UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Feathers, Skins, Bodies, and Bones: Palimpsesting Temporality, Movement, and Resistance in Native North American Literatures

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

in

Literature

by

Sarah Jo Mayville

Committee in charge:

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2016

The Dissertation of Sarah Jo Mayville is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

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PREFACE

In November 2013, Sarah Jo Mayville passed away suddenly and unexpectedly. At that time she was actively engaged in completing the dissertation that follows.

Members of her Ph.D. committee agreed that her work was of a quantity and quality that warranted our pursuing a posthumous degree. Thus, Nicole Tonkovich, her committee chair, assisted by Sarah's friend Mark Kelley, retrieved her computer files and began assembling the dissertation. The document here represents that work, less the third chapter, which she had just begun to develop. That chapter is represented by an abstract in the dissertation.

Even without that chapter, we committee members unanimously agree that the dissertation is complete and acceptable. Its content is important, offers new insights into the standard historical and literary accounts of westward U. S. expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and connects those accounts to twentieth-century manifestations in contemporary literary and filmic works. As such, it fulfills the standards of our department for Ph.D.-level work in this genre, and exceeds those standards in the depth and insight of its scholarship.

We unanimously accept this dissertation as worthy of the award of a Ph.D. degree.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sarah's fierce and unreserved expression of love for those who supported her life and career was one of her defining and endearing qualities. Words pale in comparison. In that spirit, these pages are dedicated to the innumerable friends and colleagues in Escanaba, Kalamazoo, Philadelphia, Chicago, Milwaukee, San Diego and beyond who grasp what this work meant to Sarah, who applaud her principled fight to achieve it, and who have the privilege of sharing in it.

The dedication and passion embedded in these pages are also a testament to the love and encouragement of Sarah's parents, Don and Becky, her sister, Leanne, and her entire Michigan family.

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TEACHING AND RESEARCH AREAS

Native American literature and theory
American literature
Theories of contact
Nation-building, and empire
Critical race and ethnic studies
Cultural and historical re-memory
Global indigineity
Captivity narratives
Inter-American and Caribbean literature

PUBLICATIONS

"The Religious Convictions of June Bugs." Poem. *North American Review.* September-October 2006.

"Hope is no metaphor." Poem. *Breakwater Review*. Vol. 7, August 2012.

"Upon discovering my mother was engaged to another man…" Poem. *Plainsongs*. Vol. XXIX, no 1, Fall 2008.

"I went searching for my *duende* and found the bar." Poem. *Margie*. Vol. 5, September 2006.

CONFERENCES

*"*Sherman Alexie's 'Sinister' Speculative Fictions*"* Modern Language Association Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, January 2014

"Trans-Temporal Unpaid Debt: Black Hawk's Body, Bones, and 'Skull.'*"* American Studies Association Annual Conference, Washington, D.C., November 2013

Chair, Panel on Native American Literatures. Pacific Ancient and Modern Language Association Annual Conference, San Diego, California, November 2013

"Decapitation and the Disabled: Deadwood (Re)Members the National Body." Cultural Studies Association Conference, La Jolla, California, March 2012

"Earth-Serpent-Movement: Reading Gloria Anzaldúa into American Indian Studies" Pacific Ancient and Modern Language Association Conference, Claremont, California, November 2011

"No Country, No Men? Masculinity, Violence, and Exceptionalism in the Post 9/11 Western" Midwest Popular Culture Association Conference Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 2011

"Avatar: Reinforcing Colonialist Discourse through a Utopic World." American Comparative Literature Association Vancouver, British Columbia, April 2011

"Revising the Captivity Narrative: Mary Rowlandson's Formation of a Borderland Identity." Midwestern Conference on Language, Literature, and Media, Dekalb Illinois, March 2009

"Reading the Seen and Unseen: Creation and Revision of a Visual Literacy Unit." Theory and Practice in Composition Colloquium, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, November 2008

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Feathers, Skins, Bodies, and Bones: Palimpsesting Temporality, Movement, and Resistance in Native North American Literatures

by

Sarah Jo Mayville

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2016

Professor Nicole Tonkovich, Chair

In "Feathers, Skins, Bodies, and Bones: Palimpsesting Temporality, Movement, and Resistance in Native North American Literatures," I flesh out the deep histories of the waterways and land places of the territory known in the 18th century as the Old Northwest (now the U.S. Midwest). I utilize a palimpsestic methodology to read and analyze literary, historical, and material sources that have common central referents from the eighteenth-century to the present day. Palimpsest is not just my method by also my structure: texts, persons, representations, and/or places connect across the

introduction and throughout all chapters, even though their deeper exploration is central to one chapter. By (re)writing deep histories, I illustrate the ongoing necropolitical agendas French, British, and U.S. colonialisms directed at Native bodies, knowledges, and lands as well as demonstrate how the Native peoples and epistemologies are what make the current knowledge of the land places and imperial U.S. narrative possible. To perform this work, I explore texts such as the dispatches of French colonial explorers Père Marquette and Louis Joliet, the travel musings of transcendentalist Margaret Fuller, the field journals of U.S. colonial agents Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, the mediated biography of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak (also known as Black Hawk), the fiction of contemporary native author Sherman Alexie, and the HBO television series *Deadwood*. Additionally, I examine the visual representations of indigenous peoples in ethnographic texts, phrenological treaties, paintings, university seals, and by sports mascots. I begin and end with David Milch's *Deadwood* to demonstrate how historical authority seeks to contain and devalue native knowledges to "put the Indian in the cupboard."

Introduction:

Deep Histories

A telling scene occurs in the third season of David Milch's acclaimed HBO television series *Deadwood*: Al Swearengen, pimp and owner of the Gem Saloon, puzzles over what to do next regarding the encroaching tycoon George Hearst. After consulting his numerous lackeys, he turns to his confidant, the dead "Chief"--the head of a Sioux man, for which he paid a bounty in season one. He has since kept the head in a box in his cupboard as a trophy, a tangible signifier of his ability to manipulate others to maintain control of Deadwood's economy. He periodically removes the box and replaces it at will, using it as a silent interlocutor in whose presence he delivers monologues that reveal his doubts and motives.

The episode's title, "A Two-Headed Beast," likely refers to the dual threat: both Hearst and the U. S. government threaten to take control of Dakota territory. As well, it serves as a fitting appellation for Swearengen and the decapitated head used as a foil for his thoughts. Pouring himself a glass of whiskey, Swearengen rolls his chair over to the cupboard behind his desk, opens the door, and addresses the "Chief"-in-the-box: "Watching us advance on your stupid teepee, Chief, knowing you had to make your move . . . did you not just want first to fucking understand? Huh?" ("Two-Headed"). His one-sided conversations with the "Chief" illustrate how differential structures of power and knowledge fragment, flatten, and contain Native peoples and their ways of knowing and living in the world. Swearengen's monologues to the decapitated and twice-contained Chief are for his benefit alone. Here, using the word *us*, he aligns himself with the genocidal cavalry's "advance on [the] stupid teepee," yet in this

monologue he clearly imagines himself to be in a place analogous to the tepee, where, like the silent head, he hopes "to fucking understand" how he has arrived at this pivotal moment. Inadvertently, perhaps, he collapses the past time of a Siouxan defeat with his present dilemma and anticipates the future overthrow of his little empire.

His words, addressed to the decapitated head of a now-powerless foe, invoke the trope of the "vanishing savage" so central to U. S. imperial narratives. As well, *Deadwood*'s literal placement of the Indian-in-the-cupboard slyly invokes the title of a popular children's book series, and later film.[1] In similar fashion, *Deadwood* reduces Native cultures to non-threatening figures, able to be manipulated by momentarily more powerful figures--whether children at play or agents of empire with a troubled consciences--then once again enclosed and silenced. In this respect, Milch's series, much vaunted for its historical accuracy, endorses the dominant narrative of western conquest. Ironically, it does not "fucking understand" the deep history of Native, French, British, and U. S. colonial interactions in the land places of the Black Hills that were and are always Native.[2]

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[1] After the publication of Lynne R. Banks's *The Return of the Indian* (1986), a sequel to *The Indian in the Cupboard* (1980), a reviewer in *Kirkus* judged the first book to have struck a "balance between childish desire to play with tiny [toy] figures and awareness that, though small, they were real people who ought not to be so manipulated" (Kobak 1367).

[2] I use the term *land place* to describe a particular location intimately tied to epistemologies about the land itself and to the peoples who have resided there, who now live there, and who will continue occupy it. That is to say, not only are living peoples part of land places, but ancestral graves, bones, and material/ceremonial artifacts are also present in the epistemology of land places. In a land place, time has a more complex character and is intimately linked to the epistemology of the native peoples residing there. This concept has affinities with Henri Lefebvre's account in *The Production of Space* insofar as spaces and places must be considered as socially situated and constructed; socially ordered space is therefore "a tool of thought and action" and

In this dissertation I will focus on parts of the region known in the eighteenth century as the Old Northwest, now known as the midwestern states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Reading the deep histories of this area in texts from the late seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries illustrates how, as Susan Gillman describes, "multiple times exist simultaneously within and across the same places" (193).[3] As well, I consider material, visual, and bodily artifacts that, in later moments, are collected and displayed, repurposed to support dominant narratives that extend the attempted erasure and containment of indigenous knowledges and people. Thus the representations of "Natives" or "Indians" produced in the later nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries connect directly to earlier colonial and settler colonial interactions documented by the French, British, and U. S. writings that comprise the central texts of my dissertation. Such juxtapositions demonstrate how the

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potentially "a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (26). The violence of such constructions is most evident in settler colonial orderings of space that flatten native land and knowledge. The epistemologies at work alongside *land place*, although also socially constructed, are deeply rooted in ways of being and knowing from time immemorial. Thus western philosophical conceptions of time and place at work in Lefebvre cannot and should not be transplanted to land places.

[3] In the context of this study, by *deep history* I mean a multivocal, layered, and not necessarily linear account of intertwined encounters among Native peoples and colonizing explorers. Deep history is not merely a metaphor for contact over time, but instead considers land places and artifacts to be materially embedded within and shaped by native epistemologies as well as colonial encounters. For example, both the waterways on which Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet traveled and the maps they created were shaped by Native ways of knowing. Later, travelers such as Margaret Fuller retraced this geographic and textual path and, so doing, continued to invoke and obscure Native historical and lived knowledges. This interaction with and denial of Native presence is often figured in modern material objects, as well, the Chicago Blackhawks logo being a primary example. I read these textual and artifactual referents against earlier textual and material moments as well as literary texts by contemporary Native writers. In these and other examples, I work to create a more complex schema of time that recognizes Native people's active presence in U. S. histories and interrogates the ongoing genocidal actions against Native peoples and their histories.

dominant U. S. narrative of manifest destiny fueled by westward expansion, even in its impetus to erase and contain American Indian bodies, lands, and epistemologies, has depended on Native peoples and their knowledges throughout time.[4] In this study, I will demonstrate that Native knowledges, Native peoples' involvement with settler colonial powers, and Native bodies, bones, artifacts, and maps are centrally important to this much-simplified imperial narrative. Simply put, without Native peoples, the U. S. nation-state would not exist.

Milch's *Deadwood*, for example, assumes an uninterrupted linear progression of settler-colonial history in which Native cultures, if present at all, have been silently and invisibly removed to make room for white settlement. The mining town of Deadwood was illegally built in the 1870s on lands that had been guaranteed to Siouxan peoples by the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. While its illegal status is noted in the television series' first episodes, the basis of that illegality is left unexplained, subsumed to the anxiety of the town fathers over the impending absorption of Deadwood into the structures of territorial government. Yet the roots of this town and of Native-white interaction in the area are embedded in even deeper histories: of the journey of Lewis and Clark, and of exploration by French trappers and priests, enterprises conducted within and dependent on Native peoples who taught those explorers about the land and guided them through

[4] I interchangeably use the terms *epistemologies*, *ways of knowing*, or *ways of being in the world* to refer to American Indian perspectives or, in some cases, to specific tribal knowledges. I recognize that *epistemology* has a Euro-American enlightenment connotation; nevertheless, I contend that Native perspectives are of equal value and have contributed to such dominant understandings, even though they may not be based on the same systems of value and understanding. Thus the terms can be used interchangeably. Native ways of knowing become part of the dominant narrative, even as the dominant narrative seeks to erase the Native ways of knowing that facilitated its construction.

it. Milch's twenty-first century placement of the nineteenth-century Indian in the cupboard resonates throughout time, inviting an investigation that would complicate the linear historical narrative of settlement established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and that would identify the underlying necropolitical actions and political machinations that established and maintained what has become and continues to be U. S. empire.[5]

Palimpsest as Methodology and Fluid Structure

The Native head Al Swearengen keeps in a wooden box in his cupboard might be read palimpsestically, that is, as a physical manifestation of multiple, spatially and chronologically intertwined deep histories. The act of decapitation by which the head became Swearengen's souvenir and possession certainly did not spark the beginning of an Indian war, but, within the narrative structure of the drama, it served as an *in medias res* diversion, focusing townspeoples' desire to avenge the massacre of white settlers away from the white road agents who perpetrated it. Nor can the act be seen as an ending. Although the man whose head this was is dead, the culture of which he was part was not exterminated by white settlement. Nor, in a smaller sense, does "the Chief" disappear from *Deadwood*'s story line. His story represents, rather, an ongoing

[5] I draw my understanding of *necropolitics*, a keyword in this work, from Achille Mbembe, who characterizes it as "the maximum destruction of persons and the creation of *death-worlds*, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*" (40). The "status of *living dead*" was conferred upon Native populations through political policies as well as the continual rejection of Native ways of being in the world. This process exists from the moment of settler colonial "contact" up to the present day. Authors such as Sherman Alexie dramatize the "*death-worlds*" created then and now to both name settler colonial violence and champion Native active presence and survivance.

containment of a Native body. Periodically Swearengen removes the box from the cupboard to serve as the object of his soliloquies, although the skull itself is never visible. Thus within this 36-episode series, one of the very few representations of the Native cultures within which the illegal settlement of Deadwood has insinuated itself is contained, hidden, and locked away in a cupboard, a figurative representation of the containment of Natives on reservations, the official denial of their status as equal treaty partners, and their absence both from the television series and from dominant histories of the gold-rush West.

As I have done thus far with the case of Swearingen and the "Chief," I continue to investigate the deep histories of Native land places of the Old Northwest, adopting a palimpsestic methodology for reading my sources and for structuring my resulting interpretations. I draw my definition of palimpsestuous from Gillman, who defines the word as: "the quality of the present, where multiple times exist simultaneously within and across the same places, or coexist as uneven temporalities" (193).[6] As she emphasizes, rather than focus on separated national or regional interests, palimpsestuous work looks at social institutions in and across times and spaces to facilitate a better recognition of continuities. Using this methodology, I will examine Native peoples and lands in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as being in conversation with colonial presences still palpably present, and with twentieth- and twenty-first-century documents, texts, and representations of Native peoples. My palimpsestuous view leads me to consider these texts as "historically situated in an

[6] According to Gillman, "the term 'palimpsestuous' was coined as the French 'palimpsestueuse' by Philippe Lejeune in *Moi Aussi"* (207n12).

actively antilinear mode" in which "everything that comes 'before' and 'after' (both other texts and contexts), as well as the all of its own moment, is simultaneously present" (204). A palimpsestic methodology does not merely link historically diverse texts, but fundamentally reconsiders the ontological and epistemological structures through which they are categorized and read. This juxtaposition can show how U. S. policies seeking to govern Native lands and bodies are continuously necropolitical across institutions, spaces, places, and time.

Since to be palimpsestuous denotes both a view and a methodology, I employ the term palimpsest not only as an adjective, but also as a verb. Thus, *to palimpsest* means to resist intrinsically hierarchical layers of inscription, including artifices of beginning and ending. *To palimpsest* means to follow a synchronous process that provides avenues into reconceptualizing temporality and movements through space and place. By palimpsesting literary, historical, and material sources, I argue, historical rewritings can be more than small revisions, insertions into, or modifications of what currently operates as the U. S. historicist narrative. Using Native writers and critics as a guide, within this work I develop a palimpsestic assemblage of writing, bodies, bones, artifacts, and maps from across times, places, and spaces in order to complicate the currently inscribed and supposedly fixed understandings of U. S. and colonial histories that enact ongoing necropolitics toward Native peoples.

To build my palimpsest, I echo Stephanie LeMenager's focus on water in *Manifest and Other Destinies*, centering my study around waterways in relation to the land place of the Old Northwest--the Great Lakes, portages, rivers, and manmade canals. Like LeMenanger, I consider waterways to be part of an "engagement with

historical environments that resist the collapse of international or ecologically 'foreign' spaces into the United States' domestic embrace" (4). This focus thus emphasizes that although settler colonialism prizes land, its incursions rely significantly upon the fluidity of water, a medium known well by Native guides upon whom colonial powers depended to facilitate their movement within and later settlement on the land places of the Old Northwest. Native presence continues to define the waterways that allow movement and settlements even as that presence is actively denied and flattened. As LeMenanger notes, U. S. authors such as Mark Twain "cultivate[d] a water-based theory of empire that privileged mobility and trade" based on their travel down the Mississippi and other major waterways (10). These water-based theories can be traced from seventeenth-century travels to the present day; these travels and their resulting theories must be read with and against water's material and representational power in Native epistemologies.

Engagements on and near water connect to larger structures of U. S. settler colonial meaning-making equally bound in altering flows of knowledge and these flows' textual representations. Seeking to build on new and ongoing conversations among scholars in early U. S. literatures, American Studies, and Native studies, my study will emphasize the space Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd has termed the "parallax gap"--"the inviting Indian event that is fillable and inhabitable by the European self" (*The Transit of Empire* 31).[7] In Byrd's discussion, the "distortive parallactic effect" of

[7] Byrd distinguishes her use of the term *parallax gap* from its first use by theorist Slavoj Žižek, insisting that contemporary theoretical appropriations of Native histories be more than merely opportunistic. For both Byrd and Žižek, the parallax gap informs competing visions of the Real; one does not quixotically attempt to combine these visions to

colonial discourse is not only enacted in historical moments but also may result from perspectives within colonialist theory that deny indigenous agencies or fail to consider theory's connection to and implications for lived indigenous experience. Taking up the "radical alterity" of indigenous epistemologies in approaching this gap serves as the basis for an alternative parallax view that disrupts colonial discourse. It also reveals indigeneity's primacy in the creation and sustenance of U. S. imperial formations (31-32). The palimpsestic form of my study allows me to sketch the contours of that gap in the Old Northwest. Each chapter connects to the others in multiple ways, through layered texts, maps, and movements that maintain a regional focus. Each chapter may focus on one or more particular texts or objects, but any given text and object is not a beginning or ending point. As with my short initial analysis of one scene of *Deadwood*, I seek to expose deep histories that involve and rely upon Native peoples and their knowledges that have been strategically appropriated and occulted and to foreground an ongoing Native presence that resists necropolitical containment of American Indian bodies, bones, and peoples.

In this study, I will focus on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century interactions among colonial powers (particularly British, French, and U. S.) and the Native peoples they relied upon in their activities of exploration, trade, and settlement. I will read books that themselves enact deep histories, preserving as text the prior oral interactions

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capture the Real, however, but instead approached this gap to consider an event's multiplicity and dialectic qualities. Žižek's attempt to maintain this dialectical materialism leads him to a discussion of a faux-Hopi prophecy's popular use of during the 2008 Presidential campaigns. As Byrd observes, while Žižek offers a "corrective to leftist intellectuals," he does not address the specific ways native knowledge is reshaped in this gap (30). In that way, the form and structure of his theory is metonymic of structures that present a paradigmatic Indian-ness to make meaning.

of Natives with agents of empire and subsequently translated, transliterated, and transformed into print texts. I will juxtapose such accounts to performative practices of colonial domination, such as the invention of Native school mascots, and with technologies of colonial containment-- reservations, museums, and anthropological collections among them, within which objects such as maps, battlefield trophies, and bones are made to signify Native erasure. Technologies of colonial containment forward the cultural and discursive terms through which settler colonialism normalizes the violent logic of its necropolitics; these technologies also create the material institutional structures and artifacts that name a supposedly vanished native past or confer living death on native presence. Despite their connection to settler colonial violence, practices of colonial dominance can read palimpsestically and according to radical alternities. Once removed from the metaphorical narrative structures, reductive visual representations, and literal vitrines and display cupboards that contain them, such material objects insist upon the ongoing presence of Native bodies and Native epistemologies.

This dissertation has two sections. Part one of my work, "Maps, Feathers, Bodies, and Bones: Literary and Material Native Representations," focuses on the project of rewriting deep histories of the Old Northwest between 1673, the year in which the French embarked on their exploration of the Old Northwest, and 1843, when Margaret Fuller made her touristic circuit throughout the same region, following aboriginal trails and floating along aboriginal waterways. In the three chapters of this section I analyze texts by early explorers--Marquette, Jolliet, Lewis, and Clark--and a nineteenth-century tourist, all of whose routes followed the waterways of the Old

Northwest.[8] Against these texts I juxtapose visual representations such as maps that expose divergent epistemologies; paintings, portraits, and sketches that redact and give form to early necropolitical formulations; artifacts such as coins, university seals, and collegiate mascots derived and further redacted from those early visual representations; and items of Native material culture, including funerary artifacts and bones, collected and displayed as testament to the putative inevitability of progressive conquest of the Upper Midwest.

In part two, "Necropolitics," I will demonstrate the centrality of Native epistemologies in Sherman Alexie's short stories "The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance," implicitly contrasting it to David Milch's erasure of Native histories and cultures in his HBO television series *Deadwood.* Alexie makes ancient and traditional ways of knowing central to the contemporary world as means of exposing and resisting necropolitical technologies of history-making and Native erasure. Milch, by contrast, ignores the possibility of Native epistemology, ignoring it in his scripts in favor of furthering the filmic commonplaces that structure the acceptable narratives of divinely ordained westward expansion.

Part One: Maps, Feathers, Bodies, and Bones: Literary and Material Native Representations

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[8] Mayville had planned to write three chapters for this section of her dissertation, but had not yet begun to work in earnest on the third. Here we include her precis of that chapter to indicate the direction of her thought.

The Great Lakes-area waterways in the states currently known as Michigan (particularly the Upper Peninsula area), Wisconsin, and Illinois function as the central space and places that connect the early explorations of the Jesuit Father Jacques Marquette and French fur trader Louis Jolliet with the later travel journey of mid-nineteenth-century feminist intellectual Margaret Fuller. Their respective travels are documented in Marquette's journal of the voyage, first published in 1681;[9] Jolliet's recollections of the same events;[10] and Fuller's hybrid travel narrative, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*. I join these texts in chapter one, "1673 Meets 1843: Mapping Father Marquette's and Explorer Jolliet's Journals and Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes*," to illustrate the palimpsestic space of the Old Northwest. The routes these travelers followed allow, in Gillman's words "multiple times [to] exist simultaneously within and across" both land places and waterway travels (193). I map out the 1673 journey of Marquette and Jolliet, identifying the pathways and water routes they followed, led by Native guides, and noting the subsequent practices of inscribing honorific place names over indigenous ones for the land places of the Old Northwest. I also present close readings of the pair's accounts of their travel. Marquette's journals, for example, often convey his disbelief of or disconnection from the indigenous peoples he and Jolliet encountered, even as the pair relied upon the knowledge of their Native contacts.

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[9] The journal's contents were first published without authorization in Melchisedec Thevenot's *Découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (1681). I will use the definitive English publication edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites in 1899.

[10] Like Marquette, Jolliet kept a journal related to the pair's explorations. His notes, however, were lost when a canoe capsized, and he produced his subsequent writings from his memory.

Within this chapter, I also analyze Fuller's travels in the Great Lakes region, as recounted in *Summer on the Lakes*, as a palimpsestic counterpart to those earlier accounts. Her route along these waterways and through these land places, although separated from that of the French colonial explorers by 170 years, is nearly identical to theirs. The land routes, portages, and settlement sites named by each illustrate a connection through time of places and spaces, even though the historical and social contexts of the three travelers differ significantly. As well, like her French predecessors, Fuller minimized the importance of Native knowledge, Native history, and Native cultures. In its apparently incoherent form, *Summer on the Lakes* is itself a palimpsestic text, shot through with Fuller's awareness of her predecessors on these routes.[11] She names earlier travelers and inhabitants, quoting--sometimes extensively--from their writings, interlarding her own observations and commentary, aware that hers is another layer of representation that has little new to add to what has already been documented. Immersed as she was in her culture's confident prediction of the imminent vanishing of Native cultures, she over-writes flattens, mutes, and obscures the abundant evidence of Native survivance that surrounded her.[12]

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[11] Christina Zwarg, among others, has noted this quality of *Summer on the Lakes.* She writes, "To read Fuller's travel narrative is to experience layered movement between one terrain of meaning and another, often without preparation" (620). Even so, scholars have yet to follow the deep history of this travel. Zwarg, for example, foregrounds Fuller's feminism as it was informed by nineteenth-century forms of Native Removal that "sharpened her understanding of the forces at play in cultural discourse, particularly the dominance of one frame of reference over others" (617). Although Zwarg refers to a Native "frame of reference," or ways of knowing, she does not develop the concept.

[12] *Survivance* is Gerald R. Vizenor's term, signifying "an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories . . . renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry" (vii).

To this textual comparison, I juxtapose two visual representations of the indigenous bodies of the region, emphasizing the omissions they accomplish through their retrospective memorializing. My initial focus here is Wilhelm Alfred Lamprecht's 1869 oil painting, *Pére Marquette and the Indians*. This canvas shows the Jesuit standing in a canoe between two Native guides. One of his arms is outstretched toward the river; and the other gestures toward a group of seated Natives on shore. I then examine how that painting is quoted--in excerpt, showing only Marquette's upper body--on the seal of the Jesuit-founded university that bears his name. The narrowed focus accomplishes a literal excision of much of the Native context in which his explorations took place.

This first chapter stands in a palimpsestic relation to subsequent chapters, as well. Fuller's narrative, produced a decade after the genocidal policies of Jacksonian Indian removal, gestures particularly toward the Sauk chief Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak [Black Hawk], bemoaning his "reasons" for departing the Old Northwest. "How," she asks, "could they let themselves be conquered, with such a country to fight for!" (31). In chapter two, I investigate more fully Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's autobiographical narrative, focusing, as did Fuller, on the Sauk people's relation to land places. I demonstrate these Native peoples, rather than being confined to the past tense finality of Fuller's narrative ("the warfare in which he was finally vanquished" [27]), "are" still present on the land places and regional waterways.

In chapter two, "The *Life of Black Hawk* and a Representative Skull: Native Containment in the Old Northwest," I use the *Life of Black Hawk* as the central point around which I continue to build my palimpsestic argument. The text itself is a

monument to settler colonial incursions. In 1833, near the end of this leader's incarceration at Fort Armstrong, the content was "taken" as an autobiography "dictated by [Mà-ka-tai-me-she-kià-kiàk] himself" to John B. Patterson, a newspaper editor, through the work of interpreter Antoine LeClaire, and, in its 1955 edition, framed by extensive commentary (in a lengthy introduction, footnotes, appendixes, and an afterword by Donald Jackson, then an editor at University of Illinois Press), and published as *Black Hawk: An Autobiography*. My argument aligns itself with those made by other scholars who articulate Mà-ka-tai-me-she-kià-kiàk's clear Sauk identifications within the individualizing form of the text as an as-told-to-autobiography of "Black Hawk." However, I am less interested in finding these moments than in identifying where and how tensions between form and cultural identification illustrate the settler colonial impetus to contain this leader, like many other indigenous peoples and their tribal knowledges, to a limited, scripted, and past-tense existence. In so doing, I read *Black Hawk: An Autobiography* in light of a foundational piece of legislation, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and in relation to the later and related mid-nineteenth century dogma of Manifest Destiny. Both the legislation and the ideology constitute rationalizing and progressive narratives of U. S. dominance over the deep historical narrative of the time in which Black Hawk lived.

I also link the events in the text to the Sauk and Mesquakie relationships to the French exploration, fur trade, and subsequent colonial enterprises in the Old Northwest. My reading demonstrates how the distinct waterways and indigenous land places in *Life of Black Hawk* become rationalized, flattened, and contained under the Northwest Ordinance. This legislation, formally known as "An Ordinance for the Government of

the Territory of the United States, North-West of the River Ohio," created the first organized territory of the United States. Its western boundary was the Mississippi River and its expanse comprised (roughly) the area explored by Marquette and Jolliet. A central tenet of the Ordinance proclaimed the waterways of this area to be "common highways and forever free" (Article 4). The land itself, ceded by Great Britain to the United States following the Revolutionary War, was destined to become new states in the union after "Indian titles shall have been extinguished" (Article 8). Although the Ordinance proclaimed "the utmost good faith" toward Native peoples (Article 3), Walter L. Hixson accurately describes its wording as a "discourse of disavowal" (67). Even as the legislation ostensibly promised to protect Native land rights, its seeming incompatibility with settler colonialism has a hollow material and discursive center. As Hixson notes, "Settlers backed by all levels of government refused to consider compromises that might infringe upon what a subsequent generation would call 'manifest destiny'" (67). In the Ordinance's premise that these lands were destined to become states, the legislation consigned the Sauk peoples who lived on them to a foreordained status of "past tense."

Acts of containment contingent upon the settlement of these territories range from the literal to the symbolic and figurative. Indigenous inhabitants were slaughtered; those who survived the battles were charged with having incited the war, dispossessed of their lands by a series of treaties, and removed to lands beyond the Mississippi River. Black Hawk, the Sauk leader, was imprisoned and subjected to public occasions that flaunted his abject status. Native lands were surveyed, divided into gridded townships, and put up for sale to individual buyers and land speculators. Settler farmers flattened

grave mounds, penetrated and rearranged the physical earth, and attempted to erase the ongoing presence (past/present/future) of tribal peoples, their epistemologies, and ways of being with and in the land.

As did my earlier chapter, within this layered narrative I palimpsest other acts of trophy-taking, cultural appropriation and re-presentation, and erasure. During his captivity and after his death, Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's body was displayed in various ways: in 1833 he was sketched wearing prison shackles by George Catlin at Jefferson Barracks; that same year, clad in a black suit and tie, he was captured in an oil portrait made by Robert Sully at Fortress Monroe. In the 1838 *Phrenological Journal*, to illustrate "Black Hawk's Phrenological Developments and Character," his head was drawn, surveyed, and divided into signifying spaces. Although his body was originally buried in his home land, his skeleton was illegally exhumed and prepared for exhibition by one James Turner "for research purposes" (Reddick). At some point, the skull was separated from the skeleton, stripped of its flesh, and put on display. The subsequent fate of his remains is unclear, but one version of the story has it that they were "held" (in a box in a cupboard, perhaps) by the Burlington, Iowa Geological and Historical Society, until that building burned in 1855, and the remains were destroyed (Reddick).

Such were the attempts to reduce the complex Sauk man, Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, to the status of a trophy, a representative past-tense Indian. In the present moment, the leader's image has been even more severely redacted, serving both as the name of particularly deadly piece of U. S. armament, the Black Hawk helicopter, and as the totem of a hockey team, the Chicago Blackhawks. The continual appropriation, abstracting, and repurposing of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak into "Black Hawk" or a

"Blackhawk" icon illustrates to how settler colonialism currently functions. Native American peoples, bodies, and ideologies serve as artifacts of consumer commodification and become incorporated into narratives of triumphal manifest destiny and empire-building both as means and as motive, obscuring but not erasing the deep histories of U. S. imperial impetuses and the ongoing lives and resistance of the Sauk and Mesquakie peoples in present-day Iowa.

The territories occupied by the Sauk and Mesquakie, part of the lands acquired from France in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, were subsequently mapped and surveyed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. In chapter three, "Map Making, Trophy Taking, and Grave Digging: Lewis and Clark's Journey, Journals, and Jefferson's Monticello," I investigate another set of palimpsestically and thematically interrelated events and texts. In his scholarship on the journals of Lewis and Clark Martin Brückner observes that as the explorers traveled deeper into the "largely unpopulated landscape of what today are the states of Montana and Idaho" with their various indigenous guides, "they lost their common discursive sense of orientation" and their activities of surveying and journal writing diminished in frequency and became stylistically different (220). He asserts, "The Native American map image functioned as a documentary narrative weaving together geography, history, and mythology" (225). Thus these Native collaborators, so named by Brückner,[13] worked within a differing epistemological frame, one not familiar Lewis and Clark, who consequently became "lost in space" (226).

[13] Brückner characterizes the party's maps as the "product of authorial collaboration between the two expedition leaders and a host of Native American mapmakers" (208).

In this chapter I will expand upon and deepen Brückner's observations about the expedition and its outcomes. As Brückner describes, the Native American maps, drawn in multiple planes, contain different and distinct ways of knowing used by the guides, tribal peoples, and French traders whom Lewis and Clark encountered along their journey. I contend, however, that Lewis and Clark were not "lost in space." Rather, they entered another, deeper space, place, time, and way of being in the world, unable to be contained within a Euro-American geographical epistemology. The variance between the regularity of their journal entries as their travels continued reflects the time-space complexity of their condition. Moreover, their cognitive disorientation stands in a palimpsestic relation with the records made by Marquette and Jolliet as they explored the waterways of the Old Northwest/U. S. Midwest, for as these earlier explorers interacted with Native inhabitants and guides during their journey, their writings, too, became significantly less frequent.

In the dominant narratives, the explorers stand at the forefront, often obscuring the presence of Natives who are consigned to the shadows and margins of their subsequent textual and visual records. Yet, as Gerald Vizenor emphasizes, Native presence was essential to their epistemological models. Vizenor begins his important book *Manifest Manners* by noting, "Lewis and Clark reported in their journal that they wanted to be *seen* by tribal people on their expedition" (1). The need to see and be seen by--to interact with--Natives emerges as a theme in their records, as an earlier scholar, Larzer Ziff noted: "[T]hey strained to see the Indians who they knew were seeing them in order to enter into dealings with them" (qtd. in Vizenor 2). The desire to be "seen" suggests an amount of respect and reverence for Native peoples, and possibly an

awareness of Natives' deeper ways of being on the land. At the very least, Lewis and Clark recognized that their own survival and the diplomatic success of their mission depended on indigenous peoples. I suggest that they were not literally "lost." Rather, the historical time and emphasis on Native peoples in Lewis and Clark's journals might be interpreted as a potential attempt to do what many of the French traders had done before them: to live in the world in a different way within the structures of tribal governance, as do the present-day Métis peoples who still live in the Old Northwest, particularly in the present-day state of Michigan.

In subsequent representations, however, much of the indigenous presence becomes fragmented, flattened, commodified, and/or erased, much like the taking of Black Hawk's skull in profile and flattening it as a representative "Indian" on the Chicago Blackhawks jersey. In this case, the Shoshone guide and diplomat, Sacajawea, emerges from the journals of Lewis and Clark, transits through U. S. imperial history, and becomes a flattened cranium on a Sacajawea coin--even though there is no extant drawing of the actual Native woman. The image used on the coin is, in fact, based on Texas non-indigenous artist Glenna Goodacre's design, for which a Native woman, Randy'L He-dow Teton, served as model ("Glenna Goodacre"). The explorers collected other significant trophies in response to specific requests made by President Thomas Jefferson. These he displayed, along with items he himself had excavated from burial sites, in his private museum, the rotunda of Monticello. Here, as well as in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson dissociates these items from their tribal specificity and collapses them into a kind of representative Indian-ness. This chapter thus metaphorically uncovers a deeper history of the Lewis and Clark expedition by

attending to the physical objects that they gathered along the way. The subsequent uses of those objects in connection with those excavated by Jefferson himself comprise an ongoing appropriation of Native bodies, bones, and peoples and a consequent erasure of their deeper histories, "loosing" the Native from time and space and place to be replaced by emergent U. S. dominant imperial histories.

Part Two: Necropolitics

Contemporary Native writers have engaged in powerful and articulate modes of resisting the necropolitical erasures entailed in settler colonial projects. In Part Two of this dissertation, I examine the work of one such writer, Sherman Alexie (Spokane/Coeur d'Alene). I highlight how Alexie represents Native ways of knowing and being and connect his formal and intellectual interventions to related critiques of settler colonialism. In the process, I consider deep history at work in a contemporary moment.

Sherman Alexie demonstrates how Native writers' unique literary and cultural interventions nonetheless connect to related forms of counterhegemonic work. Just as popular speculative fictions often dramatize and theorize forms of colonial violence at work in genocidal histories of African slavery and the Jewish Holocaust, Alexie's less canonical speculative fictions dramatize Indigenous history's shared paths and divergences. In chapter four, "Sherman Alexie's 'Sinister' Speculative Fictions," I argue that two short stories, "The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance" perform significant and radical critiques of the hegemonic, historicist narrative that vindicates U. S. settler colonial imperialism. I argue that by using the characteristics of speculative fiction,

particularly temporal negotiation, Alexie calls for a reckoning with the harmful violence of racialization, settler colonial dispossession, and genocide that U. S. necropolitical imperatives enact on still living, Othered populations. I begin by examining the critiques of ontological scientific knowledge as they emerge in "The Sin Eaters," then show how "Ghost Dance" calls upon zombified bodies of the Seventh Cavalry to directly implicate the U. S. military industrial complex in maintaining a state of exception that undergirds U. S. empire. By using speculative fiction, Alexie directly questions institutions of U. S. imperialism that uphold the "coded peace" of necropolitics, thereby challenging his readers to experience "sinister" alienation, a condition the scientifically denoted abject other must always negotiate while living in a settler colonial nation-state.

In the epilogue, or final chapter of this work, "Putting the Indian (Head) in the Cupboard: The Deep History of Deadwood," I return again to *Deadwood* to flesh out the deep history of that place in multiple times and spaces. The physical city of Deadwood is located on what was/is/will be Sioux land, land that was traversed by French travelers and other colonial explorers, including Lewis and Clark, and, seventy years later, George Armstrong Custer, in search of gold. David Milch's television series picks up the narrative of U. S. empire and expansionism. While the show has been lauded for its historical authority and research, the history it actually portrays lacks deep substance, showing little or no awareness of the land place throughout time, nor of the undeniable Native presence, then and now, in the town space. With the exception of one scene during season one, Al Swearengen's containment of the "Chief" in his cupboard typifies the native presence on the show. In this final chapter, I will consider why and

how the deeper history of *Deadwood* does not recognize the continual palimpsest of Native erasure throughout time. I contend that the historical vision Milch creates presents an ideology steeped in his particular education and beliefs about the literary nineteenth century, and that this ideology reproduces heteronormative logics that elevate white men (to their balconies), contain women as property (into buildings or boxes), and erase Native peoples (either by death or confinement in literal and figurative cupboards). Specifically, I argue that *Deadwood* depicts an historical ideology that continues to vanish living Native American populations to reinforce the supremacy of white patriarchal control in U. S. history and the post-9/11 present.

Part One:

Maps, Feathers, Bodies, and Bones: Literary and Material Native Representations

Chapter One:

1673 Meets 1843: Mapping Father Marquette's and Explorer Jolliet's Journals and Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes*

In *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*, the book in which Margaret Fuller documented her travels in the area now known as Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the author never specifically mentions the Jesuit Father Jacques Marquette and his French Canadian creole companion, the explorer Louis Jolliet. Yet her route can be mapped onto the path of their 1673 journey. Palimpsesting *Summer on the Lakes* with Marquette's and Jolliet's records and superimposing a map of the route she followed on her journey onto a version of Marquette's 1673 map yields a deep history of the waterways, lands, and Native peoples in the region.[14] Marquette's journals detail his party's reliance upon Native knowledge of the region and upon Native guides who traveled with them and led them along familiar routes. Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes*, also a journal of sorts, reflects upon the French colonial past, as well as the settler colonists and Native peoples she encountered in a palimpsestic admixture of travel narratives, quotations and references from other authors, transcribed conversations, sketches, and other miscellany.[15]

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[14] By most accounts, Jolliet's journals and maps were the most complete records of the expedition, but were lost when the explorer's canoe capsized near Montréal on 21 July 1674. He subsequently made oral reports from which many accounts derive. Marquette's journal and map thus form the primary written documentation for subsequent historical accounts, although their provenance is far from clearly established. For further information about these matters, see Jaenen 309 and passim, and Buisseret and Kupfer.

[15] Almost every scholar who has written about *Summer on the Lakes* has noted the variety of genres it contains. Among those who make genre a central part of their analysis, see Adams, who argues that the book's thematic unity overshadows its formal

The two texts share another similarity, as well. Each has become part of a narrative of foreordained westward expansion, best exemplified in the still-dominant ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner. As William Cronon has pointed out, Turner was born in Portage, Wisconsin, a location of central importance to Jolliet and Marquette's journey and to the subsequent fur trade. Turner's 1891 dissertation, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin,* claimed "that the trading post had been a key institution in the evolution of the United States. By acting as a meetingplace where a 'primitive' society encountered an 'advanced' one, the fur trade became a 'transforming force' in society" ("Turner's First Stand" 76, 81). These ideas undergirded Turner's immensely influential essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," was written fifty years later and delivered to a conference of academic historians upon the occasion of the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition. Since neither Marquette nor Fuller fully acknowledges the Native peoples among whom they moved, nor the indigenous knowledges that made their travels possible, each text facilitates necropolitics toward Native peoples. That these travelers relied upon the place-based expertise of Native guides to complete their journey has been noted by a number of scholars. For example, according to Cornelius T. Jaenen, "as early as 1660 the Jesuit Relations had stated, *basing their evidence entirely on Indian reports*, that there existed to the west a 'beautiful river . . . comparable to our St. Lawrence.'" He also notes that prior to their journey, in the "winter of 1672-1673 Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette spent much time questioning the Indians . . . and in making a map

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disunity; Tonkovich, who compares the text to the academic library in which Fuller worked to prepare the it, and Zwarg, who notes its "layered movement between one terrain of meaning and another" (620).

incorporating details about villages, landmarks, streams, etc." (304, emphasis added; 307). Gerald W. Adelmann observes, "For thousands of years, successive generations of Native Americans used the Chicago-Des Plaines-Illinois river system as an interior trade route, journeying from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River and beyond" (S6).

Yet all too frequently the centrality of Native knowledges of the area disappears from the historiography in favor of a focus on the explorers, their records, and the progressive narrative deriving from their travels. Thus palimpsesting their written accounts of their journeys can make visible a traceable, retraceable, and repeatable route that is the direct result of Native knowledges of lands and waterways. Such a narrative challenges the erasures of Native presence brought about by the politics of Indian removal that facilitated the addition of new political units to the United States during the late¨eighteenth and early nineteenth century and established a precedent for processes of Native erasure that continue into the present day. Palimpsesting the movements of the French colonial and U. S. citizen subjects yields a deeper history that recognizes how Native peoples and their knowledges were--and are--pivotal to the creation and maintenance of the U. S. nation-state even as the linear, progressive settler-colonial narrative works to erase them.

Narrative, Namesake, and Trademark

Marquette University in present-day Milwaukee, Wisconsin, draws its particular heritage from the Jesuit tradition and specifically from Father Marquette, its namesake. Founded in 1881 by the Society of Jesus, Marquette began as a men's Jesuit college but became a university in 1907; two years later, it became the world's first Catholic

university to admit women. In marketing itself, the University has generalized and appropriated Native history. From 1954 to 1994, university sports teams were nicknamed "The Warriors." The teams became "The Golden Eagles" after the university president changed the name. The decision was and is controversial. Neoliberal claims that the name "honored those guides" and conservative cries of "political correctness" and "lack of respect for tradition" joined to obscure the historical and ongoing violence the University's appropriations have enacted on the history and lived realities of Native communities in the area, for Marquette has not fully divested itself and its trademark from a particular and partial version of Native identity. For example, the unofficial school newspaper still calls itself *The Warrior*.

Figure 1.1: *Marquette University Seal*. By Rev. Francis J, Kemphues, S.J. Digital Image. Courtesy Marquette University Office of Marketing and Communications.

Nor did administrative actions to change the name of the sports teams affect the design of the university's official seal, now the most prominent representation of a Native figure officially sanctioned by the school. There the stylized figure of a Native guide (identified as Native by his unclothed torso and feathered hair) adjoins the standing figure of Marquette. (See Figure 1.1.) Although the Jesuit acknowledged the Native peoples who were his advisors and guides, the university's seal presents these Native peoples as secondary to the journey's success. A vocal contingent of the campus community rejects this and related affronts.[16] The seal—and the painting upon which it is based—illustrate how historically interdependent relationships become subsumed to white, settler-colonial knowledge and continue insidiously to promote that skewed knowledge into the twenty-first century.

Marquette University's seal is based on Wilhelm Alfred Lamprecht's 1869 painting, *Pére Marquette and the Indians*, an image which itself has served to further the dominant narratives of a divinely sanctioned colonial expansion. (See Figure 1.2.) Lamprecht, a German immigrant, painted the work for a raffle to benefit the Christian Art Society. It was donated to Marquette College in 1882, one year after the school's founding (Marquette University, "Pére Marquette Painting"). Lamprecht's painting was later featured on a one-cent postage stamp issued in June 1898 as part of a series produced for the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. Even the title of the work reveals the settler colonial impetus, erasing the deep history of the distinct Native peoples—Sacs,

[16] For example, four Marquette students and members of the "Coalition of and for Students of Color" were arrested in April 2015 for staging a sit-in on a busy campus intersection in protest of the university seal and of the university's hollow diversity initiatives (Garza).

Foxes, Shawnees, Hurons, Ottawas, and Potawatomis among them—who inhabited the region. These tribal names were and are known, but subsumed to the monolithic collective, "the Indians." Although Marquette and Jolliet did recognize and record stories, practices, and contact with different tribal peoples throughout their travels, these specificities do not inform the generic and willfully vague title. Nor do the specific Native peoples, their tribal affiliations, and their distinct epistemologies emerge in the details of Lamprecht's painting.

Figure 1.2: *Pere Marquette and the Indians*. By Wilhelm Alfred Lamprecht, 1869. Oil on canvas. Courtesy Haggerty Museum of Art, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Predictably, *Pére Marquette and the Indians* places the Jesuit priest at its center, consulting with a standing "Indian" who is pointing him in the direction for his travels. The line of direction that begins with the Native man transits through and is repeated by Marquette's raised left arm and gesturing hand that establish the true direction. The priest's black robes dominate the painting's center; his improbable position standing in the canoe makes him slightly taller than his informant, and already incipiently in motion, ready to be propelled by two other Native guides who will paddle the boat throughout his journey. The standing Marquette is depicted fully and dominates the center of the image; he faces the viewer, full of movement and agency, while the men paddling the canoe sit in a subservient position, one with his back to the viewer, his tattooed skin visibly marking his exoticism; the other facing the viewer but looking into the crowd assembled on the river bank. The "Indians" in the painting wear buckskins and fringes, blankets and feathers that signify "Indian-ness," but do not suggest the specific tribal identities and cultures of those whose knowledge enabled this journey.

Marquette University still owns the painting and displays it on the second floor of the John P. Raynor Memorial Library at the center of campus. From this painting, the University has adapted a segment to use as part of the institution's official seal, originally designed by Jesuit Francis J. Kemphues in 1900, and first worn by students as a button (Marquette University, "Marquette University Seal"). [17] This trademark design further valorizes the central Jesuit figure and divorces the Native peoples from their

[17] Since 1900, the seal's design has undergone two changes. The university motto, *Numen Flumenque* (God and the River), was added in 1907; the year of the school's founding, 1881, was added in 1994 (Marquette University, "Marquette University Seal").

identities as inhabitants, informants, and guides. In reproducing only a portion of Lamprecht's painting, the University seal performs another subtle act of cultural genocide toward Native knowledges. Here only one Native person is present, not a group, whose collective knowledge might be read as informing the directions conveyed by the standing, gesturing Native man. He is seen only from the back, paddling the canoe in which Marquette stands facing the viewer and presumably guiding the seated Native. The redacted image thus insinuates that Father Marquette is guiding the "Indian" paddling the canoe.

Figure 1.3: Marquette University Campus Flagpole. By Mark Kelley, 2012. Photograph.

Compounding the violence of excerpting a portion of the painting is a recent display of the same image on a group of two-part flags mounted on poles that line twelve blocks of the Marquette campus streets. (See Figure 1.3.) The divided flags bisect the seal, maintaining intact the figure of Father Marquette but dis-arming the Native American paddling the canoe. His body, unlike that of the white Jesuit, is able to be dissected and separated from its own wholeness of being. Here, even more than on the seal itself, the abstracted image becomes a corporate trademark, in much the same manner as the Native silhouette that distinguishes the Blackhawk sports jersey, which I will discuss in detail below. As such, its display along roads the campus shares with the surrounding community enacts the University's power to define that public space.

Palimpsestic Journeys: Mapping the Deep History of the Waterways and Land of the Old Northwest

From Michigan's Upper Peninsula, Jolliet and Marquette followed the Mississippi River south to its confluence with the Arkansas River. One hundred and seventy years later, Margaret Fuller followed roughly the same path on her tour of the land and waterways of the Old Northwest. Although the route she traveled was more formally established in 1843 than during the earlier expedition, and although the explorers' journey took them further down the Mississippi, the two journeys have a clear connection. (See Figure 1.4) Fuller's party moved through the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, thence to Chicago and west to the Rock River in the interior of Illinois and Wisconsin. She returned to the Mackinaw region, following routes sketched onto the earliest maps by Marquette. (See Figure 1.5.) Reading the earlier records in tandem with

Fuller's account loosens the deep history of the land and waterways from the anchor of a specific historical moment and makes visible the continuous Native presence in and on these lands.

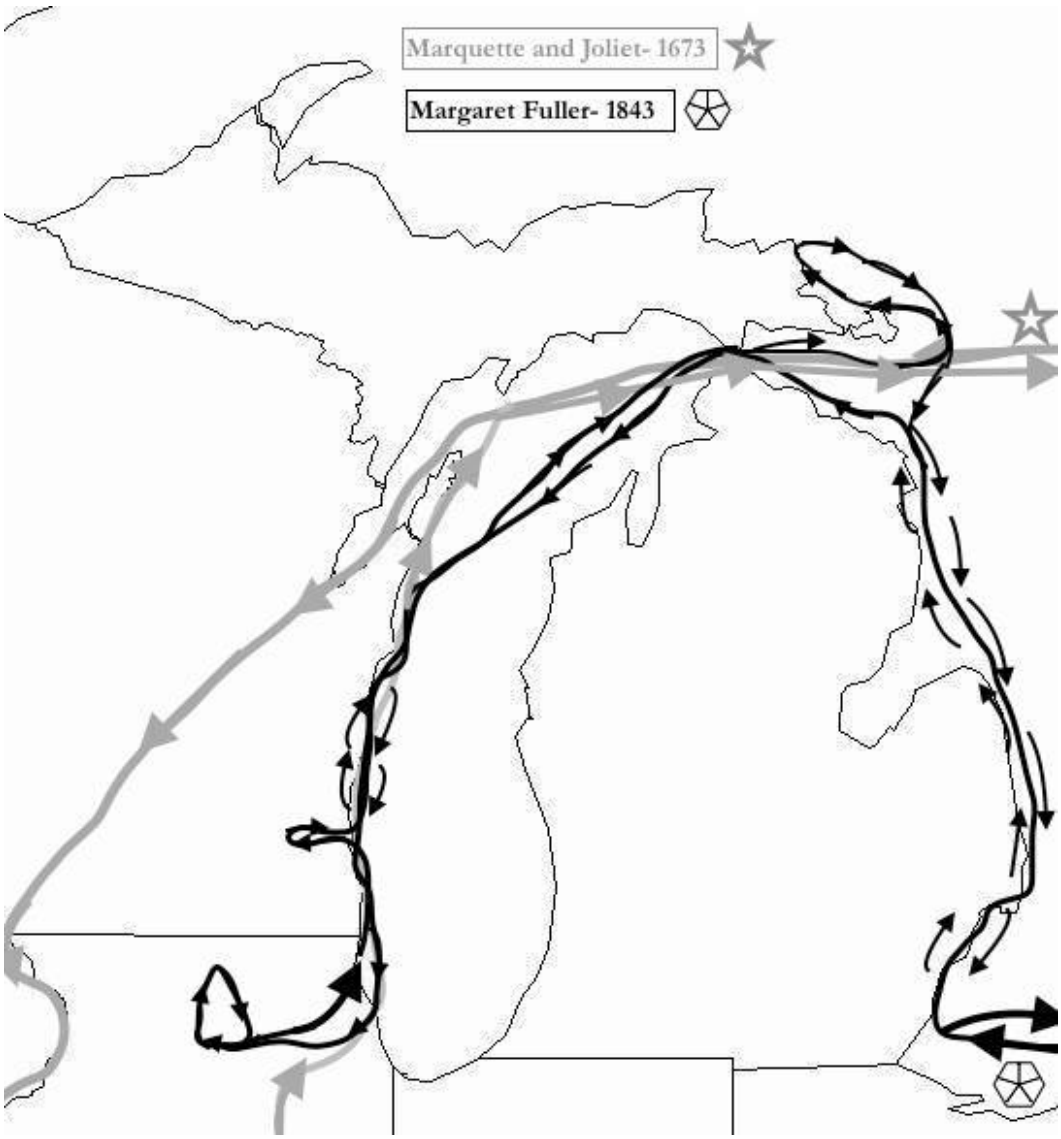

Figure 1.4: Fuller, Marquette, and Joliet Palimpsest Map. By Mark Kelley, 2016. Digital Drawing.

Figure 1.5: *Carte de la Decouverte faite l'an 1673 dans l' Ameriuque Septentrionale.* By Jacques Marquette. Map. Paris: Melchisédec Thévenot, 1691. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress

The explorers' and Fuller's descriptions of their interactions with Native Americans differ in purpose, but both make apparent the technologies of settler colonial genocide that devalued Native epistemologies throughout the French colonial period, the territorialization of the Old Northwest, and the establishment of the Great Lakes states.[18] Aside from Marquette's mission-related work as a Jesuit, the exploration facilitated French colonial desires for landed resources and water routes that would support and expand the fur trade and other mercantile ventures. The explorers' contact with Native Americans thus facilitated multiple aspects of colonization: Colonial powers appropriated and relied upon Native knowledges but subsumed them within colonial narratives; explorers and travelers engages with Native Americans as trading partners while simultaneously classifying them as "savage" or unknowledgeable and absorbing them into religious and Euro-American structures of governmentality.[19]

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[18] The eight Great Lakes states, in order of admission into the United States, are: Pennsylvania (1787), New York (1788), Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), Michigan (1837), Wisconsin (1848), and Minnesota (1858).

[19] I do not intend to make an ahistorical claim regarding the complete equivalence between "sauvage" and the term "savage" as it developed in the subsequent four hundred years. Nonetheless, to disavow the connection between "sauvage" and negative representation is to ignore the violence the term's use enacts and enables. The entry for "sauvage" in Jean Nicot's 1606 *Thresor De La Langve Francoyse* reads "m. penac. quasi in syluis agens, Syluester, Syluicola." This main entry refers to Silvanus the Roman God of forests and fields, thereby establishing a "sauvage" status in a manner that could be read as neutral; nonetheless, the connotation of wild or animalistic qualities is made more evident by the secondary entries. "Demi sauvage" is defined as "Semiferus," or existing in a semi-feral state and having only a limited connection to humanity or civilization while and "Cruauté sauvage" is defined as "Inhumana crudelitas," thereby establishing a direct link between action natural to the "savage" and the distance put between something "sauvage" and something human (Nicot, n. p.). Furthermore, in his 1609 *Historie de la Nouvelle-France*, French explorer Marc Lescarbot notes that due to the "valeur, fidélité, libéralité, & humanité" of New France tribes alongside their "jugement & de raison," the term "sauvages" is not the appropriate word to apply. He writes, "De sorte que si nous les appelions

Margaret Fuller wrote *Summer on the Lakes* a century and a half later, in a period following French and British colonization, Jacksonian Indian Removal and an attendant discursive construction of Natives as noble, vanishing savages. Fuller wrote her book after immersing herself in histories, ethnographies, land-survey records, and travel narratives penned by those whose journeys followed Marquette's.[20] On 12 November 1843, she wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson: "I am reading the books in the Library about the West, the old travelers I am reading. I like now to go over the ground with them and shall not continue my own little experiences till I have done with theirs" (Hudspeth 3: 160). Fuller's perception of the West (the Old Northwest) and her subsequent representation of it in *Summer on the Lakes* was thus guided by the travelers who traced the land before her journey. The routes and writings of Fuller and the travelers whose histories she consulted followed the routes of Marquette, Jolliet, and their Native guides and thus yield a deep history of a traceable, retraceable, and repeatable journey that is distinctly reliant upon American Indian peoples as well as the ongoing attempts to contain indigeneity within the past tense "was" of settler colonial discourses, rather than as peoples that still "are" and "will be."

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communément sauvages, c'est par vn mot abusif, & qu'ilz ne meritēt pas, n'étans rien moins que cela, ainsi qu'il se vérifiera par le discours de cette histoire" (230). Even as he states that the term "savage" was "abusive and unmerited," Lescarbot did use the term in his work. So while I agree that the translation from "sauvage" to "savage" potentially obscures a complex etymological history, to translate "sauvage" any other way completely ignores the dehumanizing aspect of the term from its very beginnings. Nicot's entry for "barbaric" or "barbare" is "*Et qui n'est point de nostre langage,"* indicating that those who do not speak "our" French language are foreign or strange; the term clearly follows its Greek root *barbaros* (Nicot, n. p.).

[20] Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes* is a pastiche of observations, quotations, and appropriated opinions, many of which she read after returning from her trip. By one count, she quotes from nearly twenty prior sources that helped frame her vision of the area through which she had journeyed.

Marquette's journals document his party's interaction with Native peoples, his recognition of their place-based knowledge, and his reliance on Native interpreters, traders, and guides, all the while manifesting a distrust of their veracity and their reliability. The journey of Marquette and Jolliet would not have occurred outside the context of Native knowledge. In the late 1660s, for example, through conversations with a Shawnee captive of the Iroquois, Marquette had learned of "the South Sea . . . near a great river which, coming from the Illinois, discharges its waters into the sea." Several years later, another Native man, an Illinois slave, "taught Marquette the rudiments of their language and told him much about the geography of his home area" (Jaenen 306). Later, with Louis Jolliet, Marquette began to plan the journey. He writes,

> because We were going to seek Unknown countries, We took every precaution in our power, so that, if our Undertaking were hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. To that end, we obtained all the Information that we could from the savages who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a Map of the whole of that New country; on it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through which we were to pass, the Course of the great River, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it. ("Of the first Voyage" 91, 93)[21]

The passage is notable for its direct and implied documentation of the extent of knowledge possessed by people they deemed to be "savage." (The terminology persisted through the next 170 years and reappears in Fuller's travel book). Not only had these Native informants "frequented" a vast geographical area, they were also able to furnish information that allowed Marquette to construct a fairly accurate map on

[21] The authenticity of the 1763 map has been much debated, but a 2011 investigation by Buisseret and Kupfer concludes that "the [1763] Marquette Map is the work of Father Jacques Marquette" (276). It should be noted that in their efforts to authenticate the map and document its provenance, these scholars made almost no mention of the Native consultant/collaborators whose knowledge the map represents.

which he traced navigable waterways, recorded the names of the tribal groups that inhabited the riverine countryside, and recorded Native place names. Thus, while Marquette confesses the area was "Unknown" to him, the knowledge proffered him by his informants—of the navigability of its rivers, the rough boundaries of sovereign Native territories, the names of places—established a prior and deep history of its settlement and rationalized organization by its aboriginal inhabitants.

Although Marquette's retrospective account emphasizes the danger inherent in undertaking such an expedition, it also, perhaps inadvertently, makes apparent the degree to which the explorers relied on Native technologies:

> We were not long in preparing all our Equipment, although we were about to Begin a voyage, the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian Corn, with some smoked meat, constituted all our provisions; with these we Embarked—Monsieur Jollyet and myself, with 5 men—in 2 Bark canoes, fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an Undertaking. ("Of the first Voyage" 91)

None of the resources upon which the expedition depended was French: neither the food ("Indian Corn"), the mode of transport ("2 Bark canoes," boats well-adapted to the waterways of the upper Mississippi), nor the bio-power by which those canoes would be moved and steered ("5 [unnamed Native] men" from unspecified tribal groups).[22] These details, rather, are appropriated and subsumed into the heroic narrative that predicted the consequent "glory" of the "undertaking."

Having made due preparation, on 17 May 1763 Marquette and Jolliet set out on their journey from St. Ignace with their canoes and Native guides, along the shoreline of Michigan's Upper Peninsula in the waters of what is now known as Lake Michigan. In

[22] Most likely Sault, Ojibwa, or Ottawa.

late May, upon reaching Green Bay (known then as "Bay des Puants," or foul smelling water), the explorers "visit[ed]" the "Nation . . . of the folle avoine" [Menominee], among whom the Jesuit missionaries had earlier made "several good" converts ("Of the first Voyage" 93).[23] In his journals Father Marquette recorded His interactions with the Menominee. Although he initially devalued the information they provided, it later proved to be accurate and well adapted to the expedition's general plans and goals. He writes:

> They represented to me that I would meet Nations who never show mercy to Strangers, but Break Their heads without any cause; and that war was kindled Between Various peoples who dwelt upon our Route, which Exposed us to the further manifest danger of being killed by the bands of Warriors who are ever in the Field. They also said that the great River was very dangerous, when one does not know the difficult Places; that it was full of horrible monsters, which devoured men and Canoes Together; that there was even a demon, who was heard from a great distance, who barred the way, and swallowed up all who ventured to approach him; Finally that the Heat was so excessive In those countries that it would Inevitably Cause Our death. ("Of the first Voyage" 95, 97)

Hearing of the expedition's intent to proselytize "Those Remote nations," for example, the Menominee "did their best to dissuade" him, warning of the unstable political situation among peoples they would encounter ("Of the first Voyage" 95). Learning his intended route, they alerted him to the dangers along the waterways. Having embodied knowledge of the land and seasons, they cautioned him against the debilitating humidity and heat of the coming Midwest summer. Yet even as Marquette dutifully recorded the encounter, he devalued it, subordinating it to his confidence that the sanctity of his mission would protect his party:

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[23] Unlike many of the Native tribes in the Old Northwest, the Menominee remain near their original land place on their present-day reservation.

> I thanked them for the good advice that they gave me, but told them that I could not follow it, because the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I would be delighted to give my life; that I scoffed at the alleged demon; that We would easily defend ourselves against those marine monsters; and, moreover, that We would be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us. ("Of the first Voyage" 97)

The very care Marquette takes to counter each specific warning given him by the Menominee is guided in part by his confidence that his divine calling to save souls would allow him to overcome any danger. He carefully separates what he deems to be fancy—an "alleged demon" and "marine monsters"—and what he judges to be worth rational consideration—"the other dangers." He then recounts taking his leave "[a]fter making them pray to God, and giving them some Instruction ("Of the first Voyage" 97). Although this is, perhaps, a figural exchange of knowledge for knowledge, it is worth noting that Marquette has the last word.

The multiple layers of epistemologies present in Father Marquette's and Jolliet's interactions with the Illinois peoples illustrate the complexity of the colonial narrative and interactions with native peoples, as well as their often overlooked reliance upon indigenous guidance. As they departed the Menominee and continued their journey down the Rock River to the Mississippi, Marquette recorded his encounters with the very demons, monsters, and other dangers of which he had been warned, granting it his authority without directly acknowledging that he had been warned about what he would and did encounter. Having entered the "renowned" Mississippi River on 17 June, he writes:

> From time to time, we came upon monstrous fish, one of which struck our Canoe with such violence that I Thought that it was a great tree, about to break the Canoe to pieces. On another occasion, we saw on the water a monster with the head of a tiger, a sharp nose Like That of a wildcat, with

> whiskers and straight, Erect ears; The head was gray and The Neck quite black; but We saw no more creatures of this sort. ("Of the first Voyage" 109, 111)

The "monstrous fish" and "monster with the head of a tiger" are animals (likely catfish and lynx) that the Menominee had earlier described. Despite the fact that Father Marquette had "scoff[ed]" at the warning, he notes the force with which the fish struck the canoe, but rather than connect the event with the earlier warning (except, of course, in his perhaps unconscious choice of adjective), he seeks a comparative explanation within his already existing knowledge. Having prior experience in travel by canoe he knew that great trees floating in the water could easily capsize or damage sailing vessels. By appropriating or translating Native knowledge into a western epistemological model already familiar to mariners, Marquette claims the authority of interpretation. His written words, valuable as the sources of subsequent colonial histories, overshadow but do not quite obscure Native knowledge.

Although Father Marquette mentions the Native guides he and Jolliet had requested to help them along their journey, he records the route they followed as if it were discovered solely by himself and Jolliet. Traversing inland, the party encounters the Mascoutens, an Algonquin group related to the Sac, Mesquakie, Kickapoo, and other tribes that once resided in what is now known as central Wisconsin. The multiple layers of epistemologies present in the explorers' interactions with the Illinois peoples illustrate the complexity of the colonial narrative, often obscured by its oversimplification or omission of their reliance on indigenous aid. The tribal groups were are familiar with the Jesuits and French and, in addition to communicating with them, provided them with guides:

> [Jolliet] informed [the Mascoutens] that we needed two guides to show us the way; and We gave them a present, by it asking them to grant us the guides. To this they very Civilly consented; and they also spoke to us by means of a present, consisting of a Mat to serve us as a bed during the whole of our voyage.
>
> On the following day, . . . two Miamis who were given us as guides embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd, who could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the sight of seven Frenchmen, alone and in two Canoes, daring to undertake so extraordinary and so hazardous an Expedition. ("Of the First Voyage" 105)

Aware that reciprocity and gift-giving are important in Native epistemologies, Marquette and Jolliet participated in a ceremonial exchange of gifts. While Marquette names the gifts—a Mat and two guides—he received, he does not linger over the mutual respect encoded in this exchange. Rather, he retreats to the expedient of reporting the "astonishment" of the crowd at their departure, adding a self-aggrandizing interpretation that emphasizes only bravery of the expeditionary party. Given that the group would now proceed guided by two Miamis,[24] it is possible the "astonishment" may have been a very different reaction—a send-off, a warning, a traditional ceremony. Yet rather than acknowledge the role of these guides, Marquette's account is consistent with an epistemology of singular heroism, one consistent with the settler colonial narrative of which it became a part.

Later, however, Marquette is driven to acknowledge the importance of the two Miami guides, who brought them to a portage leading to the present-day Wisconsin River.

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[24] I use *Miami* and *Illinois* interchangeably, as does Marquette in his journal. *Miami* is a specific tribal group name linked to other tribal groups that are often collectively referred to as the Illinois peoples. *Illinois* is often used in colonial records throughout U. S., British, and French histories of the Old Northwest and tribal peoples residing there.

> For this reason we greatly needed our two guides, who safely Conducted us to a portage of 2,700 paces, and helped us to transport our Canoes to enter That river; after which they returned home, leaving us along in this Unknown country, in the hands of Providence. ("Of the first Journey" 105, 107)

Marquette's words, "we greatly needed our two guides," complicates his earlier narration of the general "astonishment" displayed by the Natives at the "daring" of the small party of Frenchmen. The tension between these entries illustrates that even though the Jesuit Fathers considered themselves to be guided by "the hands of Providence," the Miami, as well as other Native peoples, and their knowledges of the land and water ways are key to the expedition's success.

The specific portage the Miami guides assist Father Marquette and Jolliet to cross is the land between the western reach of the Fox River and the eastern edge of the Wisconsin River. Arriving at the Wisconsin River brought the explorers to the waterways connecting to the Mississippi. The region lies within the homelands of the Sac and Mesquakie peoples, an area that, in the nineteenth century was the "home of beauty" from which Black Hawk and his followers were removed. That episode of removal structured Margaret Fuller's aesthetic apprehension of the area through which she traveled: "To these beautiful regions Black Hawk returned with his band 'to pass the summer' when . . . he was finally vanquished. No wonder he could not resist the longing . . . to return in summer to this home of beauty" (Fuller 27). The portage lay in country "Unknown" to the French explorers, but surely not to the guides who led them there and, once they had completed that task, departed. Their actions indicate a knowledge of place and space wherein tribal groups live relationally, and the guides' understanding of how and when to enter and depart territories belonging to others. For

his part, Marquette does not consider the reasons for the guides' departure, but suggests it constituted an abandonment of the party in unfamiliar territory, leaving them to the ministrations of Providence.

Containing the Land: Waterways, Canals, and Settlements

In addition to showing their intimate connection to Native knowledge, the records associated with the expedition of Marquette and Jolliet illustrate the connections between their journey, the subsequent alterations made to their route by the French as part of their colonizing efforts, and the later development of settlements that depended on man-made adjustments to the waterways.[25] With some frequency, Marquette entered journal observations on the southbound leg of his journey, through lands now known as the U. S. states of Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Mississippi, to the point where the Arkansas River flows into the Mississippi. There the party estimated they were "only fifty leagues from the sea (actually they were about 700 miles away)"

[25]According to Tracy Neal Leavelle, eighteenth century Jesuit explorers' encounters with indigenous knowledges of space and place were part of the "contest over the interpretation and manipulation of space . . . that would transform the cultural and human Geography of the Great Lakes region and Illinois country." Within this contest, the "conveniently linked waterways and portages" were of particular interest to Simon Francois Daumont, Sieur de St. Lusson, and other colonial agents who had to navigate both waterways and "the mounting layers of geographical meaning around them" (914, 915). Although Marquette did not record his travels from Chicago to Milwaukee, the route is noted by later Jesuit and French explorers such as René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle and Claude Allouez, all of whom comment on the difficulty as well as the significant Native presence in the region. For example, upon sailing through the portage and to the Chicago shoreline in 1679, LaSalle notes "high steep bluffs running close to the lake" that made landing difficult (55). And during his 1677 travel to Jolliet's former mission just south of Lake Michigan, Claude Allouez reported, "We planted in the middle of the village a Cross 35 feet in height, . . . in the presence of a large number of ilinois of all the nations" (69).

(Jaenen 308). Fearing they would soon encounter the Spanish, the explorers reversed course, satisfied that the Mississippi flowed south and emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, rather than westward to the Pacific.

Significantly, on the return journey, Marquette's journal entries become markedly less frequent. This change in frequency might be attributed to several factors: the difficulty of travel along the western shoreline of Lake Michigan, the mounting fatigue as the explorers reached the end of a long and tiresome journey, and/or fewer phenomena the explorers deemed worthy of mention. However, it is also likely that as their intensifying contact with Native peoples, and their ever-more-crucial dependence on Native knowledge became apparent, the explorers underwent an epistemological shift. As Martin Brückner has noted of the later similar patterns in the expedition records of Lewis and Clark, "they discovered the limits of [their] geographical literacy" in a "discursive collision between two incompatible modes of recording the geography of the land" (209, 221). The outcome of this mismatch for the explorers, produced a disorientation Brückner wittily calls becoming "lost in space" (226). Marquette's and Jolliet's case, I argue, was substantively different. Rather than becoming lost as a result of misinterpreting Native representational systems, the Frenchmen underwent a transformative understanding, coming to appreciate, if minimally and grudgingly, how land and water places are experienced by Native peoples. Thus the explorers' own colonizing activities of recording and mapping became intimately and inexpressibly connected to Native epistemologies.

Because the party's return journey is thus less well documented, a fuller understanding of their travels depends upon accounts written by later French and Jesuit

explorers, Marquette's own retrospective accounts written in 1674, and Claude Dablon's August 1674 interview of Louis Jolliet. The party's route northward followed the Mississippi north to the mouth of the Illinois River, which took them more directly to Lake Michigan. This course laid the foundation for and mapped a pathway that has since become a dominant route for movement and commerce along the cities bordering the lake. Marquette's tone in his 1674 journal demonstrates his altered opinion of the value of Native knowledge, particularly that of the Illinois people. Recounting the portage between Sturgeon Bay and the lake, he writes:

> Pierre [Porteret, a fur trader who had volunteered to assist the Jesuit missionaries] did not arrive until an hour after dark, having lost his way on a path where he had never been. After the rain and thunder, snow fell.
>
> Being compelled to change our camping-ground, we continue to carry our packs. The portage covers nearly a league, and is very difficult in many places.[26] The Illinois assemble in the evening in our cabin and ask us not to leave them, as we may need them, and they know the lake better than we do. We promise them this. ("Unfinished Journal" 167)

Marquette's acceptance of the offer, and his verbal "promise" constitute his de facto acknowledgment of the superior place knowledge of the Illinois. And although the interchange is not part of his original journal account, his subsequent inclusion of the interchange makes clear the crucial indigenous contributions to the expedition's later maps, that, in their turn, guided subsequent "improvements" that spurred maritime commerce.

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[26] Thwaites's note to Marquette's journals says "A ship-canal connecting [Sturgeon Bay with Lake Michigan] was opened July 4, 1879; it is 7,400 feet long and saves 150 miles of navigation between the city of Green Bay and lower Lake Michigan ports. It is now owned by the U. S. government" (314n43).

In his 1674 interview with Father Claude Dablon, Jolliet described the portage, prompting Dablon, in his summative "remarks regarding the utility of [the expedition's] discovery" to note

> a very great and important advantage, which perhaps will hardly be believed. It is that we could go with facility to Florida in a bark, and by very easy navigation. It would only be necessary to make a canal, by cutting through but half a league of prairie, to pass from the foot of the lake of the Illinois to the river Saint Louis [the present-day Illinois River . . . which falls into the Mississipi [sic]. The bark, when there, would easily sail to the gulf of Mexico (101, 105)

This canal was later undertaken, providing a more direct pathway for subsequent explorers and travelers, facilitating commerce, and hastening the development of Chicago as a key and central port city in the U. S. Midwest. Jolliet's suggestion of further travel and settlement along Chicago River's portage was later followed through by Dablon and others, including Robert Cavelier de La Salle and Pierre François Pinet, and led to the creation of the Mission of the Guardian Angel. That mission was abandoned by the 1720s after the Fox successfully cut off access to the Chicago portage. Sixty years later the area was settled again, this time leading to the development of Chicago as a key and central port city in the U. S. Midwest (Greenberg 38). According to Adelmann, "the idea for a canal linking the Illinois River with Lake Michigan at Chicago figured prominently in nearly every public policy and political decision about this region from the late seventeenth century forward" (S6).

While the canal system resulted in the development of trade and travel, it was not without its impact on Native peoples' use of these same lands and waterways. In fact, the accomplishment of that canal happened only as the result of containment of indigenous peoples and their knowledges. Adelmann continues, "Eventually, a series of

treaties between Indian tribes and the . . . United States set aside land at the mouth of the Chicago River for a military fort and a corridor paralleling the river system for the future canal" (S6).

Fuller's Native Reflections: Palimpsesting 1673 and 1843

The waterways and lands through which Marquette and Jolliet traveled on their return journey are a significant part of the deep history of the Old Northwest. The explorers' movement along the Rock River and the Chicago River, their portages near the present-day cities of Milwaukee and Chicago, and their passage along the shores of Lake Michigan to Mackiaw/St. Ignace established a route followed by many subsequent travelers, and connects their activities to Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843,* as well as Black Hawk's autobiographical narrative, to be discussed in the following chapter. Fuller's book, composed during the second half of 1843, was based on the travel journal she had kept on a trip through Wisconsin Territory and the Upper Peninsula of present-day Michigan.

Like Lamprecht's painting and the Marquette University seal, Fuller's travel narrative appropriates Native bodies and abstracts them into "Indians" divorced from specific tribal epistemologies. Like Marquette, she manifests a disregard for Native knowledges. In so doing, Fuller's writing became part of an imperial U. S. narrative: *Summer on the Lakes* does not credit Native peoples, guides, and ways of knowing that made possible the earlier expeditions that mapped the Old Northwest, facilitated its settlement, and enabled Fuller's own journey. Thus her writing furthers an ongoing cultural and physical genocide of indigenous peoples.

Many scholars have lauded the intricate character of *Summer on the Lakes*, a textual pastiche that brings together writings of various genres produced by scholars, explorers, novelists, historians, and American and European travelers.[27] Yet simply to celebrate her book's complexity obscures the formative role of such works in acts of governmentality, and implicates present scholarship in a form of cultural genocide.[28] Among the many sources Fuller consulted were the works of antiquarian Samuel Gardner Drake, who had collected accounts of early Indian captivities in New England, edited various histories of Indian wars in New England, and compiled an encyclopedic volume, *The Aboriginal Races of North America*. Fuller was especially interested in the work of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, whose philological researches were materially aided

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[27]Adams places *Summer on the Lakes* within a tradition of romantic works concerned with "experimentation with new forms and aesthetic principles" that also "strive for a deep unity beneath the surface disjointedness, digressiveness, and fragmentation" (250). Cooper calls Fuller's compositional process "textual wandering," or the "inclusion of multiple, seemingly irrelevant narratives;" this process of anxiety and wandering creates a displacement that "signifies an out-of-body experience of sorts," bringing the reader into "the unrepresented margins of representations of life on the western frontier" (177). Steele writes, "With its surfeit of quotations, *Summer on the Lakes* enacts the process of cultural inscription, while it embodies the desire to regain control of experience. Unable to escape the discourse of others, Fuller *can* revise them- by drawing attention to their ideological effects" (xxv).

[28] Much of the current scholarship on this text tangles with Fuller's limited perspectives on Native peoples; few have fully investigated the connection between her representations of the Natives she encountered with the governmentality directed at Native places, spaces, epistemologies, and bodies under the politics of statehood and removal in the eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century United States. Kolodny's conclusion emblematizes these approaches: "Given the power and pervasiveness of the 'vanishing Indian' discourses that surrounded her, it is uncertain whether under any circumstances Fuller could have converted 'Romaic and Rhine Ballads' into a more radical critique of the nation's Indian policies" (24). Birkle's analysis is contradictory, asserting both that Fuller "undermines stereotypes of . . . Native Americans" and that she could "not liberate herself from the idea of the 'vanishing Indian'" (501, 506). For similar conclusions to Kolodny's, see Mielke and Cooper. Maddox's *Removals*, although dated, remains the source that most usefully connects Fuller's methods with the realities of Native removal.

by his Métis wife, Bamewawagezhikaquay (Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Ojibwa). Nevertheless, Schoolcraft "presented himself as the philological authority who alone transformed [his wife's] 'Indian' opinion into ostensibly scientific material" (Harvey 518).[29] Of the many similar books she consulted, Fuller judged the work of George Catlin to be "far the best" (20). Catlin's paintings and proto-ethnographic studies of various tribal groups of the Old Northwest functioned, as did Drake's and Schoolcraft's work, as inventory and census of those groups, making them visible to the eye of the state. Catlin's later entertainment enterprises displayed a composite (and thus flattened), sensationalized, and largely inaccurate version of Indian-ness to fascinated European audiences, violently displacing individuals' tribal identity, attire, and ceremonial observances from their contexts and producing a commodified spectacle prototypical of the later entertainments of Wild West Shows.[30] The oil portraits Charles Bird King made of Native diplomats enhanced the work of Thomas McKenney, whose *History of the Indian Tribes of The United States* Fuller quotes. McKenney, a Quaker, early served as a conduit between Native interests and settlers eager to press westward. Later he served as Superintendent of Indian Trade (1816-1822). In 1824, when Secretary of War John C. Calhoun created the Office of Indian Affairs as a division of the War Department, McKenney was appointed its first secretary. Although he argued in favor of Native sovereignty, he nevertheless also pursued measures that "included the encouragement of missionaries and vocational trading schools on Indian lands and provisions that in exchange for federal 'management,' 'assistance,' 'benevolence,' and

[29] For a recent important study of Jane Johnston's Schoolcraft life and intellectual work, see Schoolcraft and Parker.
[30] For incisive analyses of Catlin's work in this regard, see Hoechst and Truettner.

‘enlightenment,’ the Indians were to cede, from time to time, such land that they were not cultivating” (Hutchinson 335).

While Fuller’s wide reading and study acquainted her with the current knowledge of and attitude toward Native peoples of her day, she does not challenge the colonizing processes that were at this very moment aimed at indigenous peoples and their land places in the recently formed territories of the U. S. Midwest. Rather, Fuller’s descriptions and interactions with Native peoples throughout the text facilitate Jacksonian settler colonial politics through her de facto endorsement of the romantic-era understanding of Native peoples through the reductive model of the vanishing noble, her vaunting of westward expansion, and her facile understanding of the histories of earlier colonizing as they related to the colonial undertakings of her own moment.

Seeing Sublimely

Fuller’s first chapter, “Niagara, June 10, 1843,” sets out a pattern of aesthetic interpretation and what later scholars termed “the anxiety of influence.” Rather than describe the spectacle of Niagara Falls, Fuller devotes the bulk of this chapter to an extended meditation on how a modern traveler, now part of touristic hordes, could hope to see the Falls afresh, avoiding the interpretative filters of earlier writers who had visited the site, now a tourist attraction. In later chapters, however, as Fuller moves farther west, she is less self-reflexive. Still aware of herself as being a tourist, she nevertheless ceases to consider how her reading and her position as a New England intellectual have framed her view. She views Native peoples, for example, as unsatisfactory copies of idealized romantic noble savages.

Fuller's account of an early encounter of her party with an encampment of "Indians" at Silver Lake in Wisconsin Territory illustrates her ability to name the filters through which she views the spectacle before her, but her inability to move beyond aesthetic categories to apprehend the Natives as people. Fuller's party had been driven to seek shelter from a thunderstorm within the encampment, and she notes "An old *theatrical looking* Indian [who] stood with arms folded, looking up to the heavens, from which the rain dashed and the thunder reverberated; his air was French-Roman, that is, more 53omanesque than Roman" (74; emphasis added). She views this Native man through the lens of earlier theatrical performances she has seen, likely that of Edwin Forrest playing Metamora in the era's most notorious "vanishing Indian" drama. Of this performance, which she attended in April 1840, she wrote to Emerson, "Forrest . . . is a nobly formed man, and seemed to have the true Indian step and tone. 'Tis true I am not the best judge never having seen a fine specimen of the race but it seemed much nearer one's ideal than Cooper's or Miss Sedgwick's fancy sketches" (Hudspeth 2: 128).[31] This brief remark suggests the extent to which public performances such as those Catlin mounted in Europe had been recapitulated at home. Dramas such as John Augustus Stone's *Metamora: or, the Last of the Wampanoags* played widely along the eastern seaboard, sometimes to audiences containing visiting Native dignitaries, profiting from the ongoing public discussion of Jacksonian policies of removal and the resultant improverishment and abjection of Native nations.

[31] Later in the same letter, Fuller muses, "I should like very much to visit one of the tribes. I am sure I could face the dirt, and discomfort and melancholy to see somewhat of the stately gesture and concentred mood" (128).

While her characterization of the "French-Roman" "air" of the Native man she had espied gestures toward an earlier moment of French colonial occupation of the area, the idea is quickly displaced by Fuller's wish to measure him against the period's ideals of "Indian" men as re-embodied Roman orators. The illusion persists, for Fuller shortly follows her account of the "picturesque scene" at Silver Lake with a description of another encounter, this time with a "wandering band (of Pottawattamies), who had returned on a visit, either from homesickness, or need of relief" (75). She notes she had seen this same group earlier

> in Milwaukie, on a begging dance. The effect of this was *wild and grotesque*. They wore much paint and feather head-dresses. . . . I like the effect of the paint on them; it reminds of the gay fantasies of nature. With them . . . was a chief, the finest Indian figure I saw, more than six feet in height, erect, and of a sullen, but grand gait and gesture. He wore a deep red blanket, which fell in large folds from his shoulders to his feet, did not join in the dance, but slowly strode about through the streets, *a fine sight, not a French-Roman, but a real Roman*. He looked unhappy, but listlessly unhappy, as if he felt it was of no use to strive or resist. (75)

Unwilling or unable to contemplate at any length why the "wandering band" may have returned, why they were performing a "begging dance," whether the performance might have had other, perhaps ceremonial, purposes, Fuller describes their actions in words that had by her time become hackneyed: "wild and grotesque." Her comments on their presentation focus, as do those of the audiences who patronized the Catlin Indian shows, on the paint and feathers, but do not seek to understand the purpose or meaning of the performance. Then, as is her usual mode of thinking, she focuses on a singular figure apart from the mass, one who seems to stand above the nonsense of the public performance, and narrates him as the embodiment of a neoclassical statue, his robe invoking the robes of a "real Roman" statesman. Interpreting what she sees through

aesthetic discourses of the sublime, she subordinates the outcomes of real and recent violence to her aestheticized romantic ideas. Such a perception enforces a past tense temporality onto the indigenous peoples rather than recognizing that Native peoples enact deliberate movements through their lands, dance for reasons that may exceed "begging," and dress as they do for specific cultural and ceremonial purposes. She reduces Native peoples to an entertainment whose situation is regrettable but beyond her ability to analyze, understand, or mitigate.

Nor is this early moment in Fuller's travels unrepresentative of her reflections on the locales she traverses. Her penchant is to abstract indigenous peoples from their land places and fill the resulting blanks of her ignorance with interpretations that are significantly informed by the dominant ideology of removal politics and the "vanishing" Native. A key palimpsestic moment in relation to the Sauk peoples who were on the land places and waters ways through which Fuller (as well as Marquette and Jolliet) traveled is her narration and interpretation of the motivations of the Sauk leader Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, more commonly known as Black Hawk:

> In the afternoon of this day we reached the Rock river, in whose neighborhood we proposed to make some stay, and crossed at Dixon's ferry.
>
> This beautiful stream flows full and wide over a bed of rocks, traversing a distance of near two hundred miles, to reach the Mississippi. Great part of the country along its banks is the finest region of Illinois, and the scene of some of the latest romance of Indian warfare. To these beautiful regions Black Hawk returned with his band "to pass the summer," when he drew upon himself the warfare in which he was finally vanquished. No wonder he could not resist the longing, unwise though its indulgence might be, to return in summer to this home of beauty. (27)

Despite her extensive library research Fuller here reproduces the possessive Anglicized names ("Dixon's ferry") for aboriginal land places and fails to note the source of her knowledge that the Rock River here becomes the route to the Mississippi. She invokes events of some currency—the recent Black Hawk War—but is blinded by her attempt to aestheticize the landscape before her and thus reduces Black Hawk's return to a touristic lark like hers, "to pass the summer." Having read only in settler colonial histories and victors' accounts, she is blind to the multiple reasons the band returned: to tend crops that would sustain them over the winter (and now growing in land appropriated by white squatters), or to honor the dead whose graves remained in this land place. She reduces these motives to a folly unwisely indulged, a manifestation of irrationality, since the Sauks surely knew the white settlers were protected by military presence. That presence, and not the Sauk's return, caused the "latest romance of Indian warfare."

Fuller's assertions about Black Hawk can point to a deep history of the region and reveal the necropolitics directed at Native peoples and their epistemologies. Her journey in *Summer on the Lakes* creates a palimpsestic overlay to the earlier explorations of Marquette and Jolliet, and their reliance on Native peoples as guides and wise advisers. Considering her travel narrative as part of a palimpsestic layering that also includes Black Hawk and his Sauk peoples, adds historical complexity, even though her work continues to subsume Native knowledges to settler colonial discourse that claimed the inevitability of Native disappearance. With some attempt at wit Fuller recounts an episode in which she and her companions visit the home of "an Irish

gentleman" how dwelling in a "log-cabin" while building a larger permanent home. The episode limns the actions and logic of settler colonial appropriation. She writes,

> His park, his deer-chase, he found already prepared; he had only to make an avenue through it. . . .
>
> In front of the house was a lawn, adorned by the most graceful trees. A few of these had been taken out to give a full view of the river. (28)

Here Fuller's description inserts the actions of this "gentleman" into a tradition of eighteenth-century British estate design, with its "deer-park," its lawn, and its artificial arrangement of natural elements. This framing figuratively blocks her view, obscuring her attention to how this "gentleman" had acquired his land. Rather, she traces this settler's evolutionary efforts to transform a wilderness into a civilized demesne. To this exemplary home-to-be, she contrasts the more "slovenly" houses of other inrushing settlers, whose "mode of cultivation will, in the course of twenty, perhaps ten, years, obliterate the natural expression of the country." "This is inevitable, fatal," she continues blithely. "[W]e must not complain, but look forward to a good result" (29). While there is some possibility the passage is ironic, it arguable does great damage by its precise enumeration of the processes by which Native homelands will be "obliterated": first, by transforming a source of food for indigenous inhabitants into a private "deer park"; replacing Native tipis with a log cabin that is to become "a very ornamental accessory" to the "large and commodious dwelling" under construction (28).

The Irish gentleman, whom Fuller refers to as the "master of the house," however, proves not to have "mastered" the land place he has appropriated. Rather, his knowledge proves inadequate to the place he has taken for his own, bearing our

Frederick Jackson Turner's later dictum, "The wilderness masters the colonist" (4). "The master of the house" recommends to the travelers a "short cut" that takes them down an "almost perpendicular" hill, entangles their wheels in "young trees and stumps," and deposits them in a marshy expanse. There, as did Marquette's and Jolliet's two Miami guides, he abandoned the party, leaving them to thread their way across "an endless 'creek,' [that] seemed to divert itself with our attempts to cross it." "At last," Fuller reports,

> after wasting some two or three hours on the "short cut," we got out by following an Indian trail,--Black Hawk's! How fair the scene through which it led! How could they let themselves be conquered, with such a country to fight for! (31)

The "Indian trail" provides a better path through the land than the "short cut" recommended by the recent settler. The detail that the trail was one followed by Black Hawk marks the deep the history of the land through which she travels, even as her assertions about Black Hawk's apparent folly perpetuate the settler colonial impulse of the dominant historical narrative. The past tense Fuller uses here contains Black Hawk, who had died in 1838, within a past event, rather than examine his reasons for his actions. Her assertion that somehow he and his people did not possess the ability or desire to "fight for" their "country" compresses the deep history of the region and eliminates any consideration of the extensive efforts, diplomatic and bellicose, of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak and his people to retain their lands. It is not that Native Americans did not "fight" for their land; rather, they were forcibly removed, their women, children and elders murdered by automatic weapons fired at them from above, or contained within the early and burgeoning prison industrial complex (as I will further

demonstrate in chapter 2). Thus, in this passage, while Fuller does acknowledge the land paths are Native, it is only to remark the route as a historical curiosity. Her interest does not probe the processes by which Irish gentlemen and "slovenly" squatters came to possess the land, and thus *Summer on the Lakes* promotes a necropolitical agenda that emplaces Native histories within a historical narrative of inevitability.

Tracing the Land and Water

Fuller's route in *Summer on the Lakes* traces the then-treacherous return journey of Marquette and Jolliet, led by indigenous guides, a journey that enabled the U. S. colonization of the Northwest Territories. Like Marquette's journals, Fuller's account contains contradictions that illustrate how the reliance upon Native peoples and epistemologies of land and water enable her journey even as she facilitates colonial erasure of their knowledges. The creation of what an "Indian" represents as an object or commodity, rather than as a person belonging to a tribal group and possessing specific knowledges and reasons for living in and on land places occurs throughout her narrative. Early in the journey, Fuller's party arrives at St. Claire, where

> we saw Indians for the first time. They were camped out on the bank. It was twilight, and their blanketed forms, in listless groups or stealing along the bank, with a lounge and a stride so different in its wildness from the rudeness of the white settler, gave me the first feeling that I really approached the West. (12)

Her comments incident to this first contact establish a clear difference in carriage and form of Native peoples and white settlers. Her words expose the ideologies that shaped her perceptions: "Indians" as wily, shadowy, forest warriors "stealing along the bank"; yet simultaneously "listless," lacking energy—both qualities attributed to them that

forecast their inevitable defeat. While she does note the "rudeness" of the settlers, it is the Indians, not the settlers, that signify "the West" to this Bostonian tourist. The West to Fuller is a place where is settlement is ongoing, but in which indigenous peoples inescapably still reside, but apparently passively await their cultural erasure.

While Fuller does note the onrush of settlers into the area, she emphasizes that they are blind to the prior events that have opened their path:

> Seeing the traces of the Indians, who chose the most beautiful sites for their dwellings, and whose habits do not break in on that aspect of nature under which they were born, we feel as if they were the rightful lords of a beauty they forbore to deform. But most of these settlers do not see it at all; it breathes, it speaks in vain to those who are rushing into its sphere. (29)

Here the past-tense verbs suggest that even the Indians Fuller herself has observed are erased and subsumed within the rapid settlement in the U. S. Midwest. That the Indians "chose the most beautiful sites for their dwellings" suggests that Native people no longer possess the ability to choose where they will live, but are being erased by white settlement. Fuller's emphasis on the beauty of the region overlooks other Native ties to the place: connections to ancestors, traditional knowledges, and aboriginal ways of being within specific land places, not the "traces" left by earlier indigenous inhabitants

Fuller's mention of "traces" invokes a linguistic palimpsest. From the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, "trace" signified only "the way or path which anything takes." Thus "to take one's trace*"* meant "to make one's way, take one's course" (*OED* 1a). The word's specific connection to exploration and the colonization of "wild" spaces developed during Fuller's lifetime. According to the OED, the specific definition of "trace" as "A beaten path through a wild or unenclosed region, made by the passage of

men or beasts; a track, a trail" was based in American usage in early nineteenth century travel narratives covering the Old Northwest, such as Zebulon Pike's 1807 Mississippi expedition (*OED* 5b). Contrary to this definition and its dichotomy between the "wild" and the "beaten," the "traces" Fuller notes often depend on the established and active indigenous lands and knowledges they attempt to obscure. Indeed, the "traces" of the Native peoples are not only present in Fuller's description seeing Native peoples, but throughout her reflections as well, given her repetition of the word. Later, for example, she writes, "How happy the Indians must have been here! It is not long since they were driven away, and the ground, above and below, is full of their traces" (33). Here she enumerates the physical artifacts that comprise these traces: "arrowheads and Indian pottery," "the marks of their tomahawks, [and] the troughs in which they prepared their corn, their caches" (33). The area of which she writes is the Rock River region, where Black Hawk's band had dwelled; yet although Fuller acknowledges here they were "driven away," she persistently reifies the violence of that act, locating it in abandoned weapons and abandoned property.

Nearing the end of her journey in the Milwaukee and Mackinaw regions, Fuller observes "the site of an ancient Indian village, with its regularly arranged mounds" (33). Within this dissertation, this episode forms a palimpsest that includes Thomas Jefferson's excavation of a burial mounds on the Ravenna near Monticello, the results of which he reported in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and Black Hawk's insistence upon being "buried in a mound near his lodge" (Froncek 99). The idea that the village near the mounds is "ancient" is temporally inaccurate, facilitating the idea of vanishing/vanished Native peoples, since ancient suggests a prehistoric structure, not

one that has existed within recent memory. The word connects to a way of thinking that places Native peoples in the distant past and obscures their identities as a people of the present with a vibrant and verifiable history.

Continuing her meditation on this site, Fuller seems briefly to recognize Native connections to land places:

> As usual, they had chosen [their village site] with the finest taste. It was one of those soft shadowy afternoons when we went there, when nature seems ready to weep, not from grief, but from an overfull heart. . . . They may blacken Indian life as they will, talk of its dirt, its brutality, I will ever believe that the men who chose that dwelling-place were able to feel emotions of noble happiness as they returned to it, and so were the women that received them. (33)

Separating herself from "they," who express a dominant ideology, Fuller presents a counterpoint to the attributions of "dirt" and "brutality" that typify this mode of discourse. However, by presuming that the "dwelling-place" was chosen from an impulse of "noble happiness," rather than manifesting epistemological connections to the land, water, ancestors, and non-linear conceptions of time invokes the logic of noble savagery that undergirded Jacksonian removal.

Near Milwaukee, where the Marquette party relied on the aid of Illinois peoples, Fuller also is forced to depend on Native peoples for shelter and aid. During a day trip, she is set upon reaching Native encampment at Silver Lake (located between present-day Milwaukee and Chicago) despite a threatening storm. Reaching the encampment just as the storm breaks, Fuller's party

> had to take refuge in their lodges. These were very small, being for temporary use, and we crowded the occupants much, among whom were several sick, on the damp ground, or with only a ragged mat between them and it. But they showed all the gentle courtesy which marks them towards the stranger, who stands in any need; though it was obvious that the visit,

> which inconvenienced them, could only have been caused by the most impertinent curiosity, they made us as comfortable as their extreme poverty permitted. (74)

Although Fuller describes the living conditions as "temporary," she neglects to probe into or identify the ongoing policies of removal that had sought to transform an agrarian band into mendicants. While admitting that her "impertinent curiosity" has placed her under Native care, Fuller assumes an authoritative position regarding the "gentle courtesy" and its connection to Native practice. Rather than considering indigenous practices of gifting, exchange, and guidance, as displayed in their contact with French, British, and U. S. settlers and explorers throughout time, or any other potential reason for Native hospitality, Fuller focuses on "their extreme poverty" and their inability to sustain health, as signaled by the "several sick" occupants (74). While the notice may mark her sympathy, it also seems inevitable that she note it, given the crowded conditions into which she intruded.

Her interactions with Native peoples here at Silver Lake and throughout the text are consistent with Jacksonian ideologies that facilitated policies premised on the inevitable extinction of Native peoples. Fuller's account of Mackinaw, where her travels come full circle, collapses Native, French, and U. S. epistemologies into the indigenous peoples she encounters. She describes Mackinaw as an idealized "French" village:

> crowned most picturesquely, by the white fort, with its gay flag. From this, on one side, stretches the town. How pleasing a sight, after the raw, crude, staring assemblage of houses, everywhere else to be met in this country, an old French town, mellow in its coloring, and with the harmonious effect of a slow growth, which assimilates, naturally, with objects round it. The people in its streets, Indian, French, half-breeds, and others, walked with a leisure step, as of those who live a life of taste and

> inclination, rather than of the hard press of business, as in American towns elsewhere. (107)

As she does throughout the book, Fuller here presents an aesthetically based critique, seemingly unaware of the violence barely obscured in words such as *crowned*, *white fort*, and *flag*, all tangible monuments to past conquest that established a "French town" on indigenous lands. She praises its "slow" and "natural" growth," without noting the impetus of Native-French trade that has populated the polyglot town; the missionary activity and intermarriage that have produced "half-breeds," and ongoing genocidal practices, that have allowed many of the area's inhabitants to live lives "of taste and inclination"—all details that are part of a deeper history than this picturesque account would suggest.

At Mackinaw, Fuller has a chance to make a protracted observation of groups "from the Chippewa and Ottowa tribes . . . here to receive their annual payments from the American government." She presents these tribal peoples as leisure travelers, noting, "As their habits make travelling easy and inexpensive to them, neither being obliged to wait for steamboats, or write to see whether hotels are full, they come hither by thousands . . . to make a long holiday out of the occasion" (105). Such phrasing marks the depth to which Fuller remained unaware of and immersed in the naturalization of Jacksonian policy. Unwilling, or unable, to name the reason these tribal groups had come to collect their annuity payments, she tropes them as tourists like herself, absent the annoyance of steamboats and hotels. Her observations, to this point desultory and piecemeal, at Mackinaw take on an ethnographic overtone, for she sees several thousand encamped Natives whom she is able to observe both from afar and in

interpersonal encounters She watches from the window of her hotel as various "picturesque groups" arrive and set up camp. She "walk[s] or sit[s] among them," "communicat[ing] by signs" with the women, whom she finds to be "almost invariably coarse and ugly," and claims on this basis to have been able to make "a good guess at the meaning of their discourse" (108).

Two long and interrelated descriptions of such interchange illustrate her methods of observation and the fallacies of her interpretative "guesses."

> My little sun-shade was . . . fascinating to them; apparently they had never before seen one. For an umbrella they entertain profound regard, probably looking upon it as the most luxurious superfluity a person can possess, and therefore a badge of great wealth. I used to see an old squaw, whose sullied skin and coarse, tanned locks, told that she had braved sun and storm, without a doubt or care, for sixty years at the least, sitting gravely at the door of her lodge, with an old green umbrella over her head, happy for hours together in the dignified shade. For her happiness pomp came not, as it so often does, too late; she received it with grateful enjoyment. (111-12)

Fuller first claims that the native women's fascination with her "sun shade" is due to their "[having] never before seen one" and then, in a next sentence, describes a woman sitting with "an old green umbrella over her head." The contradiction illustrates how she overlooks contact throughout time and Native interactions with supposedly foreign objects. Material objects like parasols had been trade goods throughout the colonial and early U. S. periods, and while it is possible some Native women had not seen or did not possess "sun shades," it does not necessarily mean they were foreign to them, nor that they represented "great wealth," as Fuller suggests.

Moreover, the umbrella has historically served as a shibboleth, distinguishing civilization from savagery. Fuller's familiarity with George Catlin surely had made her

familiar with his painting *Wi-jún-jon, Pigeon's Egg Head (The Light) Going to and Returning from Washington*, painted in the late 1830s. [See Figure 1.6.] Like Catlin, who used the umbrella invidiously to deplore a supposed savage attraction to white man's baubles and beads, Fuller finds an irresistible apparent contradiction between the "sullied skin and coarse, tanned locks" of a woman who uses her green umbrella not to protect her delicate skin but to signify her "dignified . . . pomp." [32]

Figure1.6: *Wi-jún-jon, Pigeon's Egg Head (The Light) Going To and Returning From Washington*. By George Catlin, 1837-1839. Oil on canvas. Courtesy Smithsonian American Art Museum. 1985.66.474.

[32] See Roach's chapter titled "Feathered Peoples" for further investigations into the sartorial signifiers of colonial conquest.

Further contradictions develop around the umbrella as a social object: "One day," Fuller writes,

> a woman came and sat beside me, with her baby in its cradle set up at her feet. She asked me by a gesture, to let her take my sun-shade, and then to show her how to open it. Then she put it into her baby's hand, and held it over its head, looking at me the while with a sweet, mischievous laugh, as much as to say, "you carry a thing that is only fit for a baby;" her pantomime was very pretty. She, like the other women, had a glance, and shy, sweet expression in the eye; the men have a steady gaze. (112)

In this interaction, she assumes the woman's gestures regard the parasol, attributing ideas and perceptions to her that have little basis in reality. This is an uncharacteristically friendly description, likely because the woman was young, friendly, and "pretty." It demonstrates an unusual awareness on Fuller's part that Native peoples could "look back," and likely had opinions about those who were watching them. Yet, the incident falls far short of recognizing Native women as actors within tribal structures, as negotiators, advisers, producers, guides, and negotiators.

Fuller concludes *Summer on the Lakes* with this ambitious claim:

> Although I have little to tell, I feel that I have learnt a great deal of the Indians, from observing them even in this broken and degraded condition. There is a language of eye and motion which cannot be put into words, and which teaches what words never can. I feel acquainted with the soul of this race; I read its nobler thought in their defaced figures. There was a greatness, unique and precious, which he who does not feel will never duly appreciate the majesty of nature in this American continent. (153)

The shift between the supposed sweetness of a young Native woman and the "broken and degraded condition" Fuller here maps onto all Native people undermines her claim to be "acquainted with the soul of [the] race." Her characterizations of individual "Indians" is aesthetically rich while actually present plural Native presences are

doomed to vanish. As Lucy Maddox notes in her reading of this passage, "the only person who can save this Indian is the one who is able to perceive the traces of the sublime subtext through the degraded and distracting text of whatever the living Indian person might actually say or be" (146).

Fuller's words "defaced figures" invoke a final palimpsestic reading, juxtaposing her two-dimensional textual representations of "Indians" onto those of Marquette's guides and the Black Hawk sports emblem. Such diminishments contain bodies, reduce them to Roman figurines, disembodied heads and defleshed skulls. Such diminished figures possess neither unique tribal identifications not individual distinctions. Fuller's aesthetic apprehensions of Native peoples "deface[s]" them, dissociates them from their knowledge, and removes them from their land places to tourist camps. It does not and cannot acknowledge the complexities of different tribes, knowledges, or the forced colonial conquests, removals, and genocidal attacks that have made her travels possible.

Chapter Two:

Life of Black Hawk and a Representative Skull:

Native Containment in the Old Northwest

In the years separating Marquette's expedition from Margaret Fuller's touristic wanderings, the land places bordered by the Mississippi and Rock Rivers in the present-day states of Wisconsin and Illinois had become a site of settler colonial contestation. In 1804, William Henry Harrison, then governor of Indiana Territory, had brokered an agreement whereby the land's indigenous inhabitants agreed to cede their lands in exchange for annuity payments; the agreement also provided that Native inhabitants would be allowed to continue living on these lands until white settlement reached them. That arrival was delayed by the military engagements of the War of 1812, in which many indigenes, including Black Hawk, a Sauk war chief, fought with the British. In 1815, following the war's conclusion, Sauk and Fox nations signed a treaty reaffirming the 1804 agreement, and their lands were opened to white settlement. Thereafter the influx of settlers into increased so rapidly in the area now known as southwestern Wisconsin and northeastern Illinois that by 1827, federal officials had determined to remove all Native peoples from the area, resettling them beyond the Mississippi River.

Harrison's negotiations for this land place had been marked by extortionate and dishonest practices. Although the 1804 agreement had been signed by a few Native men who had been pressured to capitulate, Harrison subsequently insisted their signatures represented the will of their respective tribal groups. Unsurprisingly, then, Natives who wished to remain upon land places wherein they and their ancestors had hunted, farmed, and buried their dead, resisted white incursions, which occurred seasonally. Typically,

during winter months when tribes followed the hunt, white squatters moved onto their farms, occupied their homes and outbuildings, built fences, and claimed the land and its improvements as their own. Returning in the spring to plant their crops, tribal peoples discovered themselves to be dispossessed, homeless in their homelands.

In 1832, when Black Hawk's people returned to their village of Saukenuk to begin their spring planting, they found themselves displaced.[33] Hostilities ensued. The conflict, now known as the Black Hawk War, is routinely and necropolitically called "the last" Indian war for the Old Northwest, climaxed in the slaughter of noncombatant women, children, and elders as they attempted to escape across the Mississippi.[34] In August 1832, Black Hawk surrendered; he, his two sons, and other surviving warriors were incarcerated near St. Louis at Jefferson Barracks during the winter of 1832-33. In the spring of 1833, the captives were summoned to Washington, DC, where they were to hear the terms of their captivity from the mouth of Andrew Jackson himself. This journey has been precisely described by William Boelhower as a "disciplinary procedure," a "punishment and reeducation" (357). During their transit, the captives caused a sensation, drawing crowds of admirers and gawkers wherever they appeared.

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[33] I use the word "village" because that is how Saukenuk is referred to in the *Life*. It is a misleading nomenclature, however, since as early as 1790, Saukenuk was the most imposing town in the Northwest, Indian or white, and was home to more than 3000 Sauk between April and October.

[34] According to Brown and Kanouse, terminal nomenclature "implies closure." Quoting from Jean M. O'Brien's *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, they continue, "This designation is another instance of . . . a 'rhetorical strategy that asserts as a fact the claim that Indians can never be modern'" (2). Dennis Sweatman considers the conundrum that Illinois is now "one of sixteen states without federally recognized Indian reservations, tribal land holdings, or tribal population centers." He asks, "What accounts for this lack of a modern Native American presence in the Prairie State?" (252).

(Below I will discuss in more detail the panoptical implications of this stage of the leader's life.) He eventually was released and returned to Rock Island Indian Agency.

Upon his return, in August 1833, Black Hawk dictated the words now known as *Life of Mak-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak, or Black Hawk* to Antoine LeClair, the U. S. interpreter at Fort Armstrong, who, in collaboration with John Barton Patterson, a newspaper editor, produced the narrative.[35] The translated and transcribed text, like many of this era's writings by or about subaltern subjects, appeared with a number of introductory statements intended to establish its authenticity: testimony by LeClair; Black Hawk's dedication of his work to his foe, General H. Atkinson printed both in Sauk ("a phonetic transcription . . . into the Roman alphabet") and translated into English; and an authenticating statement from Patterson himself (Wallace 487). Patterson, however, "provided no account of the nature and extent of his editing, and it is not clear whether he ever spoke to Black Hawk in person" (Sweet 477).

Actively promoted by Patterson, the resulting book was reprinted five times in the first year of its publication (Scheckel 100). In 1834, claiming he had "[a]s yet . . . made nothing out of Black Hawk," he released a new edition with a frontispiece engraving showing the leader dressed in "the military frockcoat Andrew Jackson had personally given him, Black Hawk in his federal prison clothes" (Schmitz 7). (See

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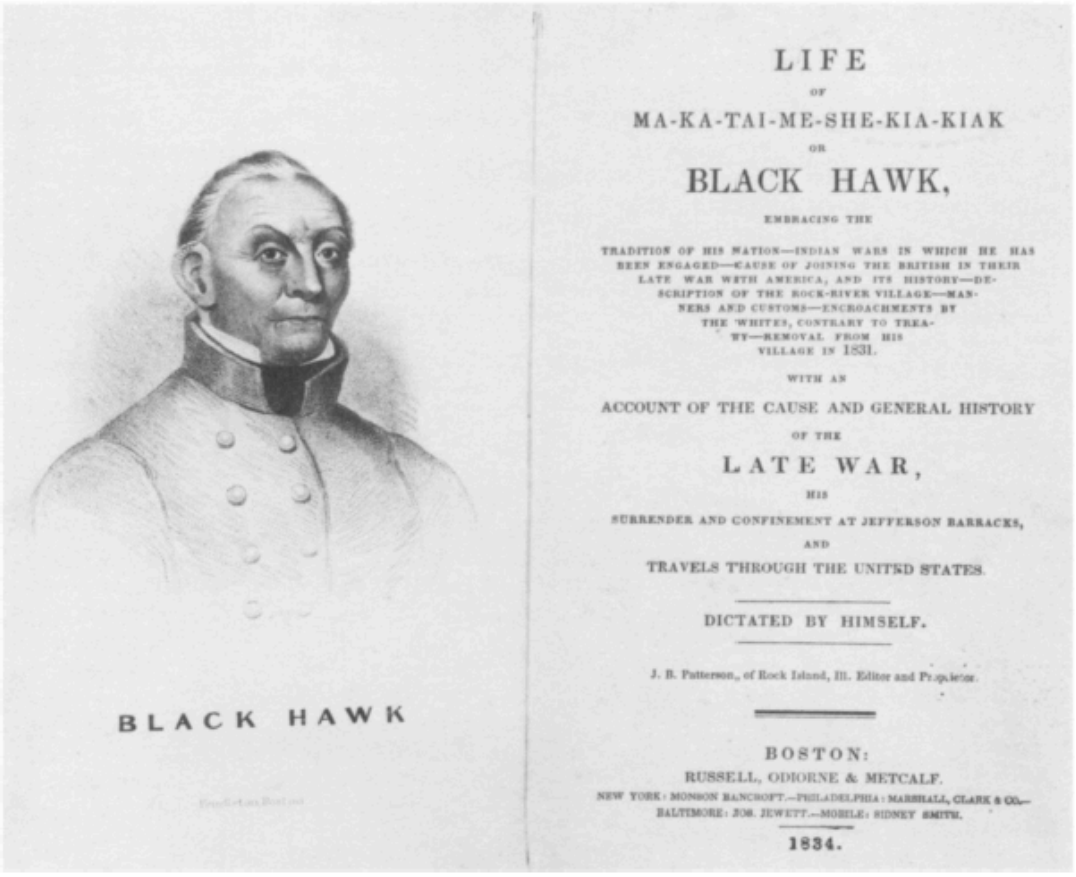
[35] LeClair was Métis, part Potawatami and part French. The spelling of his name is a matter of some dispute. For purposes of ease and length, I refer to the mediated Sauk narrative as *Life of Black Hawk* rather by its full title: *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak or Black Hawk, embracing the Tradition of his Nation--Indian Warns in which he has been Engaged--Cause of Joining the British in their Late war with America, and its History--description of the Rock-River Village--Manners and Customs--Encroachments by the Whites, Contrary to treaty--Removal from his Village in 1831. With an Account of the Cause and General History of the Late War, His Surrender and Confinement at Jefferson Barracks, and Travels throughout the United States. Dictated by Himself.*

Figure 2.1.) At the same time, Patterson announced he was writing an Indian tragedy based on the narrative, and promised, "I have a full dress with me, and will personify an Indian character in the piece myself" (qtd. Schmitz 7). As late as 1882, still preoccupied with making the story new, he prepared a new edition, "heighten[ing] the prose of the first edition into romantic ornateness and add[ing] a number of fanciful stories that the historical record shows to be untrue" (Wallace 482).



Frontispiece and title page of Black Hawk's autobiography, published in Boston in 1834.

Figure 2.1: Title pages of *Life of Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak,* 1834 edition. (Nichols 245).

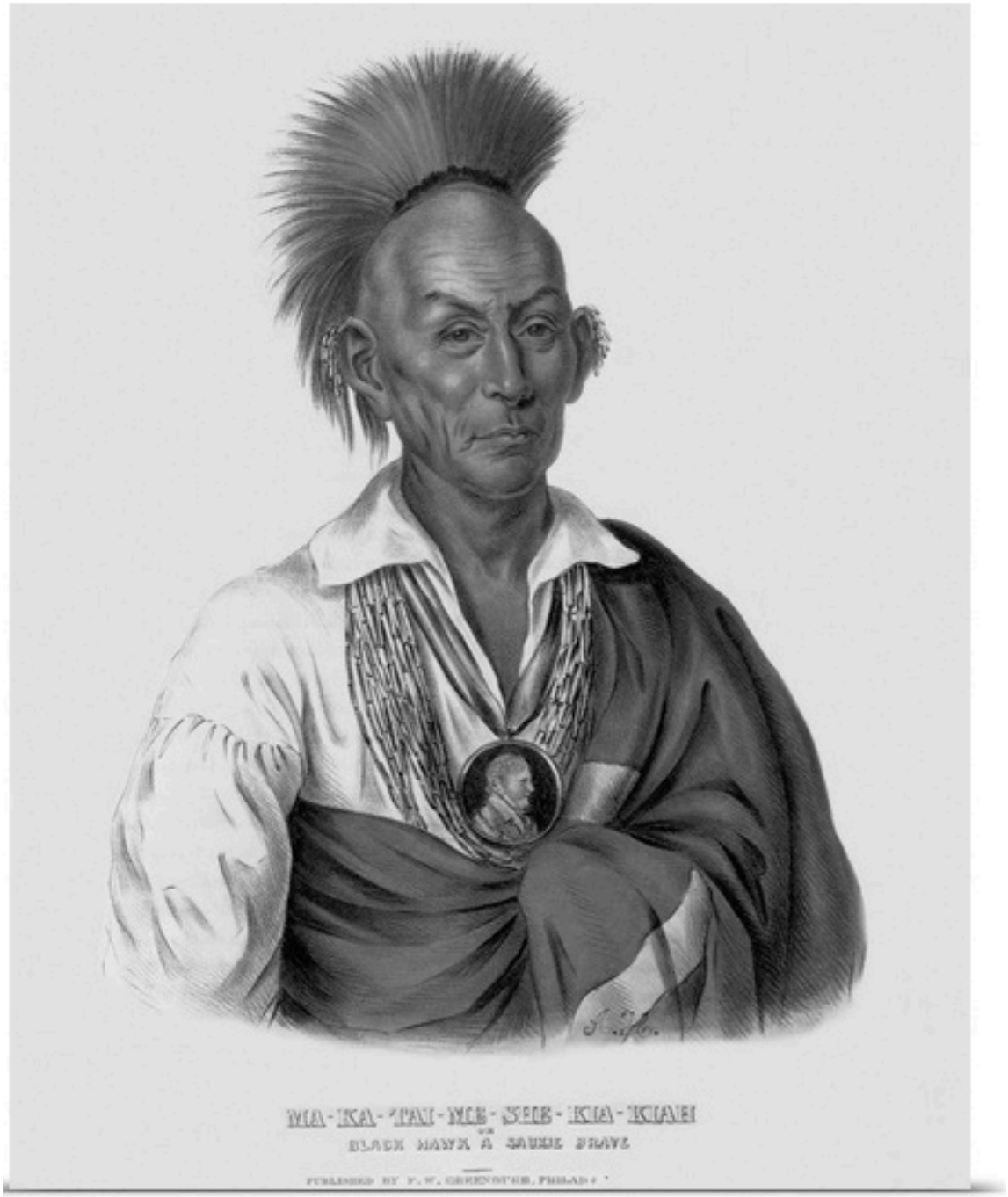


Figure 2.2: Lithograph after Charles Bird King's Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak. Used in the 1932 Iowa State University Press edition.

The book then waned in popularity until Donald Jackson, an editor for University of Illinois Press, prepared a new edition of the *Life* based on the 1833

edition, changing its title from *Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, or Black Hawk* to *Black Hawk, An Autobiography*. To the authenticating apparatuses Jackson added a long introduction, extensive footnotes, an epilogue, and appendixes containing the text of the Treaty of 1804, the initial land cession, and the Treaty of 1832, which ended the Black Hawk War and finalized the removal of the Sauk peoples to lands west of the Mississippi. Of this 206-page edition, 134 pages contain Black Hawk's translated words. Jackson's edition, although dated and overtly framed from a point of view identified with white settler colonialism, is still widely used and is the edition to which I will refer here.[36]

The subject of autobiography

As part of his narration, Black Hawk tells of his attempt to re-open negotiations for his tribal land place with Major General Edmund Gaines. For his part, Gaines was obdurate, seeing the meeting as his chance to force Black Hawk's people to remove themselves immediately. The resulting exchange illustrates the tensions about the land and highlights the epistemological difference between Gaines's attempt to see Black Hawk as an individual who acted as a representative of his people and Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's refusal to be made into a solely individual subject or to be blamed for the ongoing misunderstandings that would shortly lead to the war that bears the Anglicized

[36] Interim editions include a 1916 publication, with a historical introduction by Milo Milton Quaife and a 1932 edition (based on the 1834 text) published by the State Historical Society of Iowa. This edition includes a lithograph after Charles Bird King's oil portrait of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak. (See Figure 2.2.) More recently, editions have been published by Iowa State University Press (1999, ed. Roger L. Nichols) and by Penguin (2008, ed. J. Gerald Kennedy). Jackson's edition remains the standard scholarly source.

version of his name. This distinction rests on Gaine's inability to recognize Sauk communal bonds on tribal land as both precluding private title and as superseding any transfer via dubious treaty agreements.[37]

> I replied: "That *we* had never sold our country. *We* never received any annuities from our American Father! And *we* are determined to hold on to our village!"
>
> The war chief [Gaines], apparently angry, rose and said:--"Who is *Black Hawk?* Who is *Black Hawk*?"
>
> I responded:
>
> "I am a *Sac*! My forefather was a SAC! And all the nations call me a SAC!" (111)

The "*we*" the Sauk man emphasizes connects to his tribal "Sac" identity: he is not solely "Black Hawk," the individual whom the text *Life of Black Hawk* and the white "chief" attempt to separate from his Sauk identity. He refuses such disconnection. The passage is especially telling of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's refusal to be individuated. Traces connecting his Sauk connections to his insistence upon remaining on tribal land places near the waterways and natural boundaries are woven throughout the as-told-to-autobiography. Even as Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak insistently refuses individuation, the form of the narrative as well as visual representations made of this man throughout his lifetime and beyond continually reiterate and commodify the individuation.

Autobiography often works to create a legible citizen subject, valuing individual recognition over the connection to a whole or group epistemology. As evidenced in his

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[37] I use Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, Black Soaring Hawk, and Black Hawk interchangeably throughout this dissertation. The Sauk man is most commonly referred to as "Black Hawk"; however, for the purposes of my argument, I wish to show referring to an individual by an Anglicized name works as part of settler colonizing processes that overlooks multiple forms of identification throughout time. In the case of Black Hawk, as well as other episodes concerning Native prisoners of war taken as trophies, the name has become representative of something distinct from the Sauk peoples and man connected with this particular name.

refusal to be named solely as "Black Hawk," Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak resists complete individuation. Yet the exact reasons for Black Hawk's actions necessarily remain unclear. Indeed, Mark Wallace calls the text "a translation for which no original exists" (484). Given that the passage quoted above occurs roughly two-thirds of the way through the as-told-to narrative, one might argue that there is an extent to which Black Hawk did want to tell his story. Interpreter Antoine LeClair's Foreword asserts that "Black Hawk . . . did call upon me, on his return . . . and express a great desire to have a History of his Life written and published" (35). Patterson, identifying himself as "The Editor," echoes the claim: "Several accounts of the late war having been published, in which he thinks justice is not done to himself or nation, he determined to make known to the world, the injuries his people have received from the whites" (38).

Scholarly treatment of *Life of Black Hawk* explores the multiple tensions of the mediated narrative and seeks to classify the text as a particular kind of autobiography. One of the first scholars to write about this text was Arnold Krupat. In his important 1985 book, *For Those Who Come After* he establishes the categories of "Indian autobiography" and "autobiography-by-Indians." Krupat defines "Indian autobiography" as manifesting "*original bicultural composite composition*" (*For Those* 31). "Bicultural composite composition" establishes that

> Indian autobiographies are collaborative efforts, jointly produced by some white who translates, transcribes, complies, edits, interprets, polishes, and ultimately determines the form of the text in writing, and by an Indian who is its subject and whose life becomes the content of the "autobiography" whose title may bear his name. (*For Those* 30)

Krupat notes that many twentieth-century "as-told-to" autobiographies might more precisely be classified as "autobiographies-by-Indians" since that "their subjects' competence in written English allows them to take responsibility for the form of the work to a degree impossible for most Native American subjects of Indian autobiography" (*For Those* 31). He thereby establishes a significant difference in the means of composition: the ability of the autobiographical subject to have a degree of control and understanding of the language (English) that the "autobiography" is being written in. Thus, an "autobiography-by-Indian" suggests a lesser mediation and more control on the part of the Native author and subject. Krupat categorizes Black Hawk's narrative as an "Indian autobiography" based on its mediation, its focus on the "subject and whole life" of "an Indian," and its title (*For Those* 34). While he recognizes the "as-told-to" aspect of such narratives, Krupat nevertheless posits a Euro-American idea of autobiography that contains and individuates Native peoples but does not fully encompass the complexity of Native ways of knowing and self-life narratives, as evidenced in Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's reaction to being identified as "Black Hawk."

Significantly, twenty-five years later Krupat expanded on his foundational work and refined his claims regarding Black Hawk's Indian autobiography. His revisions recognize the more complex articulation of tribal and individual connection present in the narration of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's life. Krupat begins "Patterson's *Life*; Black Hawk's Story; Native American Elegy" by analyzing the passage I have quoted above, expanding upon the complexities involved in "Indian autobiographies" by recognizing the tribal connection. He draws upon Native scholar Jace Weaver's *That the People Might Live* to emphasize "a mentality that declares, 'I am We'" (39). Weaver

claims that "the single thing that most defines Indian literatures" is "communitism," a neologism combining the words "community" and "activism" or "activist" (43). Building on Weaver's ideas, Krupat seeks to identify the communitist elements in *Life of Black Hawk*, claiming that Black Hawk "sought to tell . . . the story of what it means to be a Sauk, i. e., a national rather than a personal story" ("Patterson's" 527). This later claim more clearly aligns with my interpretation of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's reaction to Gaines's attempt to contain him as "Black Hawk." However, although Krupat acknowledges the more complex relationship between the Native individual and the tribal identification, he still classifies this text as an "Indian autobiography," a nomenclature that facilitates an ongoing settler colonial individuation and representation of "Black Hawk."

Like Krupat, other scholars continue to contain the as-told-to, mediated narrative within a Euro-American classification of autobiography even as they examine its complexities and seek to identify its levels of mediation.[38] These studies emphasize the tensions within the compositional situation of the narrative, suggesting means by which Native subjects may disrupt the individuating impetus of autobiography. For example, Michelle H. Raheja focuses on "intentional rhetorical silences" in the narrative—Black Hawk's refusal to speak of ceremonial practices or military strategies, for example—details that might damage the larger community or that would be merely responses to

[38] A notable exception to this line of scholarship is Melissa Adams-Campbell's "*Life of Black Hawk*: a Sauk and Mesquakie Archive." Adams-Campbell "Jettison[s] the standard critical interpretation of Black Hawk's *Life* as American Indian autobiography" and "posits the text as a Sauk and Mesquakie evidentiary archive, a storehouse of Sauk and Mesquakie knowledge assembled by Black Hawk but representative of a collective Sauk and Mesquakie experience of dispossession and removal" (146).

impertinent curiosity. This silence, says Raheja, "simultaneously [promotes] and [protects] tribal knowledge" (88). Mark Rifkin argues that territorial knowledges and places of Native peoples become abstracted by settler colonial practices (such as the settlement of the Old Northwest) and emphasizes how narratives like *Life of Black Hawk* "attempt to mark the gap between U. S. and [N]ative notions of placemaking and political identity" (678).

The general scholarly consensus seems, then, to interpret this text as some variant of autobiography, overlooking the fact that the text more closely resembles a mediated captivity narrative than an autobiography. While *Life of Black Hawk* details a segment of the Sauk known as Black Hawk's life and experiences, the fact that the narrative was written while he was a prisoner of the U. S. complicates that classification and facilitates an individualizing representation of "Indian" even as his Sauk identity is emphasized. While I do not disagree there are elements of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's narrative that seem to express an individual or personal option, I read the mediated account of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's narrative with an emphasis on the captivity and the subsequent containment, reduction, and disarticulation of the leader's body and bones as facilitating settler colonial representation and containment of the Sauk ways of knowing embedded in and subsumed by autobiographical form of *Life of Black Hawk*.

The formal characteristics of an autobiography function to create a past-tense, legible, and individuated citizen subject. As William Boelhower asserts, Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak would likely not have dictated his so-called autobiography were it not for settler colonial incursions into the Native land places of the Old Northwest and his incarceration within the prison industrial complex at Jefferson Barracks (335). His

supposed desire to tell his life's story is a settler colonial assumption—as illustrated in Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak's refusal to be recognized as "Black Hawk" by the war chiefs at St. Louis as well as by the strategic silences and multiple voices in *Life of Black Hawk*. I read this moment of resistance within the mediated narrative as significant because of the ongoing presence of multiple "Black Hawks" throughout the colonization of the Old Northwest, within the ongoing tribal life of the Sauk peoples, and as a part of contemporary images of Native people in the current day United States.[39] Solely reading the text as any kind of "autobiography" facilitates representation and containment of tribal ways of knowing to a past tense. Boelhower succinctly states the case, asserting "to Americans in 1833 the name Black Hawk was a story already told, a completed destiny: courageous frontiersmen whip savage Indians" (357). Autobiography's outcome is a legible citizen subject—a category into which Native peoples do not and did not fall into until granted U. S. citizenship in 1924. Indeed, one could argue, Native peoples still do not possess direct recognition as living persons within necropolitical state initiatives that have contained indigenous peoples, their knowledges, and land places through representation and erasure.

While it is important to recognize a Sauk resistance visible despite the layers of mediation, here I wish to emphasize the imprisonment of the Sauk man called and continually represented as "Black Hawk." My reading attends to the ongoing captive situation of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, aligning his captivity with the colonizing

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[39] In this assertion, I align Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak with at least two other ethnic figures whose names and representations have become multiple over time: Joaquin Murieta and Geronimo. In a similar spirit, Brown and Kanouse conclude, "Like Geronimo, Black Hawk is alive in Lawrence, Gila River, Shiprock, Browning, and Akwesasne. There are many Black Hawks and many Black Hawk Wars" (17).

imperative of autobiography, and demonstrating how this individualizing genre matches the settler colonial imperatives of the Northwest Ordinance and early U. S. state-making initiatives. The subsequent mid-nineteenth-century narrative of Manifest Destiny continued to promote and facilitate U. S. imperial containment and erasure of Native peoples and their epistemologies, displacing their tribal communities and dividing the "vacated land" into plots of equivalent size and value (Tonkovich, *Allotment Plot* 103-04). The containment of Black Hawk's narrative, body, and bones illustrates these processes as well. Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak is taken by colonial and U. S. imperial ideologies as a representative "Indian" through the individuating impetus of the autobiography/mediated captivity narrative, through his display on tour as a trophy, through the multiple visual representations of "Black Hawk" made while he was held captive, through the taking and display of his bones after his death, and through the re-appropriation of his Anglicized name and flattened and disembodied head as a trademark and sports mascot for a professional hockey team in present-day Chicago.

Land, Water, and Gravesites

The processes by which American state-agents transformed the land places occupied by the Sauks and other indigenes—first into territories and then into states comprising part of the sovereign United States—were manifestations of settler colonialism.[40] As Reginald Horsman establishes, the 1783 Treaty of Paris made the unprecedented assumption that

[40] Incisive analyses of the legal and military initiatives that transformed these lands into territories, or incipient internal colonies, and then into states, see Onuf; Becker;

> as the Indians had been allied with the British in the war, and that as the British had now ceded the land westward to the Mississippi River, the Indians could in justice be expelled from American territory. This ignored colonial precedent. Although the Indians were often ignored in the transfer of territory between European powers, it had been customary to acknowledge an Indian right of soil that was usually extinguished in treaties by the European power that possessed the territorial sovereignty. ("The Northwest Ordinance" 24)

Following the War of 1812, such ceded lands became key to the establishment of a solvent national treasury. And by a rhetorical sleight-of-hand, these lands, which were in fact internal colonies, became denominated as territories and understood to be proto-states (Berkhofer, "Americans versus Indians" 90). As streams of would-be settlers moved westward, thereby realizing the tax potential of new government-controlled territory, tribal lands were surveyed, sectioned, and sold, in a process already envisioned by Thomas Jefferson to extend beyond the Northwest Territory: "When we shall be full on this side [of the Mississippi], we may lay off a range of States on the Western Back from the head to the mouth, and so, range after range, advancing as we multiply" (qtd. in Boelhower 345). For the moment, the Northwest Territory, once defined by its bordering waterways of rivers and lakes, was sectioned into eleven square incipient states. (See Figure 2.3.) Each state was further subdivided into sections and ultimately into individual properties, each to belong to an identifiable individual owner, resulting in what Philip Fisher has termed "a Cartesian social space, one that is identical from point to point and potentially unlimited in extent" (64).

Horsman, "The Northwest Ordinance"; Berkhofer, "Americans versus Indians"; and Berkhofer, "Jefferson."

Figure 2.3: Thomas Jefferson's proposal to establish eleven new states in the Northwest Territory (Becker 5).

Comparing the language by which properties could be located and legally described with Black Hawk's description of Sauk land places, even when his description is cloaked in the mediation of translation and transcription, reveals the tensions between settler colonial and indigenous epistemologies.[41] Black Hawk's narrative uses landmarks as fluid identification points, their significance established

[41] William Boelhower's work undertakes a similar comparative epistemological analysis based on Native and white geographic understandings, although he does not consider their necropolitical outcomes as I do here.

through his lifetime of living and moving through land and over water. With the passing of time the instability of land places becomes evident: rocks erode, trees fall or are burned by wildfire, river banks and stream beds alter course. By contrast, settler colonization of Native places is rationalized and predictive: according to U.S. state-agents, projected agglomerations of settlers will transform already-segmented territories into states. Black Hawk's narrative emphasizes that such divisions are distinctly *not* Native. He clearly articulates that the Sauk, like many other tribal peoples who have lived in this place in the past and present view their connection to land and place as relational throughout time and in connection to their ongoing presence. His description of the place of the Sauk "village" presents both an example of the land place and illustrates how it is, in many ways, more connected to water-based boundaries rather than land-surveying techniques:

> Our village was situate on the north side of Rock river, at the foot of its rapids, and on the point of land between Rock river and the Mississippi. In its front, a prairie extended to the bank of the Mississippi; and in our rear, a continued bluff, gently ascending from the prairie. On the side of this bluff we had our corn-fields, extending about two miles up, running parallel with the Mississippi, where we joined those of the Foxes, whose village was on the bank of the Mississippi, opposite the lower end of Rock island, and three miles distant from ours. (88)

Black Hawk's description of "our village" begins with water rather than land, and signals his distinction from a colonial surveyor who fixes space in advance of privatization and settlement. Movements across rivers and waterways are a common theme throughout his narrative. Rivers or water-related spaces are natural but constantly changing boundary elements. Water can alter its course, flood, dry up, replenish. Water moves in cycles through time. The "point of land" between the Rock and Mississippi

rivers also suggests not a bounded but fluid space. Black Hawk's mediated description focuses on the land second, and names different aspects—"plains," "bluff," and "prairie"—to describe the landed village place.

Within this passage, white epistemology intrudes in the phrases "two miles up" and "three miles distant," measuring out land that may or may not have been counted in "miles" by Black Hawk or other Sauk peoples. The infringement of the language of measurement into Black Hawk's narrative emphasize the mediated quality of the text as well as the colonial epistemology that is encroaching onto the land of the Northwest Territory. Another indicator, which opens the description, is that the village was "situate on the north side" of the river. Cardinal directions would have been less distinct emphasized than topographical features, although this is not to say that Native peoples did not have cardinal directions. Black Hawk could have indicated this, as the tribes in this region had been and still were in contact with the French and British.

However, as other Native writers and critics indicate, being in tribal land places connects land, time, and Native place on the earth. For example, Laguna Pueblo writer and scholar Leslie Marmon Silko's "Landscape, History, and the Pueblo Imagination" stresses interrelationships between all that is within the land and sky. Thus "viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulders they stand on." By contrast, an English-language description of "landscape" proceeds from an epistemology that separates human "viewers" from the land they are seeing or standing upon (32-33). Living and thinking interrelatedly throughout land, water, sky, and persons throughout time clashes with the imposition of measurements and divisions onto the land resulting from U. S. colonial imperial practices.

Further description of the village place of Black Hawk and the Sauk continues to demonstrate these epistemological differences. The importance of the water and land to the survival and well-being of the Sauk is distinctly mixed with settler-colonial commentary:

> The land around our village, uncultivated, was covered with blue-grass, which made excellent pasture for our horses. Several fine springs broke out of the bluff, near by, from which we were supplied with good water. The rapids of Rock river furnished us with an abundance of excellent fish, and the land, being good, never failed to produce good crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and squashes. . . . Here our village had stood for more than a hundred years, during all which time we were the undisputed possessors of the valley of the Mississippi . . . being about seven hundred miles in length. (88-89)

Black Hawk's description focuses on the sustenance "produced by the land" for animals and humans alike. The added modifier, emphasizing that "blue-grass" was "uncultivated," has clear resonances with settler colonial expansion: many Native tribes were expected to learn agriculture to be considered "civilized." A comment that the land was "uncultivated" points to the intervention of a white translator, scribe, and/or editor in implicit conversation with a white readership, as does the emphasis that "the land" "produced good crops." Both suggest the potential of land that could be even more productive if brought under intensive and rationalized cultivation, watered by the sweat of white yeoman farmers. The final phrasing exposes even more fully the ideologies of settlement, measuring an extent in time and space during which the Sauk "possessed" the Mississippi River valley. For his part, Black Hawk likely did not say they were the "possessors" of the land. Rather, for him this land-place is connected to being Sauk and living as a Sauk in the world and throughout time, likely not measured in decades, but since time immemorial.

Where Black Hawk sees Sauk land places, surveyors, land companies, and developers see territory-able-to-be-settled, two distinct epistemologies in relationship to land. Black Hawk learns from a trader that under provisions of a new treaty, he and his people will be "obliged to leave the Illinois side of the Mississippi." The local trader advises him "to select a good place for [their] village, and remove to it in the spring" (98). While Black Hawk understood he was being told to "remove" from his village, the words "Illinois side of the Mississippi" do not represent the concept he narrated to LeClair. While he used the names for the rivers common to indigenes and settlers alike, the phrase "Illinois side" suggests the status of this region as a state, and not a Native concept of place. Nor does it name the land place where Black Hawk's village was/is located. Additionally, there is a tension between being "obliged" to "remove" from a land place that is distinctly Sauk and the idea that the land place can be sold and occupied by someone lacking a natal connection to the place. The language of "obligation" supports white ideas of land as property to be bought and sold, owned, possessed, and cultivated.

In the winter of 1831, convinced by a Native holy man that if he remained insistent on his rights to the land, "the whites would not trouble us," Black Hawk and his people departed Saukenuk on a winter hunt. Upon their return they found the village occupied by white settlers who had "enclosed" the Native corn-fields, their fences proclaiming their appropriation of the village place (100-101). The return of the Sauk to their land, Black Hawk notes, "displeased" the white settlers, disrupting their expectation that surveyed land grids and private ownership under the Northwest

Ordinance guaranteed Native removal. As he emphasizes, owning land is in distinct epistemological contradiction to living in and on land:

> My reason teaches me that *land cannot be sold*. The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon, and cultivate, as far as is necessary for their subsistence; and so long as they occupy and cultivate it, they have the right to the soil—but if they voluntarily leave it, then any other people have a right to settle upon it. Nothing can be sold, but such things as can be carried away. (101)

"Reason" was often not a characteristic attributed to Native peoples, nor does it fully encapsulate the complex relationship that Black Hawk is trying to describe about the Sauk people and their land-place. That the narrative includes "reason" as the link to land rights reflects a settler-colonial epistemology—the dividing of land was distinctly an Enlightenment idea that was "reasonable." The inclusion of "reason" as attributed to Black Hawk demonstrates the narrative's mediation as well as the ideology of the person penning the narrative. The word choice reflects what the mediator would have likely claimed. This does not mean the Black Hawk is not "reasonable"—rather Black Hawk's "reason" is guided by an epistemology that connects land places to time and living in the land rather than the rationality of Cartesian division. Black Hawk's assertion that only portable goods may be sold suggests that selling land itself is not a "reasonable" or epistemologically sound concept to the Sauk people. The movement within specific land places and the assertion that "so long as [Native peoples] occupy and cultivate it, they have the right to the soil" stresses the idea of presence and relationship to land throughout time for ongoing use, not ownership or direct exchange of land. Black Hawk's assertions are less about ownership "right[s]" than the idea of land places as distinctly meant for ongoing living rather than exchange and enclosure.

While it is clear that "ownership" is the issue that Black Hawk seems to wish to dispute, the question of "cultivation" returns. The idea of "rights" reflects a settler colonial ideology but the emphasis on occupying and cultivation has more complex ties to difference in the settlement of cultivated or uncultivated land places and what is meant by "occupying." Black Hawk and Native peoples move through different land places that are distinctly tied to their present, past, and future, and, as illustrated by the connection to the "corn fields" that were enclosed by white settlers, cultivation does not necessarily mean to them directly active ongoing farming. Native peoples are cultivating the land and thus have ownership, but, as Black Hawk explains, the cultivation is an ongoing activity of sustenance and not distinctly done to prove ownership nor to produce capital. Nor does the ongoing movement through the land place and "occupy[ing]" mean segmenting, buying, selling, and holding title to it, as asserted by the surveyors and settlers. While the language could be read as supporting settler colonial actions, it also illustrates Black Hawk's expression of Native epistemology that maintains land places as Native throughout time and in relation to movement on land, not to bounded, immobile settler colonial "occupation."

The trans-temporal aspects of Black Hawk's description of his Sauk "village" and affirmations of Native epistemologies toward their particular land places further complicate the "autobiographical" characterization of Black Hawk's narrative, which attempts to assert a past tense onto what, to Native peoples, is an ongoing process of living in and moving through distinct land places. Autobiography indicates a self-authored narrative; however, as is clear by the mediation in Black Hawk's narrative, it is not self-authored but written and interpreted by a white author whose colonial

ideology clashes with Black Hawk's Sauk epistemology throughout. Thus calling the text an "autobiography" enacts another form of settler colonization. The past tense narration of autobiography overlooks the ongoing reality of Native presence on land. It describes a land place that continues to be Sauk throughout time, even though the description of the village is couched in the past tense: "Our village *was situate* on the north side of the Rock River" (88, emphasis mine). The idea that Black Hawk's village "was" follows the form of autobiographical past-tense writing, but here has a more insidious undertone, putting a Native land place into linear time that separates past, present, and future rather than seeing them in an ongoing, relational time. The past tense suggests that the village or Sauk presence is no longer located in the particular place and facilitates erasure of Native places. The "was" removes Sauk presence from land, replacing it with enclosed corn fields.

The region where Black Hawk's village "was" located in 1833 was known as the Old Northwest or Northwest Territories and was currently being divided into what are now known as U. S. states. Native epistemologies of temporality emphasize how the region was/is/and will be Native land. To recognize the land as such illustrates how the autobiography of Black Hawk tries to separate U. S. settlement for statehood from the ongoing colonization of the Native lands and anticipates the future narrative of Manifest Destiny.

As part of his Sauk identity, Black Hawk emphasizes that he and his people retain a connection to their ancestors living in proximity to tribal gravesites and ancestral bones. Under settler colonialism, the surveying of land required a flattening of land into states of measurable and equal plots; however, like Black Hawk's narration of

the space of his village, the land of the Old Northwest was neither "flat" nor easily divisible into Cartesian blocks. The existence of the "rivers," "bluffs," and cultivated and uncultivated "prairies" illustrate the complex topographical features that the Sauk clearly respected and navigated in different ways throughout their time in the village land place. The two-dimensional survey plats betray no trace of ceremonial places and/or grave sites, both of which embody a relational, multidimensional, and palimpsestic relation to time. Rather than understand time as linear, land as divisible, and bodies that have walked on as decaying objects, Native epistemologies recognize how people who live on unbounded lands and in proximity to their ancestors bring the past into the present and future.

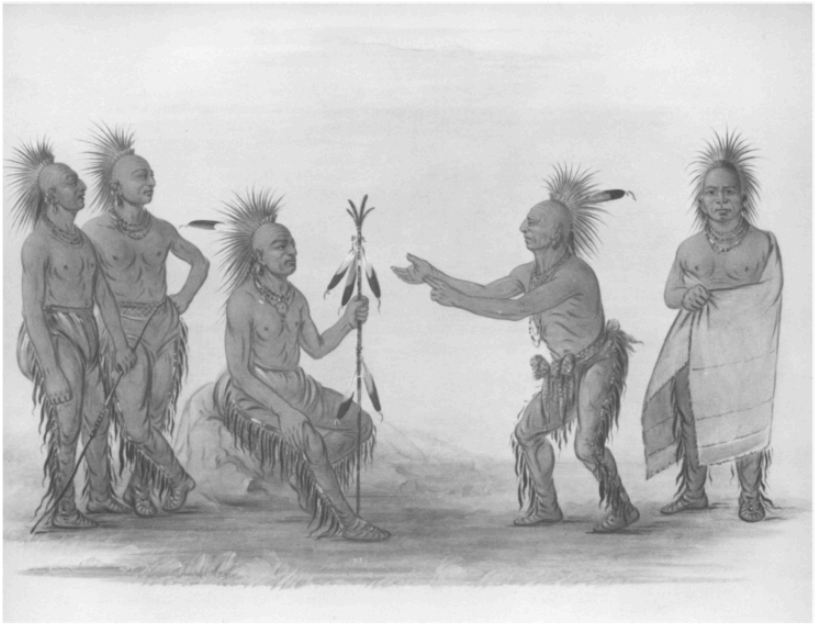
The palimpsestic interrelation of time and place mirrors the mounded structures of Native ancestral graves. This connection undergirds Black Hawk's refusal to "quit [his] village. He asserts:

> I considered, as myself and band had no agency in selling our country—and that as provision had been made in the treaty, for us all to remain on it as long as it belonged to the Untied states, that we could not be forced away. . . . It was here, that I was born—and here lie the bones of many friends and relations. For this spot I felt a sacred reverence, and never could consent to leave it, without being forced therefrom. (107)

After being captured, but before he was taken on his journey to the east Black Hawk "went to the trader and asked for permission to be buried in the grave-yard at our village, among my old friends and warriors; which he gave cheerfully" (115). This provision was intended to ensure he and his family would have a continuing home together, within the fluid temporality involved in inhabiting a "village" place close to the bones and burial sites of the ancestors.

Trophies, Bones, and Skulls: Palimpsesting "Black Hawk's" Body

Despite Black Hawk's insistence upon his Sauk identity and tie to his peoples, the conditions of his captivity worked to individuate him as a subject of autobiography, the object of portraiture, the two-dimensional representative of savagery, and as a worthy foe whose conquest signified U. S. military and moral dominance. His name was attached to a "war" declared by the U. S. that justified violent removal of multiple Native tribes of areas west of the Mississippi. Black Hawk was "held a prisoner of war, and sent through Washington and other Eastern cities, with a number of others, *to be gazed at*" (qtd. in Sweet 489; Sweet's emphasis). These processes continued after his death, as his bones were disinterred, disassembled, displayed, and destroyed by fire. They continue in the present moment, as a caricature of his image serves as the trademark both for U.S. armament and for a professional hockey team.



National Gallery of Art

Black Hawk and the Prophet, from a painting by George Catlin in the Paul Mellon Collection in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

Figure 2.4a: *Black Hawk and the Prophet--Saukie*. 1861/1869. By George Catlin. Oil on card. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC (Wallace 250).

National Gallery of Art, Washington

Black Hawk and five other Sauk and Fox prisoners, painted by George Catlin. "We were now confined to the barracks, and forced to wear the ball and chain,*" said Black Hawk in his autobiography. "This was extremely mortifying, and altogether useless."*

Figure 2.4b: *Black Hawk and Five Other Saukie Prisoners*. 1861/1869. By George Catlin. Oil on card. Courtesy Paul Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. (Nichols 246).

Following the so-called Black Hawk War, the leader's body and those of several of his followers, were captured and contained in Jefferson Barracks, an early version of the prison-industrial complex. In Jefferson, whose namesake plotted the Cartesian division at the heart of the Northwest Ordinance, the Sauk were subjected to the view of painter George Catlin, whose images did much to reduce Black Hawk from a Sauk leader to a two-dimensional representative defeated Indian. In this prison, as Black Hawk notes with anger, they were "forced to wear the *ball and chain!*" (142). Here Catlin made sketches toward a painting of the captive group, an image one critic has called "a near-documentary representation of their prison conditions" (Hausdoerffer 67). (See Figure 2.4b.) Within the painter's *oeuvre*, this oil sketch is relatively

unknown, departing as it does from his usual ethnodocumentary approach. The story behind its making suggests that even in prison, Black Hawk and his supporters retained agency, and exercised some control over the conditions of their representation. According to historian Benjamin Drake's 1846 biography of the leader, *The Great Indian Chief of the West*, as Catlin was making his painting's preliminary sketches, Neopope, imprisoned with Black Hawk, insisted the group be portrayed with their shackles and "seized the ball and chain that were fastened to his leg, and raising them on high, exclaimed with a look of scorn, 'make me so and show me to the great father'" (202-03). Catlin refused. Despite Neopope's protests, which included "varying his countenance with grimaces, to prevent [Catlin] from catching a likeness," the painter produced an image showing the men "as though free and at repose" (Drake 203). (See Figure 2.4a.) More than a quarter-century later, in the 1860s, Catlin produced a second version of the painting, the image shown here in Figure 2.4b. He first showed the painting in Europe in 1870.[42]

While Catlin refused to show these men's ghastly prison conditions until well after the death of the principals, Black Hawk emphasized the demeaning processes of incarceration in his ongoing account to LeClaire. Being so shackled was, he declared:

> extremely mortifying, and altogether useless. Was the White Beaver afraid that I would break out of his barracks, and run away? Or was he ordered to inflict this punishment upon me? If I had taken him prisoner on the field of battle, I would not have wounded his feelings so much, by

[42] The *New-York Mirror* printed a slightly different version of this anecdote on 13 July 1833, in response to Neopope's challenge, "The commanding officer (General Atkinson) answered that there could not be the smallest objection to this, so that the painted also placed in the other hand, a representation of the scalps of women and children, taken by him during the war."

> such treatment--knowing that a brave war chief would prefer *death* to *dishonor!* (142)

Dishonor was, of course, precisely the intent of this "altogether useless" exercise. It might be argued, contrary to Hausdoerffer, that Catlin's painting, however delayed it was, partook of the same impulses. The standing warriors, clad in traditional attire and wearing war paint and ornamentation, are contained in a tight oval frame. This visual enclosure echoes the carceral apparatuses of cell and surveillance, ball and chain. Ultimately, this version of the painting forwards the then-dominant assumptions of Manifest Destiny, that Native foes, despite their ferocity, are fated to be contained.

When spring arrived and travel was possible, the captive Sauks were summoned to Washington, DC, to meet with Andrew Jackson, who stipulated the terms of their capitulation. Their eastward journey followed aboriginal water routes northeastward, albeit by steamboat rather than canoe. (See Figure 2.5.) Each part of the journey, as Boelhower notes, was precisely calculated to demonstrate the purported triumph of western epistemologies: the steamboat sailed upriver against the currents of the Ohio River, along the way pausing at major white settlements. Black Hawk states:

> On our way up the Ohio, we passed several large villages, the names of which were explained to me. The first is called Louisville, and is a very pretty village situate on the banks of the Ohio river. The next is Cincinnati, which stands on the bank of the same river. This is a large and beautiful village, and seemed to be in a thriving condition. (143-44)

The explanations proffered to the prisoners were surely designed to emphasize the futility of their remaining on aboriginal land places destined to become part of an incipient nation state. Louisville (in present-day Jefferson County of Kentucky) was named for Louis XVI, who rendered assistance to the revolutionary cause; Cincinnati,

first named Losantiville, was renamed in 1790 "by territorial governor Arthur St. Clair, in honor of the Society of the *Cincinnati*, a fraternal veterans' organization founded in 1783 by former Revolutionary War officers" of which the governor was a member (Harper). The city's claim to a "thriving condition," a term attributed to Black Hawk but seemingly part of the explanation he is given, echoes the discourses of cultivation and natural development that frame settler colonialist discourse.

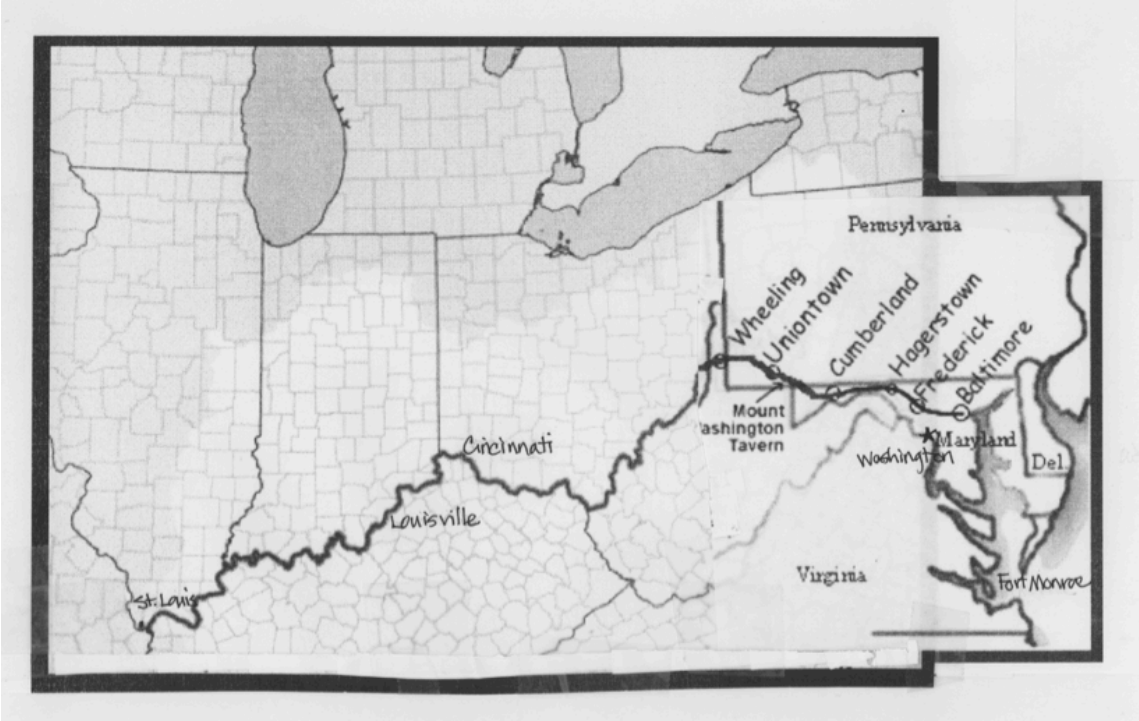


Figure 2.5: Route of Black Hawk's 1833 journey to Washington, DC. By. Nicole Tonkovich, 2016. Hand-drawn map.

Disembarking at Wheeling, (West) Virginia the party followed the Cumberland Road, which connected the Ohio to the Potomac River, and traveled by stage across the Allegheny Mountains. Black Hawk registers due awe at the results of this Jeffersonian public works project, the outcome of the same surveying technologies that rationalized the Northwest Territory. He is said to have observed, "It is astonishing to see what labor

and pains the white people have had to make this road, as it passes over an immense number of mountains, which are generally covered with rocks and timber; yet it has been made smooth, and easy to travel upon" (144). Arriving at Fredericktown, they proceeded by rail to Washington, subject to what Boelhower calls the "cartographic semiosis of the line" (358).

Arriving in the capitol in late April 1833, the group met with Jackson, who sent them to be interred at Fortress Monroe in Virginia, "there to remain, until the conduct of their people at home was such as to justify their being set at liberty" (Drake 203). For the next six weeks the prisoners were visited by curiosity seekers, journalists, and artists intent upon making these exotic specimens visible. Upon their release, the group were returned home, but by a circuitous route that took them to major American cities along the eastern seaboard. In Baltimore, Philadelphia, Hartford, Boston, and Albany they were displayed as curiosities, drew crowds of observers, and were obsessively reported upon in city presses, some running columns of gossip headed "Blackhawkiana" (Jackson 11). Consistent with the nineteenth-century practice of borrowing and reprinting stories from each other, these press notices were disseminated far beyond the cities whose crowds had claimed a first-hand glimpse of the captives; the notice below, for example, was reprinted in several other New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts newspapers, spreading a vocabulary of casual racism. The *New-London Gazette and General Advertiser* for 26 June 1833 reported,

> Black Hawk's levee is as thronged as usual, this morning, a great number of ladies being present, notwithstanding the threatening appearance of weather. The old chief himself bears nothing about him to remind one of the savage bird of prey whose name he bears. . . . The *eyas*,

> his son, (or Tommy-hawk, as he is waggishly called) is a superb specimen of the physical man.

Parodying the tone of a society column, this print representation characterizes Black Hawk as a society nabob, holding court among the ladies. Yet the words belie themselves, for while bad weather may have threatened to keep the ladies at home, Black Hawk would nevertheless be displayed. Lacking the resources to print a visual representation of the leader, the newspaper assured its readers that the "old chief" had now been thoroughly tamed, his savagery confined only to his name. The punning "Tommy-hawk" precisely captures the mockery the characterized such events. The column goes on to sketch the clothing of the captives, their physical appearance, what they ate, and their apparent response to the wonders of civilization to which they were exposed.

The *New-York Mirror*, endeavoring to lift its coverage of the leader above the level of gossip, published what it called an "Original Biography: Muck-a-Tay Mich-e-Kaw-Kaik, the Black Hawk. With an accurate likeness, engraved by Masen." It begins in a reportorial tone, describing Black Hawk's appearance, dress, and apparent age, and asserting "The Black Hawk is (or was) the chief of a band of Sauks and Foxes," the parenthetical emphasizing the past tense existence of the leader. Recounting the war, with an emphasis on the heroics of Gaines and Atkinson," the article then turns, perhaps inevitably, to the matter of the excitement generated by the touring prisoners. The balance of the five columns of this large-format newspaper is devoted to reprinting "Black-Hawkiana" of the most dismissive tone, a speech made by the leader upon being

"presented . . . with some pretty gifts," and a long elegiac poem written by a fellow newspaper editor (9).

Figure 2.6: A "correct likeness" of Black Hawk. "[S]ketched by an officer of the army, who served with General Atkinson during the whole of the recent campaign on the frontiers of Illinois." "Original Biography," *New-York Mirror.* 13 July 1833: 9.

Masen's "accurate likeness" again aligns the visibility enforced upon Black Hawk by his relentless display, reinforced here by a crude woodcut that claims to represent the man. (See Figure 2.6.) This image aptly captures the panoptical apparatuses of Black Hawk's imprisonment. Here he is not behind bars, nor does he wear a ball and chain. Rather, he holds signifiers of his imprisonment: a dead namesake

bird and a flaccid peace pipe. He is clad in the clothing of his imprisoners, and stands in profile, a pose the echoes the identificatory visual representations then being gathered in file cabinets of scientists and urban police forces. He is subject to the gaze of the newspaper's readers, but his pose prevents him from returning that gaze.

In New York the group of prisoners arrived in the midst of a crowd gathered to see a hot-air balloon ascend from Castle Garden, a fitting demonstration of the technologies of visibility that had characterized their imprisonment. Along the way, the party of prisoners were met by "great crowds . . . who flocked from every direction to see" the captives (144). According to Laura Mielke, the actress Fanny Kemble Butler, herself no stranger to public display, observed, "That men . . . should be brought as strange animals at a show, to be gazed at the livelong day by succeeding shoals of gaping folk, struck me as totally unfitting" (qtd. 85).

That process of individuation and representivity was materially furthered by the proliferation of images of the leader that separated his image from the man, his land place, his people, and their epistemologies. For example, upon the party's return journey, they paused at Detroit, where James Otto Lewis's oil portrait, *Mac-Cut-I-Mish-E-Ca-Cu-Can, or Black Hawk, a Celebrated Sac Chief*, joined Masen's "accurate likeness" and echoed its conventions. The portrait was commissioned by General Lewis Cass, then governor of Michigan Territory, whose 3rd Ohio Volunteer Regiment had engaged Native troops fighting for the British in the War of 1812. (See Figure 2.7.) Gone is the warrior's roach, feathers, and paint. Painted in the traditional heroic three-quarter bust view, this figure is clad in a blue military jacket lined with red and adorned with brass buttons, a high-collared white shirt and black neck tie. Yet because of his

pose, his Sauk identity shines through, both in his pierced left ear with its wampum ornaments and in his disdainful refusal to engage the viewer's gaze.

Figure 2.7: *Mac-Cut-I-Mish-E-Ca-Cu-Can, or Black Hawk, a Celebrated Sac Chief, Painted at Detroit, 1833*. Lithograph of original watercolor. Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, TX (Wallace 280).

The honorific portrait pose, which focuses the viewer's gaze on its subject's head and shoulders, finds its scientific echo in the phrenological reading made of a plaster cast "from the living head and face" of Black Hawk by the "Messrs. Fowler, in 1837, in New York ("Article III" 51). (See Figure 2.8.) Although the cross-hatch shading indicates a rudimentary effort to add dimensionality to the image, the overwhelming impression is that the Sauk leader's head had been separated from his body, drawn and invisibly quartered into numbered sections, an eerie echo of the processes of surveying that had done the same to his ancestral lands. Here his head becomes both individuated and made into a representative Indian. The reading notes the head manifests "very large" regions of combativeness, destructiveness, secretiveness, and individuality, among others; it manifests only small qualities of constructiveness and hope. These characteristics the article declares "all our readers will see for themselves . . . striking exhibited in the cuts" (51, 53). Claiming that "[a]ny experienced phrenologist would have sketched the same, or a very similar character, from the above data," the authors then further support their claims by quoting passages from the *Autobiography* (55). Although they note the leader's "very great . . . Individuality," at the same time their interpretation embraces the generalizations that mark phrenology as a pseudoscience. For example, they declare that "deficienc[ies] in the organ of "Causality" "in the Indian head, generally, is one of the principal causes why they have not been able to cope more successfully in battle with the whites, or destroy their enemies by other means" (60, 55).

Phrenological Developments of Black Hawk.

1. Amativeness, large.*
2. Philoprogenitiveness, large.+
3. Adhesiveness, large.
4. Inhabitiveness, large.
5. Concentrativeness, large.
6. Combativeness, very large.
7. Destructiveness, very large.
8. Alimentativeness, average.
9. Acquisitiveness, large.
10. Secretiveness, very large.
11. Cautiousness, full.+
12. Approbativeness, very large.
13. Self-Esteem, very large.+
14. Firmness, very large.
15. Conscientiousness, moderate.
16. Hope, small.
17. Marvellousness, large.
18. Veneration, very large.+
19. Benevolence, moderate.
20. Constructiveness, small.
21. Ideality, moderate.
22. Imitation, small.
23. Mirthfulness, full.
24. Individuality, very large.+
25. Form, very large.+
26. Size, very large.+
27. Weight, large.
28. Colour, large.
29. Order, large.
30. Calculation, large.
31. Locality, very large.+
32. Eventuality, very large.
33. Time, uncertain.
34. Tune, uncertain.
35. Language, large.
36. Comparison, large.+
37. Causality, average.

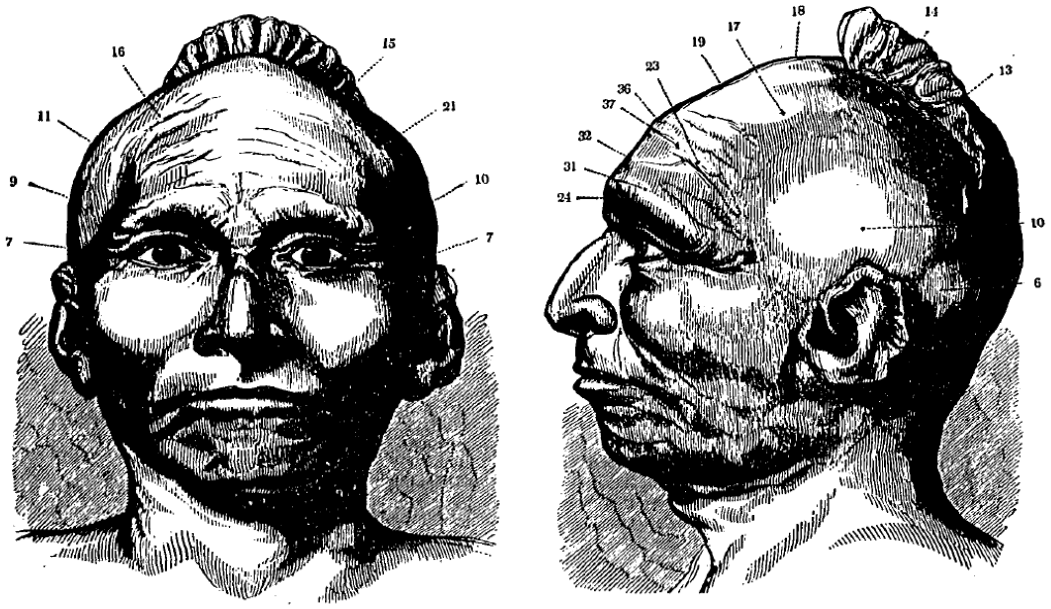


Figure 2.8: Phrenological Bust of Black Hawk. 1838. "Phrenological Developments and Character of the Celebrated Indian Chief and Warrior, Black Hawk; With Cuts." *American Phrenological Journal and Miscellany* 1.2 (Nov. 1838): 51, 52, 53.

The phrenological reading analyzing his character depicts frontal and profile sketches of Black Hawk from the neck up, even though the written report connects the areas of his skull to his physical body and the notable size of his "organs" (52). The frontal and profile facial depictions echo the carceral uses of photography within the prison-industrial complex and suggests the captivity of Black Hawk was a punishment for criminal acts. Such reification reduces the leader to a sketch, unique, to be sure, but also able to be necropolitically consumed by the nation-state as a criminalized representative subject. For example, the examination of the "very large perceptive faculties" of Black Hawk's skull are abstracted from the potential positive association within "a civilised and educated community, where they signify "a knowledge of the properties of things, a fondness for scientific and historical facts, and a practical, business talent." "[I]n Black Hawk's case," the interpretation emphasizes, the case stands differently. For him, they "give tact and management in executing, also extraordinary powers of observation, and such memory as is requisite to the hunter and warrior" (54).

Rather than seeing Black Hawk and his actions as guided by a particular epistemology, the phrenological analysis separates the features of Black Hawk's cranium from the supposedly actions and knowledges associated with civilization and reduces the meaning of his perceptive abilities--"[s]o large a development of these organs as he possesses, we have seldom, if ever, seen," to the skills "requisite for a hunter and a warrior" (54). The reading classifies Black Hawk according to behaviors that are self-evidently "Indian," rather than risk comparing his over-developed skills of perception to members of the settler-colonial community. Oversimplifying Black

Hawk's skull and his actions into those of a "warrior" abstracts Black Hawk's potential intelligence and "perceptiveness" from his epistemological perspective and works to create Black Hawk's skull as a direct link to his actions as representative of "Indian" behaviors. The pseudo-science of phrenology is saturated with the discourse of the settler-colonial nation-state that works to classify Native peoples, even their bones and bodies, as possessing different faculties associated with a supposedly "savage" character. This logic inscribes a settler-colonial discourse onto the Sauk and works to erase any epistemology or motivations for his actions besides being supposedly only a "warrior" or "hunter."

While the issue of the *American Phrenological Journal* was in press, Black Hawk died, on 3 October 1838 ("Article III" 61). As he had requested, he was buried in the traditional manner; however, because the Sauk had by then been removed from their village land, his body was interred in a new village gravesite.[43] Even in his death, the leader was subject to George Catlin's retrospective re-interpretation. (See Figure 2.9.) In a painting that appears to be related in time of making and medium to his oil sketches of the Sauk prisoners at Jefferson Barracks, in the 1860s the artist produced *Funeral of Black Hawk--Saukie*. In its realistic representation of Native attire and wilderness conditions it purports to be documentary, but, as do many of Catlin's works, serves largely to consign the leader and his people of a nostalgic past.

[43] According to Michael Sherfy, after the 1830 conflicts, "Americans . . . dug up the village cemetery [at Saukenuk] seaerching for relics and souvenirs" (246).

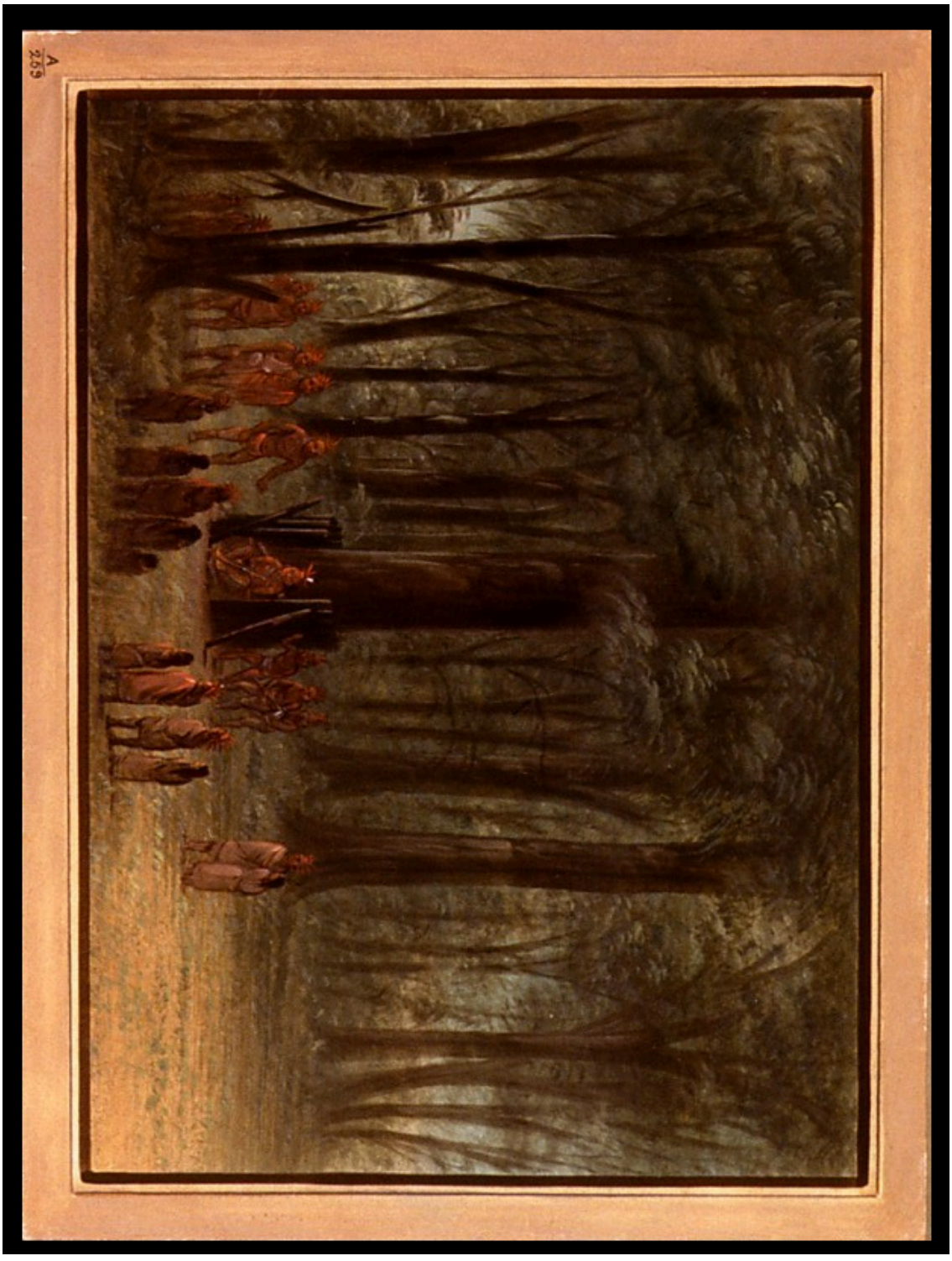


Figure 2.9: *Funeral of Black Hawk--Saukie*. By George Catlin. 1861-1869. Oil on card mounted on paperboard. Courtesy Paul Mellon Collection. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

Skulls, Bones, Death, and Sports

Within a year, Black Hawk's body had been disinterred and the remains stolen. In the historical moment this was a not-uncommon occurrence, since despoliation of Native grave sites fed a lucrative trade in artifacts and body parts sold to impresarios, artists, scientists, and medical researchers.[44] As Franny Nudelman has argued, medical dissection was

> a significant, if under-examined, form of racial violence used during the antebellum period to terrorize African and Native Americans and justify their continued subjugation. If dissection helped to promote a utilitarian attitude toward the dead it also contributed to the growth of scientific racism . . . . Racial scientists dissected the bodies of African and Native Americans in an effort to establish the inferiority of nonwhite people. Taking careful measurements of skeletons, they inferred the intellectual and moral deficiencies of various ethnic groups. (41)

Crania, especially, were of interest to those engaged in the nascent sciences of anthropology and ethnology. Then embroiled in a debate about the biological origins of race, these investigators were busily engaged in comparative physiological studies. A group in Philadelphia pursued researches intended to demonstrate "that there were irreversible differences between races" (Horsman, *Race* 125). Such studies depended largely on comparative measurements of crania, best exemplified by the work of Samuel George Morton, who propounded the theory of polygenesis (separate origins for the various races of humankind). In 1839, Morton published his influential *Crania Americana*, based on "the world's largest scientific collection of human skulls" (Horsman, *Race* 125). He focused his studies on Native American heads, concluding

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[44] See Franny Nudelman's incisive chapter, "The Blood of Black Men," for an extended account of the practices that "removed the body from commemorative settings in order to establish it as a source of useful knowledge" (41).

"the intellectual faculties of this great family appear to be of a decidedly inferior cast when compared with those of the Caucasian or Mongolian races" (qtd. Horsman, *Race* 127).

Black Hawk's skull escaped Morton's collection, perhaps because his notoriety had destined it for a more remunerative use. The year after his death, his grave was opened "by white men who took his skull and other parts of his skeletal remains and put them on exhibition." Eventually Black Hawk's bones were recovered and deposited with the Burlington (Iowa) Geological and Historical Society, where they were destroyed by fire in 1855) (Wallace 288; see also Froncek 99).

The fascination with skulls and gravesites of Native peoples in the 1830s has clear links to Jefferson's settler-colonial mindset in *Notes on the State of Virginia* and the terms of the Northwest Ordinance. Each divorces Native peoples from their lands and the bones of their ancestors by abstracting the bones as objects to be discovered and displayed rather than as connected to land-places and living Native peoples in present and future time. These and related settler-colonial processes lead to the creation of the representative skull--a singular artifact that represents the totality of Native identities. Investments in the representative skull are the opposite of respecting the individual bones as possessing distinct meanings and connections to land places. Rarely is the native person's epistemology towards their ancestral place and bones consistently respected.

Clad in the rhetoric of science, these necropolitical displays--whether collections of crania, phrenological readings, or side-show curiosities--separate bodily remains from cultural ritual, thereby disrupting family and tribal continuity. In an honorific

palimpsestic similarity, Black Hawk's dismembered bodily remains join with those of earlier Native leaders, notably King Philip, whose corpse was beheaded and quartered, the "quarters hung from trees," except for those body parts awarded as trophies to the soldiers who betrayed and killed him. According to Jill Lepore, "Alderman, the Indian who had shot him," received one of Phililp's hands, "to show to such gentlemen as would bestow gratuities upon him" (173). The leader's head was "staked on a tall pole for public viewing," by the settlers of Plymouth Colony, where it remained "for decades." In an act of delayed but extreme revenge, Cotton Mather, only twelve years old when Philip was slain, later "made a pilgrimage to Plymouth to visit the head. There, with an outstretched arm, he reached up and 'took off the Jaw from the Blasphemous exposed Skull of that Leviathan.'" Lepore points to the metaphorical significance of such an act: "By stealing Philip's jawbone, his *mouth*, he put an end to Philip's blasphemy" (174).

Black Hawk's own words, first *taken* and transmuted by those involved in producing the autobiography, eventually were replaced, not by the stealing of his skull, but by his abstraction into the commodified image of Native ferocity, used with reckless abandon by to denominate combat helicopters and military units.[45] The abstraction of Black Hawk from being a Sauk continues into the present day with the supposed image of "Black Hawk" necropolitically represented on the Chicago Blackhawks' jerseys, helmets, and paraphernalia. In the hockey team's trademarked logo, the flattened image

[45] It is worth noting the myriad other uses to which the leader's name and disembodied pictorial representation have been put--from a trademark tobacco product to the silhouettes on signposts marking public highways, built palimpsestically atop Native trails. See Wallace for a superb collection of visual re-presentations of Black Hawk.

of a representative Native person that stands in for Black Hawk is in profile, eerily resembling one of the phrenological sketches, but now sold to fans with the option to print their own name on the jersey back (See Figure 2.10.) The team's founder, Chicago businessman Frederick McLaughlin, named the team after the Army's 86th Infantry "Blackhawk Division" in which he served in World War I (Klein). The division itself had been named for the Sauk leader. The easy transition from military mascot to sport mascot demonstrates that colonial violence and cultural appropriation are twinned forces.

Figure 2.10: Chicago Blackhawks customizable team jersey. $199.99.*Shop.nhl.com.* Website screenshot. Nicole Tonkovich, 2016

Due to increased public pressure, as well as to the political and economic consequences backlash faced by the National Football League's Washington Redskins,

which include the revocation of their trademark, the hockey organization has increased its public partnership with the American Indian Center. Moreover, a brief biography of Black Hawk may be found by navigating the team's official website.[46] The biography, whose author is unlisted, is a measured recognition of Black Hawk's historical existence that nonetheless reinforces a settler-colonialist discourse and furthers the abstraction of Black Hawk's lived experience. Most notably, the author notes in their conclusion to the historical narrative, "Blackhawk's band of the Sac & Fox Nation was engaged politically and militarily by the Illinois and National Government during the Blackhawk War and the subsequent Blackhawk Treaty of 1832 and the Treaty of Chicago of 1833" ("Chief Blackhawk"). The author evades the act of naming settler colonial belligerence and violence through using the passive voice, via the softened verb "engaged," and by foregrounding "politically" motivated action. These events happen to the Sauk and Fox nation whose grammatical status as subject implicates them in the events that followed. Moreover, the author treats the subsequent treaties as an inevitable extension of these neutral engagements. Black Hawk's own captivity, incarceration, and death have no place in a public relations fantasy that facilitates the narrative and material removal of resistance.

[46] For a recent cultural history of the Redskins football team and its detractors, see King, *Redskins*. For an updated collection on the mascot debates more broadly, see King, *Controversy*.

Figure 2.11: 'Chief Blackhawk' biography page. *blackhawks.nhl.com* Website screenshot. Mark Kelley, 2016.

Figure 2.12: 'Tommy Hawk' biography page. *blackhawks.nhl.com* Website screenshot. Mark Kelley, 2016.

Even this meager recognition of the historical Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak is a function of the organization's neoliberal alignment of its rights to "play Indian" with its power of white paternalism. If, as Michael Taylor wryly affirms, "Blackhawk-the-Enemy has now become Blackhawk-the-Commodity," he has also become Blackhawk-the-Charity (65).[47] Namely, the team presents the historical biography outside of its main website and as part of the separate "Chicago Blackhawks Charity" site. (See Figure 11.) These words are set in large print over the small print of Black Hawk's tribal name and the representation of Black Hawk. The effect is to frame Black Hawk as the recipient of corporate benevolence. The image of Black Hawk is that of Charles Bird King's portrait of the leader (See Figure 2.2). As presented on the site, the figure's red hair and garb bleeds into the red letters or background of "Charities," thereby creating a visual equivalence. The children who signify the organization's community service surround Black Hawk, hemming him in, as if to include him in the list of supplicants. Four flattened images of Black Hawk also bracket the nineteenth-century image. Two are partial jersey images. One appears to look directly over Black Hawk's head, reinforcing the flattened image's power over the historical representation. The largest image serves as a logo of the organization's charitable arm. In other words, the recognition of past and present Sauk sovereignty may be reserved for the special zone framed as beholden to a paternal organization and to the money made from the commodified Black Hawk.

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[47] Taylor analyzes contemporary Native American mascots through the lens of whiteness studies; he very briefly discusses the Chicago hockey team in relation to the University of North Dakota's use of the trademarked Chicago logo.

Thought another way, the specious sports nation's modern claim to identity relies on an indigenous presence and absence Philip J. Deloria has diagnosed as a feature of American nationalist collectivities. Like the other modern examples Deloria recounts in *Playing Indian,* the Blackhawk organization's quest for authenticity is "centered on finding ways to preserve the integrity of the boundaries that marked exterior and authentic Indians, while gaining access to organic purity in order to make it one's own" (115). These terms make clear the organization's neoliberal public relations narrative: reverence for a commercial brand's signifier, a representative skull with no ties to Native identities and epistemologies, cannot be challenged due to the brand's nominal support for living tribes. The alternative, namely supporting the American Indian Center's vital work without profiting from the representative skull, explodes this self-interested narrative and its ideological supports.

Amidst this thin veneer of neoliberal sensitivity, the team's official mascot, "Tommy Hawk" stands in palimpsest, recalling the demeaning moniker first coined in 1833 by sensationalist newspaper writers. The juxtaposition reveals an ongoing investment in dehumanizing spectacles that actively promote the erasure and removal of Native epistemologies. In contrast with the web page on the historical Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak, Tommy features prominently on the team website; he is flanked by two designations of his "official" place as well as by the brand image of Black Hawk. (See Figure 12). This carefully mediated representation only reinforces the conflation of native identity with "savage" violence meted with tomahawks, but also infantilizes and commodifies this supposed threat. The feathered animal wears a jersey emblazoned with the flattened Black Hawk image and has a surname that jokingly implies his

patrilineal ties to indigineity. This dual identity allows Tommy to signify an indigenous mascot without invoking the increasingly negative attention given to human mascots who perform indigineity. The team is careful not to explicitly align Tommy with indigineity, instead focusing on bird puns about "Tommy's Nest," but the anthropomorphized animal is a shrewd and blatant attempt to play Indian in a more commercially accepted form ("Tommy Hawk"). The absence of a native mascot is materially unimportant since, as Michael Taylor notes, "No matter the amount of 'authenticity' invested in the portrayal of Indian-ness, all consumers know that it is a white male beneath the costumed exterior" (7). This mascot may be invested with authenticity without inviting questions about the ethics of this performance. Befitting the neocolonial state of U. S. early education, Tommy Hawk is available for children's birthday parties.

Creating caricatures is not unusual for racialized mascots, and the depiction of "Black Hawk" builds on the power dynamics of racialization and necropolitics that continually seek to erase Native peoples and their epistemologies as well as land claims that reveal the ongoing imperial politics of the United States.[48] The Chicago Blackhawks hockey team is the most visible institution of modern settler colonialism of the Native land places in the Old Northwest. In their 2015 edited collection, *Re-*

[48] In 1953 representatives of the Sauk and Mesquaqie peoples brought a case before the Indian Claims Commission disputing the legitimacy of the 1804 treaty and citing the autobiography as one of their supporting arguments. According to Adams-Campbell, "In making their determination the ICC flatly rejected Black Hawk's *Life* as a credible historical source. They argued that because *Life* was published in 1833, after the Sauk and Mesquakie were already removed, Black Hawk' s text could not be used to prove a prior title to the land. The ICC insisted on paper documentation of Sauk and Mesquakie land title from before the removal" (153).

Collecting Black Hawk: Landscape, Memory, and Power in the American Midwest, Nicholas Brown and Sarah Kanouse track the "evolution of white America's psychic investment in the [Black Hawk] conflict" as manifested in the historical and commercial markers that line the modern Midwest (3).[49] George Thurman, a principal chief in the Sauk and Fox nation, provides a fitting précis of this phenomenon. He notes,

> A visitor to Sauk homelands in Illinois and Wisconsin finds the names of Black Hawk and his people on everything from golf courses to auto repair shops. Initially the nominal tie might have included knowledge of our history, an acknowledgment that we once lived in the area, but with so many entities bearing those names the reality of Black Hawk and the Sauk blurs and fades from history into mythology, where very real people become historical and now commercial icons. (19)

As Thurman affirms, capitalistic expansion advances an ever-flattening image of Black Hawk in public memory. "Charity" from this neocolonial phenomenon's most egregious perpetrator does little to stem the tide against this mythologizing and the violence it promotes. In this line, Brown and Kanous provide a prescient critique of "Black Hawk" tourist and recreation businesses that operate on the rivers and land places on which the Black Hawk War was fought. "If the historical precedent were taken seriously," they note, "the name portends a less than happy ending for a leisurely paddle, analogous to naming your new seaside community Guantánamo Bay" (3). The same may be said for the frozen water of the hockey rink on which Black Hawk's flattened image resides, as faux combatants slice through its surface. Active support of Sauk peoples, rather than for the representative skull and its commercial empire, must serve as the primary objective of any account of Black Hawk. For this reason, I close

[49] See also Sherfy, who traces the politics of Black Hawk's commodification in 1930s Illinois.

not with the flattened image but with Thurman's affirmation of native survivance and active presence. "Black Hawk fought so his people could live, and there, where one might think it all ended for us, we stood, remembering our people in the way they left to us and that is uniquely ours," Thurman affirms. He concludes, "Only a chapter closed in 1832. We are still here to tell their stories, our history, and to add our own, and we do so as Sac and Fox people" (20-21).

Chapter Three:

Map Making, Trophy Taking, and Grave Digging:

Lewis and Clark's Journey, Journals, and Jefferson's Monticello

[Abstract]

The territories occupied by the Sauk and Mesquakie, part of the lands acquired from France in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, were subsequently mapped and surveyed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Here I investigate another set of palimpsestically and thematically interrelated events and texts. In his scholarship on the journals of Lewis and Clark Martin Brückner observes that as the explorers traveled deeper into the "largely unpopulated landscape of what today are the states of Montana and Idaho" with their various indigenous guides, "they lost their common discursive sense of orientation" and their activities of surveying and journal writing diminished in frequency and became stylistically different (220). He asserts, "The Native American map image functioned as a documentary narrative weaving together geography, history, and mythology" (225). Thus these Native collaborators, so named by Brückner,[50] worked within a differing epistemological frame, one not familiar Lewis and Clark, who consequently became "lost in space" (226).

In this chapter I will expand upon and deepen Brückner's observations about the expedition and its outcomes. As Brückner describes, the Native American maps, drawn in multiple planes, contain different and distinct ways of knowing used by the guides, tribal peoples, and French traders whom Lewis and Clark encountered along their

[50] Brückner characterizes the party's maps as the "product of authorial collaboration between the two expedition leaders and a host of Native American mapmakers" (208).

journey. I contend, however, that Lewis and Clark were not "lost in space." Rather, they entered another, deeper space, place, time, and way of being in the world, unable to be contained within a Euro-American geographical epistemology. The variance between the regularity of their journal entries as their travels continued reflects the time-space complexity of their condition. Moreover, their cognitive disorientation stands in a palimpsestic relation with the records made by Marquette and Jolliet as they explored the waterways of the Old Northwest/U. S. Midwest, for as these earlier explorers interacted with Native inhabitants and guides during their journey, their writings, too, became significantly less frequent.

In the dominant narratives, the explorers stand at the forefront, often obscuring the presence of Natives who are consigned to the shadows and margins of their subsequent textual and visual records. Yet, as Gerald Vizenor emphasizes, Native presence was essential to their epistemological models. Vizenor begins his important book *Manifest Manners* by noting, "Lewis and Clark reported in their journal that they wanted to be *seen* by tribal people on their expedition" (1). The need to see and be seen by--to interact with--Natives emerges as a theme in their records, as an earlier scholar, Larzer Ziff noted: "[T]hey strained to see the Indians who they knew were seeing them in order to enter into dealings with them" (qtd. in Vizenor 2). The desire to be "seen" suggests an amount of respect and reverence for Native peoples, and possibly an awareness of Natives' deeper ways of being on the land. At the very least, Lewis and Clark recognized that their own survival and the diplomatic success of their mission depended on indigenous peoples. I suggest that they were not literally "lost." Rather, the historical time and emphasis on Native peoples in Lewis and Clark's journals might be

interpreted as a potential attempt to do what many of the French traders had done before them: to live in the world in a different way within the structures of tribal governance, as do the present-day Métis peoples who still live in the Old Northwest, particularly in the present-day state of Michigan.

In subsequent representations, however, much of the indigenous presence becomes fragmented, flattened, commodified, and/or erased, much like the taking of Black Hawk's skull in profile and flattening it as a representative "Indian" on the Chicago Blackhawks jersey. In this case, the Shoshone guide and diplomat, Sacajawea, emerges from the journals of Lewis and Clark, transits through U. S. imperial history, and becomes a flattened cranium on a Sacajawea coin--even though there is no extant drawing of the actual Native woman. The image used on the coin is, in fact, based on Texas non-indigenous artist Glenna Goodacre's design, for which a Native woman, Randy'L He-dow Teton, served as model ("Glenna Goodacre"). The explorers collected other significant trophies in response to specific requests made by President Thomas Jefferson. These he displayed, along with items he himself had excavated from burial sites, in his private museum, the rotunda of Monticello. Here, as well as in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson dissociates these items from their tribal specificity and collapses them into a kind of representative Indian-ness. This chapter thus metaphorically uncovers a deeper history of the Lewis and Clark expedition by attending to the physical objects that they gathered along the way. The subsequent uses of those objects in connection with those excavated by Jefferson himself comprise an ongoing appropriation of Native bodies, bones, and peoples and a consequent erasure of

their deeper histories, “loosing” the Native from time and space and place to be replaced by emergent U. S. dominant imperial histories.

Part Two: Necropolitics

Chapter Four:

Sherman Alexie's Sinister Speculative Fictions

Easily the most widely-published contemporary American Indian writer, Sherman Alexie is well known by scholarly and popular audiences alike. His comedic edge can engage just about any reader; yet within the body of Alexie scholarship, in comparison to his more palatable comedic work his more unsettling forays into speculative fiction receive little critical attention. If one reads the speculative fiction closely, however, it becomes clear that Alexie is questioning institutions that uphold historicist narratives of U. S. empire-building. His work targets and undermines scientific empiricism as the producer of ontological knowledge and illuminates the necropolitical actions of the U. S. military industrial complex.[51] I argue that Alexie's short stories "The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance" perform significant and radical critiques of the hegemonic, historicist narrative that vindicates U. S. settler-colonial imperialism. Deliberately using the characteristics of speculative fiction, he calls for a reckoning with the harmful violence of racialization, settler-colonial dispossession, and genocide that U. S. necropolitical imperatives enact on still living, Othered populations.

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[51] In his foundational essay "Necropolitics," Achille Mbembe builds on the Foucauldian concept of biopower to include more recent technologies of subjugations, writing, Technologies of destruction have become more tactile, more anatomical and sensorial, in a context in which the choice is between life and death. If power still depends on tight control over bodies (or on concentrating them in camps), the new technologies of destruction are less concerned with inscribing bodies within disciplinary apparatuses as inscribing them, when the time comes, within the order of the maximal economy now represented by the "massacre" (34). Necropolitical agendas embrace the "maximum destruction of persons and the creation of *death-worlds*, new and unique forms of social existence in which vast populations are subjected to conditions of life conferring upon them the status of *living dead*." (40).

To borrow Mbembe's words, Alexie's fictions show how the nation-state "makes die" those who may challenge the state-sanctioned, historicist narrative (40). Thus I contend that Alexie's strategic use of speculative fiction unsettles the necropolitical historicist narrative that underlies U. S. exceptionalism and empire.

"The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance" question the empirical nature of science fiction and criticize historicism's heavy investment in the supposedly-fixed "truths" of scientific discovery. As Walter Benjamin explicates in his "Theses on the Philosophy of History," historicism relies on a linear time frame that promotes an always-future-looking perspective (260-61). In the United States, the hegemonic progress narrative works to justify the politics of settler colonialism through which the nation-state has acquired the majority of its current territory by the process of genocide and dislocation of indigenous peoples from their ancestral land-bases.[52] While historicist discourses support Manifest Destiny's plot of a divinely ordained U. S. empire, Alexie's speculative fiction interrogates the use of science as ontological knowledge in the support of settler colonial practices.

Both these short fictions question scientific discourses often used to justify settler colonial attitudes toward violence and violations of "alien" bodies, or racial others. Laura Briggs delineates some of the complications surrounding the term "science":

> To speak of "science" is to deploy a deceptively simple word whose use confers the mantle of authority. . . . In its current

[52] I draw my definition of settler colonialism from Patrick Wolfe's explanation of its imperial and genocidal characteristics: "Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonizers come to stay--invasion is a structure not an event" (2).

> configurations, . . . struggle over which kinds of knowledge should be accorded to higher status of being known as "science" is carried out though adjectives. . . . Science is not *a* knowledge, then, but *the* knowledge, that which speaks truthfully about the real. (205)

Briggs critiques the use of "science" as indicative of a singular, unchallenged authority. That authority, according to Darko Suvin, undergirds science fiction, a genre based on "empirical reality." He claims the genre to be defined by "the presence and interaction of estrangement and cognition, whose main formal device is an imaginative framework alternative to the author's empirical environment," although it is an "alternative on the same ontological level as the author's empirical reality" (7-8, 71). Within the "mantle of authority" conveyed by "science" in Suvin's conception, an "empirical reality" becomes the basis upon which an alternate science fictional world is drawn. Suvin's stress on and repetition of "empirical reality" as mutually imbricated in the "alternative" world implies and even reinforces science rather than questions it. Writers of speculative fiction, on the other hand, engage in scientifically based realities, but question the ability of science to be "*the* knowledge," especially as it has led to necropolitical material realities for those deemed abject Other by ontological scientific-based empiricism. Working from this distinction I argue that in both "The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance" Alexie strategically employs alternate realities as a way of revealing the genocidal histories and realities justified by "*the* knowledge" of science. While his work often critiques historicist formations and the subsequent erasure of Native peoples, I read his use of speculative fiction, as "sinister" as it may be to some readers, as a way of revealing the necropolitical imperatives at work through scientific rationalism and hidden by hegemonic historicism.

In “The Sin Eaters” and “Ghost Dance,” I analyze how Alexie employs temporal negotiation to radically question the historicist narrative that justifies settler colonial politics of U. S. empire and thus to reveal the necropolitical imperatives functioning under hegemony’s guise. Alexie refuses to align temporality to a historicist progress narrative of past, present, and future. Rather, he intermingles events from multiple times, dissociates the reader from knowing exactly when and where in time a text is located, and undermines the notion of historicism as an organizational mode for hegemonic knowledge. I use Raymond Williams to define hegemony as:

> a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values—constitutive and constituting—which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. [Hegemony] thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives. It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a “culture,” but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes. (110)

Literary production and generic literary structures often contribute to the totalizing “constitutive and constituting” forces that give people in a given society a sense of “culture”--culture, of course, as Williams indicates that “has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes.” Alexie clearly questions the temporal structures that order U. S. settler colonial hegemony: “The Sin Eaters” speaks to the reader from the present, past, future, and “Ghost Dance,” a zombie fiction, both negates and questions the utility of time. The zombie, neither alive and dead nor dead or alive, pushes the reader to reckon with the historicist construction of temporality and supposed logic of a linear narrative.

In both stories, Alexie's critique applies to all subjects of the U. S. nation-state; he articulates the subordinated histories of Native North American populations and their lived experiences while directly illustrating their mutual imbrication in U. S. settler colonial empire. Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd conceptualizes this ongoing process of colonial hegemony as a "transit." She states:

> [T]ransit as a concept suggests the multiple subjectivities and subjugations put into motion and made to move through notions of injury, grievance, and grievability as the United States deploys a paradigmatic Indianness to facilitate its imperial desires. (xxi)

Byrd's conceptual focus on transit explores how different modes of representing "Indianness" are used to further hegemonic and imperial national narratives. I argue that Alexie's texts attempt to make visible the "transit of empire" and that Alexie asks his readers to engage in a reckoning with how hegemonic formations constantly seek to enact violence onto the bodies and lives of abject subjects. In his work, he directly illuminates violence enacted by the dominant, settler colonialist narratives of Native vanishing in popular literary circulation since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as continuing physical and cultural necropolitics enacted through massacres, boarding schools, and reservations.

"Sinister" Speculative Fiction: "The Sin Eaters"

No wonder we so often project alienness onto one another.
This . . . has been the worst of our problems--the human aliens from another culture, country, gender, race, ethnicity.
This is the tangible alien who can be hurt or killed.

Octavia Butler, "The Monophobic Reaction"

In the years since Sherman Alexie published *The Toughest Indian in the World*, critical scholarship has attended to many of the stories in that collection, with one notable exception: "The Sin Eaters." Jessica Chapel, an interviewer from *Atlantic Unbound,* commented to Alexie that the story struck her as "sinister and otherworldly." Alexie replied that he felt the story was a "counterweight" to the collection and that he liked the story's tone; beyond this claim, he made no further commentary (97). In what follows, I argue Alexie strategically upsets science fiction conventions by employing techniques of temporal negotiation to dislocate and alienate his reader, causing a "sinister and otherworldly" effect that echoes the Octavia Butler epigraph to this section; by engaging speculative fiction techniques, Alexie reckons with how science has been employed by the necropolitical nation-state to create "human aliens from another culture, country, gender, race, ethnicity" who are "able to be killed." The hegemonic investment in science often supports discourses that benefit U. S. settler colonial aims. Reading and analyzing "The Sin Eaters" challenges the reification of the "cognitive" and "empirical realit[ies]" promulgated by scientific empiricism. Alexie's use of speculative fiction questions the validity of scientific Truth and "empirical reality," forcing his reader to acknowledge alienation, widespread racialization, and genocide that has and continues to result from scientific rationalism.

"The Sin Eaters" unflinchingly reveals how science functions in histories of violence, dispossession, and loss and connects Alexie's work to that of other scholars hoping to use speculative fiction to undermine hegemonic structures. The title of Sheree Thomas's title, *Dark Matter*, and John Akomfrah's documentary film, *The Last Angel of History*, focus on the discourse of blackness and African-American engagement with

science and speculative fictions, contending that the colonial diasporic condition and histories of slavery produce a science fictive lived experience. *The Last Angel of History* openly asks, what could be more alien than the experience of the African being taken to a new land, enslaved, and perpetually racialized as other by "rational" thought in white America? I recognize that Native American and African American experiences differ, but I argue that an experience of "alienness" is also applicable to Native American experience and history, and to emphasize one racial injury over another contributes to the continued subjugation of those bodies deemed abject.[53] As Byrd contends,

> In the economy of colonial representations, categories and metaphors of race, identity, and otherness come to inhabit single words that can then provide a shorthand for the colonizers to codify and master knowledge of difference. These words ultimately contain fissures and antagonisms within colonialism manifestations of naming and representing that exist between and among colonial histories. (70)

Byrd deliberately focuses on moments in which the transit of empire employs racial categories to collapse distinct histories and cover the "fissures and antagonisms" that often erase indigenous populations with a focus on racial terminology and a supposed ontological "knowledge of difference." Throughout her text, Byrd stresses the necessity of using indigenous theory to keep track of how race often elides colonialism and

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[53] For example, alienness or othering of African Americans is often mediated culturally through genres of blackface or minstrel shows; politically, through institutions of African American slavery, Jim Crow, and many other forms of de jure or de facto segregation. The figure of the Native American is often alienated through the discourse of the noble primitive savage or bloodthirsty warrior, as well as claimed racially into a field of whiteness by many who wish to possess "Native" blood. Many New Age religious practices appropriate indigenous traditions, as well. Politically, Native American are alienated by paternalistic governmental policies that have removed and allotted Native bodies and "domesticated" tribal rights and sovereignty.

American Indian peoples. In addition to the larger claim that colonialism makes Indians continually alien on their own land, Byrd provides the specific example of how the annexation/colonization of Hawai'i illustrates a distinct moment where Indians are distinctly signified as "aliens;" Hawaiians are to be incorporated as "citizens" that "take to civilization" unlike the "alien Indians external to the nation-state" (166, 169). The rhetorical strategies related to the annexation and inclusion of Hawai'i illuminate Byrd's assertions about how hegemonic forces support the elusive rhetoric of injury. I offer Byrd's analysis not to elide the ongoing physical and epistemologically violent effects of racialization, but to establish a frame that reveals the continual discourse of necropolitics in U. S. empire; to do so, I focus on the idea of "transit" and how, through Alexie's strategic negotiation of temporality, he reveals the "unsettling" reality of being the alien body repeatedly consumed by U. S. "rational" science and historicism.

Destabilizing time as well as the idea of scientific knowledge as "Truth," Alexie's "The Sin Eaters" presents not an "alternative reality" that reinforces "empirical reality," but makes apparent and palpable the "otherworldly"-ness of necropolitics hidden by historicist narratives and upheld under scientific rationalism. In "The Sin Eaters," Alexie strategically engineers an ambiguously situated "alternative history" that reflects and responds to the settler colonial genocide of Native American lived history and its corollaries, such as the Holocaust, which is recognized as genocide in a way the conquest of the Americas has yet to be. Alexie begins by unsituating historical time, creating temporal negotiation: past, present, and future temporalities intermingle throughout the story, continually dislocating the reader's affective response, all the

while maintaining an eerie fidelity to supposedly "known" or, at least recorded, historical events. "The Sin Eaters" opens with an unclear time and event:

> I dreamed about war on the night before the war began, and though nobody officially called it a war until years later, I woke that next morning with the sure knowledge that the war, or whatever they wanted to call it, was about to begin. (76)

The narrator speaks in past tense, reflecting that he "dreamed" about the "war," but "nobody officially called it a war until years later." As readers, one is immediately thrown into an estrangement of time: the narrator is in the future, and assumed alive, but the story begins in the past, refusing a historicist narrative line. Additionally, the idea of an "officially" or unofficially named war opens up the question of what constitutes war, as well as who the "they" are that possess the power to determine a "war's" legitimacy. Readers must consider all of the unspoken wars of "peace" time, or as Michel Foucault articulated in his *Lectures at the College de France*: "[W]e have to interpret the war that is going on beneath the peace; peace itself has become a coded war" (51). I argue that "The Sin Eaters" speculates on what makes a "war" a "war" in order to draw attention to the genocidal imperatives at work in the name of settler colonialist hegemony.

As the opening of the story disengages the reader from certainties of time, it also unsituates one from a linear history. Further troping on fixed systems of meaning, Alexie's narrator, Jonah, "dreamed" but "woke . . . with . . . sure knowledge." Dreams are often dismissed as imagination or accidental; however, "sure knowledge" suggests evidence or fact. Again, what is historically, categorically, scientifically, and temporally fixed as "knowledge" becomes unstable even as it is connected by references to reality.

Further distorting temporal certainty, "The Sin Eaters" gestures towards known historical time but resists precise identification, constructing a vague alternative past that connects to the present war state. The narrator locates himself at his moment of waking on the Spokane Indian reservation, an American Indian reservation that exists in present day Washington State. However, the difficulty of precisely dating time (aside from a reference to 1963) continues in the "historical" events described next:

> Those were the days before the first color televisions were smuggled onto the reservation, but after a man with blue eyes had dropped two symmetrical slices of the sun on Japan. All of it happened before a handsome Catholic was assassinated in Dallas, leaving a bright red mark on the tape measure of time, but after the men with blue eyes had carried dark-eyed children into the ovens and made them ash. (76-77)

Two distinct but intertwined threads are being woven into Alexie's description of historical time. First, the use of "before" and "but after" places one in an in-between-position, an ambiguous space wherein readers have some knowledge of an historical decade, likely the 1950s, but are not sure exactly when; one can identify that the retelling is actually an "after" by the use of past tense, a reminder our narrator is in a future moment. Second, time is now being connected to categories of technology, science, war, assassination, race, and genocide. All of the concepts are caught up in time, possibly becoming "bright red [marks] on the tape measure." Using the "tape measure" as a metaphor for time suggests a historicist model of linear history; however, a physical tape measure is limited in its scope and ability to do anything but mark distances, to notate in scientific terms. Events that involve "dropp[ing] two symmetrical slices of the sun on Japan" and "men with blue eyes [carrying] dark-eyed children into the ovens and [making] them ash" denote the horror of the Jewish Holocaust of World

War II and visible physical, ethnic, and racial difference. The poverty and bereft existence that results in the "smuggling of color televisions onto the reservations" does not leave a "red mark" like the "handsome Catholic man" (Kennedy). The linear tape measure has an ability to reduce an important man's life to a "red mark" but has no mark for an impoverished existence of life on the reservation. The absence of being notated by a red mark indicates the easy erasure that a historicist, linear narrative can enact. At the same time the red marks can also draw the reader's attention to a death that is deemed as more significant, or, at least, unable to be forgotten.

Compounding difference even further, the "blue eyed men" and the "dark eyed children" that open "The Sin Eaters" implicate the racialization tied to past events and likely to the future from which the narrator is speaking. In both instances, the "blue eyed" are men, and the men bomb or burn children. In both cases the victims have "dark eyes" or are from "Japan," indicating racialization. The "dark eyed children" and "Japan" are both victims of inventions of science intended to incinerate human bodies: the oven and the "symmetrical slices of the sun" (the atomic bomb). The descriptive difference employed in eye color as well as geographical location indicates constructed racial difference, another colonial imposition often supported by science. The mass deaths of the "ovens" and the bomb are not only genocides, but are also racially motivated, government-sanctioned, and historically acknowledged genocides. "The Sin Eaters" references these historicist genocides to draw parallels to the necropolitics directed at Native North American populations through cultural institutional erasures (boarding schools), massacre (the so-called Indian Wars), blood

quantum government policies, and scientific/medicinal violence against indigenous bodies.[54]

Alexie's narration of "The Sin Eaters" through the child/adult voice of Jonah and within the context of a non-declared war explodes the neatness of a linear narrative as well as unsettles the hegemonic, unquestioned U. S. colonialist and historicist narrative by revealing necropolitical imperatives directed at Native American bodies throughout the "coded peace" of U. S. domestic history. In "The Sin Eaters," the Native bodies targeted are divested of all rights to life, much like the history of actual indigenous populations in the U. S. during the early conquest and continuing through multiple genocidal forms to the present day. The arrival of soldiers and the capture of Jonah recall the kidnapping of Native American children and enforcement of cultural genocide through the government-sanctioned Native American boarding school system. When the soldiers address Jonah and his family, and Jonah accuses the soldiers: "You're going to eat us. You're going to drink our blood." The soldier replies, "We need you" (85). The exchange reinforces the idea of war introduced in the opening of "The Sin Eaters" and offers a disturbing critique of the scientific need for the creation of an alien other. The "need" for Jonah and others like him, the "you" to the collective "we" of the soldiers and those they serve, is a vampiric or parasitic relationship. Jonah's

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[54] Alexie has been known to compare Native American history to the history of Jewish populations during the Holocaust; Nancy J. Peterson's recent article analyzes genocide and Holocaust in the work of Alexie, but she does not mention "The Sin Eaters," nor does she mention *The Toughest Indian in the World* in her bibliography. She mentions Alexie's use of genocide in *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*, *The Business of Fancy Dancing* (both the poems and the film), *Old Shirts and New Skins*, and *First Indian on the Moon*. Her main focus, however, is on *The Summer of Black Widows*.

knowledge that the soldiers, and by extension those who are giving them orders, are going to devour him demonstrates how hegemony requires alternative epistemologies to be sacrificed, subsumed, or consumed. This scene illustrates Octavia Butler's contention that our worst problem is creating "the human alien . . . the tangible alien who can be hurt or killed" (405). Alexie's soldiers represent the hegemonic, science fiction reflection of "empirical reality" that "needs" to create and consume the Other. For their reality to continue, they must capture Jonah for their necropolitical mission; they accept their mission absolutely, never questioning why they need to "drink [the] blood" of the Native populations they are collecting. Empirical scientific conclusions, like U. S. imperial imperatives, require an absolute fidelity to one's duty, even if it means identifying another human being as "the tangible alien who can be hurt or killed."

As Jonah and the other Native children taken reach their destination, the treatment continues to tie the necropolitics enacted against Native Americans to a holocaust supported by a supposed scientific necessity. Jonah and the other captives are "shaved bald," "stripped of [their] clothes," and "forced into red jumpsuits" (96-97). While the events in "The Sin Eaters" directly reference the Holocaust they also point to the initiation rituals of the prison industrial complex. While the Indian Wars, the boarding schools/tribal schools, the concentration camps during World War II, and the prison industrial complex are distinct historical events, all facilitate U. S. empire's necropolitical imperatives. Alexie might not directly reference the U. S. nation state, but he references events that involve or have involved U. S. institutions, oppressions, and genocides. I contend that "The Sin Eaters" illustrates how state-narrated histories have a

stake in creating and maintaining a hegemony that relies on racial difference and progress, or, as Byrd eloquently states, a "construction of the United States as a multicultural nation that is struggling with the legacies of racism rather than as a colonialist power engaged in territorial expansion since its beginning" (125). Alexie's alternative world continues to invoke known historicist events, and, in doing so, collapses the fissures between story and lived realities, revealing their disturbing similarities.

Alexie does not speculate solely about historically coded racial struggles in "The Sin Eaters;" he also questions the supposedly more innocuous state-sanctioned ceremonial celebrations of exchange-turned-consumption. Alexie revises the vampiric need for American Indians and their blood into a feast, further illuminating how historicism has created and maintained a vision of contemporary indigenous peoples as nonhuman or nonexistent others. A "prophet"-like character interned with Jonah offers a potential explanation for "why" the Native captives were taken: the yearly genocidal celebration of Thanksgiving:

> "Do you smell that?" asked the small man. "That's a feast you're smelling. That's roast beef you're smelling. Venison. Lamb. Veal. That's vegetables of every kind. That's fruits so sweet they'll make your mouth burn. That's bread from a hundred different countries. . . .
>
> And do you know what they're doing with all that food?" he asked us. "They're piling it on every one of those dead bodies. There's a feast on the chest of every one of those dead white people out there. And that food is soaking up all of the hate and envy and sloth in those white people. That food is soaking up all of the anger and murder and thievery. That food is soaking up all of the adultery and fornication and blasphemy. That food is soaking up all of the lies and greed and hatred."
>
> "There's a white body in there for each of us. . . .There's a feast of sins shining on every one of those bodies. . . . [T]hey're going to force us to kneel at those bodies, and they're going to force us to devour those feasts, devour those sins." (106-7)

The "shining" food that contains "sins," and the forced act of "kneel[ing]" and "devour[ing]" disturbingly rationalize the project of needing to alienate and sacrifice a the indigenous other to preserve the hegemony of U. S. empire. The whiteness of the dead and the transference of sins into the food and the sacrificial forcing of sins onto those considered to be not human details the process of reifying who is clean and who is not, who has "sin" and who does not. Food, which should nourish, feed, fill, becomes overwhelming and toxic; the white body becomes an altar at which the non-white must kneel, much in the way that scientific rationalism consumes and subsumes the alternative epistemologies of its abject subjects and historicist narratives exert necropolitical control to continue genocidal imperatives.

The ending narration in "The Sin Eaters" pushes the boundaries of SF by revealing the disturbing actions science sanctions on the bodies of the alienated, non-human other. Not only can alien others be killed, they are often subject to numerous necropolitical violations in the name of science. Again, a clear historical connection to the Holocaust can be drawn, given how the bodies of those in "camp" designated as life not worth living, or "VP" (guinea pigs) were subjected to numerous scientific experiments that were justified for the greater good of eugenicist progress (Agamben 137-47; 154-59). In *Homo Sacer*, Giorgio Agamben details how the German National Socialist physicians performed cold water experiments, followed by "animal heat reanimation" where "two naked women who had also been taken from among the Jews detained in the camps" were forced to have sexual relations with a male to bring about "reanimation" (155). Alexie draws clear parallels to the historical abuses of bodies during the Holocaust as well as other bodies "made die" in the culminating scenes of

"The Sin Eaters." Twelve-year-old Jonah is taken to a room, "strapped . . . facedown with the black restraining belts. . . . A black leather hood was pulled over [his] head." Jonah is blind and hears the "laughter of the soldiers" (111). Not only is Jonah naked, he is blind, restrained, and objectified. In the temporal past and present (and likely the future), there are torture prisons and similar abuses practiced in science labs; here, Jonah is treated as an experiment and degraded through psychological and physical tortures that continue into the present day.[55] In the lab, Jonah can hear only a woman nurse and "a male voice, accented, British perhaps, or Australian, cultured, refined" (112). Historically, the British settlements in America had one of the biggest impacts on the colonial genocide of Native peoples in North America, as well as on the genocide of aboriginal populations in Australia. Even the brief reference to the doctor in control of the project and Jonah's body and future implies the hegemonic necropolitics of colonial imperialism in in the form of scientific discourse. After a needle "sucked out pieces of [his] body, sucked out the blood, sucked out fluid ounces of [his] soul," the scientists deposit Jonah into a panopticon room with mirror windows and instruct him to "Please commence. Or be punished" with the older, naked Indian woman who has already been forced to have sex five times that day (115, 117). She refuses, pointing at Jonah's child-body, and then soldiers enter, "[carrying] electrical sticks. They jabbed one of the sticks into the Indian woman's belly and one into [Jonah's]" in an obscene parody of the rape the soldiers have ordered (117). Again, the body is violated. The intensity of the

[55] Even in our contemporary moment, the U. S. cannot claim innocence from such necropolitical violence, given the photos of abuses at Guantánamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, in addition to recent videos of U. S. Marines desecrating the bodies of deceased Afghani solders, and, I would argue, Operation Geronimo.

degradations and the taboos being broken spills over the temporal divisions into the future:

> For the rest of my life, I would see only rooms with white walls and the brown skin of naked Indian women. For the rest of my life, they would come to my room and lie down with me. Most of them would not speak; a few of them would die in my arms. They would surrender. I would survive and live on. (118)

Jonah's voice knows his future, reminding the reader of the opening paragraph, in which we first hear his testimony that he dreamed of the war before it began "though nobody officially called it a war until years later" (76). The dream of the war, the denial of war until "years later," and the years that become "the rest of [his] life" augment the temporal dislocation of the reader, forcing a realization of the perpetual, repeated, and unrecognized necropolitics underling the discourses of science and colonialism.

Zombie Soldiers with "a taste for human flesh:" Alexie's "Ghost Dance"

[A] consideration of the police institution encounters nothing essential at all. Its power is formless, like the nowhere tangible, all pervasive, ghostly presence in the life of civilized states.

Walter Benjamin, "A Critique of Violence"

War is the motor behind institutions and order. In the smallest of its cogs, peace is waging a secret war. To put it another way, we have to interpret the war that is going on beneath peace; peace itself is a coded war.

Michel Foucault, "Lectures at the College de France"

Placed in *McSweeney's Mammoth Treasury of Thrilling Tales*, Alexie's "Ghost Dance" occupies liminal space within its genre and within critical discussion. A "thrilling" tale indeed, "Ghost Dance" draws from the zombie tradition, a subset of

speculative fictions that has re-emerged with significant popularity after 9/11. Like "The Sin Eaters," "Ghost Dance" remains almost unmentioned in the current body of Alexie scholarship.[56] Both stories detail violations of the body, and, as in the "The Sin Eaters," "Ghost Dance" alludes to historicist genocide; unlike "The Sin Eaters," "Ghost Dance" directly names the perpetrators: the U. S. military industrial complex--specifically, Custer's Seventh Cavalry. Alexie engages many aspects of the zombie genre, most of all employing the genre's ability to unsettle certain, possibly scientific, knowledge of whether a body is alive or dead, illustrated in this case by the Seventh Cavalry zombie soldiers. According to Anna Froula:

> Whereas the rhetoric of war-making insists on the demonization of the Other and state propaganda delineates the oppositions between "us" and "them," zombies negate those differences. They blur the boundary between life and death by pitting us against ourselves and by confronting us with the abject corpse we will all one day become, whether we benefit from empire, suffer under its rule, or both. (196)

While Froula clearly identifies the uncanny necropolitical body that zombies represent, as well as the fact that all members of the nation-state can be bodily harmed by the ongoing state of and trauma of the coded war, Alexie's zombie soldiers in "Ghost Dance" do more than "negate" the "us" and "them." I argue that "Ghost Dance" illuminates how the necropolitical projects hidden by historicist narratives fuels the divisions of "us" and "them" by enforcing a hegemonic epistemology that disallows life to any who counter its logics, thereby waging a "coded war" on all subjects. "Ghost

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[56] Michael Elliott refers to Alexie's "Ghost Dance" in the first chapter of *Custerology: The Enduring Legacy of the Indian Wars and George Armstrong Custer.* In his chapter, "Ghost Dancing on Last Stand Hill," Elliott describes the plot of "Ghost Dance" and claims it is a "bizarre story." He links Alexie's story to the American Indian Movement's (AIM) placement of an Indian memorial at Little Bighorn to illustrate how the site represents a place of "unresolved and unresolvable energies" (22).

Dance" employs strategic temporal negotiation like "The Sin Eaters" and calls for an ongoing reckoning with necropolitical imperatives while emphasizing the need for a historical materialist memory that disrupts hegemonic, settler colonialist narratives.

Zombie stories employ traits associated with speculative fiction, significantly troubling empirical scientific knowledge through the unclassifiable zombie body. One of the earliest U. S. zombie stories is often classified as science fiction: Edgar Allen Poe's "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar." The body of M. Valdemar is neither alive nor dead, or a dead but still alive "corpse," until, of course, its putrid rotting away the story's finish. Poe's zombie questions scientific certainty in discerning life or death and thus could be considered speculative fiction by today's standards.

In current zombie scholarship, the majority of scholars recognize George Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* as the seminal zombie text. Sarah Juliet Lauro and Lauren Embry's "Zombie Manifesto" traces the zombie from its Haitian revolutionary/slave inception to current post-humanist theories in order to understand what the zombie as an "ontic/hauntic" figure can clarify about social and historical moments (86).[57] Given the contemporary conversation, I am intrigued by Lauro's and Embry's claim that the zombie is linked to "narratives of historical power and oppression" (91). I argue that Alexie's zombie soldiers further trouble linear time as a present-day Seventh Cavalry, and that "Ghost Dance" builds on the "sinister" implications of "The Sin Eaters:" namely, "Ghost Dance" reveals and calls for a

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[57] With Deborah Christie, Lauro has also edited a volume of essays, *Better Off Dead: The Evolution of the Zombie as Post-Human.*

reckoning with U. S. setter colonialism necropolitics that continue throughout time and into the present moment.

The title "Ghost Dance" summons discourses of haunting and history, linking the "living dead" to the historicist narrative of U. S. imperialism and complicating a linear timeline. Alexie sets his story at Custer Memorial Battlefield, mingling the recorded historical events of The Battle of Little Bighorn (1876) and the Wounded Knee massacre (1890). Both are coded as "wars" and are included in the progress narrative of the U. S. in a way that glorifies the white heroes and marginalizes their indigenous targets. Collapsing two recognized "battles" within one story is not unique to "Ghost Dance." Lisa Tatonetti identifies Alexie's strategic juxtaposition of the Ghost Dance to other tribal massacres in his poetry, especially the Seventh Cavalry's numerous attacks under the Custer's command. She addresses the danger in such collapsing insofar as it could be used to blur distinct tribal histories, but she ultimately claims that Alexie uses such parallels to illustrate the continual genocidal violence against Native American peoples committed by the U. S. army (4-5). Like Tatonette, I am interested in how Alexie employs specific events that affect Native American tribal populations in order to illuminate how genocidal imperatives persist into the present day in "coded" ways. In "Ghost Dance," for example, the collapse of temporality emphasizes the different forms of continual violence, be they historical, lived, physical, spiritual, or epistemological, leveled against all American Indian populations by the necropolitics of the supposed "peace" of U. S. empire. This particular "zombie" story invokes a part of the practice of the Ghost Dance movement that prophesied a return of the recently deceased American Indians and a removal of the white settler population.

"Ghost Dance" challenges hegemonic epistemology and adds a further disturbing twist when the returning population is not only white soldiers, but zombie soldiers that feast on every civilian in their path: no one can be recognized, no one is safe, and everybody can be killed. The soldiers clearly act in the name of U. S. necropolitics and ask the story's audience to reckon with their vulnerability within a state of exception and face the ongoing trauma necropolitics enacts upon abject bodies. In such a genocide, all are implicitly involved through collusion with and fidelity to U. S. empire.

The two cops who begin "Ghost Dance" illustrate the continual state of exception that both devalues the lived experiences of American Indian colonial subjects and establishes their place in U. S. histories that continually turn them into, to quote Benjamin's description of a triumph, those "lying prostrate" or "spoils" "carried along in the procession" ("Theses" 256). The police force includes a "big cop [who] hated Indians" and has spent his life serving "one faded Montana town or another" and "arrested 1,217 Indians for offences ranging from shoplifting to assault, from bank robbery to homicide, all of the crimes committed while under the influence of one chemical or another" (341). The big cop's racial hate becomes clear when he refers to Native Americans as "redskins," "scalp-hunters," and "squaw-bitch[es]," as well as when he opens his trunk to reveal two Native American hitchhikers he has picked up and locked in his trunk (342, 343). While the 1,217 Native American men and women arrested, as well as the two he carries in his trunk, may have committed felonies, the racial hatred and violence that the big cop displays illustrate an assumed righteous anger that ignores the violent history of U. S. imperialism that enacted contradictory (but always genocidal) policies of removal, allotment, boarding schools,

re-location, and reservations onto Native peoples. Continuing with his hegemonic, historical narrative, the big cop turns to Custer and the Battle of Little Bighorn, valorizing the deceased Seventh Cavalry while ignoring their ultimate mission to massacre Native peoples. Unsurprisingly, the big cop positions Native Americans as the perpetuators of violence:

> "Two hundred and fifty-six good soldiers, good men, were murdered here on that horrible June day in 1876," said the big cop. He'd said the same thing many times before. It was part of a speech he was always rehearsing.
>
> "I know it," said the little cop. He wondered if he should say a prayer.
>
> "If it wasn't for these damn Indians, said the big cop, "Custer would've been president of the United States."
>
> "Right."
>
> "We'd be living in a better country right now, let me tell you what." (343)

The big cop's "speech he was always rehearsing" points to the repetition historicism relies upon to make die any oppositional discourse that would sully a heroic memory of Custer. Rather than acknowledge that the Battle of Little Bighorn was a failed massacre, one of the Seventh Cavalry's many massacres across the western U. S. frontiers in the name of Manifest Destiny, or the fact that Custer's own poor planning led to his death, the big cop's narrative bemoans the white hero and condemns the violence of the "damn Indians" who must be responsible for the bad state of the country.

When the cops subsequently murder the two Native American men from the big cop's trunk, glorified past violence erupts into the present and the zombified Seventh Cavalry arises from the grave. The Seventh Cavalry zombies validate Benjamin's critique that "'state of emergency' in which we live is not the exception but the rule:" neither dead nor alive, the once-human soldiers return from the grave in a perverse

interpretation of a "ghost dance" and continue their original imperative--to kill every living person in their path (Benjamin, "Theses" 257). The Seventh Cavalry's reappearance undermines the scientific idea of death as the end of life and confuses the temporality of progress narrative by interpolating the past into the present moment, asking, "Do necropolitical imperatives ever die?"

As I have claimed above, Alexie makes clear that the zombie imperative, in the case of the Seventh Cavalry, is the necropolitical mission of the U. S. empire. Custer's supposedly dead army arises and discerns no distinctions in the race or epistemology of their victims. The "now alive and dead" soldiers who arise from the grave feast on the bodies of the Native Americans, the big cop, and the little cop before dispersing to continue their mission. Their "ghostly presence" (or zombie presence) illustrates Foucault's point that "peace is waging a secret war"--the soldiers, or the law they represent, are continually carrying out their mission sanctioned by settler colonialist hegemony. Notably, the soldiers, while awakened by "the Indian blood [that[spilled onto the ground, and seeped down into the cemetery dirt," do not discriminate between the white cops and the already dead Native American bodies. By displaying the zombies' inability to distinguish between the "us" and "them" established by the big cop, Alexie indicates the zombies' bigger role as enforcers of the hegemonic historicist epistemology and U. S. empire's necropolitical mission. As Lauro and Embry emphasize, the zombie "is a boundary figure . . . [that] creates a dilemma for power relations and risks destroying social dynamics that have remained--although widely questioned, critiqued, and debated--largely unchallenged" (90). While one may expect the Seventh Cavalry to target American Indians as they did during the so-called "Indian

Wars," the zombified soldiers reveal the "largely unchallenged" power dynamics of U. S. exceptionalism: they feast on anybody they encounter; for empire to succeed, all bodies are expendable. "Ghost Dance" presents readers with the horror of "the corpse [they] will one day become," but what is truly horrifying is the revelation that the division of "us" and "them" established through settler colonial politics does not operate during "peace" time (if it does at any time). In other words, the state of exception is a power structure that relies on remaining "largely unchallenged" as it operates during both a declared peace time and war time. Alexie's employment of speculative fiction zombies exposes that any and all bodies can be made to die to sustain the state of exception.

After the zombie Seventh Cavalry rises from the grave, Alexie's narrative shifts to the perspective of Edgar Smith, an FBI agent in Washington, DC. (Edgar's name invokes the spectres of simultaneously existing rationality and hysteria manifested by both Edgar Allan Poe and J. Edgar Hoover.) Edgar wakes from a dream of Custer to the reality of the "alive and dead" force committing a massacre. The shift to a new character and inclusion of a dream signal to the reader a potential change in perspective and an alternative view of U. S. history. In Edgar's dream, he sees "a quiet Cheyenne woman, a warrior whose name has never been spoken aloud since that day, who stepped forward with an arrow in her hand and stabbed it through Custer's heart." Edgar then becomes Custer and experiences a kiss from the quiet Cheyenne woman "in the greasy grass of his dream" (346). The Battle of Greasy Grass echoed in the "greasy grass" of Edgar's dream refers to the Lakota Sioux' name for the battle--a name until recently silenced in historicist memory, but a name present in living memories of American

Indian descendants. Edgar's perceptions quickly become a site for an alternative discourse of knowledge; first, his dream-vision of his/Custer's death, and second, continuing as a narrator who can always "see" the Seventh Cavalry's violent massacres. Edgar begins to feel unsettled even before these visions begin, noting:

> He didn't believe in ESP or psychics, in haunted houses or afterlife experiences, or in any of that paranormal bullshit. Edgar believed in science, in cause and effect, in the here and now, in facts. But no matter how rational he pretended to be, he knew the world had always contained more possibilities than he could imagine, and now, here he was, confronted by the very fact of a dream killing so closing tied with real killings.
>
> Edgar Smith was scared. (348)

Edgar's knowledge that "the world contained more possibilities than he could imagine" speaks to discourses historicism erases, forces that necropolitical surveillance hides, and evidence medical science disavows as inexplicable. Upon arriving at the battlefield and viewing the enormity of the massacre and unearthed graves, numerous officers quit or flee, and those who remain "doubted they had enough strength to face an enemy capable of such destruction" (348). Edgar "knew he would never truly leave this nightmare," and notes that the blood trails left by the zombies "[travel] in a pattern that suggested they were either randomly fleeing from the murder scene or beginning a carefully planned hunt" (348-49). The imbrication of dream and nightmare indicates potential alternative epistemologies that can assist his comprehension of the unnerving sights on the memorial battlefield. However, such abilities also begin to place Edgar outside of hegemonic formations of knowing, rendering him in an abject state--the nightmare-reality of any who challenge the U. S. necropolitical imperative by disproving or questioning scientifically ratified knowledge.

Alexie's speculative fiction zombifies both the risen Seventh Cavalry and Edgar to disorient and unsettle currently known and accepted hegemonic epistemologies. As Steven Zani and Kevin Meaux explain:

> Zombie narratives do not have something at their "core" at all, but rather, something at the limits of understanding, something that undoes or threatens the core, not just threatening the core of society, or the human, but of knowledge or meaning itself. (101)

As Edgar experiences the dissolution his former empirical system of knowledge, the reader, still in Edgar's perspective, experiences the negating force of the zombie narrative. Alexie uses Edgar along with the zombie horde of the Seventh Cavalry to undo any sense of a "core." Although zombie masses are typically described as "a swarm where no individual remains" with "consciousness . . . permanently lost," Alexie's zombies are inextricably linked to the state of exception (Lauro and Embry 89). Rather than characterizing them as an unconscious mob, Edgar speculates how a "pattern" left by the zombified Seventh Cavalry suggests "a carefully planned hunt." Alexie's strategic alteration to the zombie genre pushes readers to realize how the state of exception is the rule; Custer's zombie soldiers embody imperial necropolitics. One can never quite determine the source of violence because the violence cannot be clearly defined or recognized; also, because violence is often claimed as a benevolent necessity to protect a population, it becomes the "nowhere tangible, all pervasive, ghostly presence" that Benjamin describes. Alexie narrates a zombie violence that, like the zombie figure itself, evades recognition by current hegemonic discourse; however, Alexie names the historic U. S. military's Seventh Cavalry as its perpetrators.

A settler colonial force of empire since their inception, the Seventh Cavalry "was constituted in 1866 for the express purpose of fighting Indians" (Byrd 123Jodi Byrd further links the Seventh Cavalry to contemporary military forces and actions:

> The Third-Infantry Division-Seventh Cavalry was one of the first military units to reach Baghdad in the initial push into Iraq during spring 2003. . . . The continued presence of the 7th Cavalry . . . demonstrates the degree to which the United States' twenty-first-century imperialist-military desires the world over depend on discourses and policies that were catalyzed in the nineteenth-century campaigns to colonize and "domesticate" external American Indian nations *within* a United States that consumed a wide swath of the North American continent. (123)

Byrd and other indigenous scholars have recognized the military industrial complex as a clear site of the transit of empire, and Alexie's "Ghost Dance" performs a similar maneuver by linking the "carefully planned hunt" of the colonializing mission to a continual state of exception needed to justify U. S. necropolitics.

Alexie opens up a space for access to the "ghostly presence" of the violence through Edgar's visions; he details Edgar's transition to another epistemology to force the reader to experience the zombified Seventh Cavalry attacking everyone as a potential "them." However, Edgar's reckoning contains potential negation of self as well; in recognizing or challenging hegemony, one instantly becomes a "them" and subject to necropolitical imperatives. Edgar and another agent go to investigate a lead and locate a surveillance tape that verifies the appearance of a cannibalistic "drunken man . . . wearing a Seventh Cavalry uniform, circa 1876" (350). Even though this evidence exists, many of the FBI agents refuse to or simply cannot stand as witness. Only Edgar "falls" into a "seizure" or "dream state" and "[sees] death"--he sees events and images that defy what a body can experience according to the limited discourse of

biological science (350). The deaths Edgar experiences link back to the imperative of the Seventh Cavalry--a military force sent out on a mission to massacre the bodies of those who opposed the expansion of U. S. empire.

Alexie manipulates the zombie narrative horde even as he confirms their identity as the Seventh Cavalry. Their task appears to be maintaining the state of exception, but who sent the zombies and who controls the zombies appears unknown, making their mission and presence even more unsettling. Given the history of and theories on zombie narratives, one could speculate that the zombie soldier mass is being controlled by some sort of "slave master," as early zombie stories depicting the slave/slave rebellion of Haiti often were (Kee 17). Recent re-examinations of zombie narratives suggest other possibilities for the "master" scenario, possibilities that more explicitly connect the zombie to necropolitical imperialist projects. Sorcha Ní Fhlainn claims: "The military is the ultimate zombie master, the destructor of free will, and the creator of ultimate violation--moral, physical, psychological, individual, and national" (153). While the Seventh Cavalry eludes Edgar and the FBI's control, Alexie's "Ghost Dance" calls out the military as an institution that survives by consuming the bodies of all who challenge U. S. imperial expansion and, in the case of the original Seventh Cavalry, settler colonial necropolitics.

Edgar moves from identifiable subject to epistemological other as "Ghost Dance" continues. Along with his fever dream comes more knowledge:

> Edgar saw these bodies and suddenly knew these men's names and the names of all of their children, but he also knew their secret names, the tribal names that had been given to them in secret ceremonies and were never said aloud outside of the immediate family.

> All told, sixty-seven people were murdered that night and Edgar saw all of their deaths. . . . He suddenly knew them and mourned their butchery as if he'd given birth to them. (351)

As Edgar's dream vision continues, he sees death, survivors, and those fighting for survival. He sees a girl on the Crow reservation escape soldiers through the window of an outhouse, and climb into a nearby tree:

> She climbed for her life to the top and balanced on a branch barely strong enough to hold her weight. Again and again, the two soldiers climbed after her, but their decayed bones could not support the weight of their bodies, and so they broke apart, hands and arms hanging like strange fruit high in the tree, while their bodies kicked and screamed on the ground below. (351-52)

The ceaseless pursuit of the soldiers at the cost of their own further disintegration illustrates the unending "state of emergency" that drives their mission of massacre. The past and future war against the abject Other by the U. S. historicist imperative is further alluded to with Alexie's reference to the "strange fruit" hanging in the tree. It recalls a palimpsest of King Philips quartered body parts, and Billie Holliday's "Strange Fruit," a song condemning the continued practice of lynching African American bodies throughout the U. S. While the bodies broken in the trees now are the zombie bodies, the "alive and dead" violence that hangs racialized bodies into from trees has continued. The trapped girl perches at the top of the tree, and in Edgar's sight comes knowledge beyond the limits of "cause and effect" he used to subscribe to:

> He knew the girl would die unless he stopped the soldiers, and then he knew, without knowing why he knew, exactly how to stop them.
>
> "Attention," he screamed.
>
> The two soldiers, obedient and well trained, immediately stood at full attention. "Right face," Edgar screamed.
>
> With perfect form, the two soldiers faced right, away from the tree.
>
> "Forward march, Edgar screamed. (352)

The soldiers, the military force commanded by political-juridical law, only know to stop when and if commanded by a military-voiced master, but this does not stop them completely. Edgar saves the girl atop the tree, but even as he tells the soldiers to march away, he knows that all of them, as commanded, are controlled by a larger mission--one he becomes subject to as well.

The expansion of Edgar's consciousness in his "seizure" wherein he can "see death" enables him to access momentary control, but also places him outside of the acceptable empiricism of the "science, here and now, cause and effect" in which he used to believe (348; 350). Alexie creates a zombie-state for Edgar in his expanded perspective: he can see the "coded war" and thus becomes a threat to its continuation, exiling him from the hegemonic ontology of knowledge and forcing him, as well as any others who may counter U. S. empire and its systems of knowing, to the realm of abject other. Edgar knows his visions violate hegemonic knowledge. Within the current norms, alternative epistemological structures and oppositional discourses not codified by scientific empiricism are often disavowed; within the necropolitical mission of the U. S. nation-state, Edgar can easily be condemned and "made die" through exile. Much like colonial others whose epistemologies and lives were set up as "savage" and therefore subject to cultural and physical genocide, "disappearing" Edgar supports the maintenance of the hegemonic knowledge production and the ever-active necropolitics of the zombie soldiers. While Alexie's "Ghost Dance" has opened up a space for Edgar's (and hopefully the reader's) reckoning, the state of exception continues. Edgar reflects on the Seventh Cavalry he has recently witnessed, knowing:

> the soldiers would keep marching until they fell into a canyon or lake, or until they crossed an old road where a fast-moving logging truck might smash them into small pieces. Edgar knew these two soldiers would never stop. He knew all of these soldiers, all two hundred and fifty-six of them, would never quit, not until they had found whatever it was they were searching for. (352)

The force of the soldiers, their "alive and dead" presence pervades "civil society," haunting the peace. They "would never quit, not until they had found whatever it was they were searching for;" the zombie soldiers carry out the massacre, their mission to civilize and establish "peace" across the continental U. S. Yet, the "peace" of clearing the land for supposedly civilized settlement manifests as a "coded war" against those who stand in the way of the imperial mission. In the historicist narrative, these active necropolitics are written as battles rather than genocidal massacres or excluded entirely in order to reimagine settler colonialism under narratives of Manifest Destiny wherein those who can and would contradict this hegemony are conveniently forgotten, if not already "made die" in more literal ways. Edgar, after reporting to dispatch, is taken to the hospital where he is "asked again and again how he had come to know what he knew. He told the truth, and they did not believe him, and he didn't blame them because he knew that it sounded crazy" (353). Edgar realizes his knowledge falls outside of the bounds drawn by the police institution and by medical science, hegemonic forces which distinguish normative human subjects from abject.

Edgar, too, becomes a zombie; living but dead within the hegemonic beliefs of a U. S. empire that has use only for those who help advance and maintain the "coded war" of the state of exception. Edgar even questions himself, noting: "He'd interviewed hundreds of people who claimed to see visions of the past and future. He'd made fun of

them all, and now he wondered how many of them had been telling the truth" (353). "Truth," a term associated with legitimized histories and scientific or ontological knowledges, becomes difficult to discern given Edgar's vision and alternative descriptions of "haunting" dismissed by the hegemonic discourses of the state of exception. Edgar's expanded perspective renders him incapable of re-entering his former position within the normative population; he lies alone in his hospital room, after the other officers, "sad to see a good man falling apart," leave, and he:

> listened hard for the voices he was sure would soon be speaking to him, and he wondered what those voices would ask him to do and if he would honor their requests. Edgar felt hunted and haunted, and when he closed his eyes, he smelled blood and he didn't know how much if it would be spilled before all of this was over. (353)

Outcast by others for his "falling apart" because he has opened his mind to the traumatic complications of seeing both the "war" and the "peace," Edgar notes how he feels "hunted and haunted;" haunted, perhaps by the voices and the violence, and hunted because he realizes the inescapability of being marked as unintelligible by regulatory hegemonic discourse as well as the possibility of becoming a target of the necropolitics he has witnessed. The unknown amount of blood, as well as "how much of it would be spilled before all of this was over" asks the reader to consider whether Edgar is referring to the blood spilled by the zombie soldiers of the Seventh Cavalry or the larger state of exception and how much blood the "all pervasive, haunting" war/peace will spill in the name of maintaining U.S empire.

Alexie's use of the speculative zombie genre, coupled with Edgar's uncertainty at the story's close, conveys the potential difficulty of negation or movement beyond the currently upheld hegemonic norms. The Seventh Cavalry zombie soldiers and

Edgar's zombie-like state may disrupt ontological formations of empirical knowledge and reveal necropolitical imperialism often hidden by the historicist narrative, and Alexie refuses to promise any un-"sinister" end to such pervasive forces. The maintenance of the "war that is going on beneath the peace" relies on making die those who do not uphold or conform to its imperatives. "Ghost Dance" brings these politics to life through the zombie soldiers, but it cannot promise a bloodless ending or any foreseeable conclusion at all.

Conclusion: Making Visible U. S. Necropolitics

Alexie's "The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance" are works of fiction, but their close alignment with and allusions to the past, present, and ongoing acts of necropolitical imperialism call for a reckoning beyond contesting the problematic narrative of U. S. historicism: his "sinister" speculative fictions make direct comparisons to genocidal actions that directly question the use of science to justify an "empirical" reality. Alexie's use of speculative fiction places him into conversation with writers of the African diaspora and develops the importance of questioning scientific rationalism directed at Native peoples throughout time. "The Sin Eaters" and "Ghost Dance" reference systems of scientific knowing, and how science is, has been, will be used to support supposedly imperatives that benevolently protect populations--but as seen with the characters of Jonah, Edgar, and all those whom the Seventh Cavalry zombies attack, the impetus is to "make die" Native populations, rather than "let live." By using speculative fiction, Alexie directly questions institutions of U. S. imperialism that uphold the "coded peace" of necropolitics which challenge his readers to

experience the “sinister” alienation which the scientifically-denoted abject other must always negotiate while living in a settler colonial nation-state.

Epilogue:

Putting the Indian in the Cupboard:

Historical Ideologies of White Patriarchy in David Milch's *Deadwood*

In the pilot episode of David Milch's *Deadwood*, Ellsworth, a genial prospector looking to make his fortune in the diggings at Deadwood, exclaims to Al Swearengen: "Goddamn it Swearengen, I don't trust you as far as I can throw ya, but I enjoy the way you lie" (1.1). Ellsworth's statement directly responds to Al's "limey accent," his claim to be of royal English blood--"I'm descended from all them cocksuckers," and Al's assurance to Ellsworth that no one will challenge his rights to gold claiming while at the Gem. As well, the miner's assessment of Swearenger captures my own concluding reading of how dominant historical narratives exercise settler-colonial hegemony even in a work claiming to be a revisionist western: you are watching an elaborately constructed and not unpleasing story, but one that, as with any representation of the "West," is laden with layers of deception, often for greater ideological purposes than the surface is willing to acknowledge. Milch's series manifests an ideology steeped in his particular education and beliefs about the literary nineteenth century, an ideology that elevates white men (to their balconies), and vanishes Native peoples (either by death or to literal and figurative cupboards) in order to reinforce the supremacy of white patriarchal control in U. S. history and the post-9/11 present.

Existing critical scholarship on *Deadwood* combined with Milch's own commentary about the series clearly delineate strategic revisions to the western genre within the series as well as the historical narrative resulting from some changes. One of the often commented upon revisions to the traditional form is the verbosity of Milch's

series. Rather than the "not-language" that Jane Tompkins describes as characteristic of the classic western, *Deadwood's* characters have a range of linguistic abilities.[58] Often the characters who wield their words with the greatest dexterity (be the style Shakespearean, Victorian, biblical, or other) possess a greater power in their given situation. In "*Deadwood* and the English Language," Brad Benz quotes David Milch's explanation of his show's language: "Language--both obscene and complicated--was one of the few resources of society that was available to [the miners]." Benz elaborates on Milch's comments, explaining that "discourse functions as a precious 'resource' for the miner, a 'social form' that mediates their lives. In a lawless camp, language helps organize and govern the miner's life" (239). However, linguistic ability is not equally available to all inhabitants of Deadwood, especially to the barely present Native American characters.

In addition to elaborating the western's language, Milch's series undoes the mythos of the individualistic frontiersman as well as displaying most (but not all) of the community that one would have historically found in a mining camp. Kyle Wiggins and David Holmberg's "'Gold is Every Man's Opportunity:' Castration Anxiety and the Economic Venture in *Deadwood*" comment on how the portrayal of corporate capitalism backed by the larger nation-state challenges the "illusory myth of self-reliant individualism in the frontier space" (283). Throughout the three seasons, George Hearst and corporate capitalism becomes the threatening menace to the often dysfunctional community of *Deadwood*. Nevertheless, the ideology of the individual entrepreneur or

[58] In *West of Everything*, Tompkins writes: "Because the genre is in revolt against a Victorian culture where the ability to manipulate language confers power, the Western equates power with 'not-language.' And not-language it equates with being male" (55).

solo western hero is challenged throughout the show's first season, particularly in a scene poignantly noted by numerous critics wherein the deteriorating Reverend Smith preaches a sermon at Wild Bill Hickok's burial.[59]

> "[T]he body is not one member but many. . . . [Even] those members of the body which we think of as less honorable--all are necessary. He--he says that, there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care, one to another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. (1.5)

The community displayed in the camp of Milch's *Deadwood*, as remarked upon by Allison Perlman, is also a multiethnic and a multileveled social stratum: Milch includes minders, prostitutes, Chinese, small business owners, Eastern investors, African Americans, and cavalry men, among others (109-10). While Perlman praises this diversity as a revision to the standard western, she shows no awareness of Sioux or other Native Americans who would have been in and around the camp, noting only "a decapitated head kept by Gem saloon owner . . . that he uses as an occasional confessor and confidant" (106). On the absence of Native peoples, Milch declares that the Sioux man whom Seth Bullock encounters in "Plague" is: "the only Indian I have in the whole fucking show" (*Deadwood* 201). Apparently Milch has forgotten about the decapitated Native man whose head Al conveniently keeps in a box as a "conversation piece" to ruminate to at his leisure.

Milch's volume *Deadwood: Stories from the Black Hills* , the boxed DVD sets of the HBO series, and the emphasis on the historical research that grounds the show communicate a certain perception of historical authority to *Deadwood*. Perlman's essay

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[59] For fuller articulations and explanations of the burial scene, see Singer, 192 and 194, and Tonkovich, "Who Put the Gun into the Whore's Hand?"

notes that these accompanying "paratexts" lead the audience to trust "Milch and his creative team . . . as custodians of the history of Deadwood" (111). Although Perlman seems somewhat troubled by a historical construction that often reinforces the "quotidian yet profoundly resilient bigotry of American history," she does not suggest what viewers are to do when presented with such a product, or articulate what responsibility a writer like Milch may have when revising history while presenting himself as an historical authority (111).

The historical ideology displayed in *Deadwood* is steeped in nineteenth-century literary contexts and logics, and as such, replicates discourses of U. S. empire employed during the era of Manifest Destiny. Milch himself has commented on how his *Deadwood* scripts were informed by the nineteenth-century American Renaissance writers and his education at Yale with Robert Penn Warren. In *Dirty Words in Deadwood: Literature and the Postwestern*, Melody Graulich describes her dialogue with David Milch, and claims that she reads the series intertextually with literature as a "historical fiction" (xxi).[60] I am not asking that *Deadwood* be historically "authentic," but I do find it a convenient and problematic "lie" for the celebrated historical, (supposedly) revisionist series to be clothed in the guise of historical authority. In other words, Milch's *Deadwood* currently enjoys both literary artistic license and "non-fictive" foundational roots. What I find even more confusing is Graulich's parenthetical

[60] Throughout the article, Graulich and Milch bandy about Hawthorne, Twain, James, Fitzgerald, Faulkner, O'Conner, Whitman, Fitzgerald, and Cather, among others. I find it telling that the authors that Milch holds in high regard do not include many prominent nineteenth century women writers advocating feminist or American Indian rights. It might behoove Milch to reach Catherine Maria Sedgwick, Sarah Margaret Fuller, María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Lydia Maria Child, or, if he were feeling really inclusive, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Mourning Dove, and Sophia Alice Callahan.

exculpation of Milch from supporting "American exceptionalism": (Milch cannot be accused of buying into "American exceptionalism," one of the attacks against early American Studies scholarship, since the themes he spun out in *Deadwood* he originally planned to explore in Ancient Rome.) (xxxix)

The United States in the nineteenth century was an imperial power in its own way, just as was ancient Rome. Certainly, historical details differ; however, premising a show on exploring themes that reflect imperial politics does not exempt an author from accusations of "exceptionalism." Jodi Byrd has demonstrated how the "transit" of empire functions in U. S. colonialisms to "[transform] indigenous peoples into the *homo nullius* inhabitants of lands emptied and awaiting arrival" and that the United States continues to "[deploy] a paradigmatic Indianness to facilitate its imperial desires" (xxi). Milch's choice to almost completely exclude Native peoples from *Deadwood* confirms the exceptionalism of U. S. empire, erasing the presence of Sioux peoples from the Black Hills and from the trading town of Deadwood, where Native peoples would as likely visit, if not reside in, as any other racialized population.

"The only Indian I have in the whole fucking show"

"The simulations of manifest manners are the continuance of the surveillance and domination of the tribes in literature. Simulations are the absence of the tribal real."

Gerald R, Vizenor, Manifest Manners

Writing of his conscious decision not to include Native Americans as part of his supposedly authentic portrayal of the mining cultures of Deadwood, David Milch notes:

> When a culture intuits that it is doomed, that the old symbolic order will not hold in the face of a more supple and powerful way of organizing reality, it finds a way of organizing reality, it finds a way to retreat into the notion of the afterlife and commit suicide here on earth.
>
> The Indians developed responses to the pressure of a better-organized society that wanted their land. In the 1880s, that took the form of the Ghost Dance, a social phenomenon that promised some of the same otherworldly results that suicide bombers are promised today. Earlier, a strain of this behavior culminated in the battle at Little Big Horn, which was basically a suicide attack launched by a culture in its death throes." (*Deadwood: Stories* 53)

Putting aside the question of how "a culture" might "intuit" its own demise, this passage is noteworthy as a demonstration of Milch's promulgation of the ideology of the doomed and vanishing Indian. Vacating these cultures from the series allows him to embrace standard western tropes of the bloodthirsty savage and the white hero triumphant--regrettably, in place of portraying the complexities of the cultural encounters that were part of the period and place.

Gerald Vizenor describes this pattern of thinking as "manifest manners": how the dominant, typically white, historical and literary sources construct the idea or prop of "Indian" in the "absence of the tribal real" (4). I read Milch's predilection for the literary historical vision of mid-nineteenth-century U. S. events as part of how he constructed *Deadwood*, and I claim Milch maintains the "transit" of empire by employing the representation of "Indian," a trope absent of life and tribal referent. Milch's interpretation, quoted above, of the Ghost Dance and the Battle of Little Big Horn exposes why Native Americans are largely absent from *Deadwood*. Those that do appear, do so in the service of the manifest manners of dominance of U. S. empire and

not as peoples whom, despite Milch's opinions on their suicidal impulses, are still living today.[61]

Milch's likening the actions of the Sioux in response to the broken Fort Laramie Treaty and Wovoka's followers to contemporary day terrorists or suicide bombers, leads me to present a close reading of the circumstances surrounding the "only Indian . . . in the whole fucking show," demonstrating how Native vanishing becomes the foundation for white male bonding and elevation in *Deadwood.* In "Plague," Seth Bullock sets out on horseback to avenge Wild Bill Hickok's death, pursuing the recently acquitted Jack McCall. After the opening credits, the episode begins with four establishing shots, each only three or four seconds in duration, of the mountains and wooded territory of the Black Hills (as viewers, we haven't left the immediate camp area, and will not again). The first two shots display a greater swath of the landscape, placing the viewer in a seemingly omniscient position of surveyor. The third focuses in on a tree, which, if a viewer studies carefully, has objects hanging from it. The final shot depicts a Native encampment or structure, although it is difficult to discern tribal specificity or purpose in the short seconds of display. Either way, the camera signals generic "Indianness" to the viewer. The focus then shifts to Bullock on horseback, slowly riding uphill towards the camera. In the initial seconds of "Plague," familiar western visual tactics are displayed: deserted vistas (although not of the famed Monument Valley), the singular "cowboy hero," and empty wilderness, with an

[61] There are currently at least five hundred and sixty federally recognized "sovereign nations" in the U. S. today (Byrd 124)

unconfirmed hint of another's presence. According to Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, such visual cues are common to the western genre, given that western films wish to assure the viewer of:

> a historical moment when the penetration of the frontier is already well underway, when the character's point of origin is no longer Europe but Euro-America, and when there is little likelihood that Native Americans will mount a successful resistance to European occupation. (115)

The landscape and presence of the Euro-American Bullock, as well as the physical absence of a Native person in the establishing shots indicate that while there may be Native presence, there will likely not be "successful resistance." Further, "the land is regarded as empty and virgin" and the western "projects a vision of wide-open possibility, a sense of vistas infinitely open in both space and time" (Shohat and Stam 116, 118). These cues of the traditional western are alive and well in this episode of *Deadwood*, and although we become quickly acquainted with the "only fucking Indian," the camera privileges Bullock and signals to the viewer that living Native presence will not last long.

Bullock's ensuing fight-to-the-death with the Sioux man becomes an oddly non-revisionist scene in the schema of *Deadwood* that further justifies the necessity for white men of Bullock and Utter's ilk to found the burgeoning settlement. For the entire two minutes of the "only Indian" sequence, the camera is with the Sioux character for possibly eight seconds: there are six seconds where we view Bullock through the trees and underbrush from his left (Bullock's left, given he is the centering figure, of course), and two seconds after Bullock's horse is shot out from under him when we are positioned as the Sioux man who then successfully counts coup on Bullock. However,

the camera quickly shifts back to wide-angle shots of the scene (featuring both the Sioux man and Bullock), or from the perspective of Bullock looking up at the Sioux man towering, screaming, chanting, and dancing over him, or from behind the Sioux man to Bullock, but never from the perspective of the Sioux man looking down at Bullock. The denial of the gaze to the Sioux man, aside from his skulking in the bushes or initial act of violence supports Shohat and Stam's observation that:

> The point-of-view conventions consistently favor the Euro-American protagonists; they are centered in the frame, their desires drive the narrative; the camera pans, tracks and cranes to accompany their regard. (120)

Later in the episode, the gravely wounded Bullock is discovered by Charlie Utter, and together they inter the Sioux man atop the structure featured in the fourth establishing shot of the episode. The two men share the camera's gaze, and the Sioux man's life is mediated through Utter's supposed knowledge of the markings on the deceased's horse. Both Bullock and Utter are grieving over Wild Bill's death, and as they handle the remains of the Sioux man, the camera focuses on their bonded gaze, and the dead Sioux man remains peripheral to the camera's frame. The scene, then, allows white men to experience cathartic violence, grieve, and then bond in solidarity of friendship. The filmic structure of this scene can only be seen as traditional to "the Western" and furthers notions of white male exceptionalism and the desires of U. S. manifest destiny.

While representations of other racialized characters in *Deadwood* are in their own ways no less problematic, the other multiracial or multiethnic characters are given screen time, personalities, voices, and presence, all of which Milch denies to Native peoples. Either killed within two minutes, or regulated to Swearengen's cupboard,

American Indians function as a "transit" of U. S. empire and white male exceptionalism, not living peoples within Milch's ideology of history.

According to Milch, he included the Indian in order to "mark" Bullock. He states:

> I wanted Bullock to kill the Indian and bear the mark of Cain: He gets a big scar on his forehead when he kills the Indian at the beginning of the sixth episode. That is completely fabricated incident, but I did not want to exempt Bullock from the more general sin of what we did to the Indians. Not that it makes us any worse or better than any other race. It's what we do. We take things from other people. (*Deadwood: Stories* 201)

While Milch admits that a vague "we" "take things" from the Indians, "we" are no "worse or better than any other race" in committing this "sin." Rather than call the "sin" a genocide or include Sioux and other tribal peoples who would likely have been in the mining settlements or moving through the area for trading purposes, Milch chooses not to explore this historical reality. Milch also refers to Native Americans in the past tense, again erasing them from the present and future existence. *Deadwood'*s treatment of Native characters performs the visual genocide found in the tropes of western film, a genre that has its "ideological roots in . . . the competitive laws of Social Darwinism, the hierarchy of the races and sexes, the idea of progress . . . with reverberations that echo through popular culture even today" (Shohat and Shan 115). The "reverberation" of Native vanishing in *Deadwood* strikes me as a strategic move in Milch's overall vision for the series and the vision of U. S. history he wishes to depict in his "whole fucking show."

The Indian in the Cupboard

> AL: . . . (*handing the decapitated Sioux head, now covered in burlap, across his desk to Johnny*) Get this outta here.
> JOHNNY: Get rid of it?
> AL: Did you hear me announce the other night that I'd pay a $50 bounty for every fuckin' Indian head?
> JOHNNY: I was right next to ya, Al.
> AL: That's the first head. Some chili chomper's out there somewhere right now spendin' my fifty. You get rid of that head, you'd better know of another place with a position open for an idiot.
> JOHNNY: Alright. Got a couple places I can keep it, I guess.
> AL: Yeah 'til after the trial.
> JOHNNY: Well, what do ya do with it then? Put it somewhere in the bar? It's a nice conversation piece. I mean if it's handled the right way. (1.5)

Although Milch claims the "only Indian" in his series is the one killed by Bullock in "Plague," the first shot of at least a part of a Native American actually occurs at the end of "Here Was a Man" (1.4). The conclusion of that episode is a climactic blur of frenzied series of cuts and sound: Al climaxes and finishes in his bed with Trixie; Seth and Sol hammer another board into place on their storefront; Jack McCall methodically walks into Number 10, gun raised, and shoots Wild Bill Hickok in the back, screaming "Take that, goddamn you." After these deliberate acts, the camera breaks its pacing as the background music begins to repeat a fiddle tune and follows the mob that chases Jack out of Number 10, stops him from mounting his horse, and drags him into the main thoroughfare. The camera catches the crowd. Seth and Sol's eyes are drawn to the crowd; Alma and Jane watch from Alma's hotel window; Al, in his long johns, looks down at the crowd gathered below his balcony. Jane and Seth are dawn to the crowd, and Tom Nutall informs Jane, "He shot Wild Bill Hickok." The fiddle music, repeating the same pattern of crescendo continues, and the camera, now at eye level on the thoroughfare, pans out to show a rider furiously galloping into the camp, hanging onto the long, dark hair of a decapitated head. The rider twirls around and around on his

horse, the head now at center of the camera, jerking to and fro as if in a spastic dance to the frenetic fiddle music in the background. The decapitated Indian head and rider hold the camera's gaze for a full twelve seconds before the camera cuts to Bullock and Jane, now on the way to retrieve Wild Bill's body (1.4).

As well as making a "nice conversation piece," the "prop" of the decapitated Native American man functions to solidify and support the common western tropes of Native vanishing and white masculine supremacy. Al's ownership of the decapitated head stems from his attempts to calm the crowd at the Gem in the pilot episode; rather than lose his customers, he convinces them to stay with promises of half-price drinks and pussy and a fifty-dollar bounty (1.1). The only head traded for bounty materializes three episodes later, and even at the end of season three, remains with Al. The decapitated head is also kept hidden for the remainder of the series; the burlap bundle is transferred to a box, which is later locked in a cupboard situated behind Swearengen's desk. His subsequent "conversations" with the "chief" further solidify Byrd's theory of the "transit of empire":

> The United States propagates empire not through frontiers but through the production of a paradigmatic Indianness. In the process, U. S. empire discursively and juridically figures American Indian lives and ungrievable in a past tense lament that forecloses futurity. (xxxv)

David Milch's commentary, as well as the representations (or lack of) Native characters in *Deadwood* replicates U. S. imperial logics that always view Native peoples "in a past tense lament that forecloses futurity." As such, the ways the Indian-head-in-a-box in Al's cupboard can be read as analogous to how the U. S. calls upon the vanished American Indians to ameliorate a present grief that does not "lament" the Native

absence but rather the difficulty of the white or multicultural present (depending on the temporal moment). The Indian head in Al's cupboard figuratively represents the literal containments of Native peoples through alternating policies of treaty, reservation, and allotment (among other policies), in addition to their regulation to the "past" as relics in museums and other types of false representation of their present and future lives.

The decapitated Indian head (in a box) disappears until its use as a prop becomes apparent to Swearengen in season two as he is convalescing from passing a kidney stone. Tellingly, he dubs the head "chief," and only brings it forth in service of his own confusions or ruminations. Thus the Indian in the cupboard continues to reinforce and facilitate the representative English white male position of superiority in *Deadwood*. Swearengen is never denied futurity; the "chief," by contrast, is constantly reminded of his usefulness only as a past-tense object lesson. Al's one-sided conversations with the "chief" illustrate the positionality reflected in Milch's ideology. For example, Al will bring the box onto the balcony with him, but let the "chief" "suffer the low vantage" so Al does not jeopardize his own "standing" in the camp (2.8). Swearengen ruminates to the box during his convalescence and again in season three when he is confounded by his nemesis, William Randolph Hearst. The scene opens with the camera focused on Al in his office, debating whether to send Dan out to fight Hearst's beastly Captain Turner. He pours a shot of whiskey into his white and blue china cup, and downs it. The camera angle shifts to a profile view, as if one is seated in front of Al's desk. Al gazes ahead, breathes, as if thinking, and turns to face the cupboard behind his desk. The camera switches to the side view, and Al rolls his chair back to the cupboard, opening the door to reveal the box: "Watching us advance on your stupid teepee, Chief, knowing you had

to make your move . . . did you not just want first to fucking understand? Huh?" (3.7) Al stares down the box, head cocked to the side, then looks to the camera again. The shot cuts out. Later, Al decides to let Dan go ahead and fight, announcing to Dan and Adams: "It's past me. I can't figure the fuckin' angle" (3.7). Jennilyn Merten argues:

> In an odd way, *Deadwood*'s inhabitants seem a little like the Sioux, whom the government patronizes like a bastard relative and whose putative savagery requires either formal domination or extermination. It is not surprising, then, that Swearengen talks to the severed head of the Lakota Sioux Indian, whose bounty he has paid, finding himself in a position of similar, if not equal vulnerability, with a bounty given to the neighboring territory to annex and tame Deadwood. (151)

While I do not see the same similarity between the white inhabitants of *Deadwood* and the Sioux population (or any Native population, for that matter), either historically or as depicted in the show, Merten's association of the "severed head" with Al's "vulnerability" does have a certain resonance. I, however, argue that the Indian in the cupboard is instead used to reinforce the forwarding of U. S. empire; when Al addresses the head in conversation he doesn't credit Sioux as having any understanding of why they were being massacred by the U. S. Cavalry. The ideas that Native peoples possessed understanding (as opposed to intuition) or alternative epistemologies are clearly not present in the vision David Milch has of the Sioux peoples, nor of the Natives he vanishes from *Deadwood*.

Conclusion: Enjoyable Lies?

As much as I want to, I cannot disagree with Ellsworth's opening sentiment to Al Swearengen: I do enjoy watching Milch's revisionist "lie." Such enjoyment does not prevent me from questioning the supposed historical authority *Deadwood* claims,

especially regarding American Indian populations. An emblematic example of the entertaining lie comes from one of Al's final rants. In his efforts to muddle out how he has lost power to Hearst and Yankton, and perhaps in frustration over his own obdurateness, Al sits facing his open cupboard, directly addressing the "chief's" box:

> I should have fucking learned to use a gun, but I'm too fucking entrenched in my ways. And you ain't exactly the one to be leveling criticism on the score of being slow to adapt. You fucking people are the original slow fucking learners! (3.12)

After emphatically slamming the cupboard door, Al is last seen on his balcony, watching Hearst ride away. Al's accusation, while meant to entertain, is left unchallenged in its brief scene and in the series as a whole. According to *Deadwood*, Native vanishing results from a failure to "learn" or adapt, rather than as a result of a systematic genocide. Of course, a severed head cannot respond to this oversimplified and destructive account of U. S. colonialism. Such silence reflects the ideology at work in Milch's "revisionist" history.

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