blooded, whereas Margarita is half Indigenous. As the novel's conclusion reveals, Margarita is the daughter of a bishop who raped her mother. The ethnic differences between the half-sisters plays out in their eventual inclusion in or exclusion from the settler state's national imaginary. When the romantic relationship between Margarita and Manuel is first introduced, it has the potential to be the perfect metaphor for bringing together the settler state through marrying the Indigenous subaltern subject to the wealthy hegemonic landowner. Ultimately, this union is deemed impossible due to the church's corruption because the same bishop who raped Margarita's mother is also Manuel's father, making Margarita's and Manuel's relationship incestuous.

Overall, Matto de Turner sets up her Indigenous characters with the following options: for those of full-blooded ancestry, they are forgotten, killed, or imprisoned; for those of mixed ancestry, they must erase their Indigenous traditions and identity to fully conform to white landowning society. However, even when Margarita does so, her ability to cross the border into modern society is unstable, and finally, forbidden. Even when the subaltern subject becomes hegemonic, they still remain outside the homogenous settler state. So while Matto de Turner's narrative at first makes Indigenous existence within modern Peru possible—albeit only after the removal of many aspects of Indigenous identity and really only for those of mixed heritage—the

impossible union between Margarita and Manuel indicates that the union between Indigenous peoples and the settler state is equally impossible within a nineteenth century imaginary.

Margarita's and Manuel's failed relationship implies the larger failure of the progressive project of which *Matto de Turner* is a part.

Even though Rosalía and Margarita represent traditional and hybrid contact zones, neither girl is given interiority within the novel. Margarita may be allowed more description and more narrative space via her courting by Manuel, but she, like Rosalía, has very few spoken lines and very little described reactions to life with the Maríns, her parents' deaths, or the Maríns attempts to assimilate her. Instead, the Yupanqui daughters function as plot devices for the wealthy majority. For Manuel, Margarita is a beautiful object whose marriage would disrupt his mother's and stepfather's plans for Manuel's life. For Manuel's stepfather, who is also the mayor and landlord of the Yupanqui's, the two girls signify an Indigenous threat to the *encomienda* system and must be dispensed with accordingly. And for the Maríns, Rosalía and Margarita are projects—Indigenous women who are young enough to be molded into the aristocratic class by erasing their Indigenous culture. Despite the different motivations at play, Manuel, his stepfather, and the Maríns all see Rosalía and Margarita as objects rather than actors. The survival of such objects requires the careful cultivation of the settler-colonial patriarchy. Unlike Eastman, who maintains aspects of his Indigenous identity, even if it is in conflict with his assimilated parts, the Yupanqui women are denied the maintenance of their indigeneity, or when they resist, like Rosalía's darkening of the doll's face, they drop out of the novel's action and the reader's attention. Only by juxtaposing Eastman and the female Indigenous characters of *Aves sin nido* is it possible to see that settler-colonial gender norms influenced the implementation of assimilation policy and ultimately, affected the assimilated narratives that remain today.



### The Legacy of the Indian Problem

While Matto de Turner fails to envision a modern settler state that is capable of including its Indigenous peoples, *Aves sin nido* does argue that if inclusion were possible, it would only happen through both cultural and racial assimilation, while Eastman's autobiography grapples only with his own personal cultural assimilation, but not with his own intermarriage and the hybrid racial and cultural identities of his children. Each text arises from settler-colonial nations that have different histories of colonization but engage in a hemispheric debate over the Indian Problem. As the Western Hemisphere moved into the twentieth century, the Indian Problem transformed as settler-colonial nations and Indigenous peoples engaged in new problems and became part of an ever-widening global network.

By the twentieth century, settler-state tactics began relying heavily on what could be termed "paper genocide."<sup>33</sup> Glimpses of this tactic can be seen in the last stages of *Deep Woods* as Eastman speeds through his initial sixteen years in the twentieth century. Indications of his involvement come in reference to allotment rolls and the changing or erasing of Indigenous names. Allotment brought with it the concept of blood quantum, a policy bearing a striking semblance to the Spanish *limpieza de sangre*. Briefly put, blood quantum defines tribal or band enrollment in Canada and the United States through a provable percentage of Indigenous blood a person has in relation to a specific tribe or band. Often, blood quantum required someone to establish an ancestor listed on an official, initial allotment roll—at least in the United States. Without a link to these initial rolls or the establishment of a certain number of ancestors who were enrolled members, a person, despite any other evidence to the contrary, could have their tribal or band membership denied as well as the settler-colonial nation's official recognition of

their Indigenous identity. A hotly debated issue, blood quantum can be linked to the paper erasure of thousands of Indigenous peoples in the United States and Canada.

Canada, unlike the United States, did not have explicit anti-miscegenation laws. However, the Indian Act, originally passed in 1876, certainly regulated interracial marriage by mandating that Indigenous peoples could lose their First Nation status if a woman married a non-Native man, wanted to vote in federal elections, had a mother and paternal grandmother who did not have status, or were born out of wedlock to an unmarried woman with status and a father without.<sup>34</sup> In essence, the Indian Act encouraged Indigenous peoples, especially Indigenous women, to marry and have children only with Indigenous men if they wanted to maintain their federally recognized racial identity. While many of these policies were revised, although not until 1985, several bands, including the Kahnawake Mohawk, featured in Tracey Deer's 2008 documentary *Club Native*, continue to practice the same sort of interracial marriage regulation as laid out in the Indian Act.<sup>35</sup>

*Club Native* brings the Indian Problem into the twenty-first century, and further troubles settler-colonial solutions. Focusing on the use of blood quantum in Canada to determine official Native status, the film pays special attention to women within the Kahnawake Mohawk band who risk losing their band status for marrying or having long-term relationships with non-Native men. Near the outset of the film, Deer, using the film's core interview style, draws out several key questions that the documentary will address: what does it mean to be Mohawk, and what does it mean to be Native? These two questions, pondered by several interviewees, ultimately seek to unravel the "secret ugliness of belonging." This secret ugliness also lies at the center of centuries long attempts to solve the Indian Problem.

Even though *Club Native* includes interviewees who are men, the majority of the interviewees, including the four whose stories are more closely followed throughout the documentary, are all women. Except for context clues or a verbal indicator given by an interviewee, none of the people, either men or women, who are interviewed, are identified by name for the viewer. Eventually, Deer gives the first names of the four women on whose stories the documentary focuses, but last names come only through context. The interviewees who provide additional insight, but whose stories are not followed, remain nameless for the entirety of the film. The choice to leave the interviewees unidentified allows their words to stand as more representative of the issue. Unlike *Deep Woods* or *Aves sin nido*, *Club Native* attempts to show a purposefully collective response to whitening and solutions to the Indian Problem. In attempting to offer a collective insider's perspective, Deer speaks back against forms of erasing Indigenous women. More importantly, she speaks about an Indigenous present—one that is still fighting for recognition in its settler-colonial nation.

In many ways, the film presents itself as focusing on blood quantum and issues of belonging, but by following only women and including significantly more female interviewees than male, Deer also points towards the different ways in which Mohawk women were and are assimilated and erased. Many of the women in the film express being raised to believe that they should only (or could only) date, marry, and have children with Indigenous men due to the band's "marry out, get out" policy. This policy, along with other membership qualifications, including having four great-grandparents that were Kahnawake, come from the Kahnawake Membership Law passed in 2004. This policy mandates that women who marry a non-Indigenous man lose their band rights and must leave the reservation, but does not mandate the same for men who marry a non-Indigenous woman. In some ways, laws like the Kahnawake

Mohawk Membership Law can be defended in terms of sovereign rights to determine peoplehood. However, if the Membership Law and others like it is interpreted through the lens of sovereign rights, then that argument conversely implies that the erasure of Native women is justifiable, and thus, so is controlling a woman's ability to have agency (or sovereignty) over her own body.

Many of the women in the film express ongoing inner turmoil about the “marry out, get out” policy, as well as the indoctrinated discrimination and racism that holds sway in their community. One such interviewee even remarks that they, the Mohawk, have “learned well” from Canadian policies, namely the Indian Act, to discriminate via blood quantum against their own people, including participating in their own erasure through the band's membership law. More specifically, the Membership Law can be read as the adoption of a European colonial patriarchy by the Kahnawake Mohawk. Traditionally, the Mohawk—as part of the larger Haudenosaunee culture—used a matrilineal clan system under which a person's clan and tribal identity was determined by the mother's clan. By disenrolling Indigenous women and their children, the Membership Law of 2004 negates such a clan structure and instead draws on a patrilineal system of identity.

One telling quotation comes from a female interviewee who explains the membership laws as follows: “well we don't know what you are but when you are eighteen those strangers at a table will tell you.” This quote refers to the tribal membership decisions made by the tribal council for anyone who is not born of two Kahnawake members, a policy intimately tied to Canada's Indian Act, the determination of race, and therein, Canada's settler-colonial racial hierarchy by the dominant class. As Penelope Kelsey explains, *Club Native* shows how the “overinvestment in settler definitions of Indianness and nation are debilitating.”<sup>36</sup> Not only does

the documentary illustrate such an overinvestment through Kahnawake's focus on blood quantum, but by following only women for its four central narratives, the film also shows how the same overinvestment disproportionately affects Indigenous women. For example, all the women in the documentary seem pressured to change who they love, whereas the men seem to believe that expelling women is a justifiable action. This discrepancy points toward the indoctrination of Westernized gender roles or gender power structures as well as the process for determining "Indianness." For much of *Club Native*, Deer showcases the forms of erasure used to solve the modern Indian Problem by the settler-colonial nation and subsequently the Kahnawake Mohawk.

Much can be said about any of the literary works in this chapter on their own or any of the assimilation practices on their own. For example, Eastman's autobiography fights back against the United States methods of solving the Indian Problem. Eastman's autobiography also advocates for assimilation, Western education, and Christianity for all Indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century. However, as a witness to the massacre at Wounded Knee, multiple forms of government corruption, and allotment, Eastman also criticizes white society (as divorced from a Christian one) for its barbarous behavior, while at the same time he argues for cohabitation with Indigenous culture. In other words, Eastman illustrates how the two cultures, Christian and Indigenous (in his case Santee Dakota) can coexist in the same person. At the same time, Matto de Turner denies a modern existence for Indigenous populations within Latin America. While she, like other authors such as Juan Rulfo and Elena Garro, can be classified as *indigenista*, she does not seem to be able to advocate for Indigenous rights and simultaneously envision those same people inhabiting a modern world.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately, this is indicative of many *indigenista* authors' failings to separate themselves (or even recognize) the indoctrinated discriminatory

beliefs they hold against the Indigenous populations about which they write. By the twenty-first century the failure to rid the settler-colonial nation of Indigenous populations and cultures produced new forms of erasure, but ones that still disproportionately affect Indigenous women. *Club Native* and *Aves sin nido* demonstrate the need to give Native women voice within narratives of assimilation and erasure. That includes reading for women's voices within Indigenous-produced texts, as well as non-Indigenous texts. Part of the decolonial method requires scholars to look at how to disrupt the dominant narrative in a wide variety of texts, including considering how the dominant narrative suppresses the types of texts we look toward. In doing so, it is possible not only to read assimilated narratives like that of Eastman as resistant to the settler-colonial project, but also to read settler and Indigenous-produced texts, like *Aves sin nido* and *Club Native*, as indicative of the settler-colonial patriarchy's methods of gendered erasure.

### Chapter 3

#### The Newsprint Indian

On July 30, 1828 Elias Boudinot, editor-in-chief of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, wrote an editorial on a lengthy letter from Professor Rafincsqe, author of *General History of America*. Rafincsqe's letter included a series of questions about Cherokee language and cultural traditions. Boudinot refused to answer the questions himself. Instead, he wrote that while he was likely to receive quick answers to the language questions, he was doubtful about those on history and traditions. Boudinot explained that "traditions are becoming unpopular, and there are now but few aged persons amongst us who regard them as our forefathers did."<sup>1</sup> At first glance, Boudinot seems to figure the Cherokee as fully assimilated by refusing the existence of traditions. Such a reading implies Boudinot was out of touch with his own people, since traditionalists composed the majority of Cherokees at the time. It is true that Boudinot, along with other Cherokee elites, such as John Ross and Major Ridge, was highly assimilated into Euro-American society. As a politically active member of Cherokee Nation, Boudinot would have known that traditions were still very much practiced. So why present Cherokee traditions as fading? The answer gets at the rhetorical purpose of the *Cherokee Phoenix* to convince a network of white, voting readers against removal—a tactic that would ultimately fail. The above editorial represents one instance of the types of discourse Boudinot would employ in pursuit of that purpose.

Prior to supporting Indigenous removal in the 1830s—a decision that would ultimately cost him his life—Boudinot played a crucial role in the anti-removal movement, a role that often sought to prove to Euro-American neighbors that Cherokees were not "savages" whose removal west alone could preserve the values of white America. The *Cherokee Phoenix* argues against

Cherokee removal from the southeastern United States by adopting rhetoric that appeals to the assimilationist views of their white readers. In doing so, the newspaper depicts, rather than factually represents, the Cherokee as equal or almost equal to their white neighbors in Christian beliefs, farming practices, literacy rates, and constitutional governments.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Indigenous peoples who worked within the settler-colonial pro-assimilationist system, such as Ely Parker, Charles Eastman, Nancy Ward, or William Apess, are often interpreted by scholars as having lost touch with their Indigenous identities. In other words, they are “less Indian” or sell-outs to the settler-colonial mission. As the previous chapter showed, highly assimilated Indigenous figures like Eastman more often expressed a sense of hybridity, which worked within but also resisted settler-colonial assimilation projects. In other words, they represent hybrid contact zones in which the cultures in conflict are not binary oppositions but fluid sites of exchange. The same holds true for nineteenth century Indigenous print periodicals, namely the *Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Indigenous produced (and first bilingual) newspaper in the United States.

Established by the Cherokee General Council, the *Cherokee Phoenix*'s first issue came out on February 21, 1828 in New Echota, the capital of Cherokee Nation. Elias Boudinot was named its editor and Samuel Worcester, a missionary, longtime Cherokee defender, and the same Worcester of *Worcester v. Georgia*, helped to get Cherokee syllabary type cast. In 1829, the paper was renamed the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate* to appeal to a wider audience and support the rights of more Indigenous peoples. To raise initial funds for the *Phoenix*, Boudinot went on a northern speaking tour that included his most famous speech, “An Address to the Whites.” This speech shares key rhetorical features with the *Phoenix*. Such persuasive strategies can be seen in the following section of the address:



It is not necessary to present to you a detailed account of the various aboriginal tribes, who have been known to you only on the pages of history, and there but obscurely known. They have gone; and to revert back to their days would be only to disturb their oblivious sleep; to darken these walls with deeds at which humanity must shudder; to place before your eyes the scenes of Muskingum Shata-goo and the plains of Mexico, to call up the crimes of the bloody Cortes and his infernal host; and to describe the animosity and vengeance which have overthrown, and hurried into the shades of death those numerous tribes.<sup>2</sup>

After introducing “various aboriginal tribes” as the presumed subject of the pronouns “theys” and “theirs” in the second sentence, Boudinot seems to reinforce narratives of the Disappearing Indian, as well as notions that Indigenous peoples are less civilized than his white audience, using phrases like “darken these walls” or “at which humanity must shudder.” In the next clause, however, Boudinot shifts from implicitly referencing Indigenous peoples to explicitly referencing two instances of imperial massacres. The first, “the scenes of Muskingum Shata-goo” alludes to the 1782 massacre of ninety-six Lenape by a United States militia, better known as the Moravian or Gnadenhutten Massacre. The second instance alludes to a number of massacres committed by Hernán Cortés on his way to Tenochtitlan. By linking massacres at the hands of European and American settler-colonial empires separated by centuries, Boudinot quickly illustrates the long hemispheric history of Indigenous Americans suffering at the hands of settler-colonialism. Moreover, his subtle rhetorical shift in subject from “they” to “you” moves the savagery “at which humanity must shudder” away from Indigenous peoples and places it firmly onto his Euro-American audience. Boudinot’s rhetorical prowess plays on his audiences’ presumptions of white superiority while simultaneously exploiting their guilt and exposing their own history of savagery. Similar rhetorical executions occur throughout Boudinot’s reign at the *Phoenix*, most often in articles that emphasized Cherokee nationhood via assimilation. Like Eastman’s simultaneous advocacy for certain types of assimilation and resistance to notions of white superiority, Boudinot uses pro-assimilation articles to exert

Cherokee national sovereignty. Through using the *Phoenix* to convey Cherokee nationhood and a print network to spread that message, Elias Boudinot could make a case for Cherokee sovereignty and self-determined land rights long before self-determination movements got underway nearly a century later.

Through various articles, the *Phoenix* demonstrated levels of assimilation, from representing its government as mirroring the United States, to including translations of Christian hymns and prayers, as well as sections on poetry and non-fictional accounts that linked the Cherokee to leading American Revolutionary figures, such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.<sup>3</sup> Rather than serve as an ethnographic source, assimilationist articles within the *Phoenix* can tell present day scholars a great many things about how Boudinot chose to portray the Cherokee, current events within and around Cherokee Nation, and leading Cherokee reactions to international events. Scholars, such as Ellen Cushman, Angela Pulley Hudson, and Joshua Nelson have used *Phoenix* articles to show the importance of cultivating an assimilated Cherokee image.<sup>4</sup> However, the role of reprinted articles has yet to be interrogated. By considering reprinted *Phoenix* articles in other U.S. newspapers, as well as other newspaper's mentions of the *Phoenix*, it is possible to position the Cherokee within a nineteenth century print network. Doing so helps to emphasize the newspaper's need to coax a wide Euro-American readership toward an anti-removal stance, even if such efforts ultimately failed. Whether or not Boudinot realistically believed that removal was preventable by producing assimilationist articles or participating in a vast print network is almost impossible to know. Engaging in such an argument would also detract from the ways in which politically motivated Indigenous writings cultivated their audiences and modified their own narratives. Looking at assimilationist reprints is not so much about Boudinot's intent or the intent of editors who reprinted the *Phoenix*, but

rather what can be learned about the function and method of reprinting in nineteenth century newsprint in relation to Indigenous resistance within hybrid contact zones.

### Nineteenth Century Print Nationalism

Print culture and nations in the nineteenth century go hand in hand. According to Benedict Anderson, the establishment of print media was the primary factor in the creation and success of nations as imagined communities.<sup>5</sup> Since Anderson, many scholars have turned to print culture, and more specifically print periodicals, as a way to understand and interrogate nations and nationalisms.<sup>6</sup> For instance, when considering Anderson's theories of print media and nationalism, Trish Loughran asks two central questions: (1) "how do we account for nation formation in the material absence of a national print culture," and (2) "how do we account for the profound cultural fragmentation that accompanied the eventual emergence of national print networks between 1820 and 1860?"<sup>7</sup> This chapter considers Loughran's second question in asking how the *Phoenix* attempted to use nineteenth century print networks to argue against Indigenous removal west of the Mississippi. Of crucial importance to the *Phoenix*'s participation in such a print network is the way its articles were reprinted or mentioned in other United States newspapers. When discussing the *Phoenix*'s print network, it is necessary to consider Meredith McGill's understanding of reprint culture as applied to news articles during the antebellum era. In her study on antebellum literary reprints, McGill critiques scholarship that approaches reprint culture as "presum[ing] that texts and authors could somehow inhabit this market without being shaped by it" (4).<sup>8</sup> When applied to news, McGill's reprint culture requires that an editor's or newspaper's participation in reprinting would have modified the editor or newspaper itself. To assume that reprint culture played no role in shaping how or why certain articles were written and printed ignores the importance of print networks. Ultimately, the *Phoenix* disseminated its

pro-assimilationist, anti-removal articles to a vast print network. However, the effectiveness of the *Phoenix*'s anti-removal argument in convincing a white audience within that network is patchy at best, often relying on the pre-existing political climate of the United States' individual geographical regions. Not only does the paper present hybrid contact zones through its presentation of Cherokee Nation as assimilated to Euro-American culture, but its anti-removal arguments, and promotion of Cherokee national sovereignty, comes into conflict with the editors and audiences of the newspapers in which it was reprinted.

The focus on print's importance to nations as imagined communities carries through in scholarship about minority and ethnic print culture. According to Cheryl Walker, scholarly communities often assume Indigenous Americans "were the victims of nationalist discourse," even though many Indigenous groups actively participated in the creation of their own nationalist discourse through print.<sup>9</sup> Typically, this printed material distinguished individual Indigenous nations as sovereign from the United States.<sup>10</sup> More specifically, Sean Teuton explains that nineteenth century Indigenous writers, including those within the *Phoenix*, constructed their nations by relating themselves to other nations and their values.<sup>11</sup> The *Phoenix* not only related Cherokee nation to other nations, but by utilizing a vast print network, the *Phoenix* could more effectively disseminate its national project. In doing so, the *Phoenix* adopted the settler-colonial nation's rhetoric of nationalism and assimilation, which allowed the *Phoenix* to engage more broadly with other papers and their audiences.

In order to discuss *Phoenix* articles and reprints, it is essential to consider deliberate Indigenous usages of national rhetoric. For this I turn again to Walker, who focuses on two rhetorical paradigms: transpositional and subjugated. Transpositional discourse relies on the act of mirroring, or showing similarities between two groups, which suggests an equitable argument

(i.e. we are just like you, so you shouldn't kill us). Subjugated discourse, on the other hand, focuses on differences according to power and purpose. So where transpositional discourse locates every group in a stable yet equal situation, subjugated discourse uses hierarchical positioning in order to change current status based on degrading one group or another (i.e. look at our neighbor's terrible behavior and look at our very ethical behavior, thus we must be morally superior, despite our lower sociopolitical status).<sup>12</sup> In the *Phoenix*, transpositional discourse appears most often, and typically through elements that make the Cherokee appear drastically more assimilated, or "civilized" than they actually were. Even though I will analyze several ways in which the *Phoenix* engages in transpositional discourse, the paper's use of such discourse is of utmost importance for how the *Phoenix* becomes part of a larger print network with a broad white audience. It was only through such a network that the anti-removal arguments within the *Phoenix* stood a chance of affecting a large voting populace.

For its first several years, the *Phoenix* actively sought to establish sovereign Cherokee nationhood as intimately connected to their ancestral lands, as evident in Boudinot's address to the readers located in the first issue. Here, Boudinot explicitly states the newspaper's primary purposes: to prove Cherokee nationhood to the United States, demonstrated by calling itself a "national paper," to actively work against removal; and to prevent for themselves a similar fate to that of their ancestors, who "have dwindled into oblivion."<sup>13</sup> For Boudinot, these goals meant highlighting assimilationist projects, such as establishing international relations, adopting Christianity, and representing literary works. The *Phoenix* demonstrated Cherokee Nation's sovereignty according to the United States' approved conceptions by highlighting the Cherokees' level of assimilation, even if that assimilation was elaborated or entirely falsified. Two key rhetorical strategies appear in the *Cherokee Phoenix*. First, the *Phoenix* consciously roots

Cherokee Nation in its ancestral lands through its selections for its front page, primarily in reproducing Cherokee laws. The second, and perhaps more nuanced approach, relies on its editor using its growing print network and the illusion of mass assimilation to disperse its anti-removal arguments that also upheld Cherokee sovereignty.

### Removal, Assimilation, and Audience

During the 1820s and 1830s the United States and its Indigenous inhabitants were embroiled in a heated debate over Indian Removal. As such, the *Phoenix* was not alone in its anti-removal arguments. It was accompanied by publications like the “William Penn” essays, as well as correspondence from other Cherokee leaders like John Ross, which were published in other news outlets across the country.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, comparable pro-removal responses existed, like those of George R. Gilmer, published in the same print network and even alongside sympathetic reprints like those in the *Niles’ Weekly Register*.<sup>15</sup> For much of the US populace, perceptions of Indigenous Americans heavily relied on their depictions in newsprint. According to John Coward, news on Indigenous peoples generally fell into two categories, one which aligned along party lines in reference to Jackson, while the second conveyed “a type of hands-off neutrality, in which newspapers left it to Indian sympathizers to promote the Indian cause.”<sup>16</sup> In considering how Indian Removal was figured in newsprint, however, Coward does not cover Indigenous representations of the issue and only mentions the *Phoenix* as it appears in the *Niles’ Weekly Register*. Repositioning the *Phoenix* within a print network, especially one that crafted Euro-American perceptions of Indigenous peoples, draws attention to Boudinot’s purposeful use of assimilationist rhetoric that also interrogates that rhetoric’s use and participation in reprint culture. In other words, seeing the *Phoenix* in the context of its print network and Boudinot’s initial anti-removal stance, allows for Boudinot and the paper to be read as hybrid contact zones.

The *Phoenix* made the Cherokee appear already Westernized so that a white audience would contribute money and political power to the Cherokee anti-removal cause. By employing discursive tactics of mirroring and morality, sometimes separately, sometimes together, and often moving seamlessly between the two, the *Phoenix* argued against removal in a similar but expanded rhetorical style as that in Boudinot's "Address to the Whites." The *Phoenix*, with Boudinot at its helm, incorporated assimilationist stories that illustrate the rhetorical nuances of the paper. For example, in the July 30, 1828 editorial that opens this chapter, Boudinot wrote about the decline of traditions. Unfortunately, the same assimilationist rhetoric dominates the scholarly focus on Boudinot and the *Phoenix*, but in a significantly different way. When critics identify the *Phoenix* as a supreme act of nationalism or a persuasive anti-removal act, they often trouble the paper's reliability because of Boudinot's personal acculturation.<sup>17</sup> For instance, Theda Perdue argues that Boudinot's misrepresentation of the Cherokee was likely due to his own assimilated upbringing, claiming that "he could not accept his people, his heritage, or himself."<sup>18</sup> Eventually, Perdue does admit the newspaper's wide circulation attempted to dispel myths about the Cherokee and works against removal, conceding that articles about assimilation were likely meant to project a certain image.<sup>19</sup> As Jason Black explains, many Cherokee nationalists, like Boudinot, often resisted removal by showcasing differences between an already civilized (read: assimilated) Cherokee population from stereotypically savage natives as degraded by United States government forces.<sup>20</sup> In a similar fashion, Maureen Konkle maintains that Cherokee writing during the *Phoenix*'s production relied heavily on a discourse that positioned Cherokees as "the same as whites" in the sense that they too had formed a "modern Indian nation" equal to that of European nations.<sup>21</sup> Assimilationist rhetoric, therefore, served to boost Cherokee claims of national sovereignty. The newspaper's exigence relied almost entirely

on its ability to convince readers to share its political stances, most importantly against Indian Removal, a fact that many scholars neglect by not accounting for the importance of the *Phoenix*'s rhetorical situation.<sup>22</sup> Arguably, the most effective method of advocating against removal required the *Phoenix* to present Cherokees as similar to white readers, voters, and lawmakers.

Perhaps one of the most obvious ways in which the *Phoenix* presents the Cherokee as assimilated is by showcasing their writing system, another common focus of scholarship. The *Phoenix* popularized the Cherokee syllabary, allowing its people to read and write in a language they had long spoken. The rationale and explanation of each letter's pronunciation in the English alphabet included in the *Phoenix*'s first issue further illustrated Cherokees as a Westernized nation. The newspaper's readership could widen greatly because of the Cherokee language's demonstrated ability to be translated back and forth into English. When scholars interrogate the newspaper's bilingual nature, they often critique the significantly lower percentage of Cherokee language articles compared to English language articles. For example, Perdue explains that United States Census data from 1835 shows that 18 percent of Cherokee households had English literate members while 43 percent had Cherokee literate members.<sup>23</sup> This data, according to Perdue, proves that many Cherokee literate members could not read the majority of the paper since the paper, especially in its later years, was written predominantly in English. In contrast, James Parins accounts for the smaller number of Cherokee language articles as indicative of the time-consuming translations from English into Cherokee, typically completed by Boudinot alone, whereas, most recently, Keri Holt finally turns to the need to reach a white audience as the reason for including English language articles.<sup>24</sup> Time-consuming translations coupled with the need for pro-assimilationist and anti-removal article reprints in Anglo-American newspapers



further indicates the *Phoenix*'s primary purpose to argue against removal by appealing a white readership. At the time, the *Phoenix*'s transpositional discourse rested on the logic that white neighbors would not forcibly remove a people similar to themselves, or would not, at the very least, betray the United States' various written legal documents securing Indigenous borders.<sup>25</sup>

When taking into consideration the amount of English language and assimilationist articles in the *Phoenix*, the issue of audience, especially a white voting audience, becomes crucially important. Despite admitting to dual audiences or multiple rhetorical purposes, some scholars like Perdue and Meta Carstarphen, still ignore how audience would modify the newspaper's language and content.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, more recent scholars recognize the *Phoenix* and Boudinot as cognizant of a secondary white audience and the resulting need to portray the Cherokee as already Westernized.<sup>27</sup> For instance, Parins argues that the "publication of the *Phoenix* is proof that the Cherokees were fully cognizant of the power of language to persuade and to focus public opinion, even in the face of such long odds."<sup>28</sup> Holt takes claims like Parins' further in considering the *Phoenix*'s rhetorical purposes and the importance of multiple audiences, especially a white audience, as a way of interpreting the paper's nationalist content.<sup>29</sup> Once a secondary white audience is identified, two key rhetorical strategies become evident. First, the *Phoenix* demonstrated Cherokee Nation's sovereignty according to the United States' approved conceptions by highlighting the Cherokees' level of assimilation, even if that assimilation was elaborated or entirely falsified. The second, and perhaps more nuanced approach, relies on Boudinot using the newspaper and its growing print network to demonstrate the illusion of mass assimilation to a white audience. Even though the newspaper focused on issues related to assimilation, the *Phoenix* seems to try to convince an outside reader of already existing assimilation rather than to convince a Cherokee reader to adopt Western practices.

The emphasis on assimilation is evident in articles located within the *Phoenix*. Reprinted articles, however, add a new dimension to the *Phoenix*'s rhetorical assimilation strategy. As identified in the *Phoenix*'s initial address to its readers, one of the newspaper's primary goals was to advocate against removal. As a bilingual newspaper with subscription agents across the US, the *Phoenix* could effectively guarantee that some of its white subscription holders would see these anti-removal and assimilationist articles. It is likely, however, that white subscription holders would already be leaning away from or completely against removal. In order to reach a wider white audience, who might not yet have decided their stance on removal and thus have a greater potential to influence United States elected officials, the *Phoenix* would need to reach far beyond its own subscribers.

The *Phoenix* was published during a time of growth in reprinting and print periodicals within the United States. During the American Revolution, newspapers started including more public debate as a way to sway political opinion.<sup>30</sup> After the Revolution, news printers removed themselves from authorship. Instead, works were reprinted from other newspapers or original articles were presented as authored by a generic figure, like "an interested party" or a "concerned citizen."<sup>31</sup> Up through the 1850s, reprinting was a staple of United States publishing. The common use of unauthorized reprinting in multiple papers, according to McGill, resulted in "circulation outstripp[ing] authorial and editorial control."<sup>32</sup> Even though McGill focuses on literary reprinting in the time immediately after Boudinot's reign at the *Phoenix*, reprinting as a genre convention within newsprint certainly existed prior to the highpoint of reprinting in the 1830s and 1840s. Reprint culture stemmed from weakly linked regional printers and publishers, and more significantly, the United States' constant state of flux as westward expansion redefined physical and political national boundaries.<sup>33</sup> During the 1820s and 1830s when the *Phoenix*

appeared, editors became the assumed authors of newspapers, and often engaged in debates or political commentary, including before or after reprinted articles from other papers.<sup>34</sup> In short, newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century, like the *Phoenix*, purposefully used political rhetoric and cultivated specific audiences through original and reprinted articles in order to bring more people into their political fold. This era of print partisanship, especially when embroiled in a culture of reprinting, worked to cultivate a United States' national imaginary.

Reprinted *Phoenix* articles in other newspapers ensured that a wider white audience would see articles with anti-removal and assimilationist elements. Boudinot's recognition of the importance of such reprints is evidenced by a June 3, 1830 letter to his in-laws. In the letter he asks his father-in-law, Benjamin Gold, to call "at the office of the 'Intelligencer' Harrisburg, Pa, & request the editors' to notice the improvements of the Cherokees & give my respects to them. I exchange with them—you will there also see the Phoenix."<sup>35</sup> As I discuss later in this chapter, reprinted articles in the *Intelligencer* and a number of other papers played a crucial role in spreading Boudinot's anti-removal arguments originally printed in the *Phoenix*. Boudinot's recognition of the importance of his paper's print network indicates the possibility that more articles depicting the Cherokee as already assimilated, as evidenced by Boudinot's use of "improvements" in the above letter, would have been printed in order to demonstrate increased similarity to white readers.<sup>36</sup> When seen in this light, the *Phoenix*'s inclusion of settler-colonial assimilationist ideas, as well as its tendency to foreground the nation's location through front page articles firmly illustrates the newspaper's two rhetorical strategies at work in a time just prior to removal.

### The Road to Removal

Before turning to articles within the *Phoenix* and its reprints in other newspapers, it is necessary to consider the United States' cultural climate in the 1820s and 1830s. As discussed in the previous chapter, nineteenth-century relations between the United States and Indigenous peoples centered on two key issues: assimilation and removal. Official United States Civilization policies promoted the adoption of Euro-American mores by Indigenous peoples in order to lift them from their supposedly savage states. Under George Washington, Secretary of War, Henry Knox helped outline assimilation policies primarily through missionaries and Western education that promoted Indigenous conversions to individual land ownership, Christianity, and Euro-American farming and husbandry practices. Similar policies were continued into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under the likes of Ulysses S. Grant and Ely Parker.<sup>37</sup> Despite such assimilationist policies, United States relations with North American Indigenous peoples ultimately rested on the settler-colonial nation's desire for land and westward expansion. As such, more and more United States leaders fought for Indigenous removal west of the Mississippi.

Advocates for removal came up against a long history of treaties signed between Indigenous nations and the United States that still form a crucial component of Indigenous political sovereignty today. Because treaties are negotiated between equally sovereign nations, Maureen Konkle explains that for the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries it was imperative that there was "at least the appearance of Native peoples' consent" so that treaties could establish "the legitimacy of EuroAmerican control of land."<sup>38</sup> The United States' need for more land, in addition to the need to maintain its perceived legitimacy over that land, can be seen in key court rulings from the 1820s and '30s. These three Supreme Court cases include: *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832).

*Johnson v. McIntosh* held that private citizens could not purchase lands from Indigenous people, but rather that Indigenous lands could only be acquired through sale to the federal government. The ruling, however, also upheld Eurocentric discovery doctrine over that of Indigenous occupancy in that the ruling allowed for Indigenous peoples to occupy lands, but not to hold title to such land. The Supreme Court concluded in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* that the court did not have jurisdiction because Indigenous peoples were “domestic dependent nations,” with a relationship with the United States like that of a “ward to its guardian.” Finally, *Worcester v. Georgia* held that individual states had no authority over Indigenous nations as sovereign entities; therefore, such agreements must be between the federal government and the Indigenous nation.<sup>39</sup>

In the midst of such judicial rulings, Congress engaged in a fierce debate over Indigenous removal west of the Mississippi River. On April 24, 1830, the United States Senate voted 28-19 to pass the Indian Removal Act, and on May 26, the House of Representatives passed the act with a 102-97 vote.<sup>40</sup> In both Congressional houses, the act was debated for well over a month before its eventual passing. Based on the debate’s length (seven days in the Senate, five days in the House) and each vote’s closeness, it is apparent that Indian Removal was one of the key political debates for both the 21st Congress and the larger populace. Upon the act’s passage in 1830 and President Andrew Jackson’s military enforcement of removal despite rulings to the contrary by the United States Supreme Court, Boudinot and other Cherokees, namely the Ridge and Watie families, determined that removal was unavoidable.

Ongoing battles over land in the nineteenth century highlighted tensions related to the preservation of the United States’ racial hierarchy, as discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>41</sup> Maureen Konkle alludes to such a hierarchy when she contends that Indigenous land removal

conflicts practically disappeared as a political issue for Euro-Americans after the Indian Removal Act's passage in 1830 because, as she explains, "EuroAmericans could retain the legitimacy they needed from treaty documents and be relieved of the lurking possibility that Indians could equally legitimately refuse to concede to white superiority."<sup>42</sup> After the Indian Removal Act, the Euro-American populace was free to believe that eastern Indigenous populations disappeared into the frontier, only to be invaded, controlled, and allotted as United States borders pushed west.<sup>43</sup> Konkle goes on to discuss how Indigenous writers, like Boudinot among others, who situated themselves in this political conversation had to be conscious of the Euro-American beliefs that constructed (or deconstructed) Indigenous nations. In becoming conscious of Euro-American beliefs while still maintaining their own sovereignty, Indigenous writers entered hybrid contact zones. As such, the *Cherokee Phoenix* used print networks to circulate rhetoric that sought to equalize Cherokee Nation's position in the United States' racial hierarchy with that of their white neighbors. Doing so made Cherokees into the "Present Indian" rather than the "Disappearing Indian," even if the rhetoric used portrayed Cherokees as more white than red.

Given the need to appeal to the political power of a white audience, the *Phoenix* would likely need to make the Cherokee appear as already Westernized so that a white audience would contribute money and political power to the Cherokee anti-removal cause. By employing both transpositional and subjugated discourses, sometimes separately, sometimes together, and often moving seamlessly between the two, the *Phoenix* argues against removal via a similar but expanded rhetorical style as evidenced in Boudinot's "Address to the Whites." Such discourses are evidenced by looking at how the *Phoenix* constructed Cherokee Nation as a nation built on similar principles to the United States in its front page articles.

### Rooting a Nation

Because the *Phoenix* is heavily rooted in constructing an emerging nationalism, the newspaper serves as a great example of print culture's importance on the perceptions of a nation. Not only does Boudinot, as editor-in-chief, attempt to establish their national community through the printing of the newspaper, but in many articles and printed legal documents, the *Phoenix* adopts the United States as a rhetorical model of nation creation. Recently, scholars such as Keri Holt and Angela Pulley Hudson began considering the *Phoenix*'s rhetorical purposes as a way of interpreting its content. Holt identifies two primary rhetorical strategies that the *Phoenix* carefully oscillates between: invoking their own national authority in defining themselves and their borders, primarily through printing laws; and simultaneously presenting the United States as already having defined Cherokee sovereignty, meaning that questioning Cherokee national sovereignty in turn questioned United States authority.<sup>44</sup> Like other recent scholars, Holt also points toward the *Phoenix*'s multiple audiences.<sup>45</sup> In doing so, Holt argues for the importance of a white audience by claiming that publishing Cherokee laws demonstrated Boudinot's attempts to convince a white audience that "the Cherokee were capable of governing their nation independently and effectively."<sup>46</sup> In arguing that the *Phoenix* tried to "reorient public perceptions" of Cherokees as a nation aligned with U.S. interests, Holt primarily focuses on the legal documents reproduced in the newspaper.<sup>47</sup> I would add that the legal documents themselves also root Cherokee Nation in a specific self-defined Indigenous space.

The *Phoenix* effectively demonstrated Cherokee assimilation and argued against removal based on similarities shared with their white neighbors by mimicking the United States' version of nationhood. In other words, the *Phoenix* engaged in Walker's transpositional discourse. Mirroring United States national documents weaves throughout the front page of the *Cherokee Phoenix*'s first issues, which included the complete Cherokee Constitution and select laws.

Printing the Constitution in the first issues of the newspaper, as argued previously by Holt and Cushman, defined Cherokee Nation in a written form easily recognizable by the United States.<sup>48</sup> Even though the majority of the Cherokee Constitution resembles that of the United States, it begins in a strikingly different way. The United States Constitution begins with the Preamble, in which the authors set aside the government's core values, while Articles I, II, and III establish the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, respectively. The Cherokee Constitution, on the other hand, first confirms their nation's relationship with their land. Not only do these documents identify Cherokee Nation as a sovereign political entity by mirroring their constructed sovereignty on the settler-colonial nation that is trying to subvert it, but such documents work to establish a sovereign, communally held land from which Cherokee Nation cannot be separated. In other words, the *Phoenix* appropriated settler-colonial rhetorical constructions of national space in order to reaffirm their national sovereignty.

Published on the front page of the *Cherokee Phoenix*'s first issue, Article I of the Cherokee Constitution, which comes after a brief Preamble, covers the nation's boundaries and the national government's landed jurisdiction. The boundary descriptions do not focus on the formal longitude and latitude that Euro-American peoples ascribe to the world. Instead, the Cherokee Constitution defines its borders through natural geographic formations: "thence along the main channel of said river, including all the islands therein, to the mouth of the Hiwassee River, thence up the main channel of said river, including islands, to the first hill which closes in on said river."<sup>49</sup> Without an intimate knowledge of the surrounding landscape, these boundary demarcations make little sense. As opposed to the United States Constitution, the Cherokee Constitution does not start by explaining its government, but rather provides an inclusive description of its borders. To understand the Cherokee need to identify their national boundaries



in this way, I turn to Keith Basso's *Wisdom Sits in Places*. Even though Basso focuses on the Western Apache, his discussion of indigeneity and landscape applies to my argument about Cherokee land associations. Drawing on the theories of Martin Heidegger and Jean-Paul Sarte, Basso explains "sense of place" as a reciprocal relationship between physical landscapes and identity.<sup>50</sup> In giving details that illustrate an intimate knowledge of the land, the Cherokee Constitution as printed in the *Phoenix* creates an assimilated Indigenous government that constitutionally cannot be divorced from its ancestral lands in the United States' southeast.

Not only does Article I, Section I rhetorically appease the United States assimilationist efforts, but it also firmly links the constitutionally bounded land with treaties previously agreed upon between the Cherokees and the United States. These treaties illustrate an arrangement that legally ascribes Cherokee political sovereignty since treaties only exist between independent nations and not between sovereign nations and their constituents. Furthermore, Article I, Section II affirms that Cherokee land "shall remain the common property of the Nation" and that the nation's citizens own the improvements.<sup>51</sup> In these lines we see that Cherokees' view of communal land ownership holds an important position in the nation's founding documents—or rather the founding documents that must appear in order for Euro-American society to conceive of the Cherokee as a sovereign nation. Instead of simply mirroring the United States Constitution, the Cherokee apply United States notions of sovereignty in order to legitimize practices long combated by settler-colonial assimilation efforts—in this case communal versus individual land ownership.

By placing Constitutional Articles on the front page of the first three issues, the *Phoenix* reinforces Cherokee Nation's locality. Holt similarly focuses on the boundary descriptions' importance in the Cherokee Constitution. In doing so, she argues that explicitly defining

boundaries in the Constitution was meant to protect the specific locations of Cherokees prior to removal in 1836.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, Cherokee national authority was expressed in regard to a specific location. I take Holt's argument one step further to show that while the Constitution did seek to identify a specific locality for Cherokee Nation, the *Phoenix's* choice to print the Constitution and its boundary descriptions on the front page of the newspaper's first issue signaled to readers the significance of specific lands to Cherokee Nation. More importantly, such front page production indicated the newspaper's clear purpose to argue for the Cherokees' right to stay on that land. In other words, the *Phoenix* engages in acts of self-determination long before twentieth century activist groups, such as the American Indian Movement or the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, popularized the concept.

Similar to the national boundary descriptions included in the Constitution, subsequent Cherokee laws also defined individual district boundaries. For instance, when setting the boundaries of Coosawatee, the third district, Cherokee law states that the district begins "at the widow Fool's Ferry on the Oostannallah river, where the Alabama road crosses it, along said wagon road eastwardly; leading towards Etowah town to a large creek above Thomas Pettit's plantation, near to the Sixes, and up said creek, north eastward, to its source."<sup>53</sup> The boundary continues with similar descriptions, referring to landmarks that require an intimate knowledge of the landscape, surrounding geographies, and even sometimes long established residents. Again, boundary lines do not focus on longitude and latitude but on natural land formations; through the district boundaries we also see that Cherokees do not only use waterway boundaries, a natural boundary often included along with latitude and longitude in Euro-American boundaries. In order to understand the above district boundary example, we must know where roads cross certain waterways, Thomas Pettit's plantation in reference to the Sixes creek, and the creek's

source. Only people who spent generations occupying the same land would know these attributes and pass them down through successive generations. Since the people occupying these borders define them, the boundary descriptions offer a self-determined view of Cherokee Nation rather than a settler-state determined one. Cherokee self-determined constitutional boundaries showcase individual, communal, and national identities as infused in the land as well as created by it.

Admittedly, newspapers' front pages in the first half of the nineteenth century would receive less emphasis than they do now, given the value of printed goods and the tendency for readers to read the entire newspaper. The most recent news would have been printed in the middle pages, often in hierarchical order, meant to be read from beginning to end, while the least urgent information would be contained on the front pages, which were more likely to be damaged or smudged in transport.<sup>54</sup> When I say that it is important to consider the front page placement of Cherokee government documents, I consider nineteenth century reading practices to avoid a presentist reading of front page importance. If we consider that newspapers would likely have been read in their entirety, then it is crucial to note that *Phoenix* readers would likely have read or have been encouraged to read the government documents included on the front page prior to reading the remainder of that page. By including these legal documents on the front page, and doing so for much of its first year, the *Phoenix* sets up each issue as informed by such representations of assimilated civilization for its reader. In other words, front page inclusion of items like the Constitution or acts outlawing blood revenge likely influenced the way readers perceived upcoming articles.

One such example of the likely influence on later articles comes from the same issue that includes the Cherokee act outlawing blood revenge. The first two columns of the March 13, 1828 issue include English language translations of several acts, including the aforementioned

outlawing of blood revenge, as well as the establishment of a police force or militia, and requiring unanimous consent of the Standing Committee to sell Cherokee “common property” or land. The following two columns contain Cherokee translations of the included laws. The remaining partial column of the front page contains two short articles, “Scandal” and “Cannibalism.” “Scandal” offers a moral tale about spreading slanderous remarks. On its own, the simple story seems to be nothing more than a reminder of good manners. Coming immediately after printing Cherokee laws that present the Cherokee as heavily assimilated to Anglo-American governmental practices, “Scandal” implies the story’s moral on those who slander the Cherokee. This application of the moral is reinforced by the article that follows and is the last article on the front page, “Cannibalism.” The article is an extract from an 1825 letter from Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, missionaries travelling to the South Sea Islands. The excerpt tells of their narrow escape from being eaten by New Zealand cannibals, having been saved by another missionary living among the islanders. Readers, having read Cherokee laws and then the moral tale, would now be encouraged via subjugated discourse to reflect on the lack of “savagery” expressed by the Cherokee, as demonstrated in the articles prior to “Cannibalism.” So while the front page inclusion of such laws may not have the same sort of emphasis as in the modern era, looking at the front page as a whole, with early nineteenth century readers typically reading pages from start to finish, the inclusion of stories like “Scandal” and “Cannibalism” would reinforce the assimilated nature of the preceding laws. As such, the front page article layout contributes to the transpositional discourse of the paper, with both short articles subtly forwarding arguments against removal.

The Long Arm of the *Phoenix*

The individual page layout of the *Phoenix* contributed to its anti-removal arguments and demonstrates the paper as engaging with genre conventions of early nineteenth century newsprint. A crucial component of the genre includes that of reprinted articles from other papers. The *Phoenix* engaged in a vast network of newsprint, not only by reprinting articles from other papers, but by circulating among other editors and publishers, thus allowing for *Phoenix* articles to be reprinted in a number of papers across the United States. In order to fully consider the importance of the *Phoenix*'s print network, it is necessary to first investigate the ways in which it interacted with other papers.

Part of positioning the *Phoenix* in a larger print network involves looking at how the paper was dispersed. To get at such information, I consider the newspaper's listed subscription agents, as well as exchanges with other papers, as evidenced by articles reprinted within the *Phoenix* and *Phoenix* articles reprinted elsewhere. The *Phoenix* listed subscription agents in Boston, New York City, Richmond, Beaufort, Canandaigua, Charleston, and Utica, implying that the newspaper had subscribers far beyond Cherokee Nation's borders. Looking further into the *Phoenix*'s participation in nineteenth century print culture, in its first year alone the *Phoenix* reprinted articles from newspapers such as the *Asiatic Journal*, the *New York Observer*, the *Boston Recorder*, the *Vermont Watchmen*, the *Berkshire American*, the *Albany Register*, the *Hampshire Gazette*, and even an unidentified "London Paper." Including reprinted articles and original articles on international events helped the *Cherokee Phoenix* present Cherokee Nation as sovereign by way of its relationship to other nations.<sup>55</sup> Through subscriptions and reprints from multiple geographically distant locations, the *Phoenix* and its readers took part in a nineteenth century print network. This in turn contributed to a growing Cherokee national community, and,

when a sympathetic audience could be reached, the potential to advocate against removal. Such action required treading carefully between Cherokee sovereignty and Cherokee assimilation.

The way in which the *Phoenix* itself was reprinted or mentioned in other nineteenth century newspapers more tellingly reveals the rhetorical motivations in presenting the Cherokee as already assimilated, even if that depiction was rhetorical mythmaking. When considering the importance of assimilationist reprints, it is necessary to recognize what Trish Loughran points toward in discussing Anderson's imagined communities. She argues that imagined communities rely on the idea that print can erase local differences and instill certain levels of homogeneity, whether real or not.<sup>56</sup> With this in mind, articles reprinted from the *Phoenix* or other mentions of the Cherokee newspaper function to establish connections among diverse readers, at least in print. That is not to say that a homogenous imagined community was actually established by these reprints, but rather that print networks opened the possibility that minority groups, like the Cherokee, might be viewed as components of an imagined national community rather than a cantankerous malady impeding the United States' national project. All of this works under the assumption that communities do not remove parts that are like the rest, referring to Anderson's *homogenous* imagined community. The *Phoenix's* continued printing of articles that relied on mirroring tactics, i.e. ones with strong assimilationist views, in turn implied Cherokee inclusion in the US imagined community. This is not to suggest that such a use of print networks actually caused more sympathy among the settler-colonial populace or even that Boudinot's intentions to produce an anti-removal argument held any sway over editors who chose whether or not to reprint *Phoenix* articles. Rather this argument offers a way of understanding how pro-assimilationist *and* anti-removal articles functioned as reprints in relation to nation formation and the hybrid nature of Boudinot and the *Phoenix*.

When the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and others like it that are geographically distant from Cherokee Nation published sympathetic mentions and reprints of the Cherokee and their newspaper, these articles potentially established a United States print network that could envision the Cherokee within a national homogenous imagined community.<sup>57</sup> In contrast to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Georgian newspapers—whose primary readers were located much closer to Cherokee land and more deeply interested in gaining that land’s material wealth—were less likely, along with surrounding Southern newspapers, to reproduce positive articles or mentions of the Cherokee. In this way, the Cherokee remained outside the South’s imagined community.<sup>58</sup> Here I return briefly to McGill’s discussions of reprint culture in the time of nation formation. The changing physical and political makeup of the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century allows for an analysis of reprinting to direct current scholars toward problematizing the “cultural coherence of the nation” rather than the assumption that the “nation” already existed.<sup>59</sup> In other words, reprinting does not indicate an already established national identity. Instead, reprints played a central role in national identity formation in the early nineteenth century. Paying attention to geographical or regional divides in the sympathetic or unsympathetic print networks offers a method of interrogating the potential effects of reprints on a nation still in the process of creating its own identity.

Sympathetic and unsympathetic use of the *Phoenix* by other newspapers almost always aligned according to the relative distance from the Cherokee or other southeastern tribes. Therefore, reprints also have a North/South divide. The existence of a sympathetic press is also highlighted by John Coward when he contends that both sympathetic and unsympathetic newspapers relied on “separat[ing] the Indian from the white majority by emphasizing the predetermined characteristics of the race.”<sup>60</sup> While this may certainly be the case for the largely

white sample that Coward interrogates, considering how *Phoenix* articles are reprinted and editorialized within that same print network paints a different picture. Reprints, to name a few, appeared in the *Indiana Journal* from Indianapolis, the *Daily National Journal* in Washington DC, the *Vermont Chronicle* printed in Windsor, VT, and the *Niles' Weekly Register* out of Baltimore. Reprinted articles ranged from the previously discussed “Scandal” that adopted a creative yet moral tone, to the slightly lengthier “Savage Hostilities” that recounted the wrongs committed by Georgia on the Cherokee, to “Arrest of the Missionaries among the Cherokees” that related Samuel Worcester’s and John F. Wheeler’s arrests, both of whom worked with Boudinot to produce the *Phoenix*.<sup>61</sup> Many early reprints tend to highlight general interest articles, such as the moral story, “Scandal.” Others tend to focus on the Cherokee Syllabary, with reprinted explanations of the script to stories of its invention by Sequoyah.<sup>62</sup>

Leading up to Congress passing of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, Worcester’s arrest, the resulting Supreme Court cases, and Andrew Jackson’s response, northern newspapers reprinted articles that focused more and more on injustices done by Georgia and the ultimate battle for Cherokee sovereignty to stay on their ancestral land.<sup>63</sup> For example, in the July 7, 1829 issue of the *Western Intelligencer* out of Hudson, Ohio, two *Phoenix* articles appear. One is an editorial, “New Echota, May 27,” that describes the Georgia law that prevents American Indians from testifying in court against a white man. Boudinot’s editorial offers the following reaction to the law: “if we can receive no redress, we can feel deeply the injustice done to our rights.”<sup>64</sup> In this instance, Boudinot’s use of subjugated discourse within the *Phoenix* is transported to the *Western Intelligencer*’s audience. The second *Phoenix* article is reprinted on the next page of the *Intelligencer*. This reprinted article, titled “Creeks,” references yet another paper, the *Alabama Journal*. At this point, the layers of the *Phoenix*’s print network begin to unfold.



In the May 27, 1829 issue of the *Phoenix*, the same from which the *Western Intelligencer* pulls both of its editorial reprints, there are multiple articles about the Creeks. One comes from the *Richmond Compiler* and the other from the *Alabama Journal*. Alabama had passed a law similar to Georgia regarding Indigenous legal rights in court. As such, the article from the *Alabama Journal* warns that “the President tells them that an Agent will no longer be retained in their present nation; that it is his wish they should remove” and furthermore that given Alabama’s new law, “they [Creeks] will be thrown without the protection of the General Government.”<sup>65</sup> What gets reprinted in the *Intelligencer*, however, is a second editorial from the *Phoenix*’s May 27<sup>th</sup> edition on the Creeks based on the *Phoenix*’s reprinted *Alabama Journal* article. In Boudinot’s second reprinted editorial, he expresses solidarity with the Creeks and remarks, “we hope such a talk has not been sent by General Jackson.—We pity the Creeks—they afford an example of the effects of the emigrating scheme.”<sup>66</sup> In these lines, not only is Boudinot extending support to the Creeks, but he also clearly states his current stance against removal. Even though the absence of the context about Alabama’s law and Jackson’s demands for Creek removal is lost when the *Intelligencer* reprints Boudinot’s editorials, the message expressed by the *Phoenix*’s reprinted material creates a sympathetic view of Cherokees and Creeks. Even if the *Intelligencer* and other sympathetic papers, like the *Niles’ Weekly Register*, also simultaneously reprinted pro-removal articles and editorials, the presence of sympathetic reprints still starkly contrasts with papers found closer to Cherokee Nation.

Papers surrounding the Cherokee, such as the *Augusta Chronicle*, *The Southern Times*, and the *Richmond Enquirer*, rarely reprinted or mentioned the *Phoenix*. When they did so, they typically included some sort of editorial commentary on the reprinted article that showcased the Cherokee as a hostile, drunk, uncivilized people who needed to be removed from the southeast as

quickly as possible, as is the case with an article found in the February 20, 1830 issue of the *Savannah Georgian*. In fact, the *Savannah Georgian* article “Indian Hostilities” was also reprinted in the *Southern Times* out of Columbia, South Carolina and the *Greenville Mountaineer* out of Greenville, South Carolina.<sup>67</sup> In all three versions, the article relies in part on editorial comments from the *Savannah Georgian* and on an extensive quote from the *Phoenix*. All three versions of “Indian Hostilities” describe an instance in which Cherokee Principal Chief John Ross sends out a party “in pursuit of certain white and Indian horse thieves in true Indian style,” and which “have turned seventeen families, whom they chose to ‘believe’ intruders, from their houses, which they set fire to and burnt.” The editorial comments continue to explain that “after this savage onslaught the party retreated, but five of them, too much intoxicated to keep pace with their fleeter companions, were overtaken.” A note adds “we have not exaggerated this tale” before immediately producing a description from the *Phoenix* as if to shore up the event’s details. The quote from the *Phoenix*, which makes up over half of “Indian Hostilities,” seems upon first glance and without any background knowledge to support the *Savannah Georgian*’s description.

When compared to the original *Phoenix* article, the geographical bias of reprinting in the nineteenth century explodes with full force. The “Indian Hostilities” quote comes from a February 10, 1830 *Phoenix* article titled, “First Blood Shed By the Georgians!!” The quote from the “Indian Hostilities” reprint is there word-for-word. What was left on the *Savannah Georgian*’s cutting room floor and out of its subsequent reprints were the portions before and after the quote that explains that the “intruders” were Georgians. With this additional information, the meaning of the quote used by the *Savannah Georgian* changes entirely. Instead of Cherokees kicking seventeen families out of their homes, burning said homes to the ground,

getting drunk, and finally being arrested by Georgians, the quote describes a group of Cherokee arresting horse thieves, evicting seventeen families of Georgian squatters in Cherokee homes, and upon returning home, one Cherokee was killed and three were taken into custody by Georgia. In unsympathetic reprints like “Indian Hostilities,” there appears a need to bar the Cherokee from becoming part of the United States’ national community, which requires the *Phoenix* and the Cherokee writ-large to be subjugated as Other, and therefore, a disruption to the homogenous nation. Only by interrogating the *Phoenix*’s participation in a nineteenth century print network is it possible to begin to grasp political motivations of reprint culture.

While many newspapers that reprinted articles mentioned the *Phoenix* in various ways, mentions alone span a much wider geographical range, including more papers in the United States South, such as the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette* and the *Augusta Chronicle* out of Georgia. Many mentions simply announce a Cherokee newspaper’s upcoming publication, with some offering subscription information.<sup>68</sup> Some notable others, including a March 18, 1828 article in the *Raleigh Register* and a March 22, 1828 article in the *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette* both refer to the *Phoenix* as a “literary curiosity” with the *Raleigh Register* further proclaiming that similar activities “should be encouraged” among Indigenous groups. In both instances, we see surprise or even amazement at an Indigenous nation successfully producing its own newspaper, especially a bilingual one. These articles suggest a strong pressure to print more assimilationist articles within the *Phoenix*. At the same time, such reference to the *Phoenix* still positions the Cherokee as outside of the imagined community. However, such outsiders are beginning to take shape as an equivalent, imagined nation.

Significantly, the *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette*, and not the *Raleigh Register*, goes on to state that “a single sight of such a production is sufficient to overthrow a thousand times all

the unprincipled declamation, and the unfounded declarations, made by interested white men against the incompetency of all Indians for civilized life.”<sup>69</sup> The *Phoenix*’s very existence seems to put some of its fellow, predominantly white publications, in awe. The *Gazette* even goes as far as to claim that the *Phoenix*’s existence should render false all arguments of Indigenous savagery. Presumably, Boudinot, as editor-in-chief, was well aware of these perceptions as his previously discussed letter to his father-in-law shows, and would purposefully continue to print articles that would foster that perception. The *Gazette*’s short article goes on to argue why the *Phoenix* is “one of the most remarkable” publications ever created in the industry. For evidence, the *Gazette* cites the *Phoenix* having been created by Native Americans, the *Phoenix*’s “resolute determination to adopt the advantages of civilization,” the publication of Cherokee Nation’s Constitution in the newspaper’s first issues, and the *Phoenix*’s bilingual nature, all of which are elements of the rhetorical assimilations purposefully used by Boudinot to garner just such a reaction.

While the *Gazette* is only one example of other periodicals’ perceptions of the *Phoenix*, and perhaps even those periodicals’ white readers’ perceptions, the evidence the *Gazette* cites as reasons for the *Phoenix*’s extraordinary status offers insight into why the *Phoenix* produced more articles about “the advantages of civilization” and printed more of those articles in English. The more articles written in English, the more possibilities for reprints, and the more those English language articles were about assimilation, the greater possibility that an extended white audience would encounter “evidence” of Cherokee assimilation.

In contrast to the “literary curiosity” that demonstrates vast Cherokee assimilation as interpreted by the *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette*, the *Augusta Chronicle* illustrates the local fear and determination by white neighbors to have Cherokees removed. Reprinted from the *Richmond*

*Enquirer* from Virginia, the *Chronicle*'s March 25, 1828 article titled, "A Cherokee Newspaper!" starts by linking recent establishments of African American newspapers in New York and Philadelphia to the *Phoenix*'s creation. The majority of the article is spent quoting extensively from the Cherokee Syllabary explanation included in the *Phoenix*'s first issue. Finally, the article arrives at its true purpose: a discussion of removal. Briefly, the article covers how the *Phoenix* is determined to convey that the Cherokee, unlike the Creek or Choctaw, will not remove west of the Mississippi. The article proclaims that the Cherokees should realize from past occurrences that "the foot of the white man is continually treading upon their heels; that the resources of the surrounding whites must gradually destroy all insulated opposition on the part of the sons of the forest."<sup>70</sup> Notably different in tone from the northern *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the southern *Richmond Enquirer* and subsequently the *Augusta Chronicle* pitch the *Phoenix* to their readers as an interesting occurrence, but one incapable of preventing inevitable Cherokee removal. Unlike the *Gazette*, the *Enquirer*'s and the *Chronicle*'s writers, editors, and majority of readers were geographically closer to Cherokee Nation, and had more potential to benefit from Cherokee land acquisition than distant readers in the North, especially considering that some of the largest and wealthiest plantations in the area belonged to Cherokees.<sup>71</sup> It is evident from the mentions and reprints included in geographically closer newspapers that the *Phoenix*'s use of transpositional and subjugated discourses to argue against removal and later for Indigenous rights across the United States did not outweigh the southern white reader's settler-colonial desire for expansion west.

### Politics and Print

Regardless of the rhetorical choices the *Phoenix* employed, removal proved inevitable. Because Cherokees successfully appeared to adopt Euro-American or Western practices through

mimicking United States traditions, Cherokees threatened, as Parins points out, to upset their Euro-American neighbors' long established racial hierarchy. In doing so, Cherokees not only became a threat but their Westernization implied the same possibility for other Indigenous groups, and potentially United States' African slaves. In the eyes of much of white America, especially those in areas with large Indigenous populations, only Indigenous westward removal could maintain the United States' racial hierarchy.

Political movements in the 1830s—the Indian Removal Act, the Marshall court decisions, and Jackson's decision to enforce removal despite Supreme Court rulings—convinced the *Phoenix's* original editor-in-chief, Elias Boudinot that ultimately the U.S. would force all Indigenous peoples to remove or to submit to extermination. His changed attitude toward removal caused Cherokee Nation to remove Boudinot from his post at the newspaper, and eventually led Boudinot to side with other like-minded Cherokees and sign the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which transferred remaining Cherokee lands in the southeast for land in present-day Oklahoma. After migrating, Boudinot would be surprised by a group of Cherokee at the building site of his new home and brutally assassinated. His family, along with the Ridges (Major Ridge and John Ridge were also killed) fled for their lives to Fayetteville, Arkansas.

If we accept that Boudinot used assimilation in the *Phoenix* as a rhetorical strategy rather than a factual depiction of the Cherokee, then maybe Boudinot can be seen as occupying a hybrid contact zone similar to Eastman and Margarita in the previous chapter. Once Boudinot's hybridity is recognized, it is possible to see him as working for his people, rather than someone so entrenched in Western culture that he did not know he was misrepresenting his own nation. He was not a traitor to his people, but a trader in words that had the potential to support his people in their arguments against removal. The *Phoenix* is not an ethnographic print publication

that can give scholars great insight into mid-nineteenth century Cherokee life, nor is it only a construction of Cherokee nationalism. The *Phoenix* must also be seen as more than an individual paper. It must be recognized as participating in a nineteenth century print network that had greater potential to disseminate pro-Cherokee, anti-removal arguments. Even though such a network was unmistakably created and manipulated by the interests of individual editors, it is unfair to the *Phoenix* and other minority nineteenth century print publications to refuse to recognize their seat at the table. While Boudinot and the *Phoenix* would ultimately fail to prevent Indian Removal, their effort to control and disseminate a message of protest, however small, is an act of sovereignty and self-determination that ripples through centuries of Indigenous periodicals. The *Phoenix* may not directly influence other Indigenous activist movements, especially like that of the Zapatistas, in my next chapter, but it does serve as an early example of the purposeful use of a settler-state style of national rhetoric to serve Indigenous needs. As such, the *Phoenix* represents one instance in which the nation and American space is redefined by Indigenous groups.

## Chapter 4

### The Indigenous Insurgent

*La soberanía nacional reside esencial y originariamente en el pueblo. Todo poder público dimana del pueblo y se instituye para beneficio de éste. El pueblo tiene, en todo tiempo, el inalienable derecho de alterar o modificar la forma de su gobierno.*

National sovereignty resides essentially and originally in the people. All public power comes from the people and is instituted for the benefit of the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify the form of their government.

—Article 39, Constitution of the United States of Mexico

Embedded in the Mexican Constitution is the notion that the nation's people have a right to modify their government. The Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) grounds over three decades of activism in this essential right of the people. As both Chapters 2 and 3 showed, the notion of working within the settler-colonial system by Indigenous peoples is not necessarily new. At the same time, “working within the system” has not always been consistent with the EZLN's various declarations of war and critiques of global capitalism. For now, the EZLN works within the Mexican government's structure to improve Indigenous rights, as evidenced by one of their most recent announcements. On October 14th, 2016 the EZLN announced that in conjunction with the National Indigenous Congress (CNI), they would run an Indigenous woman as an independent candidate in the 2018 Mexican presidential election.<sup>1</sup> In the same announcement, the EZLN re-solidified their commitment to Indigenous concerns by including a twenty-seven point list denouncing wrong-doings against Indigenous communities. While twenty-six of the points refer to different Indigenous groups spread over every Mexican state, point twenty-seven moves much farther north, stating: “La nación Dakota está viendo invadido y destruido su territorio sagrado por gaseoductos y oleoductos, por lo que mantiene un plantón permanente para proteger lo que es suyo” [The Dakota Nation's sacred territory is being invaded and destroyed by gas and oil pipelines, which is why they are maintaining a permanent



occupation to protect what is theirs].<sup>2</sup> With this statement, the EZLN illustrates that Indigenous concerns cannot be limited to a single settler-colonial nation, but must reach out to groups facing similar problems in other areas. In short, their twenty-seventh point illustrates the need for a transnational approach to Indigenous resistance.

A key component to the EZLN's struggle since its initial declaration of war against Mexico in 1994 has been the preservation of Indigenous land. Both the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the EZLN declarations share this concern with the Cherokee trying to prevent removal west, and the EZLN trying to maintain Indigenous communal ownership. However, as they moved into the twenty-first century, the EZLN's concerns changed to broadly advocate for Indigenous rights, fight government corruption, and critique global capitalism. While the EZLN's eruption on the world stage in the 1990s was certainly elevated due to new communicative methods like the Internet, they still very much relied on newspapers, telephone, and fax to spread their initial declarations. The early 21st century, when the modern EZLN website first appeared, was often heralded as the end of the hardcopy newspaper. Newspapers were putting more content online as more people used the Internet and various smart devices to stay updated on news instead of buying hardcopy newspapers. By the 2000s, the EZLN started to rely more heavily on their own website and eventually social media as their initial forms of information dissemination were facing the prospect of fading into obsolescence. As one of the first Indigenous activists groups to take advantage of the Internet's instantaneous connectivity, scholarship should consider how the EZLN harnessed that power to reshape Indigenous insurgency.

Before considering how the EZLN inserts Indigenous concerns into a global communication network, I turn first to Latin American subaltern studies as it applies to the EZLN's communicative practices. Within Latin American subaltern studies, Indigenous

populations maintain a subaltern status or a status outside (and below) the hegemonic power system. John Beverly argues that to achieve progress the subaltern subject must “become essentially like that which is *already* hegemonic,” causing the subaltern to no longer be subaltern through its assimilation to the ruling class.<sup>3</sup> In other words, Indigenous peoples of the Americas (the subaltern subject) must fully adopt the norms of the hegemonic class to become part of the nation. More specifically, José Rabasa looks at the EZLN as an organization that purposefully pursues its “self-conscious subalternity” as part of the “counter-hegemony.”<sup>4</sup> In other words, Rabasa argues that subaltern movements, like the EZLN, are aware of their status within the settler-colonial nation and thus, adopt meta-subaltern practices and communications in order to better advocate for Indigenous rights. However, according to the conventional wisdom of subaltern studies, by recognizing their subalternity, an Indigenous subject is no longer subaltern and becomes part of the hegemonic nation.<sup>5</sup> Both Beverly and Rabasa seem to forward arguments that make the removal of the group’s subalternity a necessary step for Indigenous participation in the settler-colonial nation. I would counter that the act of erasing subaltern status engages in the practice of erasing the subaltern subject itself. Subaltern erasure is a crucial element in figuring indigeneity in the modern settler-state imaginary.

The EZLN’s meta-subaltern practices are most apparent through its use of satire within its contemporary *communiqués*. While their use of satire ranges in topic and subtlety, it most often occurs simultaneously with non-satirical posts. When this happens, the first half of a *communiqué* will refrain from satirical elements and instead report information, call for participation in events and conferences, or raise awareness about a particular issue. The second half of the *communiqué* will often be comprised of satirical references or commentary related to the first half’s topic. Perhaps the most common theme within such satirical posts are references

to Western pop culture. The EZLN uses satire in these moments to critique global capitalism as today's dominant colonizing force vis-à-vis pop culture as global capitalism's stand-in. The EZLN thus figures global capitalism as the settler-colonizing force that perpetuates the subjugation of Indigenous peoples.

Global capitalism, like settler-colonialism, often serves as an oppressive force on Indigenous women specifically. Not only does the EZLN advocate for equality and women's rights in their posts and in their actions, but they also utilize satire in similar ways to their critiques of global capitalism in order to expose gender inequality. In these satirical moments, the EZLN adopts global capitalist/settler-colonialist rhetoric in order to satirize the oppression of and sexist attitudes towards women. Like their satire of Western pop culture, the EZLN, when using satire in relation to women's rights, adopts the colonizer's rhetoric in order to critique the colonizer itself. Through such satire, the EZLN critiques women's oppression not only under global capitalism, but also within the *machismo* that permeates their own culture. In offering space for Indigenous women within their ranks to make their voices heard as well as utilizing satire to critique multiple systems, including its own, the EZLN not only allows the subaltern to speak, but uses its position as a subaltern activist group to advocate for other subaltern groups (i.e., the subaltern speaks for another subaltern).

#### Indigenous Activism and the Internet

The EZLN started as a fairly typical guerilla insurgency, but it quickly morphed into a decentralized netwar that also refocused on attracting transnational groups to their aid.<sup>6</sup> With the transition to a media focus, the EZLN was able to ensure that their insurrection remained in the international spotlight, encouraged international oversight on human rights violations, and eventually, to begin negotiations with the Mexican government.<sup>7</sup> In comparison with their

publications today, the EZLN's rhetoric in 1994 mentioned Indigenous issues very little, but rather focused on socialist reforms within the Mexican state. Like the change from guerilla warfare to social netwar, the EZLN also shifted to a greater emphasis on Indigenous rights shortly after their initial declaration of war.<sup>8</sup> Some scholars, like Gemma van der Haar, have considered the different ways in which Zapatista action has progressed into the twenty-first century in relation to the legal rights of Indigenous peoples.<sup>9</sup> However, very few scholars have considered contemporary EZLN communications. I postulate the absence of scholarly considerations of contemporary EZLN writing correlates to the reduction of violent tactics by the EZLN and the relatively successful containment of guerrilla actions by the Mexican state. Despite these changes in the Zapatista-Mexico relationship, today Zapatista publications on their website and social media accounts continue to illustrate their resistance to the settler-colonizing mission and work to decolonize global capitalism's subordination of Indigenous peoples and the settler-colonial system of silencing Indigenous women.

The EZLN's first newsletter, *El Despertador Mexicano*, appeared in late December 1993. Published in print and electronic forms, the newsletter offered a declaration of war on the Mexican state. In the newsletter, the EZLN was primarily concerned with the Mexican government's power rather than Indigenous sovereignty or Indigenous rights, two issues which would gain more significance in the EZLN's later *communiqués*. Perhaps the EZLN's early focus on critiquing the Mexican government and focusing on issues of class brought forth critiques of the EZLN's leader, Subcomandante Marcos, the *nom de guerre* of Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente, an upper-middle class, educated man that joined the Indigenous uprising. His background and involvement with Indigenous activism brought forth critiques of appropriation that resulted in the questioning of Marcos' motivations.<sup>10</sup> Despite critiques of Marcos being

inauthentic because he is not Indigenous, a number of scholars have worked to demonstrate both Marcos' and the EZLN's continued focus on Indigenous rights and the group's Indigenous participants.<sup>11</sup> For instance, Rabasa relates Marcos to Bartolomé de las Casas as Western figures who advocated for Indigenous rights. In this vein, Rabasa also calls for a re-writing of history from an Indigenous perspective that asks subaltern studies to include communal memory, insurgencies, and subjugation by the nation-state. Rabasa's decolonial history would include Indigenous forms of knowledge that place subaltern movements like the EZLN, despite critiques of Marcos, in a longer history of Indigenous resistance rather than as a postmodern phenomenon.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Debra Blake also contends with critiques of Marcos as a non-Indigenous man representing Indigenous peoples. To do so, she explains that Marcos specifically distinguishes between multiple Indigenous groups that live in Chiapas and also stresses Indigenous participation in Zapatista action and decision making. According to Blake, Marco's attention to specific groups and his constant reaffirmations "confirm[s] the centrality of an Indigenous decolonial consciousness" within the Zapatista movement.<sup>13</sup> So while critiques of Marcos and of the EZLN's Indigenous "authenticity" have a range of validity, focusing on Marcos and his motives or personal history as related or unrelated to Indigenous peoples ignores the growing importance of Indigenous rights within the EZLN writ-large. A focus on Marcos' inauthenticity also erases the Indigenous resistance at the core of the EZLN's mission, much like focuses on Eastman's or Boudinot's assimilation into Euro-American culture distracts from their arguments for Indigenous sovereignty.

The EZLN's initial use of the Internet in the 1990s, such as spreading *El Despertador Mexicano* and other late 1990s publications, allowed them to connect with transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which increased international attention on Indigenous

rights in Mexico and specifically in Chiapas. Their continued use of the Internet in the 1990s has been termed a “social netwar” by David Ronfeldt et. al. Ronfeldt et. al. identify several key components to social netwar. These components include “work[ing] to build a ‘global civil society,’ and link it to local NGOs,” using information and public relations as a “key weapon” to demand informational freedom and seize media attention, and finally to “make ‘swarming’ a distinct objective, and capability, for trying to overwhelm a government or other target actor.”<sup>14</sup>

While Ronfeldt et. al. identify the EZLN as the first Indigenous group to effectively use such methods, the components to social netwar, as outlined above, are not confined to the information age or the rise of the Internet. Except for attracting international NGOs, which were not yet in existence, the *Cherokee Phoenix* certainly worked to build a civil society outside their own, cultivated their own form of public relations through articles in the paper, and took part in a large network. However, the process by which such information was shared during the nineteenth century was unavoidably slower, thus preventing the type of swarming crucial in effective social netwar. Rather than “swarm” its adversary (i.e. the Mexican government and global capitalism) as Ronfeldt et. al. would say, the EZLN perhaps more accurately used the Internet and its connective capabilities to gain support from a wide public who exposed the Mexican government’s actions. For instance, as Harry Cleaver explains in his discussion of the effects of the Internet on the EZLN movement:

The repressive response of the government, with its torture and killing, was subjected to widespread condemnation, while being very feebly defended, mostly with lies that were quickly exposed. Unlike government or editorial ‘retractions’ which might be buried in some obscure corner of a newspaper, the exposure of lies within an ongoing ‘thread’ of discussion in cyberspace emerges right up front where everyone can see it.<sup>15</sup>

In other words, the EZLN was able to establish a presence on the international stage through the Internet, and its ability to share information with large audiences instantaneously.

In discussing Indigenous activist groups within Latin America, although not specifically the EZLN, Kay Warren and Jean Jackson claim that American pan-Indigenous groups typically focus on “nonmaterialist and spiritual relation to the land, consensual decision-making, a holistic environmentalist perspective, and a reestablishment of harmony in the social and physical worlds.”<sup>16</sup> These ideals inherently challenge Western dominant forms of governance, control, and cultural values that put many Indigenous groups (either individual or pan-Indigenous) in conflict with settler-colonial power. With this in mind, Warren and Jackson remark that many Indigenous groups have necessarily modified their communications to “modernize” or Westernize the way they discuss their concerns in order to address the common forms of hegemonic discrimination they face.<sup>17</sup> For the EZLN, the Internet and the global network it provides is a modification of communicative methods to make use of modern technologies. At the same time, such modern technologies, like the Internet and social media, are used by the EZLN to critique the dominating global systems that gave rise to such technologies in the first place. Whether looking at the EZLN or other Indigenous usages of cyberspace, such as Indian Country Today Media Network in the United States, the challenge put forth by such activism relies on the need to take back Indigenous space from the colonizer. In this way, the EZLN’s usage of the Internet functions as a decolonial resistance to the global West.

Similar to the ways in which the EZLN as an Indigenous activist group gets sidelined by critiques of Marcos’s authenticity, much of their agency sometimes gets transferred in scholarship to their NGO partners. For instance, in discussing the ways in which the EZLN developed as a social network, Ronfeldt et. al. attribute most of the agency to transnational NGOs.<sup>18</sup> While such groups may have aided to better equip EZLN actors with technology to disseminate information, from the EZLN’s initial declaration of war in the *El Despertador*, they

call on other nations and international groups for support. By ignoring the agency inherent in the EZLN's various calls to arms or calls for aid, Ronfeldt et. al. denies a largely Indigenous group the ability to recognize the importance of information and information exchange. Scholarship that denies the EZLN or other Indigenous groups the ability to recognize and harness the power of information continues, perhaps unknowingly, the subjugation of Indigenous peoples as less than, uncivilized, and even savage. Ultimately, scholarly denial of Indigenous agency within their own activist groups runs the risk of perpetuating narratives born at contact about the inability of Indigenous peoples to exist within modernity.

### Zapatista Satire

By examining the use of satire, EZLN *communiqués* show the activist group as embodying a hybrid contact zone between settler and Indigenous cultures. The EZLN's satirical posts use mechanisms of global capitalism to critique the same institution. In doing so, the satirical posts illustrate the hybridity inherent in the contact zone between the EZLN and continued settler-colonialism. That hybridity is made even clearer by their use of satire regarding gender equality, as they again draw on symbols of pop culture and capitalism, only this time to demonstrate how such symbols have been incorporated into their own cultural communities, like the adoption of colonial patriarchy, which further reinforces the subjugation of women even within the EZLN.

In recognizing the hybridity relied on within EZLN satire, I return to Mary Louise Pratt's lists of "autoethnography, transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, vernacular expression," as the literary products of contact zones.<sup>19</sup> EZLN *communiqués* can be read as engaging in a number of Pratt's identified literary products, especially critique, collaboration, bilingualism, imaginary dialogue, and



parody. To Pratt's list, I would add satire as a crucial form of literary production within hybrid contact zones. In order to see satire as a common literary genre within contact zones I turn to a call made by Marijke Meijer Drees and Sonja de Leeuw to move away from the study of "high satire" like that of Horace and Jonathan Swift that make up a significant portion of criticism on the form. Instead, Drees and de Leeuw argue for scholarship to consider the different types of targets and methods used in satire by minority and multiethnic populations that would in turn broaden definitions of satire itself and make it possible to see satire as a product of the cultural clashes that make up contact zones.

The EZLN's use of satire illustrates Drees and de Leeuw's call for a broader scope in that it "travels between media and through periods of time, it provokes critical reflection on authorities, tackles values, dogmas and taboos and disturbs power relations."<sup>20</sup> By posting their *communiqués* online and reposting them to their social media accounts, the EZLN uses multiple forms in disseminating their satire to their audience. Moreover, by relying on pop culture references in their satirical metaphors, whether they are criticizing global capitalism or their own *machismo*, the EZLN takes a multimedia approach within their satire, often relying on images to clarify any ambiguity in their pop culture references for their reader. In taking this approach, the EZLN's use of satire also incorporates parodic forms. Parody, according to Linda Hutcheon, includes "a form of imitation, but imitation characterized by ironic inversion."<sup>21</sup> Using Hutcheon's definition makes clear the EZLN's parodic use of pop culture as products of global capitalism when they make their critiques against that institution. Such use of parody is even more evident when the EZLN critiques their own *machismo*, as they adopt a macho character in order to ridicule the cultural veneration of such a figure or way of being.

In discussing the EZLN's satire, I draw on Paul Simpson's identification of several satirical functions. The first and most obvious function Simpson terms as "an aggressive function" in the sense that satire must have a target of critique. The other two functions, social and intellectual, rely heavily on audience and context. Simpson's social function brings together or reaffirms community bonds within the intended audience.<sup>22</sup> For instance, other Zapatistas, then other Leftist groups or people, and then Indigenous peoples all are likely audience members who would most likely be reaffirmed by the EZLN's satirical writings on global capitalism. Simpson's intellectual function indicates the "linguistic creativity" used to achieve satire that often draws on a wide variety of literary devices that the audience must interpret.<sup>23</sup> For the majority of the satire discussed in this chapter, whether the EZLN critiques global capitalism or their own *machismo*, the satire's intellectual function surfaces through pop culture allusions. The audience must understand the reference, have a working knowledge of the pop culture item—from Batman to *Game of Thrones* to Pedro Infante—and be able to interpret the metaphorical meaning of the pop culture reference in relation to the satire's target.

### The Trouble with Pop Culture

A common feature of EZLN *communiqués* are their allusions to Western pop culture. Of course, emphasizing the importance of Western pop culture references within EZLN publications has the danger of imposing a Western worldview. However, these allusions typically stand out among EZLN posts as almost always containing images, whereas most other posts do not. For instance, the only other images to occur in 2015 *communiqués* were of EZLN events or new buildings in their communities, and those images occur sparingly. The use of visual aids seems to further emphasize the pop culture references themselves. The allusions mentioned in this chapter occur in some of the most sarcastic posts included in the 2015 archived communications,

rivalled only by some of the posts with direct references to social media. Some allusions to figures outside of Western cultural consciousness do occur, like an April 22nd, 2015 reference to Laura Bozzo, a Peruvian journalist with several talk shows. Bozzo has been embroiled in multiple controversies about her depiction of Peruvian society and use of Mexican government equipment while filming.<sup>24</sup> In stark contrast, the frequency of Western pop culture allusions range in topic, era, genre, and occur throughout multiple posts, sometimes even taking up significant portions of individual *communiqués*. For those reasons, this chapter analyzes only Western cultural allusions as they seem to serve a very particular purpose to critique the global system that creates such pop culture icons.

In some ways, the EZLN's satirical references to pop culture can be interpreted as the adoption of Western or global capitalist norms in much the same way that Charles Eastman and Elias Boudinot adopted and advocated for Christianity and Western education. As John Gledhill points out in his review of race relations in Mexico and specifically how they affected the Zapatista rebellion in Chiapas, the EZLN's communicative forms are indicative of the long history of "indigenous appropriation of European forms."<sup>25</sup> Through the EZLN's Internet usage, Gledhill argues "the idea that poor indigenous people in Mexico could take a powerful stand against capitalist globalization" positioned the EZLN as a symbol of the "anti-globalization movement."<sup>26</sup> While references to pop culture occur in serious posts in which the EZLN strongly advocates for action or sympathy for a particular cause, those references are more commonly found in posts that take a remarkably different tone to most other *communiqués*. The incredible amount of satire that accompanies this trend is crucial to understanding the trend itself, but also to understanding the EZLN's discursive practices used to simultaneously advocate for Indigenous rights and critique the mechanisms by which those rights are hindered.

One clear example of the use of satire and pop culture comes from an April 1st, 2015 *communiqués*. This post, written by Subcomandante Galeano, offers an invitation to participate in the EZLN's conference on "Critical Thought versus the Capitalist Hydra."<sup>27</sup> Like other instances, this *communiqué* creates a balancing act between sarcasm and serious philosophical inquiry. Perhaps this is most evident with the reflection Galeano offers immediately before launching into a discussion of Walter Benjamin and multiple Western pop culture allusions.

Galeano writes:

Oh, lo sé. Los clásicos inicios de las reflexiones zapatistas: desconcertantes, anacrónicos, desubicados, absurdos. Como no queriendo, como así nomás, como "ahí les dejamos", como "ahí lo vean", como "va en su cuenta". Como si aventaran una pieza de un rompecabezas y esperaran a que se entendiera que no están describiendo una parte de la realidad, sino que están imaginando la imagen completa. Como que miran el rompecabezas ya completado, con sus figuras y colores cabales, pero con los bordes de las piezas visibles, como señalando que el conjunto lo es gracias a las partes, y, claro, que cada parte adquiere su sentido en su relación con las otras.

[Oh, I know. The classic beginnings to a Zapatista reflection: disconcerting, anachronistic, silly, absurd. As if not really putting in any effort, as if just sort of putting it out there, a kind of "we'll leave you to it," or "see what you can do with it," or something like "it's on you." It's almost like they toss out a piece of a jigsaw puzzle and expect that people would understand that they are not just describing one part of reality, but have the entire image in mind. As if they saw the completed jigsaw puzzle, with its precise figures and colors in place, but with the border of each piece still visible, as if to point out that the whole exists because of all the parts, and of course, that each part acquires its meaning in relation to all the others.]<sup>28</sup>

In such an introduction to a lengthy and philosophically wandering piece, Galeano identifies this style as a trope within EZLN writings. He also points out that EZLN writings do not always clearly lay out their meaning, but rather force the reader to build meaning from the information given. This sort of purposefully obtuse rhetoric underlies much of EZLN writings, especially their references to pop culture and social media. The post's satirical double discourse allows the EZLN to make use of the trappings of global capitalism (e.g., the Internet, pop culture allusions,

mass media, etc) to critique that very system. Coming just before a series of allusions, the above paragraph also implies a certain reading model for the coming paragraphs. This model requires readers to build meaning from the references that subsequently encourage the construction of a network of textual analysis across EZLN publications in order to see the entire jigsaw puzzle instead of only one piece. With their call for interpretation and meaning building in mind, I turn to Galeano's coming allusions.

Within the April 1st post, Galeano also compares the EZLN and their writings to the Riddler, Bane, and the Joker. The *communiqué* also uses contemporary images of each villain, two of which come from the Christopher Nolan's Batman films. All three pictures have the symbol for Gato-Perro superimposed in the corner. Gato-Perro is a typically humorous character developed across EZLN *communiqués*. Typically, when writings from Gato-Perro appear, they are in the form of diary entries. Often the entry will have some connection to the topic of the rest of the *communiqué*, but sometimes the diary brings up new points. By adopting this fictional animal character as the author for some of their most satirical posts, the EZLN and its leaders can be distanced from the post's ensuing critiques as well as allow for a third party author to offer critiques of the EZLN itself, a tactic utilized in reference to women's right. At the same time, allowing Gato-Perro to serve as a stand in for the EZLN as a whole also gives the diaries a communal voice.

Through the April 1st pop culture references, the EZLN first aligns themselves with Batman villains, most notably those that question the establishment or seek disruption for disruption's sake rather than innate violence when they write: "Entonces es como si nuestras reflexiones fueran un reto, un enigma del Acertijo, un desafío de Mr. Bane, un comodín en las manos del Guasón mientras inquiere '¿Por qué tan serios?'" [And so, it is as if our reflections

were a dare, one of the Riddler's enigmas, one of Mr. Bane's challenges, one of the wildcards the Joker pulls while asking, "Why so serious?"]<sup>29</sup> In this line, the EZLN reminds its audience what each of these villains is known for. The Riddler is known for having a high IQ and for leaving enigmas or riddles, puzzles, and clues for police or Batman to solve. Bane, on the other hand, is most obviously known for his incredible strength; however, he is also meant to be a very intelligent character, self-taught, multi-lingual, and is one of the few villains capable of defeating Batman.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the Joker, as Batman's archenemy, is a criminal mastermind and psychopath with an incredible love of unbridled chaos. By aligning the EZLN with such villains, Galeano gives the organization a negative connotation, but one that largely rests on the ability to know or perceive things which others cannot. The same capability of the EZLN—to see the evils of the Mexican government and the global capitalist system—is brought up constantly in EZLN *communiqués* since the group's publication of *El Despertador*. It can be argued that this insight, or ability to tell good government from bad, is one of EZLN's core tenets. In fact, debating good and bad government forms the subject matter of the conference invitation from which the above Batman allusions are derived.

The April 1st *communiqué* also explicitly compares Gato-Perro to Sherlock and Moriarty, which simultaneously likens the EZLN to a superhero and a supervillain. All of these allusions rely on highly popular Western narratives or characters, with the final installment of Christopher Nolan's *Batman* released only three years prior, and both Guy Ritchie's *Sherlock* films and the BBC's *Sherlock* ensuring the maintenance of Sherlock Holmes in the global capitalist imaginary. In part, references to Batman villains and Sherlock Holmes could be a way to allow their message to reach across cultural divides, and thus reach a more culturally diverse audience. However, given the nature of the relationship the *communiqué* establishes between the EZLN

and these villains, as well as the scathing, sarcastic tone used in these documents, the use of the pop culture references seems more complex. Potentially, the draw for relating themselves to anti-establishment pop culture figures serves as a way to speak towards their larger critiques against capitalism and globalization, both of which are represented in the figure of Bruce Wayne. By selecting fairly traditional and well-known villains with which to relate themselves, the EZLN and Galeano work to simultaneously question the dichotomous narratives of hero and villain, good and evil that are forwarded in Western pop culture. The need to disrupt dichotomous narratives forms a crucial component of Linda Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies*.<sup>31</sup> Rather than deconstruct the dichotomous narratives of colonizer and Indigenous subject, the EZLN's pop culture references force the reader to question the idea that adversaries to global capitalism are pure evil.

Characteristics found in relation to the Joker, the Riddler, and Bane are further reinforced with the allusion immediately following of Sherlock and Moriarty. Again, both are highly intelligent foils for one another. The combination of all these allusions seems to hint that the Riddler, Bane, Joker, and Moriarty are only considered villains because they can see or "understand" that which others cannot. Sherlock, who rivals or surpasses these villains in intelligence remains the only positive allusion, yet he too is often seen as an outcast or one who could easily be equally evil if he found it more entertaining. When coupled with the preceding paragraph on Walter Benjamin that foreshadows these cryptic pop culture references and the following philosophical ruminations about the EZLN serving as a night watch sentinel, the Batman and Sherlock references take on new meaning. The villainous nature of the comic book characters is further called into question. They seem to stand as a sort of whistleblower to corrupt governments and global capitalism, much like the EZLN purports to be.

The *communiqués* continue similar allusions in the very next publication on April 9th.<sup>32</sup> Like the April 1st post, the tone also sets up the interpretation of the pop culture references. While Galeano's musings in the April 1st *comunicado* imply the need to question the automatic connotations of pop culture references and see them as less dichotomous and more multifarious, the tone of the April 9th post is significantly more satirical in nature. Perhaps its most evident satire occurs in the following statement in reference to a cyber attack on the EZLN's website, the event that forms much of the post's content. Galeano writes: "Ok, ok, ok, no sabemos bien qué quiere decir eso (nosotros, tan *premodernos*, acostumbrados sólo a los ataques de soldados, policías, paramilitares y caga-tintas varios), pero se escucha muy de las de acá, de mucho caché, de clase mi buen, de primer mundo" [Okay, okay, okay, we don't really know what that means (being so *premodern*, we're only accustomed to attacks by soldiers, police, paramilitaries, and various ink-shitters), but it sounds so fancy, so classy, so first world].<sup>33</sup> In these lines Galeano pokes fun at the EZLN's perceived faults as unaware of modern technologies, only being aware of "premodern" types of attacks. In doing so, Galeano alludes to the assumption that Indigenous people are stuck in the past, incapable of existing in a modern world as defined and cultivated by Western global powers. Embroiled in their self-deprecating humor is the long history of types of assimilation and eradication practiced by settler-colonial nation states.<sup>34</sup> By using satire to reference the idea that non-Western peoples, especially Indigenous peoples, cannot exist simultaneously with modernity, the EZLN also highlights the reality that Indigenous peoples not only exist in contemporary society, but also within cyberspace. In this way, the EZLN uses the Internet, as a modern technology, to critique notions that they and other Indigenous groups are incapable of using such tools.



Galeano's satire runs through the entire April 9th post, and its many pop culture references. Even the title, “¿Por qué tan serios?” [Why so serious?] of the *communiqué* alludes to Joker in Nolan's *The Dark Knight*. Like the *communiqué* from several days prior, multiple images depicting Nolan's Joker appear in the text. Perhaps the most significant difference between the April 1st and April 9th posts arises from the number of allusions. Not only do several Joker references occur, but the post starts with binary code, a reference reinforced in the section “Del cuaderno de apuntes del Gato-Perro” [From the Diary of Cat-Dog], which contains an illustration of the masked Gato-Perro typing on a computer with a screen filled with green binary code, much like that used in the *Matrix* trilogy. Such an allusion is apt given that the *communiqué* discusses, with an overabundance of sarcasm, a recent cyberattack on the EZLN website.<sup>35</sup>

While the Joker and the *Matrix* allusions bookend the April 9th *communiqué*, riddled throughout are brief references to *The Lord of the Rings*, *Game of Thrones*, *Star Trek*, and *Avatar* in one fell swoop when Gato-Perro attempts a joke about the cyber attack when he writes, “Y lo tomamos como lo que es: un mínimo homenaje a nuestra humilde y callada labor de estarle dando “click” a la página para que aumente el “tráfico web” y, pronto, recibamos paga por anunciar cursos de superación personal, clases de idiomas *élfico*, *dohtraki*, *alto valyrio*, *klington* y *na'vi*.” [We will take it for what it is: a small homage to our humble and quiet work of clicking on the webpage to raise our “web traffic” and soon, we will be collecting payments for advertising self-help courses, language classes in Elf, Dothraki, High Valerian, Klingon, and Na'vi].<sup>36</sup> The satire at play in these lines works to critique EZLN opponents. “Our humble and quiet work” on the surface implies that the EZLN themselves caused their website to crash in an effort to make it appear as if their web traffic increased, thus causing an increase in advertising

revenue. The satire within the post makes it evident that EZLN opponents would make the above implication. The EZLN reinforces the ridiculous nature of such an assertion by opponents by saying that the EZLN advertises for classes in fantasy languages from various pop culture universes. Here, the use of satire, like earlier instances of self-deprecating humor, works in several ways. First, it highlights how EZLN opponents may consider the activist group's work as too insignificant to be a hacking target via the use of "humble" and "quiet." Then the satire pushes back against notions that the EZLN makes money off their website rather than use it to connect with a geographically distant audience (the EZLN website does not run advertisements and thus would not see increases in advertising revenue from increased web traffic).

Finally, the satire in the above lines critiques notions that indigeneity and modernity are not compatible, especially within a capitalist system, through the implication that the EZLN would seek to gain money via the advertising of fantastical language courses. The interplay between the above pop culture references and numerous other allusions, from major corporations like Walmart, Samsung, and Tesco to national symbols like the Pentagon, Kremlin, Buckingham Palace, and the Eiffel Tower reinforces the critique of the concept that Indigeneity and modernity are incompatible. By intermixing of pop culture allusions with references to global capitalism via the names of major corporations, the EZLN further reinforces its identification of global capitalism as a colonizing force.

### Zapatistas, Women and Cyberspace

While the EZLN may display a similar rhetorical savviness as in earlier forms of Indigenous resistance discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, a notable difference among other Latin American insurgencies, is the EZLN's engagement with women. On a basic level the EZLN demonstrates their concern for Indigenous women's rights by using gender inclusive pronouns in

their *communiqués* and having Indigenous women who are in power within their organization write posts, even though such posts are admittedly rare. More significant are their direct calls for increased women's rights and protections. Similar to the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua, which greatly increased women's rights under the Sandinista government, the EZLN incorporates women within their ranks and incorporates women's rights into their platform.<sup>37</sup> Unlike other Latin American Indigenous insurgencies such as the Nicaraguan Contras and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit, where women's rights became subservient to or ignored by the mission of the group, the EZLN—from its initial 1994 declaration—included statements on women's rights.<sup>38</sup> Such advocacy for equality remains in their stated plan for a 2018 presidential candidate. Through their focus on recognizing Indigenous women's voices and creating spaces for such voices to be heard, the EZLN works to counteract the erasure of Indigenous women predicated by the imposition of a settler-colonial patriarchy.

The EZLN's joint resolution to nominate an Indigenous woman to run for president is certainly not the first time the organization stood up for Indigenous women's rights. In addition to the Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle, *El Despertador* included multiple laws that covered interest groups and locations important to the Zapatistas, one of which was *Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres* or the Revolutionary Law of Women. Like many of the other laws included in *El Despertador*, the Women's Law focused primarily on issues of work as expressed when the EZLN prefaces the ten listed rights with “la situación de la mujer trabajadora en México, se incorporan sus justas demandas de igualdad y justicia” [the situation of working women in Mexico, their just demands for equality and justice].<sup>39</sup> In offering such a rationale for the included rights, the EZLN references both the social and economic realms that make up much of its larger conflict with the Mexican state and global capitalism. Despite the specific

mention of work in the rationale, several of the law's ten points deal with marriage and children, which indicate the presence of Zapatista women in its writing. Included in the list is the right to "decidir el número de hijos que queden tener y cuidar" [decide the number of children they have and care for] and the right to "elegir su pareja y a no ser obligadas por la fuerza a contraer matrimonio" [choose their partner and not be forced to marry].<sup>40</sup> Not only does the Women's Law cover the right to work and participate in political activity, but the law covers the domestic sphere, a world in which women have long been confined.

Through including state and community level rights in the Women's Law, the EZLN recognizes the fight for women's rights outside of their revolutionary action against the state of Mexico. Moreover, the rights listed above point directly to a woman's right to control her body, control whom she marries, and further exert her position as equal within the EZLN. As such, the EZLN offers, at least linguistically, the chance for greater autonomy. As Mágara Millán notes:

"The [Women's] law integrates women and Zapatismo. It incorporates women as a sector, recognising the specific discrimination they suffer, and makes consensus a norm for basic questions. In this sense, the law has a double impact: it fosters a sphere for consensus (the formulation of a proposition) and then makes it into law. It exercises the 'respect for our word' that the women request as a form of decision making. But, the law is only the formal representation of a broader process in which women are taking the floor to express themselves."<sup>41</sup>

Such an emphasis on issues related to violence against women and ensuring women's voices about bodily autonomy carry through in many EZLN writings since *El Despertador*. In contrast, Marisa Belausteguigoitia notes the importance of the Women's Law but also cites that only months later during the first Peace and Reconciliation negotiations between the EZLN and the Mexican government there was no such mention of the type of gender equality suggested in the Women's Law. Rather, of the thirty-four demands published by Marcos during the Peace and Reconciliation meetings, only one, Demand 29, dealt with women, and that demand relegated

women to “educators, food providers and mothers.”<sup>42</sup> In fact, Belausteguigoitia goes as far as to say that:

The Zapatistas have made it very clear that the problems of Chiapas and its poverty are interconnected with national problems and the solutions would have to involve a new social pact that includes Indians, a new way of governing the nation, and a new constitution. But when it comes to the definition of the ways in which violence, oppression and subjection against women are interconnected with other forms of oppression, it all ends in bakeries and childcare centres. These are the promises that modernity and patriarchy may fulfil.<sup>43</sup>

Here Belausteguigoitia makes clear that Demand 29’s relegation of women to the domestic space erases the progress suggested by the Women’s Law. While I do not disagree about the conflicting nature of the Women’s Law and Demand 29, the relegation of women to the domestic space does not consistently occur within EZLN *communiqués*, especially in their contemporary posts.

Early contradictory statements about women from the EZLN may relate to the nature of women’s inclusion in the movement. In many ways, the EZLN’s initial incorporation of women may have been out of necessity or even coincidence rather than a revolutionary action. For instance, both R. Aída Hernández Castillo and Millán note the presence of women in Chiapas activism long before the EZLN appeared in the 1990s.<sup>44</sup> The socioeconomic reality of Chiapas, including forced immigrations of Indigenous populations and extreme poverty, was already producing a community that included women’s activist groups.<sup>45</sup> It was out of this politically active community that the EZLN, and its inclusion of women arose. For many Indigenous women, like their male counterparts, joining the Zapatistas offered more options for their lives than staying in their traditional communities or joining the Mexican army. However, such an initial necessity does not preclude sincere advocacy for gender equality within the EZLN today. Millán cites multiple examples of EZLN women in leadership roles like Captain Elisa, Captain

Laura, Insurgent Major Ana María, and Comandante Ramona—some of which still author EZLN *communiqués*.<sup>46</sup>

Since their initial declaration in the 1990s, the EZLN has published other *communiqués* focused on Indigenous women, especially in the past several years. For instance, a March 8, 2015 *comunicado* post focuses almost entirely on women. In doing so, the post refers to multiple instances of violence against Indigenous peoples, especially women when they write,

“Porque ahora, en este mal sistema, aparte de que estamos humilladas, estamos despreciadas, estamos explotadas, aparte de todo esto, todavía nos vienen a matar y a desaparecer a nuestros hijos. Tal es el caso del ABC y ahora con los 43 desaparecidos de Ayotzinapa, las mujeres desaparecidas de Ciudad Juárez, el caso de Aguas Blancas, y todo esto es el sistema.”

[Now in this system, in addition to being humiliated, disrespected, exploited, in addition to all of that, they come to kill and disappear our children. This is what happened in the ABC case and now with the 43 disappeared from Ayotzinapa, the disappeared women in Ciudad Juárez, and the case of Aguas Blancas—all of this is the system’s doing].<sup>47</sup>

Here the EZLN links multiple mass murders and violent epidemics, including the disappearance of students from Ayotzinapa that preoccupies several of their *communiqués* from earlier in the year, as well as the high rates of missing, raped, and murdered women in Juárez (see Chapter 5). By putting all of these systems of violence into conversation, the EZLN demonstrates that such mass killings must be viewed together, as part of a larger system that creates situations that allow for such violence in the first place. Not only does the EZLN take a stand against violence against women in the above statement, but they also criticize the lasting effects of colonialism and its contemporary manifestation, *machismo*, stating that “lost abuelos lo llevaron arrastrando esa mala cultura como vivieron con los patrones” [Our grandfathers adopted this bad culture from their colonial bosses].<sup>48</sup> In doing so, the EZLN points out that violence against Indigenous women and the continued oppression of Indigenous peoples are lasting effects of settler-

colonialism, which infect Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures alike. In this discussion they are sure to point out that often the women who suffer the most are those of lower classes.

Post like that of March 8th are relatively straight-forward in their critique of violence against women. Like the Women's Law's usurpation by Demand 29, however, such straightforward critiques can be easily undermined by later action or inaction. Only through introspection, can the EZLN's support of women's rights gain credibility. The EZLN's ability to engage in self-critique about gender equality is not confined to *communiqués* either. For instance, Claudia Magallanes-Blanco notes in her discussion of the film, *We Are Equal, Zapatista Women Speak*, that "gender relations are not balanced," despite EZLN efforts to advocate for Indigenous women within their communities.<sup>49</sup> However, the video also demonstrates how Zapatista communities address and work to overcome gender imbalances. The video also illustrates that Zapatista communities still have a lot of work ahead of them to achieve gender equality as nearly all the women shown are still responsible for domestic labor, even if they are allowed by their male partners to work outside the home. As Magallanes-Blanco asserts, the video illustrates Zapatistas continually advocating for equality despite continued imbalances "in order to build a just world where everyone is included."<sup>50</sup> Ultimately, Magallanes-Blanco identifies the EZLN's willingness to critically analyze themselves and the cultural communities they contain as the key first step towards change. Within their *communiqués*, such self-critique appears through the form of satire. Unlike when they satirize global capitalism, which is comical but largely reinforces beliefs much of their base would already hold, the EZLN's satire about *machismo* and gender equality strikes a notably different chord. In order to be effective, satire must take chances to inspire change or critical thought within its target and not simply offer a

joke. The EZLN finally achieves this in their use of satire about gender equality by aspiring for self-reflection and change.

Even though the EZLN sincerely supports of women's rights, as demonstrated by multiple *communiqués*, gender inclusive participation, and many community actions, the topic of gender equality, like their usages of pop culture and social media, cannot avoid the satirical Diary of Gato-Perro. In a February 26, 2016 *comunicado*, the Diary of Gato-Perro describes a late night conversation between Subcomandante Moisés and Galeano. In the conversation, Moisés tells Galeano of a recent report that says the Mexican government is looking to capture and kill Galeano. In response Galeano says: "Eso es racismo-colonialista -hetero-patriarcal-eurocéntrico. Si tú eres el vocero, a ti te toca. Yo sólo soy el último bastión del machismo zapatista y ya ves que estamos en franca retirada." [This is racist-colonialist-hetero-patriarchal-Eurocentrism. You're the spokesperson, you're the one they should be after. I'm just the last bastion of Zapatista machismo, which is obviously in clear retreat.]<sup>51</sup> In these lines, Galeano references the standard EZLN critique of colonialism, but he also identifies *machismo*, especially within the EZLN, as shrinking. By identifying himself with that retreat, Galeano also points toward Moisés as the future of the EZLN. More importantly, this alignment links other EZLN perpetrators of *machismo* as similarly dying out.

Galeano is quick to point out the "racist-colonialist-hetero-patriarchal-Eurocentrism" at the core of the government's reported search for him as well as the death of *machismo* within the EZLN. He also offers a demonstration of that *machismo* by ending his speech with the exclamation, "Pero no me cambies el tema: te estoy diciendo que no hay que poner en el comunicado lo de los colectivos de mujeres." [But don't change the subject on me, I was telling you not to put that part about the women's collectives in the *comunicado*.]<sup>52</sup> Moisés' non-



satirical discussion of the success of women's collectives takes up the majority of the *communiqué* prior to the diary of Gato-Perro. In the non-satirical part of the *communiqué*, the women's collectives are shown to be stable, economically viable working and living communities. Such collectives form a major component of the EZLN's actions to reshape their communities across southern Mexico into examples of their political philosophy at work. While there are certainly improvements to make in these communities, the *communiqué* largely upholds the women's collectives as models for other Zapatista collectives to follow.

In the Diary of Gato-Perro, when Moisés asks Galeano why he should leave out the economic success of the women's collectives, Galeano responds by saying, "Pues porque si lo decimos vamos a quedar mal con el género masculino. Toda una tradición de películas de Pedro Infante y canciones de José Alfredo Jiménez corre el peligro de desaparecer. ¿Tú estás de acuerdo con que desaparezcan culturas ancestrales?" [Because if we include that we're going to look bad to members of the masculine gender. A whole tradition of film by Pedro Infante and songs by José Alfredo Jiménez is at risk of disappearing. Are you in agreement with the erasure of ancestral cultures? No right?].<sup>53</sup> In these lines Galeano illustrates one version of *machismo* through the notion of "looking bad" to other men. Perhaps the core satirical element of these lines that ensures the self-critique necessary for the satire's success resides in Galeano's linkage of Pedro Infante and José Alfredo Jiménez to ancestral cultures. Both men, but especially Infante, embody the ideal, protective, romantic, self-reliant man emphasized by *machismo*. Neither man represents ancestral cultures, especially Indigenous ones. Instead, they come from the Mexican Golden Age of cinema and music in the mid-twentieth century. However, by linking the men with ancestral cultures, Galeano satirizes the cultural respect given to *machismo* as a tradition. By associating *machismo* with Infante and Jiménez, Galeano also connects *machismo*

with capitalism, via the film and music industries from which both men made their fame and fortune. Through such a satirical move, Galeano illustrates *machismo* as a product of EZLN's prime enemy, global capitalism and today's primary settler-colonial institution.

The Diary of Gato-Perro illustrates the EZLN's ability to engage in self-critique by turning the satire inward. More importantly, this satire speaks to the EZLN itself. The EZLN's satirical turn inward is a risky move. As Giseline Kuipers explains "satire intends to offend and exclude at least part of its audience," and purposefully targeting an otherwise agreeable audience increases the satire's risk of failure.<sup>54</sup> For the difference between "successful" and "unsuccessful" satire, I turn again to Simpson. He distinguishes successful satire as that which brings together the satirist and the intended audience while creating distance with the target. On the other hand, failed satire distances the satirist from the audience and draws together the satirist and target.<sup>55</sup> So when the EZLN turns inward and targets their otherwise agreeable male audience, their satire runs the risk of alienating that audience. However, I contend that this inward turn is still successful, if more pointed, because the EZLN does not align themselves with their normal target: global capitalism. Rather, in critiquing their own *machismo*, they align *machismo* with global capitalism, thus maintaining their own satirical distance while shortening the space between their audience and target.

In recognizing the saturation of settler-colonial patriarchy within their communities, the EZLN admits to its own failure to achieve gender equality. Like praising the women's collectives, the declaration of women's needs, and the calling out of violence against women, the EZLN's admission also serves as another action towards ensuring that the ideas initially stated in the Women's Law might one day become reality. Through recognizing themselves as products and perpetrators of parts of global capital culture, the EZLN depicts itself as occupying a hybrid

contact zone of settler-colonial and Indigenous peoples, economies, and cultures where the settler and the Indigenous cannot always be divided into binary parts. In order to achieve at least one of their goals, gender equality, the EZLN must come to terms with its indoctrinated settler-colonial power structure within its own resistance strategy.

## Chapter 5

### Gendered Resistance

*El Traspatio (Backyard)* is a 2009 film directed by Carlos Carrera and written by Sabina Berman about hundreds of women who were kidnapped, raped, and murdered in Juárez, Mexico in 1996. A little over an hour into the film a scene in which a group of politicians and businessmen discuss factory prices is paired with a scene in which Juárez police interrogate *cheros*, or gang leaders, who confess that the rapes and murders of women were carried out at the direction of a wealthy Egyptian man, known as “The Sultan,” who was arrested earlier in the film. *El Traspatio* oscillates between each scene. In one half, a United States Senator tells the governor of Chihuahua that global investors will not bring more money to help clean up Juárez because it is simply cheaper to move their factories to Asia. A Japanese businessman further explains that “a Mexican worker’s wage is \$1.05 an hour,” whereas a “Chinese woman is 90 cents per hour.”<sup>1</sup> Before and after this explanation are clips in which *los cheros* tell Juárez police that the Sultan gave them “1,200 dólares” [dollars] for every woman’s body, and in total they got “11,400 dólares.”<sup>2</sup> It is telling that the only women in this paired scene are the Japanese man’s interpreter and Blanca Bravo (Ana de la Reguera), Juárez’s only female police officer. By oscillating between discussions of the price of a woman’s labor and her body, Carreras connects global capitalism’s exploitation of labor with sexual violence. More specifically, such a connection offers an avenue to see gendered exploitation as crucial to the patriarchal system that dominates American settler states. Like the EZLN’s *communiqués*, *El Traspatio* frequently reminds its viewers of the presence of big business and the insidious way in which global capitalism perpetuates violence toward and oppression of minority populations, with glimpses of El Paso’s giant Wells Fargo building in the background, shot after shot.

As I discussed in previous chapters, the process of establishing hierarchical rule over Indigenous Americans involved Europeans and their American descendants promoting narratives of savagery that dehumanized Indigenous peoples. At various times such narratives established policies of assimilation and thus erasure within society writ large.<sup>3</sup> In Chapter 1, I discussed how images on decorative sixteenth century maps worked to develop narratives of mythic savagery about Indigenous Americans. For centuries, similar images in cartouches and atlas engravings continued to appear, especially in regard to Indigenous women. While I explore such images more fully in Chapter 1, I return to them here to focus on how these images contributed to notions of Indigenous women as sexually exploitable objects.

Electa Arenal and Yolanda Martinez-San Miguel briefly discuss similar images when they draw attention to Spanish naming practices during initial moments of contact and exploration. Arenal and Martinez-San Miguel connect the tendency to gender the Americas as female with trends of early conquistadors to refer to Indigenous women through animalistic descriptions and as sexually immoral.<sup>4</sup> While this argument helps connect the ways in which Indigenous women were used to position Europeans as dominant figures in the cultural imaginary of later settler-colonial nations, Arenal and Martinez-San Miguel also briefly point towards the erasure of Indigenous women from the official colonial record.<sup>5</sup> It is this erasure as related to violence against Indigenous women that I take up in this chapter.

Over time, the colonial tactics described above became imbedded into the very fabric of Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures alike. Perhaps one of the most devastating ways in which colonial actions and dehumanizing narratives occurs is through sexualized violence. The link between sexual violence and colonization is not a new concept within scholarship, especially regarding Indigenous Americans. Sarah Deer, Andrea Smith, and Karen Warren all forward

arguments that link rape and colonization. Warren, in particular, connects the colonial patriarchal system to that of an abusive family that eventually learns or normalizes the violence they experience, arguing that the patriarchal system is an inherently dysfunctional system that is based on dominance and violence.<sup>6</sup> It is possible to see Warren's description as that of a hybrid contact zone. The colonial patriarchal system contains the moment of cultural clash between Indigenous and settler actors in which the settler adopts the position of dominance in order to continue oppressing the Indigenous subject. That clash becomes hybrid if we accept Warren's claims that the colonial patriarchal system is absorbed into or normalized by the Indigenous victim and then reproduced on other members of the Indigenous community, specifically women. In the reproduction of normalized violence, the Indigenous perpetrator becomes hybrid, both Indigenous and settler.

Similar to Warren, both Deer and Smith produce extended analyses of the problem of sexual violence towards Native women within the United States. Deer links self-determination at the tribal level to self-determination at the personal level by claiming that Indigenous nations cannot adequately engage in self-determination because its members have been denied self-determination over their own bodies for so long.<sup>7</sup> Like Smith, Deer links rape with colonialism in arguing that the effects of rape on women share features with tactics used by settler states when attempting to colonize entire Indigenous nations.<sup>8</sup> In other words, rape and violence against women played a key role in establishing power over Indigenous people. Smith expands the linkage between rape and colonization by applying such effects on multiple communities of color. Furthermore, Smith argues that one lasting consequence of colonization is the way in which Indigenous peoples "internalize self-hatred," or adopt aspects of settler-colonial methods within their own practice.<sup>9</sup> Through this internalization, according to Smith, come high rates of

sexualized violence as learned or as assimilated from their colonizer, similar to Warren's claim about the normalization of abuse. Through Warren, Deer, and Smith it is possible to see the contact zone, or cultural clash, move from an Indigenous-settler one to one that occurs within Indigenous culture but still includes settler-colonial components via the adoption of a colonial patriarchy that maintains power through the erasure of Indigenous women.

While I question Smith's generalized claim about Native societies not being hierarchical, my argument does draw on her claim that "in order to colonize a people whose society was not hierarchical, colonizers must first naturalize hierarchy through instituting patriarchy."<sup>10</sup> This connection between colonization and patriarchal hierarchy is emblematic of the tactics used to establish racial hierarchies, and thus European dominance as tied to race during the colonization of the Americas. When Smith's claims are coupled with Warren's concepts of normalization and Deer's linkage to the inability to achieve self-determination, it becomes apparent that Western patriarchal gender roles, especially in relation to sexualized violence and domination, were one of the most prominent ways in which settler-colonial nations imbedded such a hierarchy within Indigenous peoples, and thus manipulated Indigenous-settler cultural clashes to favor the settler.

With these concepts in mind, this chapter considers male and female centered rape narratives. I posit that today's high rates of violence against Indigenous women (VAIW) can be tied to foundational rape narratives that began with the moment of contact. In doing so, I draw out several key traits, the first of which looks at the function of male-centered narratives within revenge plots that I contend illustrate a particularly imbedded colonial erasure of Native women. The second considers the ways in which female-centered narratives refocus on rape victims, processes of healing, and speak to dominant power structures as equally culpable as rapists themselves. Ultimately, this chapter brings together threads of earlier chapters to illustrate how

colonizing strategies of dehumanization, forced assimilation, and settler-state connections with global capitalism culminate in the continued erasure of Indigenous women.

In drawing out the role that narratives of sexual violence played in settler-state building practices, it is possible to further problematize male-centered revenge narratives in response to VAIW as illustrated in Louise Erdrich's *The Round House* (2012) and Jason Momoa's *Road to Paloma* (2014). The prevalence of male-centered revenge narratives is a sign of the embedded nature of colonial rape narratives within settler-states, including the insidious nature of such narratives within Indigenous cultures. To be clear, I am not arguing that female-centered texts about sexual violence and trauma do not exist in the United States or that narratives of the ripple effects of that trauma are not important. Rather, a comparison between male- and female-centered texts draws out the ingrained ways in which Indigenous rape is integrated into the settler-state system.

#### *La Malinche: Rape and the Settler-State*

In stark contrast to the other two texts discussed in this chapter, *The Round House* and *Road to Paloma*, *El Traspatio*, tells the story of two women, Blanca Bravo, a detective in Juárez, Mexico's police force, and Juana, an Indigenous woman who recently arrived in Juárez from Chiapas to start a new life with her cousin, Mágina. The film oscillates between Blanca trying to solve Juárez's ever growing problem of missing, raped, and murdered women and Juana's new job, romantic interests, and adjustments to city life. Ultimately, Juana becomes another body in the desert that Blanca must find.

Throughout *El Traspatio*, references are made to the notion of women being traitorous, as well as slurs like *la chingada*—a reference to Malinche, the Indigenous slave/translator for Hernán Cortés that has been mythologized over time into one of the foundational colonial myths



of Mexico. The mythical Malinche became a woman symbolizing the birth of the *mestizo*, but also a traitor to her people, having aided Cortés's overthrow of the Aztec empire and allowed for the Spanish empire to colonize, subjugate, and kill hundreds of thousands of Indigenous peoples. Octavio Paz perhaps most popularly explained this link in his essay "The Sons of Malinche." Paz uses Malinche as a stand in for all women and a symbol for Mexican inferiority in the modern world.<sup>11</sup> Within his essay, Paz engages in an extended slut shaming of Malinche. Moreover, Paz also relies on the logical fallacy of guilt-by-association by assigning his critique of Malinche's relationship with Cortés, whether consensual or not, to all other Mexican women. In doing so, Paz associates Malinche as a traitorous Everywoman and ignores her subjugation to Cortés. Of course, many women have worked to re-incorporate the narrative of rape into the myth of Malinche, such as Elena Garro, Ana Castillo, and Rosario Castellanos, to name a few.<sup>12</sup> In recognizing the role rape played, not only in the lasting view of Malinche, but also in the colonization of the Americas, such authors begin to show rape's indoctrination into colonizing myths and thus settler-state nation building.

Scholars have also worked to interpret the role of Malinche and other similar Indigenous women as separate from historical fact. For instance, Rebecca Jager considers Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea and the revisions to their mythic narratives as tied to the growth of their respective settler-colonial nations. In her discussion of Malinche, Jager notes that prior to Mexican independence from Spain Malinche was either erased from the archive in order to improve the perceived actions of Spanish conquistadors or was discussed as a highly influential, important Indigenous woman. Malinche as traitor/whore/mother does not come about until Mexico's independence, when nationalists revised her story in order to unify against Spain. It is in the creation of a national mythos, according to Jager, that Malinche became a "scapegoat to be

blamed for indigenous defeat,” and after independence Malinche is revised again as “a sexual figure who gives into temptation to satisfy her own feminine desire for male attention” in opposition to the Virgin of Guadalupe.<sup>13</sup> In contrast to Jager, Carina Ray indicates that Indigenous women were given to conquistadors in order to placate the Spanish rather than to establish diplomatic ties.<sup>14</sup> While the purpose seems similar, Jager positions the gift of women as less nefarious than Ray. Unlike Jager, Ray does not shy away from discussions of rape within the colonial system. Instead, Ray goes as far as to claim that “the rape of native women, who were often cast as sexually licentious, was widespread not only in the North American colonies, but also in the westward conquest and colonization of the American frontier.”<sup>15</sup>

Even though *El Traspasio* focuses more broadly on violence against women, there are indications that Indigenous women are a prime target for such violence. Primarily, this focus comes from Juana, the newly immigrated Indigenous woman who will eventually become another kidnapped, raped, and murdered body for Blanca to find in the desert outside of Juárez. When Juana first arrives at her cousin’s apartment, she and Mágina switch fluently between Spanish and Tzetel, a bilingualism exploited by Juana’s soon-to-be boyfriend Cuberto in order to win her trust. In the film’s initial glimpse of Juana and Mágina, Mágina also cuts Juana’s hair and gives her different clothes to wear in order to “take out the Indian.”<sup>16</sup> In other words, Mágina and Juana participate in actively erasing their Indigenous appearance in order to assimilate into their surroundings. Such actions harken back to those officially enacted by settler-colonial nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that included assimilation as a continuing colonizing practice.<sup>17</sup> When Juana leaves Cuberto for another man, it is her willingness to trust Cuberto because of his ability to speak Tzetel that makes her a prime target for sexual violence.

One of *El Traspatio*'s key references to the traitorous nature of women, i.e. Malinche, as related to sexualized violence comes during a scene focused on Juana's ex-boyfriend, Cuberto. Heartbroken over Juana, Cuberto makes friends with a group of men who complain that no one cares about the dead men that turn up every day in Juárez, only the dead women. Cuberto attempts to explain the difference between such deaths, namely that unarmed women are taken to be raped and murdered, whereas many of the dead men are related to Juárez's gangs. When Cuberto offers the cliché, "Conoces a un hombre por cómo trata a mujeres y niños" [You know a man by how he treats women and children], Cuberto's new friends laugh, saying such innocence is why Juana left him.<sup>18</sup> These "friends" proceed to convince Cuberto to kidnap and rape Juana through offering the following rationale:

That woman disgraced you. And in public, to boot! You gave her everything . . . You gave it your all and the ungrateful bitch stabbed you in the back. So now you got two choices . . . like seeing yourself double in these shades. You see yourself double? Do you forgive her and keep moaning or do you not forgive shit and quit being such a fag?<sup>19</sup>

The friends' advice speaks to Juárez's rape culture into which Cuberto is being indoctrinated, and further normalizes that violence as emblematic of settler-colonialism. Furthermore, the above advice figures Juana as traitorous and "ungrateful," as deserving of her forthcoming rape and murder. Juana as traitor, or fulfilling the Malinche archetype, might also be explained as figuring Juana as not "real" or "human," and thus violence committed against her is not a crime at all. As Andrea Smith explains "the extent to which Native peoples are not seen as 'real' people in the larger colonial discourse indicates the success of sexual violence, among other racist and colonialist forces, in destroying the perceived humanity of Native people."<sup>20</sup> Juana then is another Malinche, easily disposable and easily dismissed.

Moreover, by ending the question with “and quit being such a fag” Cuberto’s friends suggest that Juana’s actions also trouble Cuberto’s heterosexual masculinity. His only recourse to re-establish his position of power in the settler-colonial patriarchy is through re-asserting his *machismo* by kidnapping and raping Juana. As Paz might say, Cuberto becomes *el chingado* to Juana’s *la chingada*. Juana’s rape and murder even becomes an uncomfortable scene of homosocial *machismo*, with Cuberto’s friends insisting Cuberto “share” Juana, while they take turns raping her until they force Cuberto to perform the “Angel’s Delight”—a type of murder in which the murderer strangles the woman while raping her. Ultimately, Cuberto is still excluded by his friends because he tries to refuse his part in Juana’s murder and can only perform half of the Angel’s Delight. He can suffocate Juana but physically cannot rape her again. His libidinal dysfunction arguably serves as his ousting from his new friend group. Cuberto becomes the indoctrinated colonized subject. He partakes in the culture of rape and erasure of the Indigenous female body, but cannot maintain his own status in the settler-state’s patriarchy.

Cuberto—the indoctrinated subject—is apprehended for Juana’s murder and not the men who instilled in him the idea of her rape, provided the drugs used to kidnap her, partook in her gang rape, and forced Cuberto at gunpoint to kill her. Instead, they drive off into the night. Through Cuberto’s arrest, it is possible to see the continuing dominance of those who perpetuate the settler-colonial patriarchal system, in this case Cuberto’s friends. Even though Cuberto’s actions toward Juana could be read as another type of revenge narrative (revenge on the Indigenous women rather than for crimes committed against her), *El Traspasio* actively resists such a frame. Even though Cuberto’s manipulation at the hands of his new-found friends is evident, the film renders him unsympathetic. Cuberto’s next scene after Juana’s death includes Blanca threatening his life to learn the location of Juana’s body. No indication is given that he

also relates Juana's gang rape by the other men even though he knows who they are and where they live. Cuberto might feel sympathy enough for Juana to admit to her murder and tell Blanca where to find her, but ultimately, he remains under the control of the patriarchal system that rejected him.

### Legal Loopholes and Masculine Revenge Plots

Juxtaposed with *El Traspatio* is this chapter's discussion of Louise Erdrich's 2012 novel, *The Round House*, and Jason Momoa's 2014 film, *Road to Paloma*. Both texts showcase some of the legal loopholes surrounding VAIW in the United States. As both texts predate the 2013 reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act (Momoa's film began production in 2012), they also speak to a contemporaneous view of the issue. Like many of Erdrich's other works, *The Round House* takes place on a fictional reservation in North Dakota and has interlocking family members from other novels. In contrast, Momoa's film primarily takes place on the Mojave Reservation, but also transverses much of the surrounding landscape of Arizona and Southern California. While the two texts certainly have their differences, they both use male narrators who struggle to cope with their mother's rape and ultimately, produce revenge plots. Even though such narratives illustrate what Sarah Deer terms, "the ripple effect of sexual violence," both Erdrich's novel and Momoa's film undercut the political impetus of exposing legal loopholes because each text also focuses on male-centered narratives to the exclusion of women.<sup>21</sup>

In the United States, five major laws or rulings shape the prosecution of sexual violence for Indigenous peoples. The Major Crimes Act of 1885 made it so rape occurring on tribal land had to be tried in federal courts; Public Law 280 of 1953 transferred jurisdiction to states, i.e. states had to pay for legal action rather than the federal government; the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 extended rights of due process, trial by jury, and public defenders to tribal courts,

making it so tribal courts or states had to pay for prosecutions; and the 1978 Supreme Court case *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* ruled that tribal courts did not have jurisdiction to try or punish non-Indians. In 1994, the United States passed the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) which did not apply to tribal land. However, in 2013 VAWA's renewal passed with provisions that extended the law to protect same-sex couples, undocumented individuals, and Native Americans living on reservations. The new sections that allow tribal authorities to investigate, prosecute, convict, and sentence non-Native offenders in cases of domestic and sexual violence on tribal land went into effect in March 2015. Under VAWA's reauthorization, tribes' criminal jurisdictions over non-Natives include domestic violence, dating violence, and violations of protection orders. However, it does not cover crimes committed off reservations, between two non-Natives or two strangers on the reservation, including sexual assaults, crimes committed by a person without sufficient ties to the tribe, and child or elder abuse. While VAWA's 2013 reauthorization certainly closes one large loophole in the law that allowed non-Native assailants to rape and beat Native women on reservations without facing prosecution, it still leaves room for the same to occur if the non-Native assailant has no ties to the tribe and does not know the woman that was attacked.<sup>22</sup>

Erdrich's *The Round House* tells the story of Antone "Joe" Bazil Coutts in the aftermath of his mother's rape and attempted murder. Over the course of the novel, Joe becomes increasingly obsessed with discovering the identity of his mother's rapist, and upon realizing the legal loopholes in relation to jurisdiction that allow her rapist, Linden Lark, to go free, Joe's obsession turns into a need to seek justice in any way possible. Ultimately, that leads Joe and his best friend, Cappy, to murder Linden—a crime that tribal authorities, Joe's parents, and Linden's sister, among others, choose to ignore.

In large part *The Round House* engages in a sustained, if not always explicit, critique of the morass of legal issues surrounding tribal, state, and federal jurisdiction when it comes to VAIW. As Julie Tharp explains, the narrative action of *The Round House* largely focuses on how trauma (both of the sexual violence and the lack of justice achieved) links back to a “history of tribal disenfranchisement.”<sup>23</sup> Because Joe’s mother, Geraldine, was in a general location where federal, state, and tribal jurisdictions met, but was blindfolded so she could not exactly distinguish where she was raped, courts decide that without a clear jurisdiction, Linden must be set free. Like *Road to Paloma*, one of the key social justice takeaways from the novel concerns the need to close such loopholes as a method of counteracting high rates of VAIW. Such high rates are further alluded to in *The Round House* when Joe and his father first search for Geraldine, and Joe thinks “a bingo win, though Sunday was not a bingo day and it would have been completely out of character for my mother to play. That’s what I wanted, though, something out of the ordinary. Only that.”<sup>24</sup> Here the implication is that the actual occurrence of rape and attempted murder is, unfortunately, considered ordinary in comparison to the more unlikely scenario that Geraldine was simply playing bingo.

Erdrich’s explanation of the legal minefield that surrounds tribal authority in relation to rape cases is clear to the uninformed reader and leaves the reader with a desire to act or at least feel sympathy for Geraldine, Joe, and other characters within the crime’s ripple. However, by focusing almost entirely on Joe’s interpretation and experience of his mother’s rape, *The Round House*, at times, erases Geraldine from the aftermath of her own rape. Some critics, like Tharp, view the absence of Geraldine as necessary. Tharp claims that Geraldine would not make a good narrator and that by having Joe narrate instead, Erdrich asks the reader to consider the lingering effects of trauma over several generations, as well as increasing the likelihood that men will read

the novel.<sup>25</sup> Tharp further rationalizes Joe-as-narrator by claiming that “placing the reader in Joe’s position shifts the focus away from women’s veracity and enables an understanding of the wider effects of violence against women and an appreciation for the complexity of male sexuality.”<sup>26</sup>

While narratives about the wider effects of VAIW are certainly necessary, Tharp’s claim that such narratives allow for an “appreciation for the complexity of male sexuality” effectively refocuses the rape of Joe’s mother away from the mother and instead makes the crime all about her male son. Much of the novel oscillates between Joe’s readjustment after Geraldine’s rape and his objectification of other women, especially his uncle’s wife, Sonja. In other words, highlighting male sexuality through Joe’s narrative instead of a woman’s trauma is in line with the necessary erasure of Indigenous women in a colonial patriarchy. It is possible to read these male-centered narratives as imbedded within the colonial system, so much so that they unknowingly but inherently partake in the colonial mission of erasing Indigenous people by erasing Indigenous women.

The emphasis on the male view in *The Round House* starts from the beginning of the novel. When Joe’s father and Joe realize that Geraldine should have come home already, Joe begins to understand that something must have happened to his mother. The lack of dinner serves as Joe’s initial indicator that something is amiss; Joe reflects that “women don’t realize how much store men set on the regularity of their habits. We absorb their comings and goings into our bodies, their rhythms into our bones. Our pulse is set to theirs, and as always on a weekend afternoon we were waiting for my mother to start us ticking away on the evening.”<sup>27</sup> On the one hand these lines indicate the symbiotic relationship humans form, perhaps suggesting a sort of duality between men and women that make life without the other incomplete or one-sided.



However, the context of these lines puts such duality under suspicion as “the regularity of their habits” is in reference to Geraldine’s habit of making dinner, thus fulfilling a stereotypical female gender role. In other words, Geraldine’s absence is only noted because she is not performing her role as mother and homemaker. Rather than note the jarring effect his mother’s sexual violence will have on her life, as well as his own, Joe, who is retelling the events of the novel as an adult, focuses on the domestic, figuring his mother not as a person whose physical space was violently invaded, but as a cook and maid embedded in Joe’s and Basil’s life.

References to Geraldine as mother and domestic figure appear throughout the novel through Joe’s reminiscences. In these moments he refers to the Geraldine of his memories as his “before-mother.” Joe longs for the domesticity of his before-mother as opposed to Geraldine post-rape, who struggles to leave the bedroom, carry on conversations with her husband and son, and is prone to traumatic relapses. For instance, much later in the novel, Joe informs his mother that he has joined the Youth Encounter Christ camp at the local Catholic Church. Geraldine, Joe remarks at other times in the novel, was never very religious and adamantly refused to attend church after her time in church-run schools. Despite this, Geraldine’s lack of reaction to Joe’s newfound involvement in the church causes Joe to wax nostalgic about what his before-mother’s reaction would have been, thinking:

I’d thought she was the same mother only with a hollow face, jutting elbows, spiky legs. But I was beginning to notice that she was someone different from the before-mother. The one I thought of as my real mother. I had believed that my real mother would emerge at some point. I would get my before mom back. But now it entered my head that this might not happen. The damned carcass had stolen from her. Some warm part of her was gone and might not return. This new formidable woman would take getting to know, and I was thirteen. I didn’t have time.<sup>28</sup>

In these lines the distinction Joe has drawn between his before-mother and his after-mother is evident, but also evident is his desire to return to before the rape and his acceptance that such a

return is impossible. More important is Joe's rejection at getting to know the changed woman before him. It is true that at this moment Joe is thirteen and potentially unable to recognize that his problem in connecting to his mother after the rape pales in comparison to the trauma his mother will likely never overcome; however, Joe is relaying all of these events, including his internal monologue, from a point in the future, after he completed law school, married, and returned to live and practice on his reservation. With that in mind, the continued lack of focus or admission of his mother's own trauma also removes such trauma from the novel as a whole. Instead, the narrative becomes one focused on the son's revenge in pursuit of justice as opposed to the rape and its aftereffects on its female victim. While Erdrich may be showcasing what Deer terms "the ripple effect of trauma," by not showing the inner turmoil of the trauma's center, i.e. Geraldine, or having Joe position Geraldine's post-rape actions as anything other than through his need to get revenge or remain disconnected from his mother, *The Round House* focuses almost entirely on masculine interpretations of sexual violence. As such, a narrative meant to draw attention to violence against Indigenous women, as suggested by the novel's afterword that highlights organizations working to "restore sovereign justice and ensure safety for Native women," is actually a narrative about the masculine experience within the trauma's ripple.<sup>29</sup> Once more, women are positioned on the periphery of the conversation about the sexual violence committed against them.

The focus on Joe's process of coping with his mother's rape is epitomized when he positions his own desire for justice against other members of his family, thinking "nobody else, not Clemence, not even my mother herself, cared as much as we did about my mother. Nobody else thought night and day of her. Nobody else knew what was happening to her. Nobody else was as desperate as the two of us, my father and I, to get our life back. To return to the Before."<sup>30</sup>

It is important to note that the only named family members in these lines other than Joe and his father are women, specifically Joe's mother and her sister, Clemence. Because neither woman seems to outwardly demonstrate a desire for justice that Joe can readily perceive, he reasons that is due to the lack of concern either woman have for such justice, which is further translated by Joe to mean that neither woman cares as much about his mother, including Geraldine herself. Furthermore, the implication in the line "to return to the Before" signifies that Joe believes gaining justice, either through legal or vigilante means, would effectively erase the rape and return their lives to the blissful happiness he remembers before the rape.

Unlike Joe's belief that revenge will erase his family's trauma, Robert Wolfe, the main character in *Road to Paloma*, holds no such belief. Instead, he hopes to give his mother eternal peace by returning her ashes to his people's native land. *Road to Paloma* tells the story of Wolfe, a Mojave man who brutally kills his mother's rapist prior to the start of the film. The entirety of the film depicts Wolfe, joined by a man named Cash, running from FBI agents who track Wolfe across the desert, until they ultimately catch him in the middle of the ceremony to spread his mother's ashes across a lake. Like *The Round House*, the *Road to Paloma* underscores the legal issues surrounding rape, and in this case murder, of Indigenous women. Because Wolfe's mother's rape occurs on tribal land by a non-Native man, tribal authorities arrest him but have no authority to charge or prosecute him. In response, federal prosecutors, according to Wolfe, refused to "take the case because it wasn't serious enough," letting his mother's rapist go free—that is until Wolfe catches up with him to enact his vigilante revenge. However, by getting that revenge, Wolfe also crosses several borders, including reservation, state, and federal ones (it is unclear in the film if the rapist, Charles Grisby, lived on the reservation). In contrast to his mother's rape, Wolfe's crime—that of a Native man killing a non-Native—gets the FBI

involved. To emphasize this point, Wolfe's father, Numay (Wes Studi), tells FBI agents in pursuit of Wolfe that it "seems anytime there's a rape on the reservation you guys are nowhere to be found, but a white man gets murdered and it's call out the cavalry."<sup>31</sup> This scene epitomizes the legal issues surrounding violence against women that *Road to Paloma* highlights and that VAWA's reauthorization attempts to rectify.

Besides a few minor roles that constitute only several minutes, women are rare in the *Road to Paloma*. The film has three named female characters, Magdalena, Hazel, and Eva. Magdalena, a woman whose car broke down that Wolfe and Cash stopped to help, probably has the most screen time, but most of that is spent on a surreal erotic twenty-four hours with Wolfe. Hazel is a stripper that Cash employs for the entire time Wolfe is with Magdalena. Cash then refuses to pay her for her services, causing him to be beaten and thrown out of the club. The only named character not involved in a sexual encounter with Wolfe or Cash is Eva, Wolfe's sister, who only appears in scenes with Wolfe or her husband, Irish. Arguably, the most important role that any woman plays in the film is Wolfe's mother, who is raped and murdered prior to the events of the film and whose name is never known, unless viewers also read interviews Jason Momoa gave about the film.<sup>32</sup> While each of these women have different relationships with Wolfe or Cash, ultimately the women in the film are viewed through their relationships with men.

At its core, *Road to Paloma* is a road movie and often relies on tropes long established by other masculine road films like *Easy Rider*, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, *On the Road*, or even *Cheech & Chong*. The emphasis on the road movie is reinforced even at the film's ending, during a scene when the film should be focused on finally putting Wolfe's mother to rest. At the moment of the ceremony's completion, the FBI finally catches up to Wolfe. Alerted to the FBI's

presence, Wolfe attempts to run off. In response, one FBI agent shoots, hitting Wolfe, and injuring him enough to prevent him from running away but not to kill him. Rather die than be taken alive, Wolfe stabs himself in the stomach, thus giving himself a warrior's honorable death and further emphasizing the film's focus on the masculine quest. In Wolfe's final moments before death, Cash slow-motion runs across the shallow lake, collapsing to his knees at Wolfe's side. As Wolfe chokes on his blood, Cash cradles Wolfe's body, screaming for help. A scene about freeing Wolfe's mother's spirit turns into an ultimate scene of male bonding, fulfilling the *Road to Paloma's* masculine journey at the core of the road film genre.

While this scene could easily be dismissed or supported through identifying it as a genre convention of the road film, it must be noted that according to the film's writer, director, and lead actor, Jason Momoa, the "Paloma" in *Road to Paloma* is not the name of a location, but of Wolfe's mother. So despite the emphases on road film tropes or images of Wolfe's and Cash's long, almost nostalgic ride across the desert, the title of the film directs us back to Wolfe's mother, her rape, and her death. The road is not a reference to the one on which Wolfe and Cash travel, but Wolfe's journey to "bring his mother home," to spread her ashes in the last scene of the film. Despite serving as the impetus for the writing of the film, and reinforced by its title and the first several scenes, the issue of unprosecuted violence against Indigenous women gets placed on the backburner or entirely forgotten for much of the film. As such, the film's ability to expose the problems of legal loopholes that allow people to get away with violence against Indigenous women is severely undercut by the fact that women have essentially been erased from the film itself. Like *The Round House*, the erasure of Indigenous women partakes in a long established colonial narrative that reinforces male dominance through rape and sexual violence. For all the

good *The Round House* and *Road to Paloma* attempt to achieve, both texts still rely on the embedded fabric of colonial patriarchy.

### Systemic Rape and Feminine Narratives of Healing

Like in *Road to Paloma*, physical borders in *El Traspatio* also play a major role as Juana crosses from rural village to urban city, and we are reminded over and over in the film about Juárez's status as a border city, with multiple scenes calling our attention to the close proximity of the United States. One of the ways in which the film engages with notions of borders is through the title itself. *El Traspatio*, or *Backyard*, implies a certain sort of relationship between the United States and Mexico, with Mexico serving as the backyard, or playground, for wealthy businessmen wanting to extort the economic disparity and police corruption across the border. Other scholars, like Priscilla Meléndez, have noted the importance of borders in *El Traspatio*. Even though the film contains constant reminders of the physical closeness of the US border and the thousands of crossings that occur every day, the most emphasized borders within the film are that of the female body. As Meléndez notes, "the leitmotif of the sordid world portrayed by Berman in *Backyard* seems to be the image of dismemberment, disarticulation, and decomposition of physical, legal, and metaphorical bodies. The grotesque image of disconnected parts is literally represented by the dead female bodies."<sup>33</sup> Besides several rape scenes, some of which are long and excruciating to watch, the film tellingly opens with an image of hair torn and caught in a barbed wire fence. This image calls to mind Gloria Anzaldúa's descriptions of her Borderland body, with the border "running down the length of my body, / staking fence rods in my flesh, / splits me splits me / *me raja me raja* / This is my home / this thin edge of / barbwire."<sup>34</sup> *El Traspatio* turns the figurative tearing and raping of Anzaldúa's body by the

border's barbed wire fence into a literal destruction of female bodies through the presence of endemic rape culture.

Juárez's rape culture, as portrayed in Carreras' film, is best summarized in a scene that comes immediately after Blanca interrupts a gang rape, thus saving a woman from the "Angel's Delight." In the following scene, Blanca questions the woman at the police station to discover any information on her rapists or possibly the location of a number of other missing women, who will likely turn up dead in the desert.<sup>35</sup> As indicated by the opening reading of this chapter, the role of global capitalism is often figured as central to continued violence against women. During Blanca's questioning of the rape victim, the woman says that the kidnapped women come from various manufacturing plants around Juárez, including Ford, General Electric, Toshiba, Esparza, and Maderas Nacionales. Through this list transnational corporations are linked to the kidnapping, rapes, and murders of thousands of women. Not only do such firms exploit cheap female labor at their Juárez sites, as indicated by the Japanese businessman in my opening reading, but these corporations are active sites of female bodily exploitations.

Shortly after the woman lists off the above factories and explains that her kidnappers would raffle off the "Angel's Delight" to the highest bidder, Blanca's police chief pulls Blanca out of the interrogation room. He proceeds to chastise Blanca for helping the victim instead of leaving the woman in the desert to immediately pursue the rapists. The chief threatens to remove Blanca from the case, telling her that her compassion for the victim is "why women make good nurses and bad cops."<sup>36</sup> In this scene, the chief's lack of concern over the victim is made evident. Instead of ensuring the safety of the woman, the chief is only concerned with catching the rapists, or seeking justice. As the film eventually reveals, however, the chief only seeks justice for his own promotion, even turning to torture in order to extort confessions, all the while taking

bribes from wealthy businessmen to ignore the rapes and murders they commit. Such reactions from the police, as well as the incompleteness of their own case files, are indicative of a culture that so severely normalizes violence against women that an officer who shows consideration for a victim is in turn, punished.

When compared to Geraldine's lack of interiority in *The Round House*, it is possible to see *El Traspatio* as seeking justice for women, but also attempting to implicate a narrative of healing that positions the victims of sexual violence at the center in a significantly different way. Even though Blanca does try to figure out who is organizing the mass kidnappings, rapes, and murders of many of Juárez's women, her primary concern is finding missing women before they are killed, and then placing the few recovered women into the hands of good aid workers. In this way, Blanca's motives differ significantly from Joe's or Wolfe's. Rather than seeking justice or revenge, both of which she certainly attempts at several points in the film—most notably when she empties her clip into a businessman who paid off the chief to get away with abducting and presumably raping a young girl—Blanca is shown as primarily motivated by a desire to stop the violence as a whole or at the very least to save as many women as possible from death. While *El Traspatio* may not showcase an entire healing process, it does position women and rape survivors at the center as opposed to the periphery.

One other moment in *El Traspatio* that epitomizes its critique of institutional failings and the normalization of sexual violence comes shortly after Blanca's reprimand by the chief. In this scene, she tells her friend, the former public accountant turned aid worker Sara, why police in Juárez will not pursue the rapists despite the detailed information the woman Blanca saved was able to provide. In order to explain this lack of pursuit and also get at the culture of violence against women in Juárez, Blanca tells a story she once heard about a tiger in India. In the story, a



small village holds a ceremony every month. One month, a tiger interrupts the ceremony and kills someone, causing the villagers to flee in terror. The next month, the village gathers again, and again, the tiger comes and kills another person. The next month when the villagers gather, the town is no longer scared of the tiger because it has become part of the ritual.<sup>37</sup> Blanca says that the murders of the women in Juárez are the same. It's expected, so no one cares, reminiscent of Warren's discussion of patriarchy's normalization of abuse, or the negative hybrid contact zone that maintains settler power through indoctrinating violence against Indigenous women. *El Traspatio* not only references the lack of legal justice pursued by authorities, but also the cultural normalization of violence against women that is part and parcel to the settler-colonialism's racial hierarchy that perpetuates the erasure of Indigenous women.

Even though Blanca's tiger story comes in the middle of *El Traspatio* and presumably is only a metaphor about Juárez, the way in which the film ends indicates the story's much larger intended application. *El Traspatio* is based on real events from 1996, but its epilogue tracks Juárez's continued violence for 13 years between the film's setting and its release in 2009 by offering statistics for the number of women killed in sex crimes for every one of those 13 years. More than that, the film continues to give the number of women killed in sex crimes for a range of years in other states in Mexico, and in other countries in Central and South America, such as Guatemala, El Salvador, and Peru. The statistics move briefly to Europe, giving numbers for Spain. Finally, the statistics end with the number of women killed in sex crimes for just a single year, 2004, in the United States. That number, 3,541 is almost 1000 higher than any other statistic for any other country listed at the end of *El Traspatio*. The second highest is Guatemala at 2,612; however, that number is for a span of eight years, rather than just one. Ending the film

with this data leaves viewers with a rather grim reflection on the final glimpse of Blanca, who leaves Juárez behind by driving across the border and into the United States.

Unlike *The Round House* and *Road to Paloma*, *El Traspatio* focuses almost entirely on women. Admittedly, there are many male characters, especially within the police force, and most conversations between Juana and Margara are about men. However, nearly every scene contains either Blanca, Juana, or another female character. More so than its focus on including more female actors and focusing nearly every scene on the high rates of sexual violence against women, *El Traspatio* also critiques the lack of police and government attention paid to these crimes despite their high numbers. Such institutional critiques are often intimately tied to global capitalism as today’s leading colonizing force.

Comparisons between texts in this chapter allow us to see the function of rape within settler-colonial narratives, especially in relation to global capitalism as a continued form of colonialism. *El Traspatio* reminds us of this connection towards the end of the film. After it is revealed that confessions given by *los cheros* were forcibly obtained and the evidence against “The Sultan” was faked, the governor of Chihuahua criticizes the media’s focus on violence against women. He says that the media’s focus on dead women is “arruinando el turismo en Juarez” [ruining the tourism in Juarez].<sup>38</sup> When reporters respond by asking him if the term “femicide” is applicable to Juarez’s crime, the governor says, “Mira, ese termino deberan aplicado todo el mundo. No solamente ciudad Juarez” [They should use that term around the world, not just in Juarez],” and that across the border, “En la carretera Houston, hay tambien sus muertas” [On the road to Houston, they’ve got their murdered women, too].<sup>39</sup> Despite the governor’s attempt to dismiss his state’s high rates of violence against women, he unintentionally links global capitalism with rape. The governor’s desire to focus on tourism underscores DJ

Peralta's opening monologue and Blanca Bravo's final actions. Peralta opens the film by describing Juárez as a tourist location because rich kids come to Juárez to "vienen a perder su virginidad con nuestras certifas sexo servidores" [to lose their virginity to our top-notch sex workers].<sup>40</sup> In short, the main tourist attraction of Juárez seems to be the ability to commit horrific acts against the city's women without fear of punishment.

From the hyper-sexualization of the statue of justice, to an aid worker pointing out the incompetence of cops by showing her files as more complete simply by having copied articles from the newspaper, *El Traspatio* shows violence against women as a cultural symptom wreaking havoc on certain marginalized groups caused by systemic institutional failures to recognize or care enough about women's safety.<sup>41</sup> As such, *El Traspatio* positions violence against women as a broad cultural issue that rests on valuing women as sexual objects, as opposed to *The Round House* or *Road to Paloma* which figure the lack of justice as the primary problem to overcome. Each of these texts certainly point towards problems within the justice system, whether that be corrupt police or failings in the law, but *El Traspatio* takes its critique further to point out that violence against women cannot be confined to legal deficiencies.

## Conclusion

*State of Fear* is a 2005 documentary about human rights violations on the part of Shining Path, a communist militant group, and the Peruvian government. The documentary locates the origin of Shining Path with a former philosophy professor, Abimael Guzmán. In actuality, Shining Path, while formally founded by Guzmán, has older roots as a faction within the Peruvian Communist Party, and the militant group's name stems from a quote from José Carlos Mariátegui, the leading Peruvian philosopher and socialist of the early twentieth century. Shining Path started as an Indigenous and peasant focused insurgency that sought socioeconomic equality in Peru. However, the group quickly adopted violent, terrorist actions as its primary method in pursuing its political philosophy. As *State of Fear* shows, Shining Path worked to hold absolute power in the Andes, its initial base, through terrorizing local villages into compliance. Slowly, the group worked its way into the jungles, using Indigenous peoples there as a source for child soldiers. Eventually, the group would move to target Lima, Peru's capital city. As Shining Path grew in power, increased its violent activities, and moved closer towards Lima—and thus started effecting non-Indigenous populations—the Peruvian military was dispatched.

During the tumultuous period of the 1980s and 1990s when both Shining Path and the Peruvian military kidnapped, raped, and massacred thousands of Peruvians, particularly Indigenous peoples, Peru's democracy also started to crumble. Enter Alberto Fujimori. Viewed as a relative outsider, Fujimori's supporters believed he was more capable than established politicians of solving the country's issues, particularly concerning Shining Path. Soon after taking office, however, Fujimori dissolved Congress and took sole military power. Over the course of his presidency, Fujimori, as the "first media dictatorship in Latin America," used and manipulated the media in order to retain public favor, spread disinformation about terrorism, and

maintain absolute power.<sup>1</sup> Fujimori increased violent military tactics that often did not differentiate between Shining Path and innocent Indigenous people, used secret death squads against both Shining Path and his political rivals, and eventually had to flee the country in 2000 after calls for his resignation due to corruption and accusations of human rights violations, for which he eventually went to prison.

After the fall of Fujimori's government and Shining Path, whose leader was captured in 1992, the new government set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVR). Working from June 2001 to August 2003, the CVR attempted to determine the depth of human rights abuses committed during the 1980s and 1990s primarily by Shining Path and the Peruvian military, with some noted violations from the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), a radical socialist group. The commission found that the total number of deaths during the several decades of violence neared 70,000.<sup>2</sup> Towards the end of *State of Fear*, the documentary reviews the immediate results of the commission, and the film's directors include a positive call to rewrite the history of Peru, to form a new chapter that is written from the perspective of the victims rather than the state. Such a rewriting of history would work to usurp the power of dominant state-sanctioned narratives. In other words, it would decolonize Peru's history.

However, the documentary does not allow this beacon of hope, acceptance, and willingness to right the nation's wrongs to end the film. Instead, *State of Fear* goes on to say that in the several years since the commission's call to prosecute all human rights violators, both insurgent and government alike, the implementation of that justice has not occurred equally. The narrator tells viewers that nearly all Shining Path leaders have been killed or imprisoned since the commission's report, but almost no military members have been brought to justice. Rather than end the documentary by showing Peru's efforts to decolonize its government's narratives

and working towards greater equality between white and Indigenous Peruvians, the documentary ends instead by illustrating the power of settler-colonial dominance. As one of the documentary's interviewees states, "A lot of the way power can be explained in Peru is by careful cultivation of ignorance and forgetfulness."<sup>3</sup>

By ending *State of Fear* on the notion that those in power, in this case white upper-class Peruvians, maintain power by willfully ignoring their active oppression of others, the directors seem aware of the resistance to decolonizing dominant narratives and the power of an entrenched settler-colonial mindset. In other words, the film's directors might appear aware of the power matrix that refuses to see Indigenous people as people. However, an early moment in the film undermines this presumed awareness. When the documentary first describes the birth of Shining Path and Guzmán's ability to recruit Indigenous and peasant university students, one of the film's interviewees says: "The young village students were seduced by the idea of action. A kind of teenage adventure."<sup>4</sup> No further commentary is given by the film's narrators, and thus the statement stands as sufficient reason for Guzmán's recruiting ability. What the documentary never addresses, either at this moment or at any other time in the film, is the socioeconomic and political oppression of Indigenous Peruvians, over half the country's population, as creating an atmosphere ripe for militant groups like Shining Path. Despite briefly mentioning the CVR's identification of Indigenous exclusion as fomenting the insurgency, the documentary does not spend time investigating the conditions that led to Shining Path's following. In fact, prior to describing the military deployment to the Andes, the documentary makes no mention of government exploitation, high rates of poverty, and political disenfranchisement of Indigenous peoples. Instead, those societal characteristics are confined to "a kind of teenage adventure." In leaving out the contextual setting for the rise of Shining Path, the filmmakers portray their own

settler-colonial blindspot that prevents them from recognizing the hardships that led to Indigenous peoples taking up arms. For all the recognition *State of Fear* does to bring a voice to the thousands of murdered and disappeared victims of Shining Path and the Peruvian military, the film erases Indigenous narratives in favor of a settler-state one that presumes a certain level of government superiority prior to Shining Path's first violent action.

### A Hemisphere of Truth and Reconciliation

Like in Peru, other Truth and Reconciliation Commissions have occurred throughout the Americas, some specifically focused on Indigenous populations and others including Indigenous populations within their list of victims. I want to draw attention to only two in addition to Peru: Guatemala and Canada. I consider these two locations in order to review the necessity of this project's decolonizing comparative approach that problematizes the binary opposition often created between Indigenous and settler actors. By taking a North-South hemispheric approach, comparisons between Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, or even the absence of them, allow scholarship within Indigenous Studies to form wider networks across the hemisphere rather than confine such systems to settler-colonial national borders.

Guatemala's Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH) was established by the Guatemalan government to investigate human rights violations during the Guatemalan civil war, which lasted from 1960 to 1996. The commission found that over 200,000 people were killed or disappeared during that time. Many of the victims included children, priests, Indigenous leaders, and non-combatant women and men. Of those victims, an estimated 83% were Mayan.<sup>5</sup> Much of the civil war conflict stemmed from the exploitation of Indigenous, primarily Mayan, labor. Like that which the EZLN critiqued in Chapter 4, the capitalist, plantation system maintained economic and political power over Indigenous Guatemalans.

The Guatemalan Indigenous/settler conflict is perhaps most famously memorialized in Rigoberta Menchu's *I, Rigoberta Menchu* and her retelling of life working at *las fincas*, or plantations.<sup>6</sup> Her autobiography demonstrates that instances like the Guatemalan Civil War seemingly pit Indigenous agricultural laborers against the settler-colonial *ladinos*, or a Guatemalan who is white, of mixed race heritage, or who rejects their Indigenous ancestry. However, Menchu's work also epitomizes hybrid contact zones by disrupting the Indigenous/settler binary.<sup>7</sup> Over the course of the autobiography, the reader sees Menchu's early life working in *las fincas*, as a maid in the city, and slowly, her political awakening. For much of the text, Menchu paints a sharp contrast between Indigenous Guatemalans and *ladinos*, often relying on the dominant settler-colonial narrative that keeps Indigenous and settler actors as incapable of coexisting. About half-way through the autobiography, however, something changes. Menchu makes a *ladino* friend from the Committee for Peasant Unity (CUC) who teaches her Spanish. From that friend, Menchu explains that she came to understand, "the barrier which has been put up between the Indian and the *ladino*, and that because of this same system which tries to divide us, we haven't understood that *ladinos* also live in terrible conditions, the same as we do."<sup>8</sup> The sentiment Menchu expresses in this moment recognizes the barrier between Indigenous and settler, in this case figured as *ladino*, as a construction of the settler-colonial system that must keep similarly impoverished groups in conflict, like Indigenous agricultural workers and poor *ladinos*, in order to maintain power. Moreover, Menchu recognizes similarities between Indigenous Guatemalans and poor *ladinos*, even expressing a sort of solidarity with the *landino* condition. While not a moment of conflict and thus not necessarily a contact zone, what such lines do tell readers is of an existing similarity between Indigenous and settler actors. In this way, Menchu's autobiography offers the recognition that in moments of



conflict, when Indigenous/settler cultures do clash that the two sides are not always in binary opposition to one another. Actors on each side of the conflict may in fact be similarly oppressed by the hegemonic power structure that rules the settler-colonial nation.

Unlike Guatemala, Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission did not focus on a civil war or armed insurgency. Instead, Canada's commission specifically focused on the country's system of Indian Residential Schools. The commission was set up through the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement and was charged with investigating both abuse and that abuse's legacy at residential schools. For nearly a hundred years Canada required many Indigenous children, often by force, to attend state-run schools where they underwent what would be defined today as cultural genocide.<sup>9</sup> Some genocidal tactics included forced religious conversions, hair cutting, preventing children from speaking native languages, adoption of Anglo-American dress, and harsh physical labor that enforced European gender norms (i.e. girls cleaned and cooked and boys tended fields).<sup>10</sup> Not only do Indian Residential Schools illustrate another method of assimilation, like those described in Chapter 2, but by considering the ways in which children were forced to engage in gendered systems of dress and work, the schools also illustrate one way in which Western colonial patriarchies were imposed upon Indigenous peoples. That is not to say that work was not gendered within Indigenous populations; it certainly was. Rather, residential schools, especially in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, gendered work through limiting the educational opportunities allowed to Indigenous girls so that they were confined to the domestic sphere.<sup>11</sup> In this way, it is possible to read residential schools as erasing traditional gender roles and responsibilities for many Indigenous peoples.

While Canada's commission has faced much scrutiny over its language of healing Canada rather than Indigenous peoples affected by residential schools, the commission did list

ninety-four calls to action that dealt with issues ranging from child welfare, to cultural genocide, to justice (the commission was not granted any powers to bring any perpetrators to court).<sup>12</sup> It is also worth noting that the United States has a similar legacy of residential schools and has not investigated its own actions. So while there are certainly problems with Canada's continued linguistic focus on the settler-colonial nation, the presence of the commission at least recognizes the nation's past injustices. A recognition that has not occurred in the United States. Through residential schools, settler-colonial nations, like the United States and Canada, could reduce the colonized subject's agency by removing Indigenous children's language, traditions, and relationships to their own people. By also indoctrinating European gender roles in regard to work, settler-colonial nations could also reduce cultural and political systems that allowed for Indigenous women to be more than sexual or domestic objects. In other words, residential schools and similar, if less formalized, assimilation measures perpetuated racial hierarchies that placed those of European descent at the top.

Even though Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission focused on the effects of residential schools, other state-sanctioned studies have also focused on Indigenous peoples, specifically women. In 2014, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police released a report titled, "Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women: A National Operational Overview."<sup>13</sup> In 2015, the Mounted Police released an update to the report that showed a reduction in unsolved cases, but ultimately still identified Indigenous women as "over-represented among Canada's murdered and missing women."<sup>14</sup> Like the report on residential schools, the report on missing and murdered Indigenous women included "Next Steps" that identified strategies that the Mounted Police and related agencies would employ to bring down the over-representation of Indigenous women as victims of violent crime. Similar to the residential schools, Canada's investigations into violence

against Indigenous women illustrate some recognition of the long history of such violence, even if the report attributes the bulk of violent crime to domestic disputes and not the settler-state's institutional and socioeconomic failures.

Like the United States' silence on the cultural genocide committed at their own residential schools, the U.S. also remains relatively silent on its own high rates of violence against Indigenous women, as discussed in Chapter 5. Other than finally closing some of the loopholes in the Violence Against Women Act, no state-sanctioned comprehensive study on such violence in the United States has occurred. Similar to the use of residential schools to reduce or eliminate a colonized subject's cultural connections, violence against Indigenous women—whether that be in Peru, Guatemala, or the United States—is both utilized and ignored as part of the settler-colonial patriarchy that necessitates the erasure of Indigenous women.

Individually, analysis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in Peru, Guatemala, and Canada, or even the absence of such commissions in the United States, is limited to the settler-colonial national frame. Only through comparison is it possible to see the relationship between the commissions and continued settler-colonial oppression of Indigenous peoples. By forming comparisons throughout the Western hemisphere, it is possible to see the longer implications of continued settler-colonial systems that rely on the erasure of Indigenous women.

#### Unified Indigenous Resistance

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions certainly demonstrate that individual settler-colonial nations must develop individually tailored responses to the acts made public by such groups. However, the power of hemispheric or even global Indigenous resistance movements cannot be ignored. The fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline, or NoDAPL, serves as a prime example. The pipeline is set to pass near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, including over its

primary water source. Slowly protesters gathered to block the pipeline's advancement, out of which the NoDAPL movement was born. Over the course of several months the NoDAPL movement gained national and then international attention, especially as local police and pipeline-hired security violently clashed with peaceful protesters. Standing Rock's protest camp grew in size, with Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples from across the nation and world traveling to North Dakota to support the Standing Rock community. Eventually, NoDAPL protesters were able to pressure President Obama into halting pipeline construction. Since January 20th, 2017 Indigenous and non-Indigenous resistance movements to DAPL and a wide range of other issues in the United States have developed rapidly, a political milieu that I will not breach in this project. However, increasing unrest and the reboot of the pipeline's construction should not undermine the power that NoDAPL protesters were eventually able to wield, even if it was fleeting.

While scholarly discussions of NoDAPL should still focus on it as a form of Indigenous resistance, the movement also shows that the cultural clash between the Standing Rock Sioux and the United States government was a hybrid contact zone. That hybridity stems from the amount of crossover between Indigenous and settler actors on the Standing Rock side of resistance. Not only did the Standing Rock protest camp contain a diverse array of Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous allies, but increasing media coverage gave rise to increased awareness of the incursion of Standing Rock sovereignty on the part of the United States, Dakota Access, LLC and its parent company Energy Transfer Partners. At various times live streaming social media videos brought the use of water cannons on protesters in freezing temperatures or the arrest of seemingly peaceful protesters to the public's attention regardless of news media coverage. The NoDAPL movement broke down Indigenous/settler binaries on at least one side of

the culture clash, as illustrated by sister protests and recognition on popular television shows like *Saturday Night Live*. The hybridity of the NoDAPL movement illustrates the potential power of multivalent forms of Indigenous resistance.

What an analysis of NoDAPL and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions shows is that a hemispheric approach produces new avenues of research for Indigenous Studies. More importantly, this alignment brings forth different ways of seeing hybrid contact zones as resisting dominant narratives of settler-colonialism. Allowing for hybridity, produces scholarship that can attempt to decolonize narratives of dominance and erasure that are predicated on creating and maintaining binary opposition between the hegemonic nation and the subaltern subject. In order for scholarship to work towards decolonizing settler-colonial national narratives, the binary opposition between Indigenous and settler must also be broken down. Instead, scholarship should recognize the hybridity of Indigenous and settler actors alike, and that reading for such hybridity can help to decolonize notions of Indigenous resistance as clearly distinguishable from settler-colonial culture. If we can reimagine Indigenous resistance as dynamic, multifaceted action, then we can work to recover voices like Malinche, Elias Boudinot, and Nancy Ward as more than sell-outs, but also as actors who may have adapted to incoming cultures but still struggled against the settler-colonial system in order to maintain their own form of Indigenous sovereignty.

## Notes

### Introduction

<sup>1</sup> These transcripts are located in the Nathanael Greene Papers, “Cherokee Treaty, 1781,” Manuscript Reading Room, Library of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> The transcripts only identify the speaker as “Tassell.” At the beginning of the transcripts a list of attendees is given, with the name “Ke-eta-eh, or the Tassell” from the Cherokee town of Toqua. Likely this is Old Tassel, or Uts’dsata, who served as First Beloved Man of the Overhill Cherokee from 1783-1788. However, the list of Cherokee attendants is heavily damaged so many names and towns represented have been lost.

<sup>3</sup> “Cherokee Treaty, 1781.” In transcribing the treaty negotiations, I use David L. Vander Meulen and G. Thomas Tanselle’s transcription methods as established in “A System of Manuscript Transcription.” Punctuation and capitalization are consistent as that in the manuscript. Forward slashes indicate the ending of a line, and enclosed brackets indicate missing or illegible text.

<sup>4</sup> I draw on Lorenzo Veracini’s and Patrick Wolfe’s definition of settler-colonialism, which are discussed at length later in my introduction.

<sup>5</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 163.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Anibal Quijano, “Coloniality of Power.”

<sup>9</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 34.

<sup>10</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 31-2.

<sup>11</sup> Richard White, *The Middle Ground*; Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground*.

<sup>12</sup> For an extended discussion of Ward’s position as a beloved woman, see Laura Donaldson, ““But we are your mothers.””

<sup>13</sup> Donaldson, ““But we are your mothers,” 44.

<sup>14</sup> Scholars that quote Ward through Williams include: Ben Harris McClary, “Nancy Ward; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women*; Cynthia Cumfer, *Separate Peoples, One Land*; Donaldson’s ““But we are your mothers,” differs in that she cites Pat Alderman’s book, *Nancy Ward, Cherokee Chieftainess*; however, Alderman also cites Williams as her source.

<sup>15</sup> While minimal errors, other than omission, occur in Williams's transcription of Ward, he has significant errors and omissions in Tassel's speech, not to mention relaying the transition between his Tassel quote and Ward as immediate, thus implying that no further speech occurs between the two quotes. While multiple intervening pages may be lost today, we do know based on existing transcripts that at least one whole page of Tassel's speech, and at least one paragraph of Ward's lie between the two quotes Williams provides.

<sup>16</sup> "Cherokee Treaty, 1781."

<sup>17</sup> Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," 34.

<sup>18</sup> Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, 2 and 3.

<sup>19</sup> Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, 297.

<sup>20</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots."

<sup>21</sup> "Cherokee Treaty, 1781."

<sup>22</sup> Donaldson, "'But we are your mothers,'" 47.

<sup>23</sup> "Cherokee Treaty, 1781."

<sup>24</sup> "Cherokee Treaty, 1781."

<sup>25</sup> Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 25.

<sup>26</sup> Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 24.

<sup>27</sup> Amber Jamilla Musser, *Sensational Flesh*, 53-4.

<sup>28</sup> Chadwick Allen, *Trans-Indigenous*, xiv.

<sup>29</sup> Shari Huhndorf, *Mapping the Americas*, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Anna Brickhouse, *The Unsettling of the Americas*; and Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*.

<sup>31</sup> James H. Cox, *Red Land to the South*.

<sup>32</sup> Sheila Marie Contreras, *Blood Lines*; Jose David Saldívar, *Trans-Americanity*; and Elisa Facio and Irene Lara, *Fleshing the Spirit*.

<sup>33</sup> George Hartley, "Chican@ Indigeneity," 53.

<sup>34</sup> Penelope Kelsey, "Gathering the Threads Together," 34.

<sup>35</sup> See Sheila Marie Contreras, Jose David Saldívar, Ramón Saldívar, John Beverley, Antonio Cornejo Polar, Daniel Mato, José Rabasa, and Victor Montejo, to name a few.

<sup>36</sup> Antonio Barrenechea and Heidrun Moertl, “Hemispheric Indigenous Studies,” 113.

<sup>37</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>38</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 19.

<sup>39</sup> While Womack opens *Red on Red* by advocating for literary analysis that focuses on “tribally specific concerns,” (1) in the remaining book, he puts these individual tribal concerns in terms of the nation, nationhood, and nationalism. In his chapter within *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, Womack also seems to use nation and tribe as synonyms, including phrases such as “legal ramifications of tribal identities,” “federal Indian law, court decisions, tribal constitutions, or other forms of tribal law,” (112), and “since sovereignty, by definition, has to do with government-to-government relations” (111).

<sup>40</sup> Craig Womack, Robert Warrior, and Jace Weaver, *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, 43.

<sup>41</sup> Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc, “Indigenous Movements,” 6.

<sup>42</sup> Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Modernity*, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Modernity*, 4-5.

<sup>44</sup> Jose David Saldívar, *Trans-Americanity*, xxii.

<sup>45</sup> Caroline F. Levander and Robert S. Levine, Introduction to *Hemispheric American Studies*, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Huhndorf, *Mapping the Americas*, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Huhndorf and Cheryl Suzack, “Indigenous Feminism,” 3.

<sup>48</sup> Huhndorf and Suzack, “Indigenous Feminism,” 3.

## Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> For similar discussions of the Mercator projection, see W. Dirk Raat, “Innovative Ways;” and J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Atlas Géographique et Physique du Nouveau Continent*.

<sup>3</sup> Sean Teuton, “‘Put Out of Her Course’,” 88.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*.



<sup>5</sup> Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4. In this quote, Pratt also cites Gayatri Spivak's discussion of domestic subjects in her book *In Other Worlds*.

<sup>6</sup> Beth Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Raymond B. Craib, "Cartography and Power," 8.

<sup>9</sup> Irma B. Jaffa, Gianni Eugenio Viola, and Franca Rovigatti, *Imagining the New World*, 111.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Alexander, ed., *Discovering the New World*, 7. For other sixteenth century travel books see Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigazioni e Viaggi* (1550-59), André Thévet's *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (1558), and Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil* (1578).

<sup>11</sup> Alexander, *Discovering the New World*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Keazor, "Theodore de Bry's Images," 131-49.

<sup>13</sup> Patricia Gravatt, "Rereading Theodore de Bry's Black Legend," 225.

<sup>14</sup> Stephanie Pratt, "From the Margins," 352.

<sup>15</sup> Pratt, "From the Margins," 350-1. See also Jaffa and Michiel Van Groesen, "The De Bry Collection," 1-24, for further discussion of de Bry's effect on European notions of the Americas.

<sup>16</sup> See the following scholars: Kenneth McIntyre, *The Secret Discovery of Australia*; Roger Hervé, *Chance Discovery of Australia*; Lawrence Fitzgerald, *Java la Grande*; and Peter Trickett, *Beyond Capricorn*.

<sup>17</sup> Tony Campbell, "Egerton MS 1513," 98.

<sup>18</sup> For work on sixteenth century Norman or Dieppe school cartographers, see Sara Toulouse, "Marine Cartography and Navigation," 1550-1568; and Surekha Davies, "Depictions of Brazilians," 317-348.

<sup>19</sup> Toulouse, "Marine Cartography and Navigation," 1561. Toulouse and Davies avoid the more frequently used "Dieppe School" terminology in describing these cartographers because so little information is actually known about the mapmakers typically put into this group. I follow their use of Norman over Dieppe in this regard.

<sup>20</sup> Howard Worth, "An Alternative View," 36.

<sup>21</sup> For a more extended discussion of Smith's illustrations as connected to deBry or John White, see Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Americains*.

<sup>22</sup> John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, 51.

<sup>23</sup> Davis, "Depictions of Brazilians on French Maps," 324.

<sup>24</sup> For similar arguments about the need to emphasize sixteenth and seventeenth century European presence in the Americas, see Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*; Richard White, *The Middle Ground*; and Kathleen Duval, *The Native Ground*.

<sup>25</sup> Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 57.

<sup>26</sup> Raat, "Innovative Ways," 289. For an extended discussion of European naming and erasing practices within maps, see Short's *Cartography Encounters*.

<sup>27</sup> Raat, "Innovative Ways," 289.

<sup>28</sup> Craib, "Cartography and Power," 10.

<sup>29</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

<sup>30</sup> *Vallard Atlas*, HM 29, The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 21.

<sup>32</sup> Pierre Desceliers, *Mappemonde*, French MS 1\*. John Rylands Special Collection, University of Manchester Library; Pierre Desceliers, *Planisphere*, Arques, 1550, British Library Add. MS 24065. Reproduced with the permission of the British Library, © British Library Board.

<sup>33</sup> While exact numbers vary depending on the source, the Spanish were still greatly outnumbered. For further information on the event see John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Inca* or Kim MacQuarrie, *The Last Days of the Incas*.

<sup>34</sup> Teuton, "'Put Out of Her Course,'" 91.

<sup>35</sup> Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 73.

<sup>36</sup> Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 76.

<sup>37</sup> See Diego Gutiérrez, *Americae sive Quartae Orbis*; Jean Rotz, "Boke of Hydrography,"; Guillaume Le Testu, *Cosmographie Universelle*; Joan Blaeu, *Atlas Major*; and Gerardus Mercator, *Atlas*, which also includes Hondius's world map; all three of Desceliers *mappemondes* ("Royal World Chart," 1546; "Harleian World Chart," 1547; and "World Chart," 1550) still in existence, and Sebastian Münster, *Novae Insulae* among any others. A number of other quality

examples of Indigenous peoples illustrated along mythical lines or as violent cannibals exist from both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>38</sup> See Sebastian Münster, *Novæ Insulæ*; Desceliers, “Harleian World chart, 1547; and a 1602 map of Patagonia by Levin Hulsius, to name a few.

<sup>39</sup> Giovanni Battista Ramusio, [Map of Eastern Canada.]

<sup>40</sup> Le Moyne travelled to the Florida in 1564 with Jean Ribault and René Laudonnière. Thévet travelled to Brazil as the chaplain of the fleet of vice-admiral Nicolas Durand de Villegaignon. Vespucci, the reputed namesake of the Americas, made several trips to the Americas at the turn of the 16th century. Finally, Rotz travelled to Brazil in 1539 before entering into the service of Henry VIII several years later.

<sup>41</sup> Davies, “Depictions of Brazilians on French Maps,” 345.

<sup>42</sup> Cynthia A. Chambers, “The Geography of Cannibalism,” 54.

<sup>43</sup> Chambers, “The Geography of Cannibalism,” 54.

<sup>44</sup> Guillaume Le Testu, *Cosmographie Universelle*.

<sup>45</sup> See also *Vallard Atlas*. Rotz’s “Boke of Idrography;” Desceliers’s *mappemondes*; and Gutiérrez’s 1562 *Americae sive Qvartae Orbis*.

<sup>46</sup> Our Lady of Sorrows typically depicts Mary as crying and sometimes being pierced by seven swords, representing the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Sometimes she is also depicted as bleeding, and often when depicted in this tradition, Mary is shown alone.

<sup>47</sup> Teuton, “‘Put Out of Her Course’,” 91.

<sup>48</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>49</sup> Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 45.

<sup>50</sup> Joan Blaeu, *Le Grand Atlas*; Reiner Otten and Josua Otten, *Atlas*; and Johannes Cöven, *Atlas nouveau*. Illustrations of Indigenous women that similarly depict them along the lines of sexually available, ready for colonization, or as figurative stand-ins for the continent can be found in a number of maps, atlases, and paintings since contact. The three specific works listed here use strikingly similar illustrations, but in smaller versions or in cartouches to either the Dieppe cartographers or Theodore de Bry.

<sup>51</sup> Alexander von Humboldt, *Atlas géographique*.

<sup>52</sup> Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters*, 9-10.

<sup>53</sup> Adam Rosen-Carole, “Off the Map,” 134. Reminder of references cited in-text.

## Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*.

<sup>4</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*.

<sup>5</sup> Cristóbal Colón, “Diario del primer viaje” and “Relación del tercer viaje;” Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*.

<sup>6</sup> Ánibal Quijano, “Coloniality of Power,” 533.

<sup>7</sup> Quijano, “Coloniality of Power,” 534.

<sup>8</sup> Quijano, “Coloniality of Power,” 534.

<sup>9</sup> Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc, “Indigenous Movements,” 5.

<sup>10</sup> Postero and Zamosc, “Indigenous Movements,” 6.

<sup>11</sup> Rose Stremmler, “To Domesticate and Civilize,” 265.

<sup>12</sup> Stremmler, “To Domesticate and Civilize,” 265.

<sup>13</sup> See Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, and the codex, *Historia de Tlaxcala*.

<sup>14</sup> Reuben Ellis, “‘Events Threw Us Together’”; Sarah Ruffing Robbins, “The ‘Indian Problem’”; and Carol Lea Clark, “Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa).”

<sup>15</sup> For scholarship critical of Eastman’s assimilation see Jennifer Bess, “‘Kill The Indian’”; David J. Carlson, “‘Indian for a While’”; and Gretchen Cassel Eick, “U.S. Indian Policy.” For other scholarship that disagrees with Eastman’s easy acceptance of assimilation see Peter L. Bayers, “Charles Alexander Eastman”; and Sarah Pripas-Kapit, “‘We Have Lived on Broken Promises’.”

<sup>16</sup> Erik Peterson, “‘An Indian . . . An American’,” 174.

<sup>17</sup> Christine Edwards Allred, “‘Real Indian Art’,” 118.

<sup>18</sup> Tova Cooper, “On Autobiography,” 2.

<sup>19</sup> Cooper, “On Autobiography,” 9.

<sup>20</sup> Cooper, “On Autobiography,” 17.

<sup>21</sup> See Cooper, “On Autobiography;” Allred, “Real Indian Art;” and Peterson, “An Indian . . . An American.”

<sup>22</sup> Peterson, “‘An Indian . . . An American’,” 173-4.

<sup>23</sup> Peterson, “An Indian . . . An American’,” 175.

<sup>24</sup> Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa), *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*,” 33. The remainder of citations for Eastman will appear in text.

<sup>25</sup> In making this argument, Allred claims that Eastman’s autobiography is a “record of assimilation” (122) as well as Eastman’s realization that he has erased his Indian-ness, largely through his literacy. Similar critiques are made of several other Indigenous figures discussed in my project, specifically of Elias Boudinot, discussed in Chapter 3.

<sup>26</sup> Rosenthal, “Race Mixture,” 126.

<sup>27</sup> Elisabeth L. Austin, “Ideological Psychosis and Impotent Compassion,” 143.

<sup>28</sup> See George Antony Thomas, “Revisiting Realism.”

<sup>29</sup> Austin, “Ideological Psychosis,” 143.

<sup>30</sup> Austin, “Ideological Psychosis,” 144.

<sup>31</sup> Clorinda Matto de Turner, *Aves sin nido*, 83. Translations for *Aves sin nido* come from *Torn from the Nest (Aves sin nido)*, translated by John H. R. Polt, 83. For the remainder, references to Matto de Turner will appear in text, first the page number for the Spanish language text, followed immediately by the translated text.

<sup>32</sup> The tendency to make the oppressed subaltern subject exceptional in arguments advocating for their rights in a modern age is certainly not unique to Matto de Turner. It is a trope found in numerous other narratives from *Oroonoko* to *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* to *The Cherokee Phoenix* (the first bilingual Indigenous newspaper in the United States, about which I will discuss at length in Chapter 3).

<sup>33</sup> See George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest* and Alex Alvarez, *Native America and the Question of Genocide*.

<sup>34</sup> Sylvia Van Kirk, “From ‘Marrying-In’ to ‘Marrying-Out.’”

<sup>35</sup> Tracey Deer, dir. *Club Native*, Women Make Movies, 2008.

<sup>36</sup> Penelope Kelsey, “Gathering The Threads Together,” 26.

<sup>37</sup> Elena Garro, *La culpa es de los Tlaxcaltecas* and *Recollections of Things to Come*; Juan Rulfo, *Pedro Paramo*.

### Chapter 3

<sup>1</sup> Other similar assimilationist articles include: “How to Read Scripture,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828; “New Echota: To Readers and Correspondents,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 6, 1828; “New Echota: To Correspondents,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 20, 1828, among others.

<sup>2</sup> Elias Boudinot, “An Address to the Whites: Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church, on the 26th of May, 1826” (Philadelphia: William F. Geddes, 1826), 3.

<sup>3</sup> Example articles that reference Washington and Jefferson include: “My Children, Deputies of the Cherokee Upper Towns,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828; “From the ‘Manuscript’ Gen. Washington’s Escape,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828; and “Washington and the Cherokees,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, March 20, 1828, among others.

<sup>4</sup> Angela Pulley Hudson, “‘Forked Justice’”; Ellen Cushman, *Cherokee Syllabary*; Joshua B. Nelson, *Progressive Traditions*.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 44-46.

<sup>6</sup> See Benjamin Fagan, *The Black Newspaper*; Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print*; and Kevin G. Barnhurst and John Nerone, *The Form of News*.

<sup>7</sup> Loughran, *The Republic in Print*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cheryl Walker, “The Subject of America,” 3.

<sup>10</sup> Cheryl Walker, “The Subject of America,” 7.

<sup>11</sup> Sean Teuton, “Cities of Refuge,” 48.

<sup>12</sup> Walker, “The Subject of America,” 17.

<sup>13</sup> “To the Public,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828.

<sup>14</sup> “William Penn” was Jeremiah Evarts’ pseudonym taken in response to Indian Removal. The William Penn essays were published in the *National Intelligencer*, and the *Phoenix* reproduced several. A collection of Evarts writings is found in *Cherokee Removal: The “William Penn” Essays and Other Writings*, edited by Francis Paul Prucha. Correspondence from Ross and other Cherokee leaders like William Hicks and John Ridge can be found in newspapers like the *Vermont Chronicle* and *Raleigh Register*, many of which exchanged with the *Phoenix*.

- <sup>15</sup> John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*.
- <sup>16</sup> Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*, 68.
- <sup>17</sup> See James Parins, *Literacy And Intellectual Life*; Henry Malone, "The Cherokee Phoenix"; Meta Carstarphen, "To Sway Public Opinion"; Mary Young, "The Cherokee Nation: Mirror of the Republic"; Sam G. Riley, "The Cherokee Phoenix"; Barbara F. Luebke, "Elias Boudinot And 'Indian Removal,'""; and Bethany Schneider, "Boudinot's Change."
- <sup>18</sup> Theda Perdue, Introduction to *Cherokee Editor*, 33.
- <sup>19</sup> Theda Perdue. "Rising from the Ashes," 216.
- <sup>20</sup> Jason Black, *American Indians*, 73.
- <sup>21</sup> Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations*, 44 and 45.
- <sup>22</sup> See Perdue's editorial notes in *Cherokee Editor*, and "Rising from the Ashes." Also see Riley, "The Cherokee Phoenix" and Schneider, "Boudinot's Change."
- <sup>23</sup> Perdue, "Rising from the Ashes," 213.
- <sup>24</sup> James W Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual Life*, 55; Holt, "We Too the People," 204.
- <sup>25</sup> See Angela Pulley Hudson, "'Forked Justice,'" and Joshua B. Nelson, *Progressive Traditions*, 165-66.
- <sup>26</sup> Carstarphen, "To Sway Public Opinion," 56.
- <sup>27</sup> For discussions of audience see: Cushman, *The Cherokee Syllabary*; Holt, "We, Too, the People"; Hudson, "'Forked Justice,'""; Joshua B. Nelson, *Progressive Traditions*, 165-66; and Parins, *Literacy And Intellectual Life*, 54.
- <sup>28</sup> James W Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual Life*, 54.
- <sup>29</sup> Holt, "'We, Too, the People,'" 209.
- <sup>30</sup> Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 45-6.
- <sup>31</sup> Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 48-9.
- <sup>32</sup> McGill, *American Literature*, 2.
- <sup>33</sup> McGill, *American Literature*, 4.
- <sup>34</sup> Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 60.

<sup>35</sup> Gaul, Theresa Strouth, ed., “Elias and Harriett Gold Boudinot to Benjamin and Eleanor Gold, 3 June 1830,” *To Marry and Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold & Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839*, 171.

<sup>36</sup> Typically the word “improvements” when used about Indigenous North Americans during this time period referred to levels of assimilation into white culture.

<sup>37</sup> Scott Stabler, “Ulysses S. Grant and the Indian Problem,” 297-316.

<sup>38</sup> Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations*, 3.

<sup>39</sup> John Wunder, “*Retained by the People*”.

<sup>40</sup> See Library of Congress archives for, “Indian Removal Act,” last accessed March 27, 2016, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Indian.html>

<sup>41</sup> For additional information on United States racial hierarchy, see Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart*.

<sup>42</sup> Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations*, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations*, 71.

<sup>44</sup> Keri Holt, “‘We, Too, the People’,” 215-6; For similar claims on the double rhetorics of the *Phoenix*, see Angela Pulley Hudson, “‘Forked Justice,’” 50-65.

<sup>45</sup> Ellen Cushman, *Cherokee Syllabary*. See also: James Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual Life*; and Angela Pulley Hudson, “‘Forked Justice.’”

<sup>46</sup> Keri Holt, “‘We, Too, the People,’” 209.

<sup>47</sup> Keri Holt, “‘We, Too, the People,’” 212.

<sup>48</sup> Keri Holt, “‘We, Too, the People,’” 205; Cushman, *Cherokee Syllabary*, 121-22.

<sup>49</sup> “Constitution of the Cherokee Nation,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828.

<sup>50</sup> Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 107.

<sup>51</sup> “Constitution of the Cherokee Nation,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, February 21, 1828.

<sup>52</sup> Keri Holt, “‘We, Too, the People,’” 207.

<sup>53</sup> “Cherokee Laws Continued,” *Cherokee Phoenix*, April 3, 1828.

<sup>54</sup> Barnhurst and Nerone, *The Form of News*, 62.



<sup>55</sup> See Sean Teuton, "Cities of Refuge."

<sup>56</sup> Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print*, 14.

<sup>57</sup> For other sympathetic reprints and mentions of the *Phoenix* from 1828 and 1829 alone, see *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette* January 12, 1828, March 22, 1828, and April 26, 1828; *Vermont Chronicle*, May 16, 1828, October 3, 1828, June 26, 1829; *Vermont Watchmen and State Gazette*, March 31, 1829 and September 8, 1829; *Daily National Intelligencer*, July 29, 1829, and August 29, 1829; *New York Spectator*, October 16, 1829; and *Western Intelligencer, Religious, Literary and Political* July 28, 1829.

<sup>58</sup> For unsympathetic reprints and mentions of the *Phoenix*, see *Augusta Chronicle*, March 25, 1828, February 24, 1830; *Richmond Enquirer*; *Savannah Georgian*; *The Southern Times*, March 1, 1830.

<sup>59</sup> McGill, *American Literature*, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*, 72.

<sup>61</sup> "Scandal" reprints can be found in *Aurora and Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 4, 1828, *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 26, 1828, and *Mechanics Free Press*, May 3, 1828; "Savage Hostilities" reprints can be found in *Delaware Weekly Advertiser and Farmer's Journal*, January 14, 1830, with other articles on Georgia wrongs in "The Cherokee Phoenix," *Vermont Watchmen and State Gazette*, March 31, 1829; "Arrest of the Missionaries among the Cherokees" can be found in *Vermont Chronicle*, April 8, 1831, with other articles on the same arrest in "We issue this week but a half sheet," *Daily National Journal*, April 2, 1831.

<sup>62</sup> "Miscellany," *Vermont Chronicle*, October 3, 1828; "Literary Curiosity," *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 22, 1828; and *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, March 18, 1828.

<sup>63</sup> See *Vermont Chronicle*, April 8, 1831; *Vermont Watchmen and State Gazette*, March 31, 1831; *Delaware Weekly Advertiser and Farmer's Journal*, January 14, 1830; *Indiana Journal*, August 4, 1839; and *Daily National Journal*, April 2, 1831.

<sup>64</sup> "New Echota, May 27," *Western Intelligencer*, July 7, 1829.

<sup>65</sup> "The Creek Indians," *Alabama Journal*, as reprinted in the *Cherokee Phoenix*, May 27, 1829.

<sup>66</sup> "Creeks," *Cherokee Phoenix*, May 27, 1829, also reprinted in the *Western Intelligencer*, July 7, 1829.

<sup>67</sup> "Indian Hostilities," *Savannah Georgian*, February 20, 1830; "Indian Hostilities," *The Southern Times*, March 1, 1830; "Indian Hostilities," *Greenville Mountaineer*, March 6, 1830.

<sup>68</sup> “Multiple News Items,” *Vermont Chronicle*, November 30, 1827; “Multiple News Items,” *The Daily Intelligencer*, December 14, 1827; *New York Spectator*, March 28, 1828; and “Selected,” *Western Intelligencer, Religious, Literary, and Political* November, 22, 1828.

<sup>69</sup> “Literary Curiosity,” *Saturday Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 22, 1828.

<sup>70</sup> “A Cherokee Newspaper!,” *Augusta Chronicle*, March 25, 1828.

<sup>71</sup> I refer specifically to the estate of James Vann, but also to those of the Ridge and Ross families. See Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill*.

#### Chapter 4

<sup>1</sup> EZLN, “Que retiemble en sus centros la tierra.” All translations unless otherwise noted come from EZLN English language versions of their *communiqués*.

<sup>2</sup> EZLN, “Que retiemble en sus centros la tierra.”

<sup>3</sup> John Beverley, *Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 133.

<sup>4</sup> José Rabasa, “Of Zapatismo,” 564.

<sup>5</sup> Rabasa, “Of Zapatismo,” 564.

<sup>6</sup> David F. Ronfeldt, et. al. *The Zapatista “Social Netwar” in Mexico*, 49-50.

<sup>7</sup> For further detail on the historical events in Mexico as related to Chiapas and the EZLN, see Ronfeldt et. al. as well as, Linda Lopez, “Advancing Human Rights Policy”; John Gledhill, “Introduction: Anthropological Perspectives”; Stephen Lynn, “The Zapatista Opening.”

<sup>8</sup> Ronfeldt et. al., *The Zapatista Social Netwar*, 57.

<sup>9</sup> Gemma van der Haar, “The Zapatista Uprising” Haar positions the Zapatista movement as the central force for indigenous rights, and claims that their struggle takes two key forms. The first focuses on improving indigenous rights through legal means. The second “embraced the implementation of ‘autonomy in practice’” regardless of that autonomy’s legality (99).

<sup>10</sup> For these types of critiques of Marcos, see Andres Oppenheimer’s *Bordering on Chaos*; Bertrand de la Grange’s and Maite Rico’s *Subcomandante Marcos*; and Pedro Pitarch’s “The Zapatistas and the art of ventriloquism.”

<sup>11</sup> In addition to those I discuss here, also see Nick Henck’s “Laying a Ghost to Rest.”

<sup>12</sup> Rabasa, “Of Zapatismo,” 576-8.

<sup>13</sup> Blake, Debra J. “Gender, Sexuality, and Indigeneity,” 262.

- <sup>14</sup> Ronfeldt et. al., *The Zapatista Social Netwar*, 119-120.
- <sup>15</sup> Harry Cleaver, “The Zapatistas and the Electronic Fabric,” 86.
- <sup>16</sup> Kay Warren and Jean E. Jackson, *Indigenous Movements*, 13.
- <sup>17</sup> Warren and Jackson, *Indigenous Movements*, 13-14.
- <sup>18</sup> Ronfeldt et. al., *The Zapatista Social Netwar*, 23-4.
- <sup>19</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone,” 37.
- <sup>20</sup> Marijke Meijer Drees and Sonja de Leeuw, Introduction to *The Power of Satire*, 5.
- <sup>21</sup> Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody*, 6.
- <sup>22</sup> Paul Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire*, 8.
- <sup>23</sup> Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire*, 8.
- <sup>24</sup> EZLN, “Reporte del Registro al Seminario “El Pensamiento Crítico frente a la Hidra Capitalista” SupGaleano.”
- <sup>25</sup> John Gledhill, “Introduction: Anthropological Perspectives,” 493.
- <sup>26</sup> Gledhill, “Introduction: Anthropological Perspectives,” 493.
- <sup>27</sup> EZLN, “La Tormenta, el Centinela y el Síndrome del Vigía.”
- <sup>28</sup> EZLN, “La Tormenta, el Centinela y el Síndrome del Vigía.”
- <sup>29</sup> EZLN, “La Tormenta, el Centinela y el Síndrome del Vigía.”
- <sup>30</sup> See the “Knightfall” Batman story arc with DC Comics that ran from 1993 to 1994.
- <sup>31</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 35.
- <sup>32</sup> EZLN, “¿Por qué tan serios?”
- <sup>33</sup> EZLN, “¿Por qué tan serios?”
- <sup>34</sup> See Chapters 1-3.
- <sup>35</sup> Based on descriptions in the *communiqué* the cyber attack caused the EZLN website to crash. Likely the attack was some form of a DDoS.
- <sup>36</sup> EZLN, “¿Por qué tan serios?”

- <sup>37</sup> Karen Kampwirth, “Women in the Armed Struggles, 79-109.
- <sup>38</sup> Kampwirth, “Women in the Armed Struggles;” Ilja A. Luciak, “Gender Equality,” 190-210.
- <sup>39</sup> EZLN, *El Despertador*, 17.
- <sup>40</sup> EZLN, *El Despertador*, 17 and 18.
- <sup>41</sup> Mágara Millán, “Zapatista Indigenous Women,” 76.
- <sup>42</sup> Marisa Belausteguigoitia, “The Right to Rest,” 84.
- <sup>43</sup> Belausteguigoitia, “The Right to Rest,” 85.
- <sup>44</sup> R. Aída Hernández Castillo, “Between Feminist Ethnocentricity”; and Millán, “Zapatista Indigenous Women.”
- <sup>45</sup> Millán, “Zapatista Indigenous Women.”
- <sup>46</sup> Millán, “Zapatista Indigenous Women,” 73-4.
- <sup>47</sup> EZLN, “Gracias III.”
- <sup>48</sup> EZLN, “Gracias III.”
- <sup>49</sup> Magallanes-Blanco, Claudia. “Video as a tool for change,” 111.
- <sup>50</sup> Magallanes-Blanco, Claudia. “Video as a tool for change,” 113.
- <sup>51</sup> EZLN, “¿Y en las comunidades Zapatistas?.”
- <sup>52</sup> EZLN, “¿Y en las comunidades Zapatistas?”.
- <sup>53</sup> “EZLN, ¿Y en las comunidades Zapatistas?”.
- <sup>54</sup> Giseline Kuipers, “Satire and Dignity,” 21.
- <sup>55</sup> Simpson, *On the Discourse of Satire*, 8.

## Chapter 5

- <sup>1</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 1:11:37 and 1:12:00.
- <sup>2</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 1:11:47 and 1:12:23.
- <sup>3</sup> See Chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> Electa Arenal and Yolanda Martinez-San Miguel, “Refocusing New Spain,” 178. They specifically consider specifically the painting, *America*, by Jan van der Straet..

<sup>5</sup> Arenal and Martinez-San Miguel point out that one of the primary problems with only looking at official reports of the colonial era in Mexico is that women are almost entirely absent from such reports, especially Indigenous women.

<sup>6</sup> Karen Warren, “A Feminist Philosophical Perspective.”

<sup>7</sup> Sarah Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape*, xvi.

<sup>8</sup> Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape*, xvii.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, *Conquest*, 12.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *Conquest*, 23.

<sup>11</sup> Octavio Paz, “The Sons of Malinche,” 197-208.

<sup>12</sup> Elena Garro, *Los recuerdos del porvenir*; Garro, *La culpa es de los Tlaxcaltecas*; Ana Castillo, *Sapagona*; Rosario Castellanos, *Balún Canán*.

<sup>13</sup> Rebecca Jager, *Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea*, 161.

<sup>14</sup> Carina Ray, “Interracial Sex and the Making of Empire,” 196.

<sup>15</sup> Ray, “Interracial Sex and the Making of Empire,” 198. While I agree with Ray’s focus on rape and the role it played during contact and colonization, I firmly disagree with the notion that “slavery outlived colonialism” as a way to distinguish power structures between enslaved women and non-enslaved colonized women. While certainly different power structures existed, the claim that the “most dramatic” difference comes from slavery outliving colonialism ignores the present and continued colonized status of Indigenous peoples.

<sup>16</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 18:31.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapters 2 and 3 for additional discussions of the use of and resistance to assimilation by Indigenous peoples.

<sup>18</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 1:07:30.

<sup>19</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 1:08:29

<sup>20</sup> Smith, *Conquest*, 12.

<sup>21</sup> Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape*, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Deer takes up this issue at greater length in *The Beginning and End of Rape*.

- <sup>23</sup> Julie Tharp, “Erdrich’s Crusade,” 26.
- <sup>24</sup> Erdrich, *The Round House*, 5.
- <sup>25</sup> Tharp, “Erdrich’s Crusade,” 31.
- <sup>26</sup> Tharp, 32.
- <sup>27</sup> Erdrich, *The Round House*, 3.
- <sup>28</sup> Erdrich, *The Round House*, 193.
- <sup>29</sup> Erdrich, *The Round House*, 319.
- <sup>30</sup> Erdrich, *The Round House*, 110.
- <sup>31</sup> Mamoá, *Road to Paloma*, 36:00.
- <sup>32</sup> Gig Patta, “Exclusive Interview with Jason Momoa.”
- <sup>33</sup> Priscilla Melendez, “The Body and the Law,” 35.
- <sup>34</sup> Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 24-25.
- <sup>35</sup> Blanca’s saving of the woman comes at 45:00 and interrogation and fight with chief happens at 49:00.
- <sup>36</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 50:35.
- <sup>37</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio* 53:45.
- <sup>38</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 1:39:38
- <sup>39</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 1:40:05
- <sup>40</sup> Carreras, *El Traspatio*, 4:58.
- <sup>41</sup> Hyper-sexualization of justice occurs at 8:40 and the aid worker demonstrating the incompetence of the police occurs at 12:21.

### Conclusion

- <sup>1</sup> Paco de Onis, Pamela Yates, and Peter Kinoy, *State of Fear*, 1:04:19.
- <sup>2</sup> Paco de Onis, Pamela Yates, and Peter Kinoy, *State of Fear*.
- <sup>3</sup> Paco de Onis, Pamela Yates, and Peter Kinoy, *State of Fear*, 1:28:16.

<sup>4</sup> Paco de Onis, Pamela Yates, and Peter Kinoy, *State of Fear*, 13:01.

<sup>5</sup> Commission for Historical Clarification. “Guatemala, Memory of Silence.”

<sup>6</sup> Rigoberta Menchu, *I, Rigoberta Menchu*.

<sup>7</sup> Menchu, *I, Rigoberta Menchu*, 249. I rely primarily on Menchu’s definition of *ladino*, but also general knowledge of the term and its meaning.

<sup>8</sup> Menchu, *I, Rigoberta Menchu*, 165.

<sup>9</sup> For definitions of genocide and cultural genocide, I rely on the United Nations, “Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG).”

<sup>10</sup> For additional information on gendered work in Canada’s residential schools and cultural genocide actions, see: John Sangter’s “Domesticating Girls.”

<sup>11</sup> John Sangter’s “Domesticating Girls.”

<sup>12</sup> Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, “Honouring the Truth.”

<sup>13</sup> Royal Canadian Mounted Police, “Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women,” 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Royal Canadian Mounted Police, “Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women,” 2015.

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