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Toward a Native Feminist Reading Methodology

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

in

Ethnic Studies

by

Angela Teresa Morrill

Committee in charge:

Professor K. Wayne Yang, Chair  
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Professor Ross Frank  
Professor Mattie Harper

2016

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University of California, San Diego

2016

## DEDICATION

*For my grandmother, Lillian Dunham, my mother, Peggy Ball,  
and my sister Mychele.*

*For all those watching over us and for future ghosts.*

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- 2016 "Time Traveling Dogs (and other Native feminist ways to defy dislocations)." *Cultural Studies* ⇔ *Critical Methodologies*. Special Issue on Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies, eds. Aimee Carrillo Rowe and Eve Tuck. Forthcoming.
- 2016 "Before Dispossession, or Surviving It." Angie Morrill, Eve Tuck and Super Futures Haunt Collective. *Liminalities: a Journal of Performance Studies*. Special Issue: "On Cartographies: Skins, Surfaces, Doings," eds. Stacy Holman Jones and Anne Harris. Volume 12, No. 1, Winter 2016.
- 2013 "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy." Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck and Angie Morrill. *Feminist Formations*, Volume 25, Issue 1, Spring: 8-34.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Toward a Native Feminist Reading Methodology

by

Angela Teresa Morrill

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnic Studies

University of California, San Diego, 2016

Professor K. Wayne Yang, Chair  
Professor Denise Ferreira da Silva, Co-Chair

This dissertation introduces the Native feminist reading practice, a methodology that resists disappearance and affirms presence. It is a methodology that involves reading against disappearance; it involves reading futures yet in store for Native lives. A Native feminist reading practice is a sort of double-consciousness that sees through the settler reading, and recognizes the Native feminist reading underneath it, and through it all, and beyond all of it. While I offer a definition, it is

a broad definition because I think that a Native feminist reading methodology is open to interpretation and is a practice of self-recognition. Acts of self-recognition are acts of survivance, and as a methodology I understand that this is not something new, but in creating a definition, this methodology is named and can be used for theorizing and understanding Native feminist theories and texts. It is a research tool that does not include Native feminisms but is a Native feminist practice of recognition.

In this dissertation I examine historical narratives, films, quilts and paintings, art installations and an oral archive of narratives through a Native feminist reading methodology. A Native feminist reading methodology recognizes survivance, and it is a practice of survivance. In that spirit I also draw on my ancestors, their lives, their stories and their refusals. Extending arguments of recognition, this methodology is an act of recognition. Throughout the chapters I used examples of Native feminist methodologies, What is gained from Native feminist methodologies is the work of trusting Native feminisms and bringing that knowledge through primarily Western institutions to one another as a form of recognition. My dissertation is an intervention and participation in that ongoing decolonizing project.

## INTRODUCTION

### **Defining a Native Feminist Reading Methodology**

Theorizing is something that the Indigenous peoples do with or without academia or our theorists...it is intensely dreamed, because that is the edge where meanings are transformed.

(Dian Million, "Intense Dreaming" 2010)

This dissertation introduces the Native feminist reading practice, a methodology that resists disappearance and affirms presence. It is a methodology that involves reading against disappearance; it involves reading futures yet in store for Native lives. A Native feminist reading practice is a sort of double-consciousness that sees through the settler reading of historical and contemporary events, and recognizes the Native feminist story underneath it, and through it all, and beyond all of it.

In this dissertation I examine historical narratives about Native women in the U.S. Pacific Northwest and California, a digitized oral archive of Klamath narratives, film and video documentaries by / about Native people in the 20th century Pacific Northwest and California, as well as quilts, photographic practices, paintings, and art installations by contemporary Native women artists from the Pacific Northwest. While these different may be read as texts, such as the ones Natalie Ball paints on in her art installations - and as such they are passing on stories from the past to the future - these quilts and paintings are also part of stories, stories about family, pieces left out of settler narratives, or erased.

To make sense of these webs of storying, a Native feminist reading methodology is necessary. As part of the methodological work, I will clearly establish the difference between settler and Native feminist readings. I emphasize the Indigenous theories of temporality, of raciality, and of survivance that come through in these readings. While defining a Native feminist reading methodology, I must also make the argument that it is a tool that is not new. Indeed, the very quilts, paintings, art installations, oral narratives that I analyze are cultural texts written through Native feminist readings - and thus what I am newly naming as a methodology is actually a legacy of practices that predates any such naming. While I offer a definition, it is a broad definition because I think that a Native feminist reading methodology is open to interpretation and is a practice of self-recognition. Indeed, as I show in this dissertation, recognition of the transhistorical labor of bearing an Indigenous future into existence is the root of the Native feminist reading practice. However, in creating a definition, I hope this methodology can be named and used for theorizing and understanding Native feminist narratives.

Our stories are sometimes told to serve a master narrative that supports settler colonial hierarchies of power. In these narratives, Natives are victims: they are gone or they are disappearing, they are damaged, and ultimately, they are less than human. One victim's narrative stands for all, thus Natives are denied what scholars Patricia Williams and Avery Gordon call "complex personhood."

Complex personhood means that the stories people tell about themselves, about their troubles, about their social worlds, and about

their society's problems are tangled and weave between what is immediately available as a story and what their imaginations are reaching toward...At the very least, complex personhood is about conferring the respect on others that comes from presuming that life and people's lives are simultaneously straightforward and full of enormously subtle meaning.

Native feminist reading methodology reads the theory in the story, the complexities of the narrative and the refusals. It is a practice that sees survivance, and it is a practice of survivance. Reading and writing are done all the time, outside of scholarship, when sharing stories, and laughing at pain. The storier is the writer, the listener is the reader, and their laughter is based on some shared sense of double-consciousness. Reading happens when you decide who you trust, and who you just do not. It is when you watch a film that critics love for the aesthetics but who think the behavior of the Indian characters is just savage, yet you see in them your aunts and uncles when they were young like you never had before. Reading is wondering who the unnamed woman in an archive is, and understanding that she and so many others are family. Reading is beyond words, it is hearing those ghostly voices.

A Native feminist reading methodology recognizes survivance, and it is a practice of survivance. Survivance is a word used frequently in this dissertation.

Vizenor coined the term in *Manifest Manners* (1994).

I have talked about its nature, usage, the vital sense of verbal presence and cultural appreciation, but the word is resistance and should be discussed, not defined...There is no way to know the outcome of survivance. It is a spirited resistance, a life force, not just anger, negative or destructive. Survivance is a force of nature, a new totem, and it has to be expressed and imagined to create a sense of presence.



Survivance stands in contrast to concepts of absence and victimry that are frequently applied to Native communities.<sup>1</sup>

Survivance is a widespread term, and within the context it is used, can be understood. “It is a spirited resistance.” Survivance is a practice, a complex reading, more than a mash-up of survival and resistance. Because it is not strictly defined, it is continually imagined.

### **Reading Native Feminist Survivance**

In a May 2012 article in the *Oregonian*, for example, an Ojibwe mother, a woman with ties to her community, children and history, is the subject. The article is one of a series that follows Portland resident Candida KingBird through a difficult pregnancy. The title of the article announces the problem: “A Portland diabetic Native American mother risks difficult pregnancy for fresh start.”<sup>2</sup> The story was part of a larger series exploring social issues within the Native American community in Portland, with the series title: “Invisible Nations: Enduring Ills.” The title reinscribes the idea of the Native as erased. KingBird and her high-risk pregnancy are the subject of the series, the series features a representation of the Native mother in crisis, and therefore presumes there is always a crisis in the Native community. Journalist Bill Graves writes, “KingBird has struggled against her share of forces that undercut health for Native Americans: foster care, parental neglect and abandonment,

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<sup>1</sup> Vizenor, Gerald R. Resistance in the Blood. pp. 107-117 in E. Tuck, & K. W. Yang (Eds.). *Youth Resistance Research and Theories of Change*. New York: Routledge. 2013. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Bill Graves The Oregonian

teen motherhood, domestic violence, addictions to drugs and alcohol, and diabetes.”<sup>3</sup> KingBird represents the Native American community. The problems she faces in this series of articles, and by extension, all Native Americans, are without historical and social context in this article, and presented metonymically, as if to say, “And if you did not know, now you do, Native Americans and Native women are not only at high risk, but their children are also struggling to survive. The Native American population is diseased and fading fast.” While the article is written in 2012, it recalls earlier and ongoing representations of the vanishing Native and the inevitability of the demise of the Native.

The series of articles follows KingBird for months, through her “at risk” pregnancy and resulting hospitalization. Eventually her baby girl is delivered a month early and she is healthy. In the final section, titled “A fresh start” the author writes that after a medically difficult pregnancy including a hospital stay and premature birth, KingBird is home with her infant and a six-figure hospital bill. She recently lost her job because of funding and has private insurance. The article ends with a portrait of the Kingbird at home.

KingBird relaxes one June afternoon at her kitchen table in her East Portland apartment with her daughter Mishiike cradled asleep in her arm. Her oldest daughter is visiting. Her other children are scattered. One son is in custody of the Oregon Youth Authority. She says her younger teenage son is moody, embittered, difficult, and has run away to the Warm Springs reservation. One daughter lives with her father; a grandmother cares for the other daughter. The grandmother she recently visited has died.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

KingBird is unemployed, on her own, contemplating her next move. She might look for work or go back to school, maybe to get her certification as an alcohol and drug counselor. She still has options, hope, and a new baby.

“We don't get to choose where we come from,” she says, “but we get to choose where we go.”<sup>4</sup>

The journalist's reading of and writing about KingBird is a settler reading, albeit a sympathetic settler reading. And by extension it is a sympathetic settler reading of the Native mother as she has re-appeared throughout white settler literature and history. In Grave's example, KingBird emerges in the figure of the pathologized survivor, and while the details of the story are condemning, they are also confusing. She is doomed to fail. She lost her other children and she is not well off, financially, physically or emotionally. How then is she supposed to be a hopeful figure? The title of the final section of the article, “A fresh start” implies KingBird may be able to overcome all that is set against her, her personal history, her health, her economic difficulties and her lack of support from family. The circumstances of her existence are a laundry list of pathologies: “foster care, parental neglect and abandonment, teen motherhood, domestic violence, addictions to drugs and alcohol, and diabetes.”<sup>5</sup> The article gives no historical or social context for the negative circumstances of her life, beyond being a Native woman and the long list of “forces” as the article calls them, including violence, disease and “teen motherhood” that the reporter implies “naturally” affect her life. These circumstances mark her as Native, as outside of progress and the American mythology of an educated and upwardly mobile

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

population. Despite the idea of a ‘fresh start’ the article makes clear she is defeated, or nearly so. She is sick, unemployed, and a recovering alcoholic with four children already in the care of the state. Her “hope” for the future informs the reader that she is unaware of the severity of her situation. Even the framing of her as in need of hope and a fresh start warn the reader that her situation is shaky and she is in need of a comeback.

In contrast, a Native feminist reading finds that KingBird has a complicated life that is not depressing and dire but complex and full. Even within the article, it is possible to learn KingBird works within her Native community, she is connected to a strong historic native community in Portland and works for a successful forty-year old community organization. Her baby shower is held at work and more than forty people attend. KingBird takes care of her physical health, she exercises, loses weight, and reports to her doctor she is eating well. She is concerned with her spiritual and social well-being. She is proud of being Native American and has close ties within the Native community in Portland. However, the settler reading diminishes the “complex personhood” of Kingbird and implies that she is doomed.

This front-page human-interest story is a too-common settler representation of an underrepresented group. Stories about Native Americans in the media are often not about a newsworthy event but are sociological portraits of a “people” that repeat and play on the same representations of the disappearing Native that have lasted since before the end of the frontier in the late 19th century. If located on

reservations, the stories are about the terrible conditions Native Americans live with on reservations, one stands for all, although there are very different socioeconomic realities on reservations. There is no one monolithic Native American reality although you would not know that from newspaper articles like this one. If the story is about urban Natives they are poor and struggle with disease and being separated from “their culture.” Their culture is everything that is traditional and appropriately native, as assumed existed before contact with Europeans. There is regret that Natives no longer live an idyllic healthy lifestyle. They are victims of modern life and it is killing them with diabetes and alcoholism. There is never a mention of the impact of Indian wars, starvation, forced removal and dependence on government rations, the generations of dispossession and assimilating federal policies that are part of the systems of settler colonialism. A Native feminist reading sees the part of the story that is missing and refuses to accept the negative settler reading at face value.

### **“Goot Morning Everyone!”: Native Feminist Texts as Survivance**

In contrast to reading settler texts through a Native feminist lens as a counter narrative, there is the Native feminist reading as recognition. Recognizing Native feminist acts of survivance that are not meant to serve settler interests, but meant to speak to one another. Some powerful examples of Native feminist reading as recognition I find within my cousin Natalie Ball’s Facebook status updates. Natalie’s updates are often humorous, and include pictures and messy details from

the daily life of an artist, a working mother, and a Native woman working within her community for her tribe. I read them as Native feminist texts of survivance because I believe they are part of Natalie's strategy for survival as well as allowing opportunities for recognition. They allow for Natalie to be seen and others to see themselves through her daily life.

Natalie Ball was born and raised in Portland, the largest city in Oregon, and after she graduated with her B.A. in Ethnic Studies from University of Oregon (2005), she received her Master's in Maori Visual Art from Massey University in New Zealand. She and her oldest daughter, now a teenager, moved to Chiloquin, Oregon in 2010. Natalie met her partner (a tribal member) and had two more children, ages 3 and 4. Chiloquin is located in Southern Oregon and is less than one square mile in size with a population around 700. It is where the Klamath Tribes have their tribal offices and was formerly a part of the Klamath Reservation, before that a site of a Klamath village. Our grandparents left Chiloquin during World War II to find work in Portland, and Natalie relocating there is part of her own story and not mine to tell. As an artist, Natalie is doing well and gaining recognition for her art, showing at museums in Kansas, Portland, Oakland, California and New Zealand and receiving offers of fellowships at the Portland Art Museum and the School for Advanced Research in Santa Fe.

Natalie's status updates serve to signal that she is struggling, but she is well and she hopes that you are too. She is doing her best and her best is all right. In one

week in November 2015 she posted about her children, her work, how quickly plans change during a family walk. A cable television channel, Animal Planet, came to town to investigate Klamath stories about Bigfoot, also known as Sasquatch, or in the Klamath language, Mah-tah-kag-me.

Natalie M Ball

November 6, 2015 ·

One of the first things I hear this morning, "MOM! I FOUND MY EYEBALL!". Good Morning everyone, I hope you find yours too!

Natalie M Ball

November 6, 2015

My week in ART: Applied for an exhibition in Canada, but I sent in the wrong proposal -KICKING MYSELF! But they want the work anyway - YASS to moving image + queer ancestors. I found an amazing foundry for new sculpture work, but then I found an organization that will teach me how to fabricate it myself, going with DIY. Sent a how-does-one-get-a-show-here email to a museum curator back east, I figured just do it, and she said get your proposal in, here's how. Sold work in Seattle, then found out through artist friends that my prices were officially grandma-prices, but there's nowhere to go but up now!

My week at HOME: Everyone's mad at Mom.

Trying to find the balance one day at a time. Happy Friday everyone!<sup>6</sup>

Natalie M Ball

November 8, 2015 ·

Laid on the couch all weekend fighting a cold, but I went to art openings, powwows, dinners and art installations all over the world on FB! Today I'm getting up to speak about my experience with Mah-tah-kag-me. Vernon was a part of this Big Foot experience but he's not interested in sharing and I get it (plus he's shy!). But I'm all in and excited to be a part of a collective experience with my tribe that's outside of crazy general council meetings, voting, per capita check day, funerals, powwows, tournaments - it's something outside of the

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<sup>6</sup> Natalie M. Ball's Facebook page, accessed January 12, 2016.  
<https://www.facebook.com/natalie.ball.165>

norm. It's been fun seeing people visit and share their Big Foot stories, laugh, talk about the land, and their parents and grandparents. It's been comforting to see my tribal people of all ages share their experiences in a space that is new, and inclusive and healthy.

As a tribe I feel we don't share a lot collectively and this silence is often trauma's loud presence. It's time we talk, and keep talking, and reconsider why we aren't talking - Big Foot included. For me, this experience is about a collective act of decolonizing through Big Foot (yeah I said it), having fun, sharing campfire with each other and Animal Planet, and meeting some dude named Bo-Bo!

Even though the show is called Finding Big Foot, they will never find Mah-tah-kag-me, Mah-tah-kag-me will find them!<sup>7</sup>

Natalie M Ball

November 14, 2015

Took a break from everything and went out walking the river. Vernon has a fanny pack and a shot gun ready for a duck. Brother has a bat looking for zombies. Coley's wearing a Giraffe mask while carrying a stroller shade above her head. Fani's strutting down the path and kid herding. We are having a good time. 5 minutes later, it switches to me having to use my shirt and hair tie to create new pants for a kid, then anonymous automatic gun fire too close for comfort, then a "hey we are right here stop shooting" response shot, and then making the trek back home carrying a 40 + pound limp kid who gave up walking. Home it is, time for some Netflix sans chill.<sup>8</sup>

Natalie Ball's Facebook updates avoid a settler reading because she is not speaking from a settler position to a settler audience. Natalie often posts about her struggles to do art, parent, eat first foods and decolonize as much of her life as possible from settler expectations. She is also a mom who gets fed up and tired. Large life events happen and Natalie responds as if she is speaking to family about

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.



family because, even though she has nearly one thousand friends on Facebook, she is speaking to family and always from her specific Native feminist perspective.

Natalie M Ball

July 4, 2015

Participating in most every holiday in the US is weird! There is always some confusing level of ignoring your violent horrifying genocidal history/present to participate, denial, racism and lies, etc. but who doesn't want to party too?! I grew up participating in all the holidays. Only after becoming a mom I started to figure out how to participate on my own terms or if at all. So we woke up after 8 today remembered the 7/4 parade at 11 and put together a float called Indian Land... We even entered the competition and the kids threw candy HARD! Always participate on your own terms!<sup>9</sup>

Natalie M Ball

August 8, 2015 .

I never was taught to gather; the seasons, the places, the quirks, the hints, the telltales, the no's, the yes', the tools, the poisonous (!). Not being taught won't be the excuse that I give my kids. I was told by an awesome leader, Te Miringa Hohaia, that what was lost, what we don't think we know, is already in us - MAKE IT UP! Simple as that. Time to get up and get out there and make mistakes, learn, ask questions, include people - especially your kids, make it a priority, surpass the gatekeepers, teach, and keep doing it. Goot morning EVERYONE!<sup>10</sup>

Natalie Ball's Facebook updates are survivance texts in the tradition of autobiographical writings by Native women. The updates are from a life lived in real time by a person who recognizes the history and ongoing realities of settler colonial violence. Life is complicated, and full of joy as well, and Ball's status updates are examples of survivance. Ball brings the good and messy, the strange and broken to

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

the attention of her Facebook friends. She makes and shows her art in museums and galleries, but I argue her updates deserve critical attention as well, because her beliefs and intersections of place, race and struggle are there to be read and engaged. In Native feminist reading methodology, there is a recognition of the knowledge of Indigenous peoples, there is an assumption of complexity and humanity. Native and Indigenous studies did not always make those assumptions, and often they still must be articulated and defined.

### **A Short Genealogy: Articulating Native Feminist Theories**

This is not meant to be an exhaustive review, but a genealogy that acknowledges a Native feminist reading methodology can be named and engaged because of the work of Native feminist scholars and Black feminist scholars who also built their scholarship on histories of resistance and against inclusion, insisting on their own experiences and theories. African-American sociologist Patricia Hill Collins wrote, “The existence of a distinctive Black women’s standpoint does not mean that it has been adequately articulated in Black feminist thought.”<sup>11</sup> Collins defines self-recognition, “Black feminist thought rearticulates a consciousness that already exists.”<sup>12</sup> Black feminist thought and the work of Black feminists intersects with Chicana feminist scholarship in articulating difference and theorizing women of color feminisms (Moraga 1981, Anzaldúa 1987, Sandoval 1991, 2000) yet Native

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<sup>11</sup> Collins, Patricia Hill. 1989. “The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought”. *Signs* 14 (4). University of Chicago Press: 745–73. 750 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174683>.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

American scholars hesitated to embrace feminisms focused on inclusion (Goeman and Denetdale 2009, Arvin, Tuck and Morrill 2013). Native feminisms may not have been defined, but it was being articulated through powerful scholarship and literature centering women and theorizing women's experiences within settler colonialism. Native women's scholarship, including Rayna Green's "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture" (1975) Paula Gunn Allen's *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions* (1986, 1992), and Haunani-Kay Trask's *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism & Sovereignty in Hawaii* (1993, 1999) are three examples of work that identified the distorted ways Native women were perceived through settler colonialism, the ways Native women were erased and the necessity of recovering what was lost. Trask took on two major concepts within Native studies, colonialism and sovereignty and also the negative effects of the military presence in Hawai'i. Trask introduced many, including myself, to the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the concept of settler colonialism as ongoing and the struggle for sovereignty within the islands. Trask told readers in contrast to the decades old settler message of welcome expressed through songs like "Lovely Hula Hands" and aloha laden advertisements, "If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please don't."<sup>13</sup> Trask displayed the now-defined praxis of Native feminist activism and theorizing. Trask's scholarship emerges from and is inseparable from her political commitment to pursuing Hawaiian sovereignty

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<sup>13</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993, 1999. 146.

and her love for Hawaiian people and culture. Trask centers settler colonialism, and her scholarship indicts U.S. militarism in Hawai'i, tourism, representations of Hawaiians through settler colonial ideologies and demands sovereignty as her right as a Native daughter.

The emergence of settler colonialism studies allowed for arguments not based on inclusion, but centered ongoing practices of settler colonialism and necessary decolonizing strategies.

Centering settler colonialism within gender and women's studies and ethnic studies...exposes the still-existing structure of settler colonization and its powerful effects on Indigenous peoples and others. This recognition within gender and women's studies and ethnic studies makes possible new visions of what decolonization might look like for all peoples.<sup>14</sup>

Scholarship about and by Native women in literature, history and anthropology provided counter-narratives and a critique of scholarship that did not offer Native women much space within Native studies scholarship (Albers and Medicine 1983, Bataille and Sands 1984, Allen 1986). Native feminist scholarship moved quickly past recovering knowledge and recognizing Native women's intellectual work, to thinking about what that work does within the academy: decolonize and disrupt settler colonial ideologies (Hernandez-Avila 1995, Mihesuah 1998, 2003, Mihesuah and Wilson 2004).

Before I go on, I want to acknowledge that Vine Deloria Jr.'s intellectual contribution to Native studies cannot be overstated, and his critique of

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<sup>14</sup> Maile Arvin and Eve Tuck and Angie Morrill. "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy." *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (2013): 8-34. 9.

anthropologists in his 1969 book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, was critical to the rise of Native studies and decolonizing efforts in research and the academy. In his essay “Anthropologists and Other Friends” Deloria argued that academic theorizing about Indians was not helping communities: outside theorizing was causing damage.

Perhaps we should suspect the real motives of the academic community. They have the Indian field well defined and under control. Their concern is not the ultimate policy that will affect the Indian people, but merely the creation of new slogans and doctrines by which they can climb the university totem pole. Reduction of people to ciphers for purposes of observation appears to be inconsequential to the anthropologist when compared with immediate benefits he can derive, the production of further prestige, and the chance to appear as the high priest of American society, orienting and manipulating to his heart's desire.<sup>15</sup>

Deloria is critical of academia as an institution and the academic as a contributor to anti-Indian American values of consumerism. One thing Deloria does not do is include Natives in his definition of academics (although his aunt Ella Deloria worked with famous anthropologist Franz Boas and was trained as a linguist, anthropologist and ethnographer).

Thirty years later, Linda Tuhiwai Smith published *Decolonizing Methodologies*. As an Indigenous Maori academic, she argued scholars intent on researching Indigenous peoples must consider the needs and respect the cultural practices of Indigenous communities. Smith critiques the assumptions of Western academic thought, and insists that Indigenous communities will theorize their own lives and experiences.

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<sup>15</sup> Deloria 94.

I am arguing that theory at its most simple level is important for indigenous peoples. At the very least it helps make sense of reality.

It enables us to make the assumptions and predictions about the world in which we live. It contains within it a method or methods for selecting and arranging, for prioritizing and legitimating what we see and do. Theory enables us to deal with contradictions and uncertainties. Perhaps more significantly, it gives us space to plan, to strategize, to take greater control over our resistances.<sup>16</sup>

Smith's contribution insists research and researchers have hurt Indigenous people and communities, have ignored the needs and values of Indigenous people, that academic research and colonization are intertwined and interdependent, and that research is not neutral. Smith also writes that Indigenous people are doing their own research for their own purposes and that is going to be threatening to Western researchers, she acknowledges there will be resistance to decolonization efforts within the academy. Smith asks, "What happens to research when the researched become the researchers?"<sup>17</sup>

When indigenous peoples become the researchers and not merely the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms.<sup>18</sup>

Smith articulated these questions and conclusions at a critical time, and the work that followed, particularly by Native women, privileging Indigenous research methods and decolonizing practices helped to articulate settler colonial studies, and through engaging settler colonialism explicitly, and the differences in framing questions,

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<sup>16</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books, 1999. 38.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid 183.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid 193.

developing methodologies and privileging Indigenous knowledge and experience, moved the field of Native studies to the forefront of critical race studies.<sup>19</sup>

A Native feminist reading methodology is a response to the impossibility of recognition by the state, through the logics of settler colonialism. It is more than that though, it is also recognition of the ways we recognize one another through our stories, our complex histories, our refusals and presence. It is a regeneration, this methodology, and this dissertation is a recognition of Native feminist practices, and theorizing those practices.

### **Description of Chapters**

Chapter one uses the Native feminist reading methodology to examine histories of two women from the Modoc War era (1872-73). One is Toby Riddle, who became known as Winema after heroically saving Indian Agent Alfred Meacham during so-called peace talks, he wrote a book about her, and a play based on her actions. A national forest was named after her and later in her life Congress awarded her a lifetime pension. The other woman, Fanny Ball, has a history that is more difficult to trace, her historical presence is contested. My reading of these women's histories draws on Tanana Athabascan scholar Dian Million's felt theory as a way of

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<sup>19</sup> An incomplete list of necessary decolonizing scholarship in the field of Native studies includes: Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed* (2004), "Decolonizing the 1862 Death Marches" (2004) and "Remember This!" (2005) by historian Waziyatawin Angela Wilson.

defining Native feminist reading practice as something felt, as deep recognition that goes beyond the literal and Kahnawake Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson's ethnographic refusal which is a necessary tool to have when writing from home. At heart in the analysis is the understand that no story, historical, archival, is complete. As a Native feminist scholar I read the unknowns and refusals.

Chapter two opens the family archive of photographs to read the texts for desire - which bends time and brings the ghosts of the past into the present with their demands, maybe for justice, maybe something else. Theoretically I lean heavily on Avery Gordon's sociological haunting and Eve Tuck's analysis of desire via Deleuze as well as her call for "desire-based research." Photographs inspire paintings (and time-traveling dogs) by Modoc/Klamath artist Peggy Ball, whose paintings of Native families and activities in North Portland are rememories of what is gone and what remains, they create presence and remap places through memory. The Native feminist reading of these photographs and paintings resist disappearance, damage and are visual proof of love for home, family and community.

Chapter three focuses on visual representations through video and film, *The Exiles*, a semi-documentary finished in 1961 but not released to a wide audience until 2008 is unlike any other film featuring Native actors, it is one night in the lives of



young people living in the Bunker Hill neighborhood in Los Angeles. My interest is first with the settler readings of this film, which relied heavily on thinking about the actors as representing all Natives as disappeared, and just as well based on their alcoholism and misogyny. I am also interested in the character of Yvonne Williams. My Native feminist reading sees her as a young wife who is soon to become an activist mother. I also do not ignore the federal Indian policies that moved Native people to cities, the federal relocation policy and termination policy, which removed federal recognition from 109 tribes, including mine. After restoration of the tribe in 1986, there was a documentary made by the tribe and Oregon Public Broadcasting, *Your Land, My Land* and an archive of Oral Narratives created by Linc Kessler and Morrie Jimenez. I read these texts for a complex understanding of termination that does not portray termination as a tragic ending, but as one more version of the Indian Wars and the archive of interviews are stories of survivance and complex personhood.

Chapter four reads star quilts as texts, and theoretically, as performances and material proof of what Leanne Simpson and Maile Arvin call regeneration. This cultural practice was passed from Eileen Jasper to Peggy Ball during the revitalization of intertribal cultural interest and activism in Portland, Oregon in the 1970s.

Intergenerational communication is shared between Peggy Ball and her niece, artist

Natalie Ball, as Peggy taught Natalie to make star quilts. Natalie Ball's installation art, *Circa Indian* (2009) and *Mapping Coyote Black* (2015) uses quilts as canvas, as texts to reveal haunting, and to bring the past into the present. The Modoc War is contrasted with a 1980's era powwow and Coyote or Coyote First Person as Hupa/Yurok/Karuk scholar Cutcha Risling Baldy writes to differentiate Indigenous Coyote from a generalized Westernized trickster, is invoked as a queer female avatar. Natalie Ball travels from Chiloquin, Oregon and back again to reclaim and remap Blackness onto her Native identity in her installation "Mapping Coyote Black." Peggy Ball's star quilts became stars on quilts, specific to her family and events she wanted to recognize and remember. Both Natalie and Peggy Ball establish ongoing presence where there is perceived absence, and survivance where there is termination and gentrification. Their intergenerational communication is a conduit for bridging the past and future of their families, for regeneration and Native feminist recognition. Lastly, I am telling you this story. I know things, through experience and hauntings and what my mother said and showed me. I write from a love for family, and my communities, and because I feel called to tell these stories, because I am the only one who can. Vizenor said of his work, "I write and tell stories about my experiences, and

that gives new meaning to my sense of resistance and survivance.”<sup>20</sup> Someone else could tell it, but it would be different.

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<sup>20</sup> Vizenor, Tuck, Yang. 117.

## CHAPTER 1

### **Refusals and Unknowns: A Native Feminist Reading Practice**

There was more to it but I am not a storyteller and that is all I can remember.  
(Delfina Cuero, in the *Autobiography of Delfina Cuero*, 1970)

Tobey: I believe in spirits; they never lie.

(Jeff C. Riddle, *The Indian History of the Modoc War and the causes that led to it*, 1912)

In this chapter, I introduce a Native feminist reading practice, which is reading survivance from a place of survivance. It is a methodology that attends to the transhistorical feminist labor of bearing an Indigenous future into existence out of a genocidal present. Such a methodology involves a reading against disappearance; it involves tracing the lines of descent made possible by Native mothering; it involves reading the futures yet in store for Native life as made possible by apparently desperate lives on the brink of disappearance.

I call this a Native feminist reading practice to acknowledge the practitioners of reading survivance by many Native scholars. I draw upon scholars such as Dian Million, Mishuana Goeman, Eve Tuck, Audra Simpson, Michelle Raheja and Maile Arvin, to name a few, because I understand their writing as practices of reading survivance. By theorizing their work as a coherent set of Native feminist practices, I am trying to articulate a methodology for myself that allows me to engage the desires, the knowledges, and the futurities in cultural productions by Native women even when these same women are overdetermined within settler produced representations of them. That these readings are practiced by Native feminists as

well, is not meant to make reading a kind of essential magical ability of Indian women, but rather I take the standpoint that the reading practice is something done to bear futures into existence, just as similar practices were done by our predecessors. It is this shared ontological project of bearing the future out of a genocidal present that connects Native feminists now and Native women then. My engagement with the Native mother is not meant to be a cis-centric imagination of Native feminism; rather, the figure of the Native mother is identified with the future; she is dependent upon there being a future. It is not only her children, but her people that she cares for. The Native mother is a future ghost, she watches over her descendants, all those who are family, long after she has passed and her haunting is a practice of recognition, her undying love is a survivance practice that recognizes itself within a tradition of survivance. In short, a Native feminist reading methodology is reading as recognition.

I begin the chapter with a discussion of Dian Million's felt theory, as a way of defining Native feminist reading practice as something felt, as deep recognition that goes beyond the literal. Then, the bulk of this chapter engages the histories of two Modoc women from the Modoc War era (1872-73), one hyperrepresented in settler history, Toby Riddle, who was sometimes call the "Pocahantas of the lava beds," and one disappeared by it, Fanny Ball, who is also my ancestor. Through a Native feminist reading, I read against the narration of Toby Riddle into the Pocahontas pantheon of Indian women shepherding in the settler nation; conversely, I resist the

disappearance of Fanny Ball, despite the silence around her life. The chapter concludes with aspects of Native feminist reading practice to be methodologically expanded in the upcoming chapters.

### **Native feminist reading practices**

Felt theory, Million explains specifically around the Truth and Reconciliation Act in Canada, is based on the impact women speaking and writing about their residential school experiences had on their communities and then the impact those voices had on Canada internationally and on the idea of justice outside the idea of the nation-state. Million argues that these statements by Native women resisted generations of gendered colonization and reasserted traditional respect of women's power. Million explains Native women's testimony was spoken but it was also written in books published in the 1970s and 1980s, autobiographies with stories of experiences that were not welcomed, truths about colonization, domestic violence, sexual violence and more were met with resistance, blame, and assumptions of pathology. Their writings, Million explains, "participated in creating new language for communities to address the real multilayered facets of their histories and concerns by insisting on the inclusion of our lived experience, rich with emotional knowledges, of what pain and grief and hope meant or mean now in our pasts and futures." I use Dian Million's "Felt Theory" because this chapter, like any writing by and about Native women, raises issues of speaking: speaking for a person, being unable to speak. Native women writers at some moment have to engage a dilemma

of a speaking for a non-speaking past. My own words are always already refracted by Fanny Ball's few words, who only told her family who she was on her deathbed. Speaking has material consequences. Dian Million writes, "Our voices are dangerous." The danger lies in unsettling settler innocence, in creating conditions that allow for recognizing one another and presenting alternative histories to "read" the past differently. That is, our voices are dangerous to the settler nation, and thus are dangerous to ourselves as we face the likely violence of being silenced again. Felt Theory, she explains specifically around the Truth and Reconciliation Act in Canada, is based on the impact women speaking and writing about their experiences had on Canada internationally and on the idea of justice outside the idea of the nation-state. TRC was established in 2008 and completed in 2015, the purpose, to "reveal to Canadians the complex truth about the history and the ongoing legacy of the church-run residential schools, in a manner that fully documents the individual and collective harms perpetuated against Aboriginal peoples."<sup>1</sup> Native women documenting experiences and sharing knowledge is political. Their words can change the world, and thus have an important political impact, but moreover, they also change the epistemological underpinnings of politics: whose knowledge and what kind of knowledge constitutes the basis for legal, material and political claims. This part of voice is also dangerous. Million calls this "community knowledge":

Knowledge that interactively informs our positions as Indigenous scholars, particularly as Indigenous women scholars. Our felt

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<sup>1</sup> Dian Million. *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013. 45

scholarship continues to be segregated as “feminine” experience or as polemic, or at worst, not as knowledge at all.<sup>2</sup>

By recognizing the power of Indigenous women’s voices, she reinforces the power of women to impact, “counter and intervene” with colonialism.”<sup>3</sup> By talking about what is going on around us, what we are feeling, coping with, sharing and theorizing our experiences as Native women in order to counter and intervene on the settler nation and to ensure Indigenous futures. These writings and actions by Native women are recognized and “read” by us who share their same transhistorical project. This is what I mean by Native feminist reading practice - a felt knowledge of what you do that impacts what I do.

I want to engage Felt Theory in part because when I first encountered it, I also encountered skepticism. I had been warned by academic mentors, since I write about my family, that I was going to have to be very careful if I wanted to present these family pictures, family stories, family artwork as scholarship. In doing so, the usual sociological warrants for evidence like generalizability and objectivity are missing. However, felt theory restores a Native feminist motive and truth in research. Much of this dissertation is about locating home, surviving dispossession, claiming space and listening to ghosts. These are shared Indigenous projects, rather than strictly academic ones.

Ines Hernandez-Avila argues when Native women write our stories, there is resistance and a perceived threat.

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid 58.



When I and other Native American women are central as subjects - as sovereign subjects - we often unsettle, disrupt, and sometimes threaten other people's, particularly many white people's, white scholars', white women feminists' sense of self as subjects. That may not have been my or our primary motivation, but it is necessarily inherent in Native women's claiming our right to speak for ourselves.<sup>4</sup>

Our voices are dangerous, and threatening to settler innocence and business as usual. To see each other, to understand ourselves, it is necessary to place our stories within a Native feminist context. While those outside Native feminist concerns may be threatened, Native feminist self-recognition is healing and brings complexity to scholarship. Hernandez-Avila explains, "personal and collective histories, including our cultural responses to experience, ground our theoretical perspectives and our reinscriptions of ourselves."<sup>5</sup> Sharing our stories makes recognition possible, self-recognition and recognition of who we are collectively as well.

However, personal and collective histories are complicated by the historical and continuing violence of settler colonial experiences. This chapter compares two Native women's stories through the prism of an autobiography of a third, Delfina Cuero, a Kumeyaay woman. One woman is the hyper visible heroine of the Modoc War, the other Modoc woman hid her identity. Both survived the Indian Wars and both have descendants. Delfina Cuero's autobiography is interpreted by Rosalie Pinto Robertson, and published by anthropologist Florence Shippek. She told her story as a practice of survivance, for recognition, because she had been displaced

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<sup>4</sup> Ines Hernandez-Avila. "Relocations upon Relocations: Home, Language, and Native American Women's Writings," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Autumn, 1995), 494.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid 504.

from her homeland, across the border into Baja and needed proof of her birthright to come back to the U.S. and rejoin her family. However, Cuero's story is often assimilated into the narrative of Spanish and Anglo colonizations in ways that disregard and erase the violence from her experience.<sup>6</sup>

The ways that Toby Riddle, a.k.a. Winema, is "seen" within settler memorializations of its "Indian past" services settler colonial innocence. The ways Fanny is not seen also can be read - in a critical settler reading - as the disappearance of the Native in the 20th century. In either settler reading, post Indian Wars there is not much there but governance and management of the "Indian problem", assimilation, and education. The authentic Indian days are over. To read otherwise, is to more than read against, but to read with - an especially difficult challenge when words are overdetermined by settler appropriations, or words are scarce from unstoried subjects. What is felt beneath these words and these silences, this is methodology that we must invent.

### **Toby Riddle: There was more to it**

To think about who is and who is not represented in archives and whose voice speaks, I find it useful to draw upon *The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero*.

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<sup>6</sup> One example is "In the Footsteps of Delfina Cuero," a popular tour presented by San Diego Archaeological Center that sells tickets and takes you on trips to sites Cuero mentions in her book. The description for the series, which is seasonal, describes her movements through San Diego County: "Her powerful and moving life story reveals both the hardships and joys of living a traditional life in rapidly changing times. She talks about a seasonal migration, moving from place to place throughout San Diego County and Baja, California to secure the necessities of life." A book is included in the price of the series. <http://www.sandiego.org/members/museums/san-diego-archaeological-center/events/in-the-footsteps-of-delfina-cuero-series.aspx>

Delfina Cuero was a Kumeyaay woman (1900-1972) who met anthropologist Florence Shipek in the 1960's when Shipek was looking for Digueño Indians to interview for a project.<sup>7</sup> Shipek was interested in Cuero's history in Southern California and through an interpreter, Rosalie Pinto Robertson, she recorded Cuero's story. Cuero experienced a lifetime of displacement and was living in Baja, Mexico at the time she met Shipek. She had family living in California and she wanted to go home but she did not have enough evidence to allow her residency in the United States. She told her story to Shipek for the purpose of proving her birthright. Her story is complicated by the context of the telling, and because it is a story of a woman who is unseen, removed from her home repeatedly through settler displacements of Kumeyaay, until she is ultimately pushed across the US/Mexico border.

All of these forces complicate the narrative that we read in *The Autobiography*: the salvage ethnography trainings of an anthropologist, Indian-sympathizer; the missing meanings lost in translation; the utility of speaking to the anthropologist to support Cuero's immediate struggle to return home; and the possibilities of never returning home, of disappearance, and therefore of leaving a trace for one's descendents. We can read *The Autobiography* for its contradictory purposes, which appear almost line-by-line:

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<sup>7</sup> The Kumeyaay are indigenous to Southern California and have 13 reservations in San Diego County.

For Cuero, every resource depends upon and is derived from the land: food, medicine, shelter, and employment are all derived from land-based resources. Her narrative reconstructs a specifically Kumeyaay landscape, one where international borders vanish. It is her intimate knowledge of the San Diego geography that will ultimately bring her home.<sup>8</sup>

Cuero's knowledge is intimate, she describes herself giving birth, her marriages and relationships with her family. It is to her family that she wants to return.

Cuero gives an account of her life, but she makes the distinction, she is not a storyteller. She is giving a statement for a political and personal purpose. Stephanie Fitzgerald argues it is not a typical autobiography and she describes it as "a difficult text for many Western readers."<sup>9</sup> My interest in *The Autobiography* is similar to Fitzgerald; I was interested by the political motivations of the telling, and because she nearly did not exist in an archive or in literature.<sup>10</sup> Like so many other Native women, her life was nearly unnoticed. Her story confirms the small value society placed on her existence. She mattered to Shippek initially as an informant who was working in the tradition of salvage ethnography; assuming what is there is nearly gone, the anthropologist attempts to salvage information before the Native subject disappears. This is problematic, of course, as the Kumeyaay remain in Southern

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<sup>8</sup> Stephanie Fitzgerald. "Intimate Geographies: Reclaiming Citizenship and Community in "The Autobiography of Delfina Cuero" and Bonita Nunez's "Diaries" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 2006, Vol.30(1): 114.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid 111.

<sup>10</sup> I taught the autobiography as an instructor at UC San Diego and the students, Western readers but also Ethnic Studies students, responded positively. Perhaps it was accepted because the text is short, it is easy to understand why the story is important and the locations are near the university and San Diego area.

California to this day. However, Cuero's story as told to Shipek is one that otherwise would not be known outside of her family and friends.

Cuero is making a statement and through that statement seeking recognition of her indigeneity. It is necessary that she tell her story in order to be recognized by the US agents who can allow her to come home, but her story also allows her to be recognized as a Native woman with claims to land and tribal relationships. Cuero is not explaining the truth of her life, or even offering a comprehensive account. Her story is short and may have been shorter, except there were things she needed to say in order to be a valuable informant. Fitzgerald, quoting Greg Sarris on autobiographies, notes this contingency in the writing down of storied accounts, "an 'autobiography, whether narrated or written, is not the life but an account of the story of the life.'"<sup>11</sup> Cuero's account had differing values for her, for Shipek, and for me. It is valuable to me in thinking about how to read narratives of Native women. There is the official settler narrative: one of romanticized disappearance. There is the survivance strategy of the narrator: I am making my x-mark, because as Scott Lyons says, there is something to be gained by making it, however inadequate and unjust and precarious that small gain may be. There is the Native feminist reading, what we are supposed to feel underneath both the official narrative and the strategic value of its telling: there was more to this story, and I am telling the future.

This is where a Native feminist reading practice begins. There was more to Cuero's story, and more to Toby Riddle's, and more to Fanny Ball's.

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<sup>11</sup> Fitzgerald 111.

Toby Riddle became famous because of her role in historical events, she was a Modoc woman who married a white man, Frank Riddle and was an interpreter before and during the Modoc War for the peace commissioners. She was present at the peace commission meeting on April 11, 1873, where Captain Jack or Kientpaush, who was her cousin, killed General Canby and she testified at the trial following the war. She was represented in various narratives about the war including histories, dime novels and memoirs. Alfred B. Meacham, a former Superintendent for Indian Affairs for Oregon (1869-1872) and head of the peace commission during the Modoc War (1873) was sympathetic to the Modocs and wrote two books after the war, one about Captain Jack, and one about Toby Riddle. He also wrote a lecture, then a play, and he recruited Riddle and her family with other Modoc leaders to perform it, taking advantage of their notoriety and in order to build sympathy for the Modocs.

Riddle was portrayed as a heroine of the Modoc War who saved Alfred Meacham, uncoincidentally parroting the story of Pocahontas saving John Smith. Meacham was largely responsible for Riddle's reputation as "Pocahontas of the Lava Beds." In his book named after her, he called her "Winema" and claimed for her the status of "Woman-chief."<sup>12</sup> He also created the dramatic scene where she saved his life.

Simultaneously with the attack on General Canby and Dr. Thomas, Schonchin sprang to his feet, and drawing both a knife and a pistol...pointed at my head, and discharged the pistol, the bullet tearing through the collar of my coat and vest. Before the next shot,

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<sup>12</sup> Meacham, Alfred B. *Wi-ne-ma (The Woman Chief) and Her People*. Hartford, Conn: American, 1876..

Winema was between him and his victim, grasping his arms and pleading for my life. I walked backwards forty yards, while my heroic defender struggled to save me. Shacknasty Jim joined Schonchin in the attack, and Winema, running from one to the other, continued to turn aside the pistols aimed at me, until I went down.<sup>13</sup>

The scene becomes grisly yet humorous. Meacham describes “the difficult task of scalping a bald-headed man.”<sup>14</sup> Boston Charley takes a knife and fights with Winema, who throws him on the rocks. Charley responds by hitting her on the head with his gun and then goes back to Meacham who writes Charley “set one foot on the back of my neck, and muttering curses in broken English, succeeded in cutting a circle almost around the upper part of my head.” With Charley’s fingers beneath his scalp, ready to “tear it off,” Winema shouts that soldiers are coming. Boston Charley gave Meacham a last kick and ran. There were no soldiers coming, but according to the story, Riddle’s ruse worked to save Meacham’s life. Riddle’s heroism during the attempted peace negotiation inspired the reference to Pocahontas. In addition, she more than proves her loyalty to the settlers with her nursing skills and compassion after the incident and inspired comparison to a famous contemporary of Riddle. Meacham writes:

While a three days battle was raging, the Pocahontas of the Lava Beds became a Florence Nightingale in the army hospital; among the victims of her cousin’s bullets, bathing the burning brows, and administering nourishment prepared by her own hands. The soldiers were assured of her fidelity, and with united voice declared her to be a ministering angel.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid 61.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

Whether she is Pocahontas of the Lava Beds or Florence Nightingale in the army hospital, one thing that Toby Riddle is not and cannot be in Meacham's settler romance is a Modoc woman with her own beliefs, values and practices. Meacham tells her story and creates a remarkable portrait of a brave young woman. In the transcripts of the trial of the Modoc War criminals, Toby Riddle describes herself as falling to the ground, not fighting and calling out as she does in Meacham's version. The comparison of Riddle's role in the Modoc War to the mythology of Pocahontas, a woman famous for putting the life of a settler before the interests of her tribe, increased interest in Meacham's books and lectures.<sup>16</sup>

There is a version of events in the Modoc War written by Jeff Riddle, Toby Riddle's son. It was published in 1912 when Toby Riddle was still alive. Jeff Riddle wrote in his dedication:

#### TO THE PUBLIC.

In writing this little book I want to say, I did what I thought was my duty. I have read so many different works on or about the Modoc war of 1872 and '73. The books I read were so disgusting, I must say that the authors of some of the books certainly were never in the neighborhood of the Lava Beds. They must have dreamt of the Modoc war.<sup>17</sup>

This is followed immediately by the preface, with a picture of Toby Riddle standing facing the camera. The preface states this history is valuable in part because the

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<sup>16</sup> Meacham was not the only person to write a book about Toby Riddle. In 1956 a book about Toby Riddle was published, *Wi-ne-ma*, by James Allen, a fictionalized history including portraits from the Modoc War.

<sup>17</sup> Jeff C. Riddle. *The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes That Led To It*. Saratoga: Urion Press, 1975. Reprint.



author is the son of one of the main actors in the war and Toby Riddle seems to stand in support of this statement. There is a biography of Toby Riddle and several others at the end of the book, but the biographic information on Riddle is taken from Meacham's book. Jeff Riddle tells the story of the war in episodes, with details not included in some other versions and without sentiment. After the capture of Keintpoos, Riddle accounts for all the Modocs before the trial. He concludes Chapter XV:

There were five other crippled Modoc Indians that were held at Fairchild's Ranch, during all the Lava Bed fighting. They were crippled in the first engagement on November 29th, 1872, at Lost River, I think; but anyway, they were all shot to death on June 8, 1873, near Adams Point, Tule Lake, Oregon, by Oregon Volunteers under the command of Capt. Heizer, while they were being hauled to the headquarters of General Davis on the Peninsular to be delivered up by James Fairchild. That was after some of the Modocs had been made prisoners. The names of the five crippled Modocs that were shot were Little John and wife, Tee-Hee Jack, Poney and Mooch.<sup>18</sup>

The violence against the Modocs was not bounded by the war, by territory, by bodily health, or gender. The unnamed wife of Little John is a ghostly disruption to the satisfying romance spun by Meacham, a haunting - as theorized by Avery Gordon - of the official narrative that rejects the presumed innocence of the white American settlement. The fact that Jeff Riddle highlights this execution of "crippled Modoc Indians" suggests to us that Toby Riddle passed this perspective on to her son, that her descendents needed to know that "there was more to" the settler accounts of her story.

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid 155.

Historian Boyd Cothran, in *Remembering the Modoc War*, argues that “Meacham and Riddle collaborated to create the Winema-as-Pocahontas narrative.”<sup>19</sup> The friends and partners put the Pocahontas mythology to use for an important reason, to save Toby’s life. Meacham’s investors had a financial crisis and Meacham and the Riddle’s: Toby, her son Jeff and husband Frank were in New York City without money. Publishing and selling *Wi-Ne-Ma (The Woman Chief) and Her People* (1876) did more than earn money to get home, but created a persona for Toby Riddle that lasted beyond her life. Cothran argues that the heroic exploits of Winema are mostly Meacham’s imagination, but the stories told in the book justified the pension Congress awarded to Toby Riddle in 1890, in the amount of \$25 a month for the rest of her life.<sup>20</sup> Toby Riddle did not leave letters and journals. According to Cothran, she did not read or write. Cothran chooses the possibility that she helped to choose her name, and that she accepted the role that she played. Cothran argues Riddle had “limited options” and while she may have had some input into Meacham’s novel, she was subject to a narrow script that was allowed Native women at the end of the 19th century.<sup>21</sup> Riddle used her reputation to benefit herself, and others used her role as a heroine of the Indian Wars to benefit their political and social agendas.

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<sup>19</sup> Boyd Cothran. *Remembering the Modoc War: Redemptive Violence and the Making of American Innocence*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. 93.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid 96.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

The settler reading practice privileges the story of Toby Riddle as a Pocahontas of the Lava beds. That story is familiar, in which she is both traitor and heroine. However, a Native feminist reading practice sees a woman raised during wartime, and recognizes her strategy: an unlettered woman allowing a telling of her story, an account that allows her to continue on into the future. However, whereas the settler reading practice can only see the Pocahontas story, the Native feminist reading practice sees the strategy, and therefore sees what is sovereign beneath the settler account of a story of a life.

Winema has a presence in Southern Oregon; Winema National Park was named the year Klamath termination was enacted, 1961, it has since been changed to Fremont-Winema National Park. It is an Indian name, placed on streets and forests like it was placed on Toby Riddle, to mark places as native. The name signifies a connection to a Native past as a point of nostalgia; a reminder that the settler is the "native" now. However, that is the settler reading, the Native feminist reading practice sees the National Park, the streets and buildings named Winema, Modoc, the places, Winema Beach, Modoc Point, and sees beyond the settler nostalgia. The strategy Riddle employed on her own behalf, for her own story, to ensure a future can be tied to the names and places. We were here, we are here and there is a promise of decolonization and reclaiming. Riddle survived the Modoc War, she raised a family and lived a long life. There is an opportunity to recognize her narrative as an act of sovereignty and survivance.

### **Fanny Ball: But I am not a storyteller**

The *Autobiography of Delfina Cuero* is a short, narrated autobiography, and of course it is incomplete. I quoted Fitzgerald referencing Greg Sarris' idea that an autobiography is "not the life but an account or story of the life."<sup>22</sup> No life can be completely told, and there are reasons why one might choose not to talk about their life, or aspects of it. Sarris makes a distinction between telling your story to a social scientist, trained to be an outside observer, and speaking to family, to people who know you and know you better for hearing your stories.<sup>23</sup> Cuero told her story to Shipek to document where she arrived from and where she belonged. It was necessary to mention places and plants and the reasons why she moved from one place to another. The social scientist edits the dialogue into the completed text, but Sarris argues, the speaker edits their words too. Cuero is self-editing, and there are times in Cuero's account where it is obvious. For example, Cuero tells the story of her "old relative" and the dream he had that made him a healer. Cuero says,

He was real old when he told me and he only told me because he knew he would die soon anyhow. But he knew that he would die before the year was out because he had told how he became a healer. He did.<sup>24</sup>

Her relative told the story because he knew he was close to death, and in telling the story, he accepted that his approaching death was inevitable. Stories have times and places. There are times Cuero resists speaking as an "Indian" - telling a universal

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<sup>22</sup> Greg Sarris. *Keeping Slug Woman Alive: A Holistic Approach to American Indian Texts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. 85.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Cuero 53.

story or speaking for anyone other than herself. When she talks about traditions around having children and how her second child did not have the same ceremonies as her first child, Cuero attempts to explain why that may have been, then stops and explains, “I’m just telling what happened to me, what I know.”<sup>25</sup> The reader cannot know, because Shipek, as an anthropologist, is not present in the text, what Cuero was responding to at that time in the narration. Perhaps Shipek was asking questions to prompt Cuero’s recollections, perhaps Cuero wanted it to be clear that she was speaking only for herself. Transmitting knowledge through storytelling (or oral traditions) for generations may be a role that has significant tasks and responsibilities. Stories may belong to families, or seasons. Cuero says she is not a storyteller. That distinction matters because Cuero’s narrative shows there are times stories equal survival. Cuero explains, “Things like that I was told by my grandmother. I still live by the old rules and I’ve never been sick.”<sup>26</sup>

Whether Cuero remembered that particular story or she chose not to tell it, Cuero refuses to tell some stories to Shipek. When Cuero says she is not a storyteller, she may be saying the story does not belong to her, whatever the reasons, there are stories she will share with Shipek and others she will not share. Sarris remembers his Pomo elders, Great-Grandma Nettie and Old Auntie Eleanor warning the children about speaking to outsiders.

“Don’t talk much with outside people,” Nettie and Eleanor admonished. “Careful what you tell.” When the professors visited

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid 46.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid 42.

each summer, Nettie became silent. Eleanor gave short, flat answers and told stories no one in the house had ever heard.<sup>27</sup>

Our voices are dangerous for multiple reasons. Refusal is a choice and a strategy, and even though it seems as though Cuero is almost completely dispossessed, she does have something Shipek wants. Shipek went looking for Cuero, she wanted Cuero's stories. Critical race scholar Fred Moten writes, "Refusal is only possible for the ones who have something...the ones who ain't got no home anymore in this world except a moving boxcar...except Aunt Kine's house which isn't hers...and then they take it away, but she'd already given it away."<sup>28</sup> Cuero was successful, she told Shipek enough information to please both Shipek and the officials who agreed to allow Cuero back across the border to her homeland. Cuero did not have to give away everything to gain something.

Untold stories may never be told or they may be dormant. They can be read through a native feminist reading practice as part of the future that is now. The untold story, the unrecognized people lost to archives and lives that disappeared have descendants, and a future. They have not disappeared. They may return and haunt us.

I want to bring up Fannie Ball, who is my ancestor, according to family stories she was a daughter of the third wife of Keintpoos. I cannot examine what others said about her, she is not famous. Where Toby Riddle is remarkable, yes, this mythology is placed upon her but she did have an amazing role in history, even

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<sup>27</sup> Sarris 82.

<sup>28</sup> Fred Moten. "The Subprime and the Beautiful." *African Identities*, Vol. 11, No.2, 237-245, 2013.



Figure 1.1 above) she is written into records as Mrs. Joe, wife. Her age at the time of this census (1895) is 54, which makes her a contemporary of Toby Riddle and Keintpoos. She could not be his daughter, however that does not mean I know who she is or what her relationships were. I do not know where the story became twisted or whose story the story we tell belongs to, it may belong to someone else. If Fannie Ball was born circa 1840, she lived through early and increasing contact with settlers that was often violent. Historian Boyd Cothran describes the extreme climate of violence leading up to and after the Modoc War.

Between 1854 and 1861, the Klamath Basin in particular witnessed a conflagration of state-sponsored Indian killing, including the notorious Ben Wright Massacre and the murderous 1856 Crosby or Modoc Expedition, which resulted in the deaths of scores if not hundreds of Klamath Basin Indians and may have been the most lethal California militia expedition in a very bloody era. The massive demographic decline of American Indians in California - the Indigenous population plunged from around 150,000 to fewer than 30,000 - ended with the Modoc War, a fact that contributed to its dubious distinction as California's so-called last Indian war. Indeed, the death of General Canby triggered what one historian has called 'a final, genocidal phase' of U.S.-Indian violence in the region, a strategy President Ulysses S. Grant endorsed when he called for the Modocs' 'utter extermination.'<sup>29</sup>

The Ben Wright Massacre (1852) is often referenced as an indirect cause of the Modoc War and a reason why there was so little trust or faith in efforts to secure peace. It seems every account of the Ben Wright Massacre is different, even when accounts share the same source. It is not contested that Ben Wright was a settler who with other settlers murdered most of the Modocs living in a village at Lost River in

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<sup>29</sup> Cothran 18.



November 1852. In an 1873 letter to his brother, Elijah Steele, an agent of Indian Affairs and Superior Court Judge in Siskiyou County, sums up the event as best he can based on the many accounts he heard about the incident.

I know it was generally known that Ben Wright had concocted the plan of poisoning those Indians at a feast, and that his interpreter Indian, Livile, had exposed to the Indians, so that but few ate of the meat, and that Wright and his company then fell upon the Indians, and killed 40 out of 47, and one other died of poison afterward...The story of the Indians corresponds so well with that I have frequently heard from our own people, before it became so much of a disgrace by the reaction, that I have no doubt of the correction in its general details.<sup>30</sup>

The Ben Wright Massacre was one event, but it was part of a system of violence that was part of everyday life. In the same letter Steele writes a lengthy history of the region, and recollects: “On coming near the coast we found a band of Indians and squaws gathering berries. We took the Indians as prisoners and held them as hostages for good behavior of their tribe during our investigations.”<sup>31</sup> Steele was with a group looking for a passage for settlers, and though they were not bothered by anyone during the trip, just in case, kidnapping Native families was a strategy used to guarantee their safety.<sup>32</sup>

That conquest is violent is well-known and documented, I want to make the point that for these people at this time, wartime was constant. According to Bland’s biography of Alfred Meacham, he describes a seven hour meeting where Keintpoos

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<sup>30</sup> Elijah Steele. Letter. Yreka May 26 1873. 303

<sup>31</sup> Ibid 301.

<sup>32</sup> Ben Wright was promoted to Indian Agent after the massacre, only 23 at the time, he was killed four years later by Indians who cut out his heart, cooked and ate it. Clyde A. Milner II and Carol A. O’Connor. *As Big as the West: The Pioneer Life of Granville Stuart*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. 35.

broke twig after twig, each time stating an act of violence, beginning with a Modoc woman who was dragged by her feet behind a wagon until she died.”<sup>33</sup> And though Indian wars are popularly thought to be between men, imagined as a contest between armies, or at least between warriors and soldiers, for the Natives in the Klamath Basin (and elsewhere) war was at home. Violence against women was sometimes the tipping point between settlers and Natives living near each other in some kind of not peace, but agreement.

During the Modoc War all the Modoc were at war. Women and children were in the lava beds with the men, suffered, were injured, killed and were captured as prisoners of war.<sup>34</sup> They were imprisoned in the guardhouse for months before the trial and after they were forced onto unheated railroad cars and taken to Oklahoma in the middle of November 1873.<sup>35</sup> Meacham shared stories of wartime terror with audiences to gain sympathy for the Modocs. An attack on a Modoc village as described by him used violence against old women, mothers and children appealed to their sympathies. Learning the soldiers were coming, the Modoc people left the village but an old woman could not run and so they left her with food and water but the soldiers, ignoring her cries, burned her alive in her home. Two women,

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<sup>33</sup> Bland 27..

<sup>34</sup> U.S. Jeff C Davis August 7, 1873, 325. Letters from Brevet Major-General Jeff C Davis to Secretary of War requesting clothes and blankets for the Modoc, Davis wrote, “...when the Modoc Indians were captured they were in a most destitute condition, men, women and children...Humanity seemed to require that blankets and other covering be issued at once; this I directed to be done.” Several letters follow trying to decide whether the military or the Interior will pay for the clothes and blankets.

<sup>35</sup>

one holding a baby, were shot and killed, including the infant. Meacham writes more of the story:

Major Jackson's soldiers in retreating captured a Modoc man and his wife who were coming to the camp, unaware that a battle had been fought. The man was placed under guard while the soldiers outraged his wife before his eyes. This I state upon Modoc authority, and while I believe it to be true, I am positive it was not under sanction of Major Jackson...neither do I believe the woman was burned alive by his order, or approval, or even by his knowledge.<sup>36</sup>

These stories of violence are upsetting to read and write. They are in books for academics and in stories for people who enjoy reading about Indian Wars and the frontier. They are the stories of conquest and though Meacham and others hoped for sympathy from audiences that they hoped would lead to policy changes to benefit dispossessed Natives; they are stories that are so familiar the violence is familiar and accepted and the lectures where they were shared were also entertainment. It is not possible to know the extreme conditions of our ancestors during this period of violence, it was dangerous, it was difficult, it was terrible. It might cause you to lie about who you are for your entire life. It may not be a lie, but a refusal. It is a story we tell about an ancestor we do not and cannot know well, and we do not know what stories Fannie Ball told her children. Riddle and Ball both lived, they had children, and grandchildren and their descendents still live. We live with their silences and with their stories, we live with the history of violence and the difficulty of a response. We live in this world and we imagine another, we critically read the histories approaching them through a native feminist methodology but there is

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<sup>36</sup> 45 Brand.

something beyond seeing, beyond colonialism that I am reaching for. These women, Riddle, Ball and the unnamed are critical to decolonizing historical narratives as part of the larger decolonial project of ending settler colonialism. This project includes reparations, the return of land, recognition of indigenous sovereignty and environmental justice. The purpose is not to add Native women to historical discourse, that has been happening for years; or condemn settler colonialism for her absence but instead recognize that Native women are present in settler narratives in ways serving settler interests yet they cannot be contained to those narratives. I am striving to show that outside of those narratives, beyond those narratives, Native women resist and settler futures and refuse heteropatriarchal hierarchies of power.

In tracing the narratives of Toby Riddle and Fannie Ball, the desire is to use the Native feminist reading strategy to highlight their persistence and hope. It is also critical to understand Native people never stopped fighting for their land and the desire and intention is and always will be to take it back. Decolonial historical narratives condemn settler violence and look to create possible futures based on reclaimed pasts. These possible futures depend upon recognizing historical contexts where narratives of Native women was used to promote settler-narratives or erased through heteropatriarchal gendercide, in which heteropatriarchal systems diminish the importance of Native women culturally and socially or erase them altogether from history in order to uphold white supremacy and heteropatriarchy.

The lives of Toby Riddle and Fannie Ball bridged the Indian War era and assimilation eras (1879-1934). Riddle died in 1920 and Ball in 1921. They survived the howitzers and massacres but the wars did not end. Nez Perce scholar Beth Piatote describes the end of one era did not mean an end to attacks on Native people.

Yet the end of bloodshed did not mean the end of violence...Indian economies, lands, kinship systems, languages, cultural practices, and family relations - in short, all that constituted the Indian home - became the primary site of struggle. The battle, although not the stakes, moved from the indigenous homeland...to the familial space of the Indian home, or the intimate domestic.<sup>37</sup>

Piatote argues the assimilation era was an extension of the Indian Wars, and that “the way to break up the tribe was to break up the Indian family.”<sup>38</sup> The Modoc were removed to Oklahoma in 1873 and though they were eventually allowed back to Oregon in 1909, their descendents became a new tribe, The Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma in 1978. Members of The Klamath Tribes attended boarding schools and in later chapters I will discuss Klamath termination and the eventually were terminated, losing their land and resources their ancestors thought would always be theirs.

When I first conceived of this chapter I imagined that I would look for and find an authentic Fannie Ball and answer my questions about our family. I questioned the desire to find her, the academic need to produce her, *habeas corpus*. The fractured history of my family does not mean that Fannie was impossible, it did

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<sup>37</sup> Beth H Piatote. *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship and Law in Native American Literature*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.3.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid 5.

not mean that she was unimportant. It meant she was a ghost. She can be made through my telling but only in a ghostly way, not in a way that the academy recognizes. There is a grave but not a national park. She is unfinished. Fannie, my ancestor and ghostly progenitor haunts this dissertation. She is not the only ghost to inhabit this research and retelling.

**The unknown woman: And that is I all I can remember**

Finally, I want to revisit Delfina Cuero's refusal as an expression of sovereignty. Cuero demonstrates sovereignty over one's knowledge and experience through her refusal. Cuero did not have tribal membership, she did not read or write and she was unofficial and until her autobiography was published; she was unknown. Cuero recognizes her own limits to knowledge and is able to extend that limit by refusing to share her knowledge. Acknowledging one's limits to knowledge is not the same for Cuero as it is for those within the Western/colonizing logics of academia where the unknown is the limit of knowledge. Rather, the unknown is another knowledge domain that is sovereign from colonized knowledge. Here, Cuero is expressing a limit to the knowledge she "knows" or at least is willing to share with Shipek. She employs a strategy that a half a century later, scholars call "ethnographic refusal," based on the theorizing of Kahnawake scholar Audra Simpson:

My notion of refusal articulates a mode of sovereign authority over the presentation of ethnographic data, and so does not present "everything." This is for the express purpose of protecting the concerns of the community. It acknowledges the asymmetrical power

relations that inform the research and writing about native lives and politics, and it does not presume that they are on equal footing with anyone.<sup>39</sup>

Simpson, whose research is within own community, recognizes the refusal of her community towards ethnography and her own refusal as a scholar to share as ethnographic refusal. Ethnographic refusal means Simpson does not present everything she learns from her community because the academy and her audience does not need to know. What matters more is the sovereignty of the community, their safety, their knowledge, and her own sovereignty as a member of that community before the needs of the academy, and the academy has needs.

Producing and publishing knowledge is the key to advancement and success within the academy, and so ethnographic refusal from an academic may have consequences. For researchers who are part of Native communities, the academy has ways of making you talk. The *Autobiography of Delfina Cuero* did not carry Cuero's name as author in the first edition, but only the anthropologist, Florence Shipek, who claimed her story. Only since the 1992 edition (which also has new biographical information) is Cuero named as author and credit also given to the interpreter, Rosalie Pinto Robertson. Academia has protocols that must be followed when human research subjects are used, but Tuck and Yang explain Indigenous knowledge is subject to protocols that follow colonial ideologies.

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<sup>39</sup> Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. 105.

The academic codes that govern research, human subject protocols, and publishing already territorialize knowledge as property and researchers as claimstakers. Academic codes decide what stories are civilized (intellectual property) and what stories are natural, wild, and thus claimable under the doctrine of discovery. Human subject protocols establish that individuals must be protected, but not communities. Individuals are empowered to give away the community's stories.<sup>40</sup>

Tuck and Yang explain why refusal matters as an ethical and decolonial consideration. The battle over Indigenous knowledge is a political battle and there is real territory at stake.

Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang explain that “all refusal is particular, meaning refusal is always grounded in historical analysis and present conditions.”<sup>41</sup> When a researcher privileges the academy and the idea of knowledge as limitless, intending to share all of it, every bit, it may be more than the academy deserves, and more than the academic can afford to give. Doing nothing, saying nothing is one choice.

Adding to the complexity, many of us also bring to our work in the academy our family and community legacies of having been researched. As the researched, we carry stories from grandmothers' laps and breaths, from below deck, from on the run, from inside closets, from exclaves. We carry the proof of oppression on our backs, under our fingernails; and we carry the proof of our *survivance* (Vizenor, 2008) in our photo boxes, our calluses, our wombs, our dreams. These stories, too, are not always ours to give away, though they are sometimes the very us of us. It needs to be said that we are not arguing for silence. Stories are meant to be passed along appropriately, especially among loved ones, but not all of them as social science research. Although such knowledge is often a source of wisdom that informs the perspectives in our writing, we do not intend

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<sup>40</sup> Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. “Unbecoming Claims: Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research.” *Qualitative Inquiry* 2014, Vol. 20(6) 811–818. 812.

<sup>41</sup> Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang “R-Words: Refusing Research” *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities*. D. Paris & M.T. Winn (Eds.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE. 2014. 223-248. 243.



to share them as social science research. It is enough that we know them.<sup>42</sup>

Refusal is a consequence of dispossession, but as Moten reminds us, you can refuse because you are in possession. Moten asks us to consider what those who have nothing possess. “What is this nothing that they have or to which they have access? What comes from it?”<sup>43</sup> Cuero was speaking for her own political purpose, to return home, but she carried the stories of those who went before her, many whose voices were ignored, banished and disappeared, but that does not mean their stories were gone, or that they were without wisdom. Tuck and Yang make clear that refusal is not silence. “Refusal in research makes way for other r-words—for resistance, reclaiming, recovery, reciprocity, repatriation, regeneration.”<sup>44</sup> Refusal is an assertion, a claim to sovereignty, to future claims. In her refusal I hear the press of their lives, their experiences, the presence that is a haunting, and their relationship with Cuero, and her relationship with her children and grandchildren. Her refusal makes them appear.

What are the consequences of refusal? For the academy, it seems that the consequences are negligible, there are archives upon archives full of knowledge; data, documents, and remains and objects that are indexed and stored. Some of those objects are sacred, and some of those remains are ancestors.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid 234.

<sup>43</sup> Fred Moten. “Blackness and Nothingness: Mysticism in the Flesh.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 2013, Vol 112, No 4. 737-780. 776.

<sup>44</sup> Tuck Yang 244.

At the end of the Modoc War there was a trial, and Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Boston Charley and Black Jim were all sentenced to death and hanged and their heads were removed from their bodies. Although the remains were said to have gone to the Army Medical Museum in 1873, Jeff C. Riddle tells a story of walking into a tent advertising a great Indian Chief when he was on tour with Meacham and being surprised to see the head of Captain Jack preserved in a jar.<sup>45</sup> Eventually the skulls went to Washington and were indexed and stored. For years descendants of the men demanded their return. Finally, a descendant of Toby Riddle, her great-great granddaughter Debbie Herrera, claimed the remains and brought them home.<sup>46</sup> Herrera's story, published in *The Seattle Times* in 1996, is an example of refusal towards institutions and perhaps surprisingly, tribal community. When Herrera asked the Smithsonian for the skulls of the executed Modocs, she was told that she must prove she was a lineal descendent and receive approval from her tribal government, then the skulls would be returned to her. Herrera, according to the article, traced her descendancy but "she refused to get approval from anyone to reclaim her own relatives. She demanded the Smithsonian honor its policy of returning remains to lineal descendants."<sup>47</sup> The next year Herrera went to Washington and returned home with the remains. From *The Seattle Times*:

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<sup>45</sup> Cothran 93.

<sup>46</sup> Denson, Bryan. "Keeper of Skulls, Holder of Secrets." *The Seattle Times*. Sunday March 24, 1996. last accessed July 28, 2015.

<http://community.seattletimes.nwsources.com/archive/?date=19960324&slug=2320555>

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

She will say no more.

Leaders of the Klamath Tribes, which represents the Klamaths and the Modocs, have demanded she tell them what she has done with the skulls. Tribal elders, who preside over reburials, wanted to make sure the skulls were returned to the land with proper ceremony and dignity.

But Herrera, a stubborn woman who bears a passing resemblance to her great-great grandmother, Winema Riddle, refuses to talk.

Her work is done, she said. She will not parade her kin back into Mother Earth.

"They don't need to know," she said. "It's not the right time."

She will say only that she did not rescue the skulls from a museum just to display them somewhere else. She did not sell them. And she did not dishonor them.

"They're home," she said.<sup>48</sup>

Herrera has her reasons and like Simpson explains about refusal, probably many people know exactly why she refuses to share her knowledge, but the reader does not need to know and Herrera and the reporter do not need to tell us. Herrera and the reporter do not mention the fifth skull. When Herrera retrieved the Modoc skulls, it was before the National Museum of the American Indian Act, (NMAI Act) 1989 Public Law 101-185 was passed. This law required the museum to inventory and return remains and funerary objects (other items were added when act was amended in 1996) as requested by federally recognized tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations. However, the description of the remains from the records of the Smithsonian National Museum lists someone other than the expected four men; there is an unnamed woman whose remains were also collected and returned.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Prior the enactment of the 1989 NMAI Act, the remains of five Modoc individuals were repatriated, by the Department of Anthropology, to descendants of the Modoc. The repatriation took place in 1984 after several years of consultation. The remains include those of four named individuals who had been executed in 1873 after a trial for their actions during the Modoc War: Kientpuash (Captain Jack), Schonchin, Boston Charlie, and Black Jim. The fifth individual is an unnamed woman who died of disease whose remains were obtained from the Lava Bed Battlefields in 1873. The skeletal remains of the five individuals were sent to the Army Medical Museum in Washington DC in 1873 and transferred to the Smithsonian Institution in 1898.<sup>49</sup>

The unknown woman is mentioned in some publications about the Modoc skulls. She was in the Lava Beds, she supposedly died from disease, she traveled to Washington D.C. and back home again. She is a relative. What we do not know about her is almost everything, her age, her family, her name. Maybe more could be discovered, if the cause of death was known somehow to be disease (and I do not assume that it was, it seems like a move towards settler innocence to make that claim and that claim only when the remains were taken at wartime and the other Modocs hanged and beheaded by the US Army doctors). Maybe there are records of tests done, to test her age, the thickness of her skull, to gather data. There are almost 20,000 Native American remains in the Smithsonian, there are more than 10,000 more but they are not Native American, and presumably the remains are there for scientific reasons, for testing, to add to what can be known about Native Americans. I am not going to seek out that data, I would rather not know if it exists. This

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<sup>49</sup> Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, Executive Summary Repatriation of Modoc Remains. Repatriation Office, Department of Anthropology.  
<http://anthropology.si.edu/repatriation/reports/regional/northwest/modoc.htm>

unknown woman takes her place with Delfina Cuero, Toby Riddle, and Fanny Ball, all are at least in part, unknown women. The unknown woman is not impossible. Neither are the unknown women currently alive. This action of the ghost is a presence in Native life and survivance, and maybe the ghostliness is a type of sovereignty. Toby Riddle, according to her son, said I believe in spirits, they never lie. They make demands, they haunt and seek justice. The unknown woman is remarkable in that she even is labeled unknown, that she was not simply scooped up and unmentioned. I do not know who she was, besides Modoc, but I cannot forget her. She reminds me of the numbers and afterthoughts, the descriptions of war and violence that count the men and leave the women and children as an afterthought, “The rest killed were women and children.”<sup>50</sup> She refuses knowing, but she is not a blank slate, she lived and died, she is written into the archive, she is buried and she came home. There is power in being unknown, in that refusal made even after death, and again long after death, when not even her resting place is known but a part of the refusal of a descendant.

African American scholar Saidiya Hartman visited Ghana in an attempt to trace the meanings of dispossession caused by slavery. She visited historical sites and confronted ghosts. Hartman (*Lose Your Mother* 2007) describes the desire for a country, for origins, for a place of belonging. Although I live in the same country, the same state as the place where my ancestors fought and died, there are parallels in our stories of dispossession and diaspora. In an interview about her journey,

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<sup>50</sup> I see this in the archives and texts of Indian Wars.

Hartman said, “The struggle over the meaning of the past is still being waged.”<sup>51</sup> I believe the unknown, the little known, those who refuse to be known have a stake in that struggle. The haunting of the unknown woman, Toby Riddle, Fannie Ball, and Delfina Cuero affects the present. The questions we cannot answer and the ways they refuse knowing helps those of us here in this present to refuse meanings that are simple, to remember not to settle for answers that allow for settler innocence and to remember as scholars and as Natives, not to give away more than we can stand to lose.

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<sup>51</sup> Patricia J Saunders. “Fugitive Dreams of Diaspora: Conversations with Saidiya Hartman.” *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, June 2008. 9.

## CHAPTER 2

### **Time Traveling Dogs (and other Native feminist ways to defy dislocations)**

Native people used to live here. White people settled here, they fled.  
People of color replaced white people, they suffer. Coming up the  
multicultural cosmopolitan citizen will replace people of color.

(La Paperson, "A Ghetto Land Pedagogy," 2014)

I am writing to you within this rushing roar of a cartography of our  
dispossession, we who are future ghosts, we who bury loved ones  
hoping they will get some rest. If I make a map and not a tracing, it is  
a map of our selfsame land. If I make a tracing and not a map, it is  
made out of chalk on city cement.

(Angie Morrill, Eve Tuck and SFHQ, "Beyond  
Dispossession, or Surviving it," 2015)

This chapter explores how Native feminist hauntings and desire defy  
dislocations. There is a bit of time travel through different displacements: Indian  
removal, ghetto colonialism in the time after the Indian Wars and before tribal  
termination, ghetto colonialism in the time after termination. Desire is read in family  
photographs. Family photographs are proof of presence that speak from the past to  
the future. These photographs fill the past with people and events that would  
otherwise disappear according to the whitestream mythology of the authentic Indian,  
who wears regalia, lives in a tipi and is always ready for a very solemn sepia toned  
photoshoot. In a Native feminist reading, these photographs celebrate relationships,  
new clothes, a good hunt and a favorite dog. They tell stories and inspire  
imagination. They haunt the present with demands on the future. Hauntings make  
demands; from the past to the present, based on desire for recognition, justice, or

something that may be unknowable. Finally, the chapter analyzes dislocations and hauntings through paintings that are rememories, creating place through memory.

These paintings remap gentrified dislocations and reimagine desire, telling stories that focus on the relationship of the present to the past and the past to the future. The paintings resolve hauntings through interventions that speak to the future.

### **Seeing Ghosts, Sensing Desire**

Haunting is a remnant of the conditions that created the haunting, those conditions are always violent. Haunting intends to provoke a response from the living, it is a call to act. Haunting requires a response that answers the violence and if the violence cannot be resolved, it can be recognized as violence and condemned as wrong. Sociologist Avery Gordon argues haunting is not about what is hidden or unknowable. Haunting “refers us to what’s living and breathing in the place hidden from view: people, places, histories, knowledge, memories, ways of life, ideas.” In this chapter family photographs are hauntings that represent a contrast to a time of social death for Native Americans. The Native feminist reading of these family photos does not see death, but desire. In whitestream narratives of Native Americans in the 20th century, there was no social future for Native Americans beyond the Indian Wars. The cowboys won and the (barely) surviving Indians went off to the reservations or boarding schools to assimilate and disappear. In these family photographs of a Klamath/Modoc and Cherokee family there is proof of a complex past and desire for a future.



As a methodology, haunting points towards the future through engaging the past through the figure of the ghost. Avery Gordon writes, “To study social life one must confront the ghostly aspects of it. This confrontation requires (or produces) a fundamental change in the way we know and make knowledge.” This confrontation is the “something to be done” that answers the haunting, and as a response to haunting, there is a desire to avoid reproducing violence. The ghost exists because of violence, and haunting is the result. The ghost may represent a person, or an event. The ghost may haunt an individual or society. The ghost acts because it desires something. That something may be justice, but it may not. Justice may not be possible. The desires of the ghost are as complex and complicated as the desires of the living. Resolution to haunting may be decolonization or repatriation. Revenge is an option. Violence causes the haunting, it’s possible that violence may resolve haunting but there is no promise. Disruption may be the only resolution. Eve Tuck and C. Ree explain, “Haunting aims to wrong the wrongs, a confrontation that settler horror hopes to evade.” The ghost makes evasion impossible. They continue, “Social life, settler colonialism, and haunting are inextricably bound; each ensures there are always more ghosts to return.” Haunting as a methodology recognizes violence and engages the future through the “something to be done” that answers the desire of the ghost.

### **Desire as Methodology**

Desire is linked to haunting, the haunting is motivated by desire. Desire seeks a future and so it is a theory of change. Answering desire may change the future.

Desire is a methodology (desire-based research) proposed by Eve Tuck. In Tuck's essay, "Suspending Damage, A Letter to Communities," she argues against damage-based research in Native communities and for a theory of change that uses desire-based frameworks. She argues too often scholars focus on the problems within communities, assuming that spreading knowledge of the damage within communities will lead to fixing the problems. Tuck explains this is not what happens, instead of policy solutions, Native communities come to think of themselves as "broken." There are problems within all communities, however researchers often approach Native communities with the assumption of damage, and these assumptions of damage hide the violence of settler colonialism. Tuck explains, "Even when communities are broken and conquered, they are so much more than that – so much more that this incomplete story is an act of aggression." The research that is supposed to help not only does not help, it does more violence to Native communities and hides the violence of settler colonialism. Native people and scholars may understand the violent histories that lead to damage in communities, but Tuck writes, "for many people, Native and non-Native, this context has been made invisible and natural." Haunting disrupts the invisible and natural, and desire brings dimension to flattened histories. Tuck writes, "desire-based research frameworks are concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives."

Desire-based research frameworks read against the assumed pathologies and damage in Native communities.

Desire has a ghostly quality because what is desired is always out of reach, existing through an idea more than the thing of the thing. Ghosts are present and make their presence known through their desire. Ghosts haunt with expectations. Having once been corporeal it is not a longing to achieve what *was* but what never was, the not yet. The ghost desires the future. And when the future is made, that remnant quality, the shreds of the past that cling to the ghost, they no longer have to linger, that is the not anymore. The longing and the ghost belong to us because we share desire with the ghost. We cannot separate ourselves from haunting or the desire that Tuck writes is integral to our humanness. It is a lens we can use to see the future that is not yet and the past before it is not anymore. Desire involves the complexity of lived lives, the contradictions that cannot be resolved.

In *Ghostly Matters*, Avery Gordon describes complex personhood as a “folk theoretical statement.” People are complicated but representations are often stereotypical. Gordon writes, “Even those who live in the most dire circumstances possess a complex and oftentimes contradictory humanity and subjectivity that is never adequately glimpsed by viewing them as victims or, on the other hand, as superhuman agents.” When we speak to one another, within our communities instead of presenting our work to even interested sympathetic outsiders, we are not limited by those representations. We express desire and see desire. We share the violence

of colonization although it is experienced differently at different times. We share the experience of being observed and not seen. Tuck writes,

I write this letter to communities – primarily Native communities and/or urban communities - that have troubled relations with research and researchers. The trouble comes from the historical exploitation and mistreatment of people and material. It also comes from feelings of being overresearched yet, ironically made invisible.

The antidote, Tuck writes, “is to craft our research to capture *desire* instead of damage.” “Desire,” she writes, “yes accounts for the loss and despair, but also the hope, the visions, the wisdom of lived lives and communities.” Tuck writes in depth about her theorizing desire in “Breaking up with Deleuze.” Deleuze believes (as do I) that desire is productive. Tuck advances this idea and writes, “desire is not only productive, but smart.” Desire is smart and desire remembers.

Tuck absorbs Deleuze and his theories of desire but she has to break up with him because for her, desire is not just a theoretical exercise. She writes, “My work, also drawing from Indigenous knowledge systems, insists that desire accrues wisdom in assemblage, and does so over generations.” This is part of the ghostly desire that makes itself known through haunting and insists on action. It is passed on and will continue, in families and communities. Tuck explains,

This wisdom is assembled not just across a lifetime, but across generations, so that my desire is linked, rhizomatically, to my past and my future. It is in the way I can tell my grandmother’s stories with as much fullness as I tell my own, a practice among many first peoples. I believe that our desire has expertise. I believe desire constitutes our expertise.

Desire, then, is a kind of time machine. It allows the past to speak to the present.

Desire imagines a future that has not happened. Our ancestors have expectations of us, not just individually, but as communities.

### **Reading desire**

Photographs of Native people, like other representations of Native people, are a part of conquest. Photographs record what is disappearing or “vanishing.” For example, there are many before and after pictures of Native children at boarding schools, these before and after photographs serve an ideological purpose: to promote assimilation. In the before picture, Native children may have long hair and wear traditional clothing or a blanket. In the “after” photograph they are in appropriately Western gendered haircuts and school uniforms. Kathleen Martin argues that photographs of Native peoples are part of a “concrete record” of visual images that “reflect and perpetuate dominant ideologies.” The image does not allow for change, it attempts to fix the image and not to explain what is within the image. She writes Native photographs, “serve to acknowledge and reinforce interpretations already established.”

Photographs of Indians from the mid-twentieth century, the time period that this chapter is concerned with, that are not nostalgic, such as those of athletes and tribal leaders, are less common. Because Indians are fixed in history by the sepia-toned nostalgia of Edward Curtis portraits, the modern photos of tribal leaders in suits or Native athletes or war heroes are a bit of a surprise. They are notable because the subject is an Indian. Ojibwe scholar Scott Lyons writes, “When the Indian speaks, it always

speaks as an Indian.” As the universal speaking subject is never Indian, even mute photographs scream the colonial signifier of the Indian.

However, the meaning of pictures of Indians depends on who is looking. In “Looking Beyond Property,” American Studies scholar Curtis Marez analyzes Indian portraits and art by and for a Native audience. Whereas the academic or art world audience may see a beautiful picture of a dead Indian, a stereotype in a headdress, but the subject, the Indian person in the photograph is imagining that image in the future. Between white imaging and Native imagining is the break from damage to desire. The white gaze consumes these photographs, like the way people are supposed to admire dinosaur bones in the museum of natural history - they see death’s morbid curiosities. Desire is not simply a refusal of this gaze; it is not the act of looking back at the camera; it is the photographed person projecting herself into the future. Desire is not a gaze. Nonetheless, through a Native feminist reading we do ‘see’ (and hear and sense) their desire in the photographs, their projections into the future, because we are their future and the projections of their desire. Photographs are proof of presence that have the ability to speak to descendants. In this way they express a visual sovereignty that informs the future. Drawing from Michelle Raheja’s analyses of cinematic representations of Native Americans as excessively visible in western films of Cowboys and vanishing Indians yet nonetheless invisible and anonymous, visual sovereignty is a shorthand for “seemingly contradictory desires—to be both visible in a nation that had already written Native America’s obituary and to be hidden from further violence in the

face of overwhelming ignorance by non-Indians.” I stretch Raheja’s visual sovereignty to apply to family photographs that express seemingly contradictory desires of defying disappearance while archiving loss. In these acts of photographing, being photographed, saving and sharing photographs, the present-about-to-become-past subject projects her desires into the future-now-our-present. This practice of visual sovereignty is what I mean by proof of presence and speaking to descendents. Because we were here, you are here. Because you are here, we will continue to be.

Because a picture of an Indian is never universal, but is politicized within a colonial history of representation, my family photographs that I include in this chapter are not only of interest to my relations. Pictures are part of the colonial archive and thus provide foundation for settler owning and knowing. Pictures show where Natives belong - what we can do and where - and this part is contestable in the same way that visual sovereignty contests white supremacist sovereignty. In analyzing pictures of my own family, I understand them as representing a self-knowing; they acknowledge ways of belong, doing what, and being where that are sovereign from the colonial knowing of Indians into disappearance. Furthermore, the photographs that I share are from a time and place when Native people were mostly absent from discourses about home, family and place. Through photographs, those happenings can be called back and shared. These photographs communicate a desire to speak to the future. Family photos practice visual sovereignty in expressing the space the family inhabits, the ways they choose to be represented. This visual sovereignty is related to sovereignty

of knowledge and of existence and of land. Sovereignty in knowing our existence on this land. Desire allows these pictures as archives of lives-not-meant-to-exist to be read not as relics from the past but as signs that lead toward futures-not-meant-to-exist.



Figure 2.1: Ball Family in North Portland, 1950. From right to left: Peggy Ball, Woody Ball, Evelyn Ball (partially hidden), Tom Ball, Lillian Dunham Ball.

The first two photos (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2) center on a Native mother, my grandmother, Lillian Dunham Ball, surrounded by her children. □ These pictures are proof that this Native family exists post Indian Wars; indeed for my family, post Modoc War of 1873; for Lillian Dunham Ball, who is Cherokee and my mother says she cried every time The Trail of Tears was mentioned, post forced removal of the Cherokee and post Trail of Tears (Lillian's great-great-grandfather, John Benge, was a



wagonmaster on the Benge trail, one of the main routes of Cherokee removal). And for the ghost, the photographs project her desire: What she never had inside this family, what is lost and what she cannot pass on, is her relationship to her tribe. She has no official descendants. Lillian Dunham Ball is Cherokee, but because her children can only belong to one tribe, her children are members of the Klamath Tribes. They lived in Oregon, and her husband was Modoc and Klamath. Because her children cannot claim her, her indigeneity disappears and she lingers as a ghost. Still, in the photograph (see Figure 2.1) and in Native feminist memory, she is at the center of the family. Whether she is standing in a field holding her children, shielding my Aunt Evelyn from her husband's gaze, looking with fierceness at the camera, she is central. I read desire in that stance and in her gaze. When I think of the workings of desire as a time machine, I think how everything is about to change for this family and they do not yet know it. By the end of the decade the children will no longer have a father, their mother will live the rest of her short life with multiple sclerosis in a wheelchair or hospital bed, and they will no longer be Indian according to the federal government.

During this period, the federal government disappeared them with the Klamath Termination Act, Public Law 587 in 1953 - a year that I will return to momentarily.

□ Vanishing is dispossession and taking away all our ancestors paid for with treaties meant to provide for their descendants. One day you are Indian and the next day you

are not. It is not just a concept, this vanishing; the logics of colonialism are violent, legal, historical and material. And yet...

In this picture of a young family on a lovely windy day, all sky and grass and water towers, I read desire in the way my grandmother stands against the wind. She holds her youngest and soon enough, though not visibly pregnant yet, she will have another. They are a family standing in a field, for a moment. My mother points off to the side, something she was doing as a joke, she said, in the last second before her father took the picture. She is joking, and though her feet point towards her mother and family, she is turning away. She is expressing a desire for anywhere but here. Desire ties the ghost to the present with what we want while we live for a future that we want to believe is possible. In her gaze that holds mine through time, I read another world. I read a world where we do not have to lose ourselves through colonizing violent strategies, where standing in front of Evelyn actually saves her from her predator father.



Figure 2.2: Ball Family, 1959. Back Row: Evelyn Ball, Peggy Ball, Front Row: Tom Ball, Woody Ball, Lillian Ball, Michael Ball, Debbie Ball.

In the second picture (see Figure 2.2 above), the same family stands close together around a wheelchair. The father is gone for good, but he has not been gone long. My mother said her older sister sent him packing when she was fourteen years old, but she also told of his absence as an abandonment. Her mother got sick and then sicker, and her father left his six children and his physically deteriorating wife. Even if there was relief at the end of his abuse, the circumstances were difficult. In this picture my mother stands behind her mother, not hiding like Evelyn in the first photo but standing, her head above her mother's, this time looking at the camera with a trying-to-be cheerful smile. Evelyn is not hiding in this picture but looks at the

family, her arms around the two oldest boys while the youngest sits on his mother's lap. There is still a young girl in a light colored dress standing to the side and looking away but her hand rests on the handle of the wheelchair. She reminds me of my mother in the earlier picture, with the ability to imagine herself in some other place.

At the time of this picture, my mother had responsibilities that put her in the place she holds in this picture, in the center where her mother sits. My mother's older sister could get away: she had a job and she was in high school, a pretty girl with a social calendar. My mother was not much younger and she stayed home, taking care.

1953 punctuates the time in between these two photographs. There has been termination. In this family there has been sickness, abuse, rupture and abandonment. The father was sent packing for good reason and they were glad to see the back of him. Compared to the first photograph, there is also no sky. In the frame of the photograph, there is no land. Their feet are cut off. And yet...

Desire can be read in their close proximity. Although there is not much space between family members in the first picture, there is open space. Compared to the first photograph, in the second picture, there less distance between subjects and photographer, a family friend who was visiting for the day. The family are almost as close together as they can be, except for Debbie, the one looking away, and even she is still connected, hand on her mother's wheelchair handle. The family stands on the doorstep of their home, and there they stay together. In this photograph, visual

sovereignty is expressed through their extreme closeness. They belong and care for one another. The picture expresses the way they survived this transition. -

Those children bought that house for their mother with the money they had to take after termination was enacted. Termination meant the Klamath lost their reservation - photos from which will be described in the next section - and in exchange individuals (not the tribe) would receive a cash payout from the federal government. Individuals had a choice to take the cash or have the settlement held in trust by US Bank. There was no choice whether or not to remain a tribe, only what form the settlement money would take.

Their Uncle Joe, their father's brother, came to visit and while he could afford to have the money put into a trust, this family could not. He told them so, and said, you have to take the money. So each child, even the youngest, Michael Ray, because he was born in the cutoff year, 1953, was told their share of the Klamath reservation was worth \$43,500. Because they were minors, the money was put into trust at the local bank. My mother said they would go and take out \$100 for groceries or \$150 for clothes shopping, and they never knew that every time they withdrew money it cost them \$200. They bought their mother the house on Fairport Place, where they stand close together on the concrete slab porch. This is their land, a home for their Cherokee mother bought with Klamath termination money.

The house stayed in my family after my grandmother died. My mother's oldest brother Tom lived there with his wife and two children. When my mother left

my father, we moved into a house across the street. My aunt Evelyn and Aunt Debbie lived perhaps a mile away in different directions and my uncle Mike moved to a house on the block just south of us. These brothers and sisters lived and raised their families in this neighborhood, in close proximity to one another. We walked into each other's houses regularly. Cousins were best friends. Older cousins babysat younger cousins. This tight community included friends and neighbors, some Native, some not, who also lived nearby and shared meals, childcare and time. What these pictures represent is proof of presence, because this family does not exist much in the historical record. Because of the photos, we see that they are there, standing in that field, standing on that porch, surrounding their mother. The photographs are proof they are moving through time as surely as the logics of colonialism has them always already vanishing.

The mother stands, solidly planted and her oldest daughter, Evelyn, stands behind her, no child extends beyond her (see Figure 2.1). She is the boundary. With the wind pressing and her standing against it my grandmother looks to be a young but stalwart matriarch that does not exist in historical or popular texts. In those histories, Native mothers are betrayers of the nation for defending or loving white men or they are silently burdened by work, or are the less than human chattel of Native men. The history of her desire, by contrast, is still being written in these survivance stories, these photographs and these paintings to be discussed next. Desire, by being integral

to our humanness, Tuck argues, restores that humanity removed by generations of violence of settler colonialism.

I look at the in between time and the Native mother and I see in her desire. Desire is the expression of critical hope. Critical hope is what the living offers the ghost while working for a future that might appease, that seems impossible, for which there is no map because there is no road. There is the mother holding her child and gestating another, surrounded by what will be, her children. Surrounded by what she hopes for and wishes for but will not live to see. My grandmother died when she was only forty-six years old. She was a main figure in the stories my mother told about her childhood, her brothers and sisters and herself. But it is her own desires that kept her here, waiting for me, for a critique of settler colonialism that will change what seems possible. Critical hope wants more than reform, it seeks revolution, and it sees desire in the gaze of a woman sitting in a wheelchair, surrounded by her children with ten years left to live. Critical hope meets the desire of the ghost and says I will try and the ghost or grandmother then remains and waits with desire. The intimacy of desire, of wanting something and claiming that desire is a rare thing. It is easier to lose or deny desire. It is simpler not to want anything. As Natives are dispossessed once and again and again, through howitzers and laws and lies and resistance to adding up the numbers and telling us how much do they owe us, it is easier to not want anything. History tells us that we do not win. Desire is a risk and it remembers.

It is a risk that the ghosts will take for us, if we cannot. Tuck writes, “Desire produces reality.”

### **Reading Survivance**

I read family reservation photos as a way to recognize survivance and to remap Native presence. Reading survivance is also a way of disrupting the settler temporality encoded into the master narrative of progress since the Indian Wars. The master narrative is that genocide was lamentable yet inevitable, that reservations were lamentable but better than the necessary military campaigns when you let Indians roam free, that termination was lamentable but better than those poor reservations, and that all these injustices against Indians were lamentable but they explain why Native people are no longer connected to the land and to one another. I read reservation photos for survivance - the term for active presence and resistance that Vizenor coined and refused to fix down into a single convenient definition.

In my family, photographs are private and may not be shared even with family members. The ones shared here are done so with permission and only represent a small fragment of a family archive that even now is only being revealed to myself and even to my mother, in little bits. Photos of family appear unexpectedly as an album squirreled away for decades, and always have an unexpected survivance effect, like the pictures of my grandmother Lillian that assert her presence despite the fact that her Cherokee tribal belonging cannot be passed on to her children. The Modoc were supposed to be gone after the Modoc War, when they were removed to Oklahoma.



Yet Fanny Ball remained and married, and had a son who married, and his grandchildren kept photo albums that were passed on to my Aunt Evelyn and eventually my mother. Kathleen Martin writes, "Photographs are a longing." The photograph albums my Aunt Evelyn had were full of treasures, pictures of a life on the reservation that my mother and her siblings did not experience growing up in Portland. Her father was a young man and there were pictures of uncles and aunts who were scattered, some died before my mother was born. These pictures were windows into a life we had not even imagined, but now we could see it, for what it was and what was lost.



Figure 2.3: Uncle Joe's Photo Album. Sisters Ramona Ball, Ada Ball and Margaret Ball, probably 1920's Chiloquin OR.

These family photographs are from the period just prior to termination and are mostly located on the Klamath reservation in Southern Oregon (see Figure 2.3 above). The family seems to have many happy times. There is no tribal regalia but there are costumes, showing an interest in theatre or performance in school plays. Dogs are cuddled, and deer are strung up in trees. The photographs record summer swimming

holes, and women in pretty dresses smiling (see Figure 2.3). Babies are dressed in their finest, and they sit plumply in a photographer's studio. The subjects, my great-aunts and great-uncles, smile and pose and do not avoid the camera. They travel: there are pictures at the Grand Canyon, and at a dam, and there are palm trees (several siblings attended The Sherman Institute (now Sherman Indian High School in Riverside, CA). The women wear fur coats - the coats, I know from family legend are beaver, made from pelts caught and killed by my great-uncle Joe. I read in these photos, proof of joy and complex personhood. This reservation life is very unlike the expected grim poverty that is represented in media. The Klamath Tribes were relatively well-off, with lumber mills and cattle interests and I look at these pictures of my Modoc and Klamath family and see crosshairs about to put these people's lives in their sights and blow them away, not with howitzers this time, but with legislation. These photographs are proof of loss, further dispossession, as Joe Garry said to the Klamath Tribes General Council, I paraphrase, as long as you have land and resources, the white man will want it.



Figure 2.4: Uncle Joe's Photo Album. Ball sisters with hair bows and lace dresses.

Family relationships and histories are created through stories we acknowledge and repeat. It is not only stories we tell but also the stories we do not pass on that create families. There are three old albums that belonged to my great Uncle Joe Ball. Joseph Ball was born in 1914, died in 2005 at age 91. He owned and operated the Sand Creek gas station near Chiloquin for many years. My Aunt Evelyn cared for him in his old age and shared his photo albums with the family.

The pictures are from around 1920 through the 1980's and include everyday events that make up the stories of a life: showing off a good catch of fish, posing in a new

dress, a summer day spent swimming at the lake. The two sisters (see Figure 2.4 above) stand shoulder to shoulder with hair curled, big hair bows and white lace dresses. The event may be church or school related, but it was worth the best the family had and was meant to be remembered.

These photo albums contain family narratives about who/when/what + where: places on the map worth remembering and marking. Native feminist scholar Mishuana Goeman writes about the significance of maps to colonialism and remapping to decolonial narratives.

Unlike Western maps whose intent is often to represent the “real,” Native narrative maps often conflict, perhaps add to the story, or only tell certain parts. Stories and knowledge of certain places can belong to particular families, clans, or individuals. These maps are not absolute but instead bring present multiple perspectives--as do all maps. While narratives and maps help construct and define worldview, they are not determined and always open for negotiation.

Uncle Joe’s albums offer a perspective of a reservation life that is fun and familial. They remap additional perspectives to what we think of as Native. When my Great-Uncle Joe and Great-Aunt Evelyn were placing photos in the book, they were adding to an already existing archive and mapping the continued existence of a family that was not supposed to exist. Friendships, children, new clothes, special occasions are marked as events in a place, and through the pictures, the family can go back to those places and reclaim those events and stories. The photos make maps for time travellers to come. Their stories can be passed on and remapped again and again. When the Klamath Tribes were marked for termination, one of the reasons given was

their relative wealth, evidence of the force of master narrative that Indians must be dispossessed by definition. The Klamath Tribes ceded more than 20 million acres in their treaty agreements with the federal government and in return they held under one million acres that supported the tribe and added to the local economy of southern Oregon. The Klamath Tribes had a lumber mill and cattle and each member of the tribe received a modest per capita which helped them to live a comfortable life during the depression, with hunting and fishing rights and access to education and health care. According to the tribal website, only four members received public assistance, three elderly members and one disabled. After termination the tribe was devastated financially, with loss of income and access to education and health care subsidized by the federal government - provisions that their ancestors had agreed to in treaties and paid for with millions of acres of land. Overall, these pictures capture something (see Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4,) – in the middle of the century, termination and relocation were the “new” face of Indian federal policy, when settler colonialism needed to hide what it was in the midst of the Cold War and the liberal consensus, these pictures I am sharing reveal more than a family. The pictures are family pictures, not meant for show and there are no worries about what is being represented. It is a family. The story that can be told is a family story, interesting beyond the biological boundaries of this family because many others shared the events that shaped and shook this family. What I read, the essence of desire in the picture is the presence of the family.

### **Painting Maps for Time Travellers**

Peggy Ball grew up in North Portland. She was one of five children, her mother was Cherokee from Adair, Oklahoma and her father was Modoc and Klamath from Chiloquin, Oregon. Her parents met in the Southwest, married and moved to the Klamath reservation in Chiloquin. During World War II they moved to Portland, Oregon to work in the shipyards. They became one of the many families living in Vanport, the largest wartime housing development in the nation and for a time, the second largest city in Oregon, after Portland. Vanport was created in 1942 to house a population of wartime workers. It was de facto segregated and had a large population of African Americans, estimated at 40 percent of the total population. Vanport became of interest to people in 2005 post Hurricane Katrina, because in May 1948, when Peggy Ball was almost five years old, it was destroyed in a flood that could have been avoided. The flood killed 15 (although there were rumors that those numbers were higher) and left many African American and working people homeless. Peggy Ball remembers living in Vanport, and her mother waiting almost too long to move her three children to higher ground. North Portland was the only neighborhood where the African American refugees of the flood could rent or own homes, and it is also where the Ball family lived when Vanport was destroyed. This Ball family house on North Fairport Place in the Albina neighborhood is the one that Peggy and her siblings bought after the flood, with termination money, and you can see the porch in Figure 2.2.

In 2013 nerve damage caused by diabetes made it impossible for Peggy Ball to continue quilting, she began painting again. Twenty years earlier she was a student of painter Phil Sylvester and took classes at his studio. In 2014, she began working on paintings that drew largely from memories, old family photographs and her childhood. Her painting from these photos is a Native feminist reading / writing practice. Peggy Ball reads the desires in the photos, and writes time traveling maps into her paintings. The photos are already maps. The paintings are remappings of those maps. The maps are for time travellers.

The paintings recall memories but also change those memories, and so I use the term rememory, a concept Toni Morrison creates in *Beloved*, the famous book about slavery, haunting and ghosts. The character of Sethe describes remembering a place that is gone, but in remembering the place it exists and it exists whether it is remembered or not. Vanport is gone, but the children were there, their family lived there and it is a haunting because of the trauma involved in the loss. The home is there, in the rememory and in the world. Sethe explains,

I was talking about time. It's so hard for me to believe in it. Some things go. Pass on. Some things just stay. I used to think it was my rememory. You know. Some things you forget. Other things you never do. But it's not. Places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place—the picture of it—stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there, in the world. What I remember is a picture floating around out there outside my head. I mean, even if I don't think it, even if I die, the picture of what I did, or knew, or saw is still out there. Right in the place where it happened.



It is there where it happened because it haunts the memory with the violence of the fire for Sethe, or in this case, the violence of the flood for Peggy.

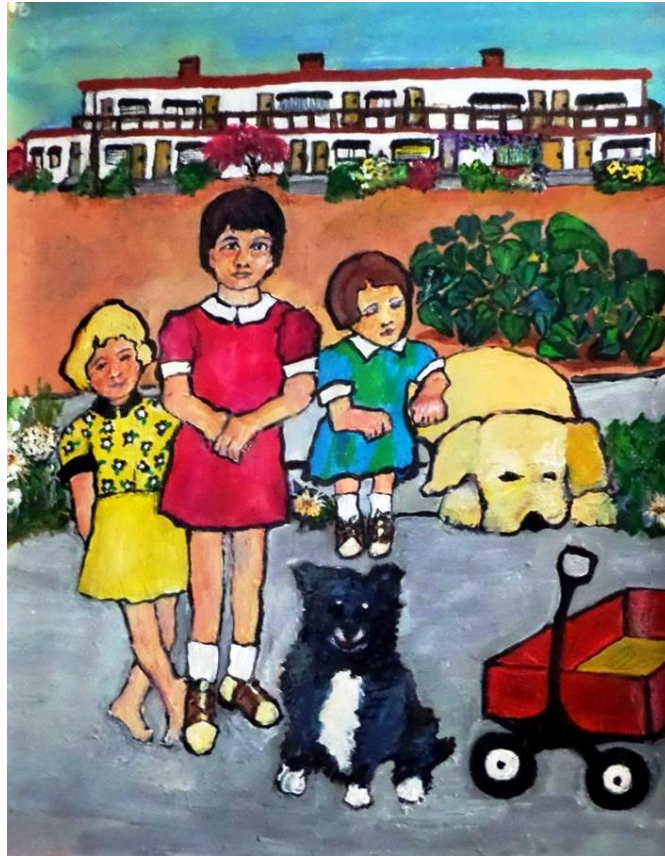


Figure 2.5: Peggy Ball. *Vanport*. 2014, Acrylic on canvas. Collection of Dwight Ball Morrill.

The first painting Peggy Ball did when she stopped quilting is *Vanport*: a painting of three small girls in Vanport, Oregon (see Figure 2.5 above). In this painting three sisters are standing at the edge of the street, some distance in front of the distinctive Vanport wooden apartments. The girls are Peggy and her sisters. The oldest sister, Evelyn is standing next to her youngest sister Debbie, who is barefoot. Peggy Ball sits on the sidewalk next to her large yellow dog. The painting plays

with time. Three Ball siblings lived in Vanport, but they were Evelyn, Peggy and Woody. Debbie Ball was born in 1951. Woody, the youngest at the time, was a baby. But this painting is not about representing an historical truth. The black dog that sits next to Evelyn is Satch, her beloved companion who died in 1990. The yellow dog Peggy rests against is Roy, her yellow labrador who died in 2006. As an artist and a Native feminist, Peggy Ball gives these children their favorite pets and the company of their favorite sister. As time travellers, they can be co-present with one another in a disappeared place “where it happened.”

Vanport is standing, their mother is whole, their father is with the family and their tribe is not yet terminated. These children will soon lose their home, their tribe, their father and their mother’s health. Peggy Ball gives them a red wagon to carry their things and a sunny day. She performs through this painting a restitution, giving the sisters the things they need. The most touching of these gifts is Debbie. The youngest sister with blond hair was not born until 1951 and she died 29 years later in a car accident. Her impossible presence recognizes the longing that the sisters have for her, and how she is always with them but there are clues that she is different from the other girls. While Peggy is sitting and Evelyn standing, both wearing solid saddle shoes, Debbie is bright in yellow, barefoot, her legs crossed and feet barely on the ground. Peggy and Evelyn have white collars on their dresses, the top of Debbie’s dress is covered in flowers and the trim on her dress is black. Peggy looks down with one arm supported by Roy, who is sleeping or resting, his upper body,

head and paws resting on the street. The sad, reflective pose of the girl and her dog suggest the losses that are coming, as does the young Peggy's dress, a mixture of blues and greens that suggests water in contrast to the dry dirt lot behind them.

This painting also puts this Native family in Vanport, where the presence of Native people existed before the flood, and for the past 45 years, there has been a Delta Park Pow wow and Encampment every third weekend in June where Vanport used to be. The encampment is a group of tipis that are erected and the participants live on the campgrounds during the powwow. The return to what is disappeared, destroyed, and with the presence of a number of tipis there is a reclaiming and a declaration that they never really left. They are there in memories, in pictures, in the yearly encampment and powwow and people, indigenous people who will always be present on all our land, forever. It is a recognition and through that recognition, a healing. The presence of Debbie answers haunting. It claims the ghost as family, the presence of our ancestors and those we love, who are present through difficult times.

The Native presence is there, but it often goes unrecognized. North Portland and Vanport were both known for their significant African American populations.

This history matters because the presence of African Americans in Oregon has been violent and contested. Between 1844 and 1857 several exclusion laws were passed banning African American settlement, and not repealed until 1927. Although ostensibly a "free state", the State of Oregon was founded as in 1859 as an anti-black

state where by law, slaves had to be set free, then subsequently whip-lashed and expelled. Today, Oregon is imagined as a white space. All of settler colonial United States is presumed as white in whitestream logic, unless it is marked as “ghetto” and thereby black yet still non-Native. The sisters in the painting are Natives in what is often imagined as a black space (and therefore a non-Native space). Their outlines are also traces of the interwoven histories and social experiences of Native and black people in Vanport, in Oregon, and in the U.S. During the time of the black exclusion laws in Oregon, the vanquished Modoc were forcibly removed to Oklahoma, away from their homelands into what was marked on maps as Indian Territory. Natives can be dislocated from homelands to reservations, and from reservations to ghettos. The destroyed Vanport led to the increased black population of the Albina neighborhood, and that is where the Ball family moved as well. There, they were displaced again by the building of Interstate 5, and finally the family moved to Fairport Place, a block west of Albina and south of Lombard Avenue.

North Portland recently gained attention for the increase in gentrification. However the pattern of removing and dislocating poorer darker people in favor of richer, whiter people is long established in Portland and elsewhere. This pattern of displacement follows settler colonial logic La Paperson describes within the definition of “ghetto colonialism.”

Settler nations are those where colonial invaders never leave but instead claim to have become the new Native, and to possess absolute sovereignty over all life and land within a territory...whiteness emerges as a racial category of entitlements: the right to claim land

and sometimes people as property, and conversely, the right not to be bound by borders nor bonded as property. Indian-ness is invented as a form of racial disappearance... blackness is invented as enslavability, illegality, murderability...Ghetto colonialism takes place at this intersection between Indigenous displacement and black dislocation.

Settlers can claim land, whether Plymouth Rock or North Portland. A neighborhood is undergoing gentrification when more affluent and highly educated homeowners replace the poorer people already residing there. The settler colonial relationship to land is openly acknowledged, people gentrifying North and Northeast Portland have been referred to in media as “urban homesteaders” and “pioneers. Long-time residents, Native and non-Native, making efforts towards revitalization get priced out of their greener neighborhoods as the urban farms make the streets and parks more attractive. “For settlers seeking new frontiers, the ghetto serves as the interior frontier to be laid waste in order to renew.” The stories in the media, when they acknowledge Native people at all, follow this explanation:

Native people used to live here. White people settled here, they fled. People of color replaced white people, they suffer. Coming up the multicultural cosmopolitan citizen will replace people of color.”

The cosmopolitan citizen is colorful, but not colored. The television show *Portlandia* mocks the colorful settler citizen, complete with beards, bikes, and urban farming but does not acknowledge the overwhelming whiteness of that citizen. It does not need to be acknowledged, the settler citizen is white, with goats and food allergies. Peggy Ball’s paintings of North Portland replace absence with presence

and bring the past into the future - and indeed, the future into the past - in ways that acknowledge the Native presence that is always.



Figure 2.6: Peggy Ball, *Blue and Violet Allman*. 2014, Acrylic on canvas. Collection of Sande Bea Allman.

Blue and Violet Allman were married with children and active members of the Native community in North and Northeast Portland when Peggy Ball entered the Native community. Violet Allman was one of the first people Peggy Ball met when she first began going to Bow and Arrow Culture club in the 1970s. She became a friend, mentor and surrogate mother to Peggy Ball. Blue Allman was an elder and veteran who was a member of the Urban Indian Council in Portland. The painting *Blue and Violet Allman*, (see Figure 2.6) shows the couple standing in front of a tipi at the Delta Park Powwow. Their presence, at this powwow and in this painting reinforces the representation and persistence of Native presence, self-determination

and culture in Portland. Blue and Violet Allman were well-respected elders and community leaders who helped to begin the Bow and Arrow Club in the 1960's. The Delta Park Powwow began in 1970 as a powwow and encampment; attendees camp in tipis for several days during the powwow.

The tipis, poles, drums and gathering of people is more than an annual temporary displacement of white settler space. In a Native feminist reading, the encampment and powwow remember the space as Native, and that remembering honors the place that was and is and will always be. In the painting, (see Figure 2.6 above) the couple stand together in front of the Bow & Arrow tipi, shoulders overlapping. Blue looks off to the side, perhaps at Violet, and Violet is looking beyond the viewer and the present moment. She wears their colors, a pattern of blue and violet flowers are on her shawl and dress. This portrait of two strong community members is a remembrance, Blue and Violet Allman are not forgotten and their work and spirit continue, in their children, in the cultural group they started and in the memories of those that loved them and were loved in return. Violet Allman loved her people and her community. In her obituary, published in *The Oregonian*, she was quoted, "It is a wonderful feeling to be with our own people. I pray the Indian culture will never die." The painting by Peggy Ball remembers their presence and is a testament to their contributions. It answers Violet's prayer. The painting is timeless, a woman in a shawl, a man in a cowboy hat, but the rememory of the painter places it in time. The time reflects the leadership in the Portland Native

community and remembers their work and the legacy they left that lives on. Unlike *Vanport* which snaps an image of time travellers in a visit to a rooted place-time, *Blue and Violet Allman* is a time travelling map that marks a “temporary” moment of tipi, powwow, and congregation into an enduring signpost on the space-time map.



Figure 2.7: Peggy Ball. *Owl Dance*. 2014, Acrylic on canvas. Private collection.

Blue and Violet Allman are featured again in *Owl Dance* (figure 2.7). This painting shows a powwow in a gymnasium. It may be at the Bow and Arrow Culture Club in St. Andrews Church, or it could be at Portland State University. The event is



fancy enough for beaded moccasins and regalia. Violet looks at Blue, and Blue, dancing with his arm around Violet and wearing his trailblazer cap, looks out of the painting at the viewer. The Owl Dance is a tradition at powwows; it is a dance for couples, and although it is not necessarily romantic, it is an opportunity to dance with your sweetheart. Blue and Violet were longtime sweethearts, and Blue Allman's arm around Violet, her arm around his waist and her eyes on him, their hands clasped, dancing together in shawl and ribbon shirt represent their deep affection and the impact their love had on the community. Peggy Ball's painting is a Native feminist rememory of a complex community with strong and loving leaders, in contrast to whitestream media stories of broken communities, absent fathers and alcoholic mothers. These paintings remember a time that is not over because it is remembered. It is also not over because the children and grandchildren are continuing to work towards the future their parents and grandparents imagined and worked towards.

Ball's paintings are not copies of photographs, but there is a snapshot quality to them in themes and framing. Two people face a camera, a candid picture of dancers at a powwow, children standing in front of their home with their dogs are all pictures Peggy Ball brings from her memory. They are memories that haunt the artist and the paintings are responses to haunting that bring the ghosts into view. The ghosts are not terrifying. They are friends and family who are loved and missed, missed but never gone because they are often remembered and spoken of with respect and affection. Blue and Violet have passed on, but their children and

grandchildren live in and around the Portland Native community and their legacy lives on with them as well. Two other couples dance: an adult couple younger than Blue and Violet; and an even younger couple, the niece and nephew of Peggy Ball, son and daughter of her brother Tom. Each couple dances together differently, and the children behind the dancers are only interested in the drummers and their singing. In the center of the painting a dancer stands by the drums, his bright yellow bustle feathers a sunburst at the center of the dance. This dance and relationships are central to the community, between husband and wife, brother and sister. This matters, this dance and song, the place where the Native community in Portland practiced their culture, sometimes far from home. That mattering that makes the moment seem as if it could be a picture from a photo album: it was something worth seeing and worth wanting to see again. Martin explains the importance of photographs, and how seeing differently contributes to decolonization. These paintings and their relationship to photography are a translation and interpretation that performs decolonizing work.

Photographs are not just documentation, or possession, or even desire, they also are the embodiment of stories, histories, emotions and memories. Learning to hear and tell these stories in new ways and see them through new eyes is the active work of decolonization, particularly as interpreted and translated through cultural production, aesthetics and creative action.

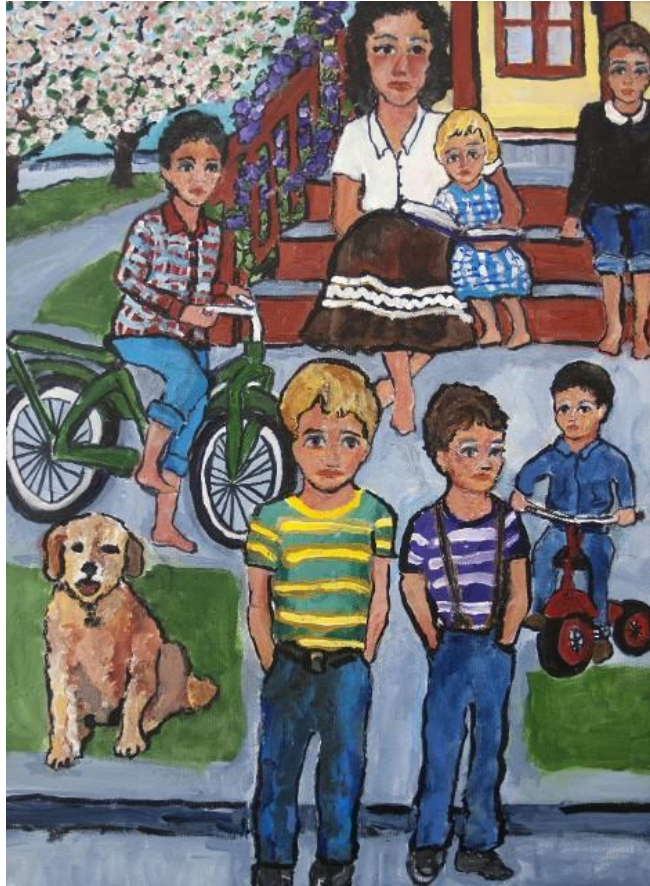


Figure 2.8: Peggy Ball. *Lillian and kids*. 2014, Acrylic on canvas. Private collection.

Peggy Ball's paintings fight dislocations by painting connections between place and people, people and culture. In *Lillian and kids on porch* (see figure 2.8), a younger version of her mother sits on the stoop of a house. Although it may have been before her multiple sclerosis had completely debilitated her, a wheelchair probably was necessary. However, this painting is not a portrait of real life. As a remembering, it is a rememory and also a remapping. As a painter and Native feminist, Peggy Ball sees the past differently where presences are always co-present. It is North Portland, but the house looks like the Ball family home in Chiloquin,

Oregon. In this painting the house traveled through time and space into North Portland, to reclaim Native space. In this painting, every person looks at the viewer, they return the gaze of the viewer without offering anything, the gaze is decolonial.

The house may also be a reminder of the pain their father brought to the family. The girls are behind the boys, who stand in the street. Woody, the oldest brother stands hands in pockets and his younger brother Tom mimics his stance. The dog is another time traveler, she belongs to Peggy's husband Dwight Ball Morrill and she is not at rest but alert and ready to move. The family is together, safe but alert and watchful.

It is a warm spring day, with flowering trees lining the street. As in the photographs earlier in the chapter, the family is together, in the representation of the rememory there are differences, the house, the health of the mother, but the family, minus the father, is together and for now, safe.

In my Native feminist reading of the painting by a Native feminist, I see some seemingly contradictory desires of rememory: violence and wellbeing. The painting is beautiful but the gaze is wary. A foot is raised, ready to take off pedalling on the bike. The youngest child is holds his head in a way that seems skeptical. The paintings show a response to abuse, to the rememory of abuse that waits and watches. The smallest daughter is holding a book but her reading is interrupted to look up. There is that quality of oh no, and what next. It is a contrast to the love story of Blue and Violet Allman, but it is a Native feminist portrayal of a complex community, with many stories.



Figure 2.9: Peggy Ball. *Lillian, Woody and Tom*. 2014, Acrylic on canvas. Private collection.

This final painting that I will discuss by Peggy Ball (see Figure 2.9 above) answers the desire of the haunting in the first photograph of the Ball family in the field (Figure 2.1). The muted sepia toned photograph of the young Ball family in a field inspired this painting of Lillian Ball with her youngest children, the two boys, standing in the street so bravely. The grasses and bushes are replaced by masses of flowers in pink, yellow, purple and white. The mother stands in the same posture, holding her child and her shirt is bright pink like the flowers all around her. Her skirt still blows in

the wind. It is covered in flowers like the land she stands on, connecting the land to the woman. She is in a place where she belongs and where she matters.

This chapter began with a photograph and ended with a painting of that same photo - a rememory of people/place/time and their presence. This chapter is a Native feminist reading, certainly, of desire and survivance. The paintings themselves are a Native feminist practice, as are the pasting together of albums, as are the saving then selective sharing of these albums. These practices are rememories. They are remappings. They provide maps of time travelling, and maps for time travellers. All of this travel to places gone, to places that will reappear again; by people gone as well as by people presently alive; into times that existed, that never existed, that will exist again; to times made contemporaneous by rememory; with people copresent through desire - at the heart of all this time travel is recognition. Native feminist practices of recognition defy dislocation, and breed desire. This is what we do.

Chapter 2, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in *Cultural Studies* ⇔ *Critical Methodologies*. Special Issue on Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies, eds. Aimee Carrillo Rowe and Eve Tuck. Forthcoming 2016. The dissertation/thesis author was the primary investigator and author of this paper.

## CHAPTER 3

### **Bored with Termination**

Indeed, the system of treaty making used by the United States with Indigenous nations was clearly a major tool of conquest wherein no behavior was too low, no tactic too dishonorable, as long as the goals of cheating the Indigenous peoples out of their lands and wealth and the infliction of abject poverty and subjugation were achieved.

(Donna Akers, “Decolonizing the Master Narrative: Treaties and Other American Myths,” 2014)

Everything I love is an effect of an already given dispossession and of another dispossession to come. Everything I love survives dispossession, is therefore before dispossession.

(Fred Moten, “The Subprime and the Beautiful,” 2013)

This chapter wearily theorizes loss and dispossession. It is guided by these pressing questions: How do we continue to recognize ourselves when we are dispossessed of tribal enrollment and separated from our homelands? How do we assert presence when we are erased? The settler colonial thirst to acquire land and resources mandates the dispossession of Native people, which results legally in anti-Indian policies and culturally in faux-Indian representations that justify dispossession. Building on the previous chapter, I consider survivances of dislocation from termination, of relocation of Indians to urban areas, and Native feminist desires that haunt disappearances. This chapter engages these topics through analyses of film and video, with the perspective that films about Indians are always already documentaries, and documentaries about Natives are always already

weariness with our dispossession. However, continuing the argument from the first chapter, documentaries of Native people are also a contradictory blend of colonial fictions and Native refusals. Further, they are proof of Native presence that also reflect the desires of the imaged Indian to project her own image into the future, like the photographs discussed in chapter two. I am writing, weary of the necessary discussion of dispossession, yet still with the Native feminist practice of recognizing everything I love is beyond dispossession.

As a university counselor and instructor, I am too often asked by people who have reason to think they may have Native ancestors: What do I get if I am Native? As a Native person, I have often been made aware of the idea of the persistent, widespread idea that there are benefits to being Native and those (non-specific) benefits are denied to those who are not and that these benefits are somehow hidden or secret. They know you get something, they just do not know what and they want in. It may be an education, a casino, or fat government checks. This belief is an expression of settler desire for entitlements: for land titles, for authentic culture, for anything that the settler can claim, including replacing Native people. This belief denies history and the present as it refuses the persistent dispossession in Native lives. The settler fears exclusion from any potential entitlement, and resents the possibility that there is something Native Americans have all to themselves. American mythologies including Manifest Destiny and the myth of Pocahontas eliminate settler guilt and settler colonial ideology reinforces settler innocence and



the desire for all: all the possessions of the Native person, from land and resources to cultural capital. When I am asked this question, What do I get if I am Native? I do not say that what you get is a lifelong burden of loss, an occupied country, and more than a suspicion that you are not enough. Instead, I reinforce the ideas that contradict this entitlement, but I do not think I am successful in my efforts because those settler ideologies are deeply embedded and continually reinforced in settler narratives.

Those of us who have been constructed as tribes, then lawfully terminated, termination was a post-World War II federal Indian policy intending to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream society by terminating the relationship between the tribe and federal government, those of us struggling for federal recognition, those of us who do not speak our indigenous languages, who are never brown enough, never real enough, we are all dispossessed but dispossession as a narrative is incomplete. It is not nothing, being a beneficiary of a lifelong sense of loss, and having a relationship to dispossession that cannot be separated from self. It is not nothing, being Native, surviving in an occupied country. Even when Congress breaks its own laws to terminate treaties and deny claims to sovereignty and self-governance, even then there is something that can be restored and the emptiness or dispossession is never complete. There are our relations, our families and kin. There are the ways we see each other and recognize our histories and experiences. That seeing reinforces our survival. We share the intentions of our ancestors, those who

signed treaties and those who did not, but all who wanted their descendents to continue.

The myth of the treaty within settler narratives claims there was a fair deal, and so there is nothing to apologize for, no need for reparations, the better man or more truthfully, the better race won is the master narrative, and they won fair and square. In her essay, "Decolonizing the Master Narrative: Treaties and Other American Myths," Choctaw historian Donna Akers expands upon the work of Vine Deloria Jr. and David Wilkins who outlined the inconsistent dealings of the U.S. government in making treaties with tribes in their 1999 book "Tribes, Treaties and Constitutional Tribulations."<sup>1</sup> Where Deloria and Wilkins call for recognizing treaties with Indigenous people as the U.S. government recognizes their treaties with non-Indigenous nations; Akers calls for decolonizing history through Indigenous scholarship that refuses the whitestream lie of uncoerced treaties and consent to dispossession and removal.

At the very least, the treaty system used by the United States to seize the lands and natural resources of Indigenous peoples should be repudiated by the American people, and efforts should be undertaken to make restitution to the Indigenous peoples of this land who continue to be victimized by white American claims to "exceptionalism."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vine Deloria Jr. and David E. Wilkins. *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000. See also Robert A Williams, Jr. *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America* ( 2005) and books by Charles Wilkinson including *Blood Struggle* (2005).

<sup>2</sup> Donna L. Akers. "Decolonizing the Master Narrative: Treaties and Other American Myths." *Wicazo Sa Review* 29.1 (2014): 58-76. *Academic OneFile*. Web. 27 Nov. 2015. 72.

Akers makes a clear argument for the criminality of the settlers complicit with U.S. government. At a recent talk by Lumbee legal scholar David Wilkins at the University of Oregon, he outlined the possibility of the Supreme Court overturning the Doctrine of Discovery and the unfairness in applying one Supreme Court ruling, for example, *Johnson v M'Intosh*, to all Native tribes and governments. He spoke of the possibility, or even the hope that at some future date, with a different court, the Supreme Court may choose to recognize treaties and refute the white supremacist basis of federal Indian law.<sup>3</sup> Akers writes that the U.S. government found treaty signing tribal members when leaders were not cooperating, lied about needing necessary review and ratification processes, and changed terms within the documents long after treaties were signed. The U.S. government “simply did what it wanted, covering up criminal injustices by calling these practices “treaty making.”<sup>4</sup> Lies were told and when Natives protested, even traveling to Washington and insisting on justice, they were told that there was no justice. Akers takes historians to task for ignoring the criminality embedded in treaty-making and continuing to write and teach as if the treaty-making process was not violent and coerced and “in essence the fundamental device used to seize Native lands.”<sup>5</sup> I agree with Akers that it is worthwhile to insist on the truth and for American history to be “reconceptualized

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<sup>3</sup> David Wilkins public lecture, “When Wills Collide: The Uneasy and Uneven Coexistence of Indigenous and Federal Authority,” Nov 23, 3:30 pm University of Oregon Knight Library, Eugene, Oregon.

<sup>4</sup> Akers 65.

<sup>5</sup> Akers 70.

and decolonized.”<sup>6</sup> The call is not for the government to change, but for Indigenous scholars to insist on widespread recognition that the American history being taught and reinforced through schools and society are based on lies and laws that are racist and used to dispossess. Although I am bored with termination, I am not bored by decolonizing history and the possibilities that may result. Termination was possible because of plenary power, the “legal fiction” that allows Congress to break treaties.<sup>7</sup> It is not the beginning or the end, but part of systemic, racist, illegal Indigenous dispossession.

I return to the topic of termination, because I cannot let it alone, this dispossession that is part of not only my tribe, but nearly all Oregon tribes.<sup>8</sup> I am bored with termination, with the legal facts and the sad losses. The facts do not change but I return to termination because I cannot let it be and because there is something else there. From Fred Moten, black intellectual and poet, I take this idea which I extend into Indian Country: that even when we are dispossessed, and between the waves of dispossession, we are also beyond dispossession.<sup>9</sup> This idea has power, because although tribes were terminated they were also restored, and although Indigenous peoples live with dispossession, we actively participate in decolonization practices. You have to hold something to lose it and losses are not

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<sup>6</sup> Akers 73.

<sup>7</sup> Akers 71.

<sup>8</sup> During the Termination Era (1953-1968) a total of 109 tribes were terminated, meaning the tribes were declared assimilated, lost federal recognition and ratified treaties were nullified. 61 of those tribes were in Western Oregon, and held large timber holdings. The Klamath Tribes held the largest amount of timber.

<sup>9</sup> Fred Moten. “The Subprime and the beautiful.” *African Identities* 11, 2, 237–45. 2013.

complete. Recognizing that dispossession is incomplete goes against the settler representations that depict the tragic and disappearing Indian, for example, the famous sculpture by James Earle Fraser of the defeated warrior on his pony at the “End of the Trail.”<sup>10</sup> It is not the same decolonizing history many Native scholars are engaging, but a recognition of how we see ourselves, and show ourselves to one another beyond dispossession.<sup>11</sup> After Indian wars, allotment, boarding schools, there was termination and federal relocation. Historically placed at the middle of the last century, termination and federal relocation policies shaped modern Native lives. The effects of these policies, and World War II, and the Red Power movement, is that Natives once were mostly rural, now we are mostly urban and this change is under-theorized. The theory has mainly rested on the idea that this move, from rural to urban, was a loss of cultural authenticity. We may still be Indian, but we are less Indian than we once were. Native scholars resist this idea, for example Renya Ramirez’ book *Native Hubs* argues that cities became places where Indigeneity was

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<sup>10</sup> “End of The Trail” is a sculpture by James Earle Fraser depicting a slumped Native American man on his dejected pony, his spear pointed at the ground in defeat.

<sup>11</sup> My experience with tribal enrollment travels from haunting to broken, from broken to restored, from invisible to excluded to included. The Klamath Tribes termination was enacted in 1961, the year my mother graduated from high school and four years before I was born. The tribe was restored in 1986, the year I was 21 years old. My entire childhood, during the exciting Red Power movement, I was part of a tribe that did not exist the way other tribes did, not that I understood the complexity of recognition, federal or otherwise, but I knew that what happened to us and other tribes made us different, not quite as Indian, even as we were surrounded and accepted within a Native community. Termination is only one aspect of loss, there were many. I understood that there was a tribe and a reservation and now there were Klamath people, but no tribe and no reservation. Restoration was a victory and I wore my restoration t-shirt proudly, but there was no reservation and I was not enrolled in the restored tribe because my blood quantum was not enough for enrollment. Much later in 2013 the tribe voted to lower the requirement, and I did enroll. Currently, I hold a three year volunteer position on the Tribal Education Committee.

affirmed and communities created political organizations and gathered to share cultural practices.<sup>12</sup> This closely resembles my experience of growing up in Portland, Oregon with culture nights, pow wows and a strong Native community including an Urban Indian Council representing various political and cultural leadership.<sup>13</sup> Jicarilla Apache, Laguna Pueblo/Isleta Pueblo historian Myla Vicenti Carpio argues that settler logic sees the reservation Indian as the “bad” Indian and the urban Indian is “good” because the urban Indian is closer to whiteness and presumably assimilated.

No matter the reasons for moving, relocation, with or without the federal relocation program assistance, failed to completely assimilate indigenous people into American society. The myriad experiences of those who migrated to the cities and those who stayed on reservation created dynamic relationships between urban life, indigenous identities, and reservation life. Unfortunately, early studies of relocated Indians simplistically characterized assimilation in terms of success (staying) or failure (returning). These terms create another simplistic dichotomy similar to that of traditionalism versus progressivism. The notion of the reservation Indian versus the urban Indian utilizes colonialistic labels of progress that posit the “good” Indian against the “bad” Indian.<sup>14</sup>

The “good” urban Indian becomes a “bad” Indian by becoming white, or assimilated, and therefore, not so good at being Indian. There is approval in the move toward whiteness but it is not possible to be white, therefore it is inevitable to be a failed Indian. The only good Indian is dead, which is to say, the good Indian does not exist

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<sup>12</sup> Renya K. Ramirez. *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

<sup>13</sup> In his Master’s thesis Lyndon Earl Bohanan writes that the Urban Indian Program commissioned a local consultation firm to conduct a survey to estimate the number of Natives living in Portland. They estimated between 3,000 and 7,000.

<sup>14</sup> Myla Vicenti Carpio. “Countering Colonization: Albuquerque Laguna Colony.” *Wicazo Sa Review* 19.2 (2004) 61,62.

in logics of settler colonialism.<sup>15</sup> For our continued existence it is important that Native people see ourselves represented in all ways, in all times, to resist the settler myth of complete loss and dispossession.

Methodologically, I turn now from family photographs and paintings, and towards a Native feminist reading practice of available video and film archives of termination and relocation. The 1961 black and white film, *The Exiles* is a semi-documentary that follows a group of Native friends for one night. Located in Bunker Hill, a Los Angeles neighborhood that has been demolished and remade, narratives surrounding the film repeat the theme of the Native as a vanishing subject. Most of the actors are men and they visit bars, hang out with their friends, play cards and drive around town. Yvonne is the partner of Homer, and she spends much of the movie on her own. She goes shopping, attends a movie and ends the long evening at a friends house. From a Native feminist reading, I argue against the disappearing Native and instead, I read a powerful Native future through the character Yvonne.

*The Exiles* indirectly addresses the federal Indian policy of relocation (Indian Relocation Act of 1956), which with the policy of termination (Public Law 280, 1953), were promoted as intending to remove Natives from reservations and encourage assimilation into mainstream culture. Removing Natives from their

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<sup>15</sup> “The only good Indian is a dead Indian,” is a quote attributed to Civil War General Phil Sheridan. Sheridan, OR is named after the general, he was stationed in Oregon and has a violent history with Oregon tribes. In 2013 the town resurrected their summer celebration “Sheridan Days” under the former title “Phil Sheridan” days, complete with member of the town dressed as the general in the parade. When the local Grand Ronde tribe protested, with others, they were told that “Everyone likes to go back to their roots, heritage and family history.” Daquilante, Paul. "Phil Sheridan Days Returns to Its Former Name." Yamhill Valley News Register.com. June 17, 2013. Accessed December 2, 2015.

homes and terminating their treaty rights through acts of Congress was an extension of dispossession through war and forced removal. However, I argue that *The Exiles* is a text that allows a sovereign reading for self-recognition. The actors speak in their own words. Although the film was not made by a Native person, the director, Kent Mackenzie was inspired by the people he met in Bunker Hill and he filmed them as he knew them. Native voices and experiences are shared. Michelle Raheja discusses visual sovereignty as "the creative self representation" of Indigenous filmmakers on one hand, and the tactic of "laughing at the camera" by Indigenous people on even when they are not filmmakers but the film subjects.<sup>16</sup> From this viewpoint, *The Exiles* falls somewhere in between conventional salvage ethnography like *Nanook of the North* and the movies by-and-for Indigenous people like *Atanarjuat (The Fast Runner)*. The images of Native people in the film insist on being read differently, on being recognized.

I also apply the Native feminist reading practice to a documentary film made by The Klamath Tribes about termination, *Our People, Our Land*, and examine how the tribe chose to tell their story of dispossession. Finally, through a video archive of interviews with Klamath elders about the effects of termination, I will examine the strategies of recognition deployed during and after termination and the challenges of restoration. This chapter recognizes the strategies of settler colonialism in dispossessing Natives and the counter-strategies Natives use to self-recognize Native survivance and resistance to termination and removal.

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<sup>16</sup> (2013, p. 19 Reservation Reelism) (2007, p.1159 Nanook's smile)



### **Good Indians Being Bad: *The Exiles***

*The Exiles* is a black and white neorealist film directed by University of Southern California graduate Kent Mackenzie. Though it was finished in 1961 and praised by critics, the film failed to attract a distributor and outside of a few film festivals, was not shown. Eventually John Morrill, one of the cinematographers recovered the original and it was restored by the Film and Television Archive at the University of California, Los Angeles. Milestone released the film on DVD in 2008 and it was again widely praised by critics.<sup>17</sup> The film follows a group of Native men and women through a day and night in the Los Angeles neighborhood of Bunker Hill, and in the context of relocation, they are the good Indians trying to assimilate. The actors do not meet settler expectations of assimilation, they are not going to job interviews, taking classes and trying to make a difference. They spend time at home and in bars, they wander through the city, drink, fight and sing. The actors speak over scenes of the film in interior monologues, a device used because of poor sound quality in the original shooting. Film critics placed *The Exiles* on many top ten lists because of the cinematography and originality of the subject, but the analysis remained in the “tragic Indian” vein. For example, the popular syndicated film critic Roger Ebert described it as a “sad and beautiful film” with “tragic poignancy.”<sup>17</sup> Ebert wrote, “These people are doomed, unless a lucky few found sobriety. Their

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<sup>17</sup> Roger Ebert. “The Exiles.” July 17, 2008. <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/the-exiles-2008> last accessed August 5, 2015.

tears and blood have alike dried.”<sup>18</sup> The film was on many critics top ten lists and Ebert suggests if the film had not been lost, it would have influenced the next generation of filmmakers.

The praise is for the filmmaker, for the actors, there is pity and disgust. In her film review, Artforum.com critic Amy Taubin is disturbed by the misogyny of the Native men. The men abuse and steal money from any women, Taubin writes, “stupid enough to come within arm’s length”.<sup>19</sup> Taubin appreciates the beauty of the cinematography, but is disgusted by the men and disappointed by the women. She writes, “the film is stunningly beautiful...which, by contrast, makes the behavior of the characters all the more ugly.”<sup>20</sup> Taubin concludes her review with the following paragraph.

I have no doubt that Mackenzie was committed to honestly documenting a ghettoized, desperately impoverished minority that a wealthy city chose to ignore, as well as to finding moments of wild poetry in the experience of people with whom he empathized. Still, I could not help but notice that what was on the screen was in fact a bunch of drunken Indians—not Indians *acting* drunk and pawing at women but, well, the real thing, aided and abetted by the film’s director. I didn’t need to read in the production notes that “8% of the budget went for alcohol” to understand what I was seeing. At the time of its original release, *The Exiles* was treated with great respect by critics and cinephiles. (Pauline Kael wrote that 1961 was likely to be remembered in film history as the year of *The Exiles*.) The veneration of the rerelease has been even more over-the-top. I can only look at the screen and wonder, *What’s wrong with this picture?*<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Amy Taubin. “Minority Report.” *Artforum*. July 7, 2008. <http://artforum.com/film/id=20717> last accessed August 26, 2015.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

Taubin's review is reaching for some wider critical reading, but she cannot find the analysis she is looking for because she does not understand that she is looking through the lens of settler colonialism. Taubin sees drunk Indians on the reel and claims that she knows she is seeing real drunk Indians in this semi-documentary.

The film is a semi-documentary, however, all films about Indians are documentaries, they are supposed to reveal the truth. *The Exiles* has an opening sequence that appears to be for a different film, a film that speaks for all Natives, not these specific people in this neighborhood in this city. A narrator that is never again heard from says the following speech while the film shows famous ethnographic photographs by Edward Curtis.

Once the American Indian lived in the ordered freedom of his own culture. Then in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the white man confined him within the boundaries of the tribal reservation. The old people remembered the past; they witnessed great changes. Many of their children stayed on the reservation, but others of a new generation wandered into the cities. What follows is the authentic account of twelve hours in the lives of a group of Indians who have come to Los Angeles, California. It reflects a life that is not true of all Indians today, but typical of many.

This beginning sets the viewer up for a typical documentary about American Indians in the past. With the Curtis photos and the general remarks about "the American Indian" there is no clue that what comes next will be something completely different. It doesn't matter whether the film is a Western, a documentary, or a modern classic. The narrator promises and the audience knows the movie is about Indians, and is a representation of several Natives, and that representation is

presented to you as authentic. *The Exiles* is not about Yvonne, Homer and Tommy, but “the American Indian.”<sup>22</sup> If the Indians in the film are Indians, (and not white people in redface playing Indians) they are presenting themselves to the settler gaze and their authenticity, their “reelness/realness” is weighed and measured. The Indians in *The Exiles* are real/reel, they are not representing themselves, they are on display, and the “truth” Taubin reads does not merit praise.

There is nothing else like this film in Indian Country. There are Westerns that depict mostly cardboard negative portrayals of Indians, and praise the conquest of the settler. Filmic non-Westerns about Natives are common today, but for example, Tom Laughlin’s *Billy Jack* (1971) was second in Laughlin’s independent film series of four films set in the present day. Laughlin, who was white, played Billy Jack. The *Billy Jack* franchise raised awareness of Native American issues during the Red Power era. Films like *Soldier Blue* (1970) and *Little Big Man* (1970) were set in the mid to late 1800’s during the Indian Wars to serve as a metaphor for the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. There is nothing in the 1950’s that depicts Native

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<sup>22</sup> When I was young my family saw every movie that came out about Indians. We wanted to be entertained but I wanted to know more. It was assumed as well, that because we were Native, we already knew something. When my family went with some friends to see the film *Windwalker* (1981), there was a scene the adult sitting next to me did not understand and he asked me what the characters were doing, as if I knew. This film, starring British actor Trevor Howard (Captain Bligh to Marlon Brando’s Christian Fletcher in the 1962 *Mutiny on the Bounty*) as an aged Cheyenne chief, was a new Western, with many parts played by Native people and dialogue in Cheyenne and Crow. *Billy Jack* (1971) had a lot to say about Indians, not specific tribes, but for the “Indian” a promise is good enough, and being “an Indian” is not about blood but “is a way of life.” Indians can be brothers to snakes. Indians “don’t need signs, they know damn well where they are not wanted.” An Indian isn’t afraid to die, and white men don’t understand that. *Billy Jack* is a primer on being Indian, written and directed by Tom Laughlin, white man. We lined up for almost any movie about Indians, even Indians played by white men. I wanted to know what these films knew about me. It was an empty exercise for reasons I explain later in the chapter.

Americans in relation to one another in a film that looks like French New Wave cinema with a rock and roll soundtrack. *The Exiles* is a film about Native people and Native lives. They are not minor characters in a plot about white people and despite the settler reading, they are not tragic figures. The settler reading is anti-Indian, it sees the drunkenness, fighting, and misogyny and misses the friendships and closeness.<sup>23</sup> The settler reading sees stereotypes does not admit the complexity of Indian identity.

Natives in film cannot be separated from “master narratives” surrounding Native representations. There is a saying that Indians are only represented in media for one of four for “Ds”: drumming, dancing, drunk or dead. There are other representations that seem to be positive but serve settler interests, for example the myth of Pocahontas or the warrior myth, but even within the negative representations, as Rajeha noted, there are opportunities for sovereignty and self-determination.<sup>24</sup> Still, Ojibwe scholar Scott Lyons argues “discourses can always be appropriated and challenged...but they cannot be ignored.”<sup>25</sup> Even if the

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<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Cook-Lynn. *Anti-Indianism in Modern America: A Voice from Tatekeya's Earth*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn defines anti-Indianism “as a form of discrimination and ideological bias in scholarship as well as in practical politics and mainstream thinking.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The myth of Pocahontas was referenced in Chapter One, and is separate from the person who lived and died. The myth has Pocahontas choosing John Smith and colonists over her family and does not mention kidnapping, rape or forced marriage. One aspect of the warrior myth recognizes the bravery of Native men and women who serve in the armed forces in numbers larger to the relative size of Native populations. This is something Native communities are proud of, however the mythology also naturalizes the role of warrior within the Native man, and imagines the soldier as an extension of a Plains warrior from a horse tribe counting coup.

<sup>25</sup> Scott Richard Lyons. *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 25.

representations are mostly overwhelmingly negative, when Natives are in the news, Natives watch. Critics praised the film and declared the Native subjects tragic because, as Lyons argues, “When the Indian speaks, it always speaks as an Indian.”<sup>26</sup> The actors in *The Exiles* are not the characters of Homer, Yvonne and Tommy, they are not individuals but speak as all Indians. One idea is that while reviewers were impressed by the filmmaking but not the subject, Native readings of *The Exiles* saw the Indian speaking within and beyond the context of colonization, and the context of representations and stereotypes that the settler reading sees as tragic. In the commentary for the film, Sherman Alexie, one of the producers of the film watches and says he sees men and women very like the ones in the film at bars in cities today.<sup>27</sup> Alexie reads presence. For Ebert, they are disappeared, tragically gone, because that is what real Indians do. And in any case, we are all seeing real/reel Indians.

This is not a typical social problem movie. *The Exiles*, in a settler reading cannot be about a specific group of friends in a specific neighborhood on one specific day. My answer to Taubin’s question is that the film reflects complex personhood, as I discussed in Chapter Two; in it, Native Americans are more than pathologized subjects. I disagree with Taubin’s assertion that she sees the real within the reel. The truth that Taubin claims to see is one that cannot be separated from her settler reading of the drunk Indian, the pathologized stereotype. This

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Sherman Alexie. *The Exiles*, commentary track, special features, DVD. 2008.

real/reel Indian is always already drunk, always already doomed and tragic, vanishing from the frontier and unable to live within cities where the white man keeps the firewater and the filmmaker provides the drinks. Taubin asks a question and she believes she knows the answer, the problem is the subject, which she finds too degraded and depressing to be praised. The film cannot escape the settler gaze, but it can be read with a different reading and for help all Taubin had to do was watch the DVD with the commentary by the film's producer for Milestone, filmmaker and author, Sherman Alexie. Alexie watches the film with another film critic, and he is clearly enjoying himself as he points out the familiarity of the subjects as people he feels he knows in the present day, they have not disappeared, they are as real to him as people he encounters today.

In the opening voiceover, the narrator exposit the Indians "wandered" into the city of Los Angeles. Natives are unchanging, despite the difference in years from frontier to modern city, the subjects of *The Exiles* are nomads but instead of traveling from summer hunting grounds to winter camps, they wander from bar to card game and back to the bar. The federal Indian policy of relocation was a partner to the federal policy of termination and implemented throughout the 1950s. Los Angeles was one of seven major cities where Native men and women were encouraged to relocate from their reservations and find jobs and assimilate into mainstream America. Certainly some of the subjects of the film are in Los Angeles as a result of this federal policy, but this is ignored. In the film, the Natives are not

subjects of settler colonialism, affected by federal Indian policies, they are just out of place.

*The Exiles* is in this sense, a post-modern salvage ethnography, capturing a glimpse of what existed before it disappears forever, inevitably, and the invasion of Natives into the heart of Los Angeles necessitates a colonialist reading of the film, the Natives are present but barely, they are not a threat because they are barely conscious, inebriated, poor and shiftless. The portrait reinforces the dominance of white supremacy, the nation-state and heteropatriarchy, because these Indians are not going to leave a scratch, just a film that can be lost for nearly fifty years, then found. Their presence on celluloid is something akin to the pictures of the dead on the frozen ground of Wounded Knee, more proof of which side won the Indian wars.

The film looks like a documentary and is described by critics as a “semi-documentary.” The portrayal of Indian lives are at least partly real and it was a “realistic portrayal” that Mackenzie intended to put on screen. But without a political context the actions of the actors, the entire content of their lives is pathologized. They are tragic because they are in fact mispending their lives in poor neighborhoods, drinking and fighting and living only to repeat themselves the next day. They are associated with the vanished neighborhood of Bunker Hill, destroyed by bulldozers, the hill razed and land made level, rundown tenements replaced by the Walt Disney Concert Hall. Modern life is progressive and there is no place for those who cannot adapt, assimilate and keep up. The other point critics



make is that the subjects of the film are part of the landscape of Los Angeles' now leveled Bunker Hill, they are lost to history, and without this film would be completely unknown, or vanished. For the film to be discovered, first it has to vanish and the discovery and vanishing are multiplied with the postcolonial Natives populating the film when they are not supposed to have survived as long as the Curtis Edwards photos, certainly not into the affluent age of the U.S. post World War II.

But while colonialism insists upon the disappearance of the Native, it also requires “scenarios of discovery” be performed again and again.<sup>28</sup> Performance scholar Diana Taylor argues that “performing the act of possession makes the claim; the witnessing and writing down legitimates it.”<sup>29</sup> Therefore it is no surprise that the critics who praised the “discovery” of the film wrote reviews that insisted the film was a long lost coda to a world that disappeared. While the performance of the scenario seems to make the scenario visible, it does not, because the discovery and the loss are a part of the scenario, a scenario we are deeply invested in and understand the performance as part of the archive of knowledge we simply know. It is out of this scenario that Yvonne emerges as something new while she is supposed to be transferring her victimhood. It is because there is another story that will emerge, with women like Yvonne at the forefront, at a time not too far in the future. The story of *The Exiles*, following a group of friends who spend an evening together,

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<sup>28</sup> Diana Taylor. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. 54.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor 62.

and a young mother who shares her thoughts about the future, is unique because in the late 1950s when the film was made there was no modern representation of Native Americans.<sup>30</sup> Film studies scholar Catherine Russell thinks that is the film's main contribution.

The film's real accomplishment is to depict the lives of Native Americans as part of the popular culture of the 1950s. These people are exiles from the reservation, and their life in the city is certainly seen to be difficult. And yet, they are nevertheless depicted as being fully part of modernity, very much "of" their time, rather than being "outside of time" on the reservations with their parents.<sup>31</sup>

This contribution is critical for all audiences. The difference between a Native and a non-Native audience is that while non-Native audiences probably assumed Natives were extinct, as Natives we knew we were not but there is still damage in being always absent. It is still good to see this film, to see proof of survivance and a counter-representation to the dominant Western or complete absence. It would be even more amazing to have many representations. To that end, Sherman Alexie

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<sup>30</sup> In the classic film *Smoke Signals*, the first commercial film by a Native American director, written by a Native American writer, Thomas Builds The Fire makes the comment, "The only thing more pathetic than Indians on TV is Indians watching Indians on TV."# The characters are watching a Western. It is not pathetic when Natives watch Natives on TV or in movies who are representing themselves in ways that are disrupting settler colonial narratives. I may agree with fictional Thomas (a famous character in a film, and short story) about it being pathetic to watch even a good Western, a John Ford film where the brave white hero has to kill the Indian to make the Wild West safe for white women. But Thomas does not have to be real to be complex and he is speaking through a Coeur d'Alene writer to a Native audience who is watching Indians on TV, or in a movie theatre. His comment is a smile and also reflects the dearth of positive representations of Indians on TV, so the moment the Native audience is having, watching an Indian comment upon watching Indians on TV, which we have all done but never before with this political slant, is a reflection of self we have never seen before, a comment on a new experience and a welcome joke the Native audience is in on and appreciates.

<sup>31</sup> Catherine Russell. "The Restoration of *The Exiles*: The Untimeliness of Archival Cinema." <http://www.screeningthepast.com/2012/08/the-restoration-of-the-exiles-the-untimeliness-of-archival-cinema/>

spoke in an interview about *The Exiles* DVD release with hope towards more exciting, modern, complicated stories about Native people by Native people.

The *Exiles* is such an interesting movie. I hope by associating with it I not only bring this great filmmaker, his work to greater visibility, but by doing it, I hope I inspire Native filmmakers, young filmmakers who see and realize that this nearly fifty-year-old film is far more interesting and revolutionary than any of the films we've made about ourselves. So get your asses in gear, Indians. I do not need to see another documentary about fishing rights. Nobody needs to see another documentary about fishing rights. Your fishing rights are just like my fishing rights. I know it, they broke the treaties, we're trying to get them back. There's court cases. I know. Now where's that movie about you trying to get laid?<sup>32</sup>

Today there are plenty of movies about trying to get laid as well as other complexities of Native life in short films by Native men and women on social media and free video sharing websites like YouTube.<sup>33</sup> There will be more. Even with many different films and types of films, there are those people and moments that stand out because there is nothing else like them and we realize we are seeing something new.

In *The Exiles* and beyond, Yvonne, played by Yvonne Williams, a young Apache woman, is completely unique. First, at a time when representations of Native women were rare and settler sexual fantasies like the character Pearl Chavez played by actress Jennifer Jones in the 1956 King Vidor film *Duel in the Sun*, Yvonne is a modest young housewife. I am not bored when the camera focuses on a

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<sup>32</sup> Sherman Alexie in Joanna Herne, "Remembering Smoke Signals: interviews with Chris Eyre and Sherman Alexie." *Postscript*, June 22, 2010, <http://www.freepatentsonline.com/article/Post-Script/247034914.html> (accessed November 14, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> For example, the intertribal comedy sketch group, the 1491s have many videos on YouTube. One video, "Slapping Medicine Man" has been viewed nearly eight hundred thousand times at this writing.

close up of her face as the film begins, signaling that this woman is important. I am not bored by Yvonne who looks like women I know. She resists dispossession through her presence in *The Exiles* because she matters. Partly, that is the work of the filmmaker, Kent Mackenzie and the focus he puts on the character within the film. We are asked to see her and really look closely at her, and then we hear her thoughts. In voiceovers she reflects on her life, on her choices and what is more, she is thinking about the future. Yvonne is pregnant, she is having a child and she hopes her child will have more opportunities than herself. She is discouraged, and shares, “I wanted to get married in a church and be blessed to have a nice house and I wanted two little girls and two boys... I used to pray every night before I went to bed and ask for something that I wanted, and I never got it... so I just gave up.” The failure of assimilation policy, the impossibility of becoming American, of attaining whiteness, is what Yvonne is giving up on and that failure, along with the failure of policies like relocation and termination helped bring about the resurgence of pride in Indian Country. Yvonne’s statement has been read as the impossibility of Native success and life in modernity and it is, but with a Native feminist reading it is beyond a desire for assimilation it is a recognition of the impossibility of recognition by the settler state. Therefore it is a statement of resistance and a call to act that foreshadows the Women of All Red Nations (WARN) and the mothers in Saskatchewan who started #IdleNoMore in December of 2012.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The Kino-nda-niimi Collective. *The Winter We Danced: Voices from the Past, the Future, and the*

The failure of assimilation and loss of federal recognition, land and the disruption of losing federal support for education, tribal investments and resources led to increased public appreciation of cultural values, and revitalization. Ponca activist and founder of the National Indian Youth Council, Clyde Warrior, gave an historic speech in 1967 criticizing failed government projects and affirming the importance of cultural belonging.

Perhaps, the National Indian Youth Council's real criticism is against a structure created by bureaucratic administrators who are caught in this American myth that all people assimilate into American society, that economics dictates assimilation and integration. From the experience of the National Indian Youth Council, and in reality, we cannot emphasize and recommend strongly enough the fact that no one integrates and disappears into American society. What ethnic groups do is not integrate into American society and economy individually, but enter into the mainstream of American society as a people, and in particular as communities of people. The solution to Indian poverty is not "government programs" but in the competence of the person and his people. The real solution to poverty is encouraging the competence of the community as a whole.<sup>35</sup>

The community in *The Exiles* are not seen as striving for competence, but the filmmaker met these people because of his interest in their neighborhood, Bunker Hill, that was being "redeveloped" with the consequence that low-income and long-time members of the community were being displaced as the neighborhood was

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*Idle No More Movement*. Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2014. Many women were moved to act before, during and after the Red Power movement. While Russell Means and Dennis Banks were seen in front of cameras, women in Native communities around the country began making changes that reverberated across Indian Country.

<sup>35</sup> Clyde Warrior. Alvin M. Josephy, ed., *Red Power: The American Indian's Fight for Freedom*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971. 72-77

being repurposed. Displacement and dispossession is an Indian story if ever there was one.

Yvonne is reflective, and when she speaks her thoughts it seems that there is so much more she is not sharing. She does not share everything. She speaks slowly and carefully. Alexie observes on the commentary track that this is the first time a reservation accent is presented in popular culture. Throughout the film the audience sees Los Angeles and Bunker Hill through her eyes more than any other character, she is unlike anyone we have seen in media but this is a semi-documentary.

Indigenous audiences in 1961 might be reminded of their mother or aunt, or a sister who is making plans for college. Critics dismiss the women in *The Exiles* as 1950's versions of the "beast of burden" drudge stereotype.<sup>36</sup> Yes, Yvonne shops and cooks, she cares for her family (which is her family on film, her reel, not real family). She talks about her child to come. She also expresses intimacy and joy with her friend Marilyn played by Marilyn Lewis. They laugh together before they go to sleep and in the morning, the audience sees Yvonne as she watches the partygoers make their way home. She has other things on her mind. She is gestating a child but she is also symbolic of the gestating happening throughout Indian Country.<sup>37</sup> The response to termination policy was a determination not to lose land

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<sup>36</sup> Green, Rayna. 1975. "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture". *The Massachusetts Review* 16 (4). The Massachusetts Review, Inc.: 698–714. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25088595>.

<sup>37</sup> My Native feminist reading methodology reads multitudes in Yvonne, while I do not want to deny that she is a real person, who I do not know, as a reel Indian, I have a reading of her in contrast and comparison to the settler reading.

and status as federally recognized nations. Tribes hired lawyers to protect their interests. While things may have seemed quiet, in Washington State the conflict between tribes (Nisqually, Puyallup, Yakama) asserting their treaty rights to fish and the state refusing to acknowledge those rights despite federal rulings in favor of treaty rights was about to become known as the “Fishing Wars.”<sup>38</sup> But in 1961, Marlon Brando had not yet showed up to “fish-in” and get arrested in solidarity with Native Americans.<sup>39</sup> And the film did not have enough showings to enter into popular culture, and for Natives to see themselves in Tommy, Homer and Yvonne. It is a relic of an earlier time, but one that Native people recognize from family stories and the same v-neck sweaters and khakis, the pencil skirts, pony tails and bouffant hair in our family pictures from that time. The “unrealized possibility” Russell laments as “might-have-been” is somewhat true, but not because the film did not start a film movement. As an “historical marker” the film can be read for what did happen to Indian Country in the time following the making of the film.

The “revolutionary” character of *The Exiles* is not due to its originary status, because it did not start a movement or even belong to one. Its revolutionary character is due to its status as an historical marker of unrealized possibility, the way that it records the untimely dynamism of the might-have-been. It is not only a portrait of a particular group of people at a particular moment in time; its sheer novelty as a “document” made it virtually invisible, and yet also potentially explosive.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The 1974 Boldt Decision in favor of treaty rights helped to resolve decades of struggle between tribal members and the state.

<sup>39</sup> Marlon Brando was arrested at a fish-in protest in Washington State on March 2, 1964 in an effort to bring attention to treaty rights.

<sup>40</sup> Catherine Russell. “The Restoration of *The Exiles*: The Untimeliness of Archival Cinema.”

I do not think it would have been invisible if it had been distributed, despite the novelty of the subject. I think that *The Exiles* would have been in conversation with other films, especially films included in the “L.A. Rebellion.” For example, *Bush Mama* (1976) by Haile Gerima that focuses on the life of a pregnant black woman in Watts, is a film that could speak to *The Exiles* across fifteen years and years of Black and Red Power activism.<sup>41</sup> The explosion happened without the cultural participation of *The Exiles* but *The Exiles* contains clues and foreshadows what would become the Red Power movement. Yvonne’s discontent and her pushing toward the future, the realities of intertribal communities in threatened neighborhoods and the determination, shown in the late night scene of the 49 (or 49er) to be proud of being Indian, to participate in singing, dancing and drumming wherever you are; these are all pieces of modern Native life that we can read and recognize then and now. They are survivance and resistance, and that resistance has been ongoing since contact. It exploded in the Red Power movement, and is present in daily ways until it explodes again, as it did in 2012 with #IdleNoMore, a movement that moved from one kitchen table to become global. In a Native feminist reading, *The Exiles* is a text that shows the complexity of Native lives including the determination to take care of our families, and one another and continue.

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<http://www.screeningthepast.com/2012/08/the-restoration-of-the-exiles-the-untimeliness-of-archival-cinema/>

<sup>41</sup> *Bush Mama* is a 1976 film by Haile Gerima. The filmmaker was inspired by the eviction of a black mother from her home during a Chicago winter.



### **Survivance Warriors and Survivance Narratives**

While watching a documentary on Klamath termination made by the Klamath Tribes, my phone rings.<sup>42</sup> In this scene a handsome Klamath man with long braids and a headband climbs a mountain while the soundtrack plays the music of a flute. All my Native senses tell me that this is an Indian man being Indian on Indian land. I answer the phone. It is the handsome Klamath man himself, Gordon Bettles, calling me to check on my plans to use the Longhouse.

“Gordon, I am watching you right now in a movie about Klamath termination.”

“What am I doing?”

“You are climbing up a mountain and talking about how important language is and the land.”

“That sounds right.” Gordon Bettles is the Longhouse Steward for the Many Nations Longhouse at the University of Oregon, and Director of Native Initiatives. Bettles was the Cultural Director of The Klamath Tribes for almost 15 years before he left Chiloquin, Oregon to get his Master’s degree at University of Oregon. In my role as the Coordinator of Native Recruitment in the Office of Admissions, I invite tribes and schools with Native populations to campus. Visiting the Many Nations Longhouse and meeting Longhouse Steward Gordon Bettles is a highlight for visitors. Often after seeing the entire campus, students walk into the Longhouse and

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<sup>42</sup> *Your Land, My Land*. DVD. The Klamath Tribes and Oregon Public Broadcasting. 1994.

breathe a little deeper, and sometimes offer that they feel they are at home.<sup>43</sup> Gordon greets our visitors, speaking to them in Klamath and teaching them to say, “Gena Weeqs” which means “Go Ducks!” in Klamath.<sup>44</sup> As the Longhouse Steward, Gordon shares the five rules of the Longhouse. No swearing. No disrespect. No money changes hands. Clean up after yourself and recycle what you can. Gordon explains to visitors that when these rules are observed, everyone feels welcome and the youngest and eldest are well-treated.

On the DVD, Gordon Bettles is speaking as a Klamath for the Klamaths to an outside audience, but outside does not mean exclusively non-Native. I see Gordon doing the work of “speaking as an Indian.”<sup>45</sup> I am reading the ways that Indianness is read, and all these things, braids, flute, a scenic landscape are signs, signifiers of Native American presence, however, according to Anishinaabe writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor these are signifiers of absence when used in settler narratives.<sup>46</sup> The short documentary film is about Klamath termination. And when the Klamath Tribes were terminated, there were those in and outside of Indian Country who did not think

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<sup>43</sup> University of Oregon’s Many Nations Longhouse is the longest standing longhouse on a university campus. When I was an undergraduate the old WW II structure was torn down and a new Longhouse was designed by Cherokee and Choctaw alum architect Johnpaul Jones. Gordon Bettles has been the Longhouse Steward since the new building opened in January 2005.

<sup>44</sup> The University of Oregon mascot is the Oregon Duck.

<sup>45</sup> Lyons

<sup>46</sup> Gerald Vizenor. *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1993. Vizenor’s definition of “postindian” includes a critique that is not the stereotype, for example, when a Native person chooses cultural symbols, but resistance, especially when the tribe you are representing has been terminated. Vizenor argues simulations of Indians mark the absence of the Native, but when the tribal Cultural Director is in a documentary about our tribe made by our tribe, that is a simulation of resistance, not absence. Tom Laughlin as Billy Jack marks an absence of Natives, the white guy has to step in because there are no real Indians. Vizenor’s critique is that there are no real Indians and there never were.

the Klamath were Indian enough, who thought losing federal recognition meant that Klamaths were gone. The Klamath Tribes were targeted for termination because of their large timber holdings, but the settler narrative looked like this: “Klamath Indians are assimilated, they run businesses and do not speak Klamath, terminating them will help them to assimilate further into American society”<sup>47</sup> The story of termination is mainly told through settler master narratives, and those narratives repeat the archival information, they do not put forward the counter-narratives and privilege the voices and experiences of Native people outside of meetings and offices. When I see Gordon Bettles talking about the persistence of the Klamath Tribe and the importance of Klamath language on the side of a mountain looking into a vista as good-looking as any Hollywood Indian, I recognize he is speaking against disappearance. He is a survivance warrior.<sup>48</sup>

Even if there is no intended performance, there is a performance. They are making a film, there is a camera, there is a director and a script and Gordon Bettles is performing as a Klamath Indian, indeed, as the Cultural Director of the Klamath Tribes, a position he held for twelve years. As a scholar and Native feminist, I read a performance where perhaps none is overtly intended, yet based on Vizenor’s postindian, the performance cannot be avoided. I am uncomfortable writing about Gordon Bettles as if I get to have an opinion about what he does and how he looks

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<sup>47</sup> Susan Hood. 1972. “Termination of the Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon”. *Ethnohistory* 19 (4). Duke University Press: 379–92. doi:10.2307/481441.

<sup>48</sup> Vizenor might say Bettles is a postindian simulation, or even a postindian warrior. I think survivance warrior suits Bettles.

and a movie he was in twenty years ago. It is not Gordon himself, but the postindian performance, the resistance to disappearance, that I read in the documentary. I see Gordon Bettles do this all the time, this act of resistance Vizenor calls survivance, and so Bettles is a survivance warrior.

The postindian warriors...counter the surveillance and literature of domination with their own simulations of survivance. The postindian arises from the earlier inventions of the tribes only to contravene the absence of the real with theatrical performances; the theatre of tribal consciousness is the recreation of the real, not the absence of the real in the simulations of dominance.<sup>49</sup>

Vizenor argues these postindians counter narratives of domination with simulations of survivance and that is what Bettles is doing. In a film about termination and restoration, Gordon Bettles (performance) is the killing blow. He is shown next to a lake with an elder in a chair, asking her to translate his sentences into Klamath, actively learning language and continuing cultural tradition. He talks about the history of the tribe as he looks upon the land. Bettles knows the land and is the person you want to see to know and understand the Klamath are here, they survived, they did not go away or become white. Just look here.

Termination texts are often what Vizenor calls “literature of dominance” written about the people who implemented the policies and then on the negative impact on the tribes, but the daily lives of people involved are not the focus of the narrative.<sup>50</sup> For example in her book about the Colville Tribe and termination,

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<sup>49</sup> Vizenor 5.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Colville scholar Laurie Arnold sums up the Klamath Termination case in comparison with the Menominee tribe.

The Klamaths faced a worse fate, because they had fewer operational resources, high unemployment, and a less-organized tribal government. The Klamath termination process dragged on primarily because federal officials could not agree with timber companies on a fair price for the Klamaths' massive timber resources, and because a small group of Klamaths wanted to remain on their lands instead of taking the per capita payment. Finally, in 1961, Congress passed legislation terminating the Klamath Tribe, approving what would result in a \$43,000 payment to each tribal member. Although both the Menominee and the Klamath tribes eventually regained their tribal status through restoration (the Menominee in 1973 and the Klamath in 1986), neither tribe has fully recovered their land or financial resources, and members of both communities suffered intense emotional blows.<sup>51</sup>

Arnold's summary compares the termination of two of the largest tribes terminated, the Klamath and Menominee, pointing out the Klamath suffered greatly because of termination. She does acknowledge the cost beyond land and cultural identity, although you cannot separate those losses from "intense emotional blows." Arnold also observes "for such an important policy, termination remains a less-explored area of history and ethnohistory."<sup>52</sup> Arnold is a member of the Colville tribes, and her focus is on their successful struggle to defeat attempts to terminate the tribes. There are several important books and articles about termination but in the discussions of

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<sup>51</sup> Laurie Arnold. *Bartering With The Bones of Their Dead: The Colville Confederated Tribes and Termination*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012. x.

<sup>52</sup> Arnold xi.

termination policy and struggles between tribal governments and the federal government, the people affected are diminished.<sup>53</sup>

Termination was a federal Indian policy enacted against 109 tribes in the 1950s and 1960s. Targeted federally recognized tribes were “freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians.”<sup>54</sup> Sixty-two of the 109 tribes were in Oregon, the largest tribe being The Klamath Tribes. The Klamath Tribes were the third largest landowner in Oregon with over 2000 members. The Klamath Tribes were restored to federal recognition in 1986, but the Klamath did not have their land returned and there was no compensation for the loss of health care, education benefits and tax free status they lost at the time of termination. Loss of recognition via termination is still a threat to Indian Country, and tribes are still fighting for restoration. In settler colonial ideology, the Klamath Tribes were already disappearing. Despite their large land holdings, despite their numbers, they were represented in Congress as being good candidates for termination because they were considered less than authentic. They were not Indian enough to save, but they were not quite white enough to save themselves. Assimilation through boarding schools and tribal cooperation with the federal government did not guarantee federal protection.

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<sup>53</sup> Important texts on termination include Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960 by Donald L. Fixico

<sup>54</sup> "U.S. House of Representatives Resolution 108, 83rd Congress, 1953. (U.S. Statutes at Large, 67: B132.)"

Tribes who were terminated also hired lawyers to begin working on the long legal process of restoration. The Klamath Tribes were restored to federal recognition in 1986. In 2002, a Klamath Tribal elder, Morrie Jimenez and a professor at Oregon State University, Linc Kesler began recording interviews with tribal members who lived through termination and restoration. The interviews are complex readings of the time before, during and after termination. The description of the project (now at First Nations and Indigenous Studies Program at University of British Columbia) states:

Participants recall the social structure and functions of life on the reservation before Termination as a way of understanding and assessing cultural change, what was lost and, in some respects, with great effort, gained. Participants describe as well their own life histories in its aftermath, and their work constructing their lives in the post-reservation and Restoration eras, as well as their participation in the preservation and restoration of their culture and community.

There is a before, during and after termination. In these interviews, elders discuss intergenerational relationships, to one another, the land and society outside the reservation. These interviews are not a documentary with a narrative about termination but an archive. The interviewer, Linc Kessler, can be heard asking a question, although he is outside the camera view. There is a reading to be done of the Klamath elders as survivance warriors. In their stories of education and travel, of their memories of what life was like on the reservation, the relationships to family and land, there is the performance of survivance, and the archive is an archive of

narratives of survivance.<sup>55</sup> Now at University of British Columbia, this archive of 18 interviews over 16 hours are an important addition to termination discourse. These oral narratives add complexity to the history and legacy of Klamath termination. They explore the losses but they also tell what happened next, there is a persistence to resist the tragic narratives of termination. The elders tell stories of their education, where they traveled and how they lived. In addition, a Native feminist reading of these interviews sees the expressions of love for their land and people continuing through the most difficult of times. There is not an ending, but there are changes.<sup>56</sup> Settler or academic interpretations of termination become part of the “tragic native” or “disappearing native” stereotype. In these interviews it is clear that termination was devastating, but dispossession is incomplete (again). The elders are not boring because they are not talking about a federal policy, they are talking about their lives. Their lives are complicated and rich with experience.

Delphine Jackson explains how for the tribal members on the reservation, the ways they lived and their relationships were part of the land. The relationships cannot continue in the same way after termination because the people are no longer living the same lives in the same way. But they will have a relationship.

I don't think that the younger generations today can even begin to imagine what kind of lifestyle we had. The road that I went out to one of my lookouts...was almost in the middle of the reservation, and as I

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<sup>55</sup> Vizenor's *Manifest Manners* was revised and the title changed after the first publication, from *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance* (1993) to *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (1999).

<sup>56</sup> I do not know any of the people interviewed for the archive and I am using a Native feminist reading methodology on the archive of interviews, not the people.



went out there, I went by different ranches that belonged to our Indian people...and you go out into the forest and...you'd go by Buckhorn Springs and...that's where my grandmother had her camp, just below Yamsay Mountain. So the people was a part of that landscape. It wasn't just you know, the mountain tops and etc., so it definitely had, not only the, like you were pointing out, not only the landscape, but the people were a part of that.<sup>57</sup>

Jackson is talking about her relationship to the land and how it changed, however she is thinking of younger generations. The younger people and their descendants will not have Jackson's experiences, but future generations will have their own relationships to the land. In the generations before Jackson, there were relatives who grew up off the reservation, before the reservation was formed and experienced deep changes to the relationship to the land. But the love for the land and the continuity of presence continued, despite changes. Jackson understands that change is inevitable. Jackson says that after termination there were so many changes, and though those changes were expected, they also echoed her experiences post-termination. The way she read the land and located herself had changed. She compares the building of new roads on the reservation to life post-termination.

I worked on the fire lookouts in the summer time, and often those summers were not just a few months, they could start in the early May, and go right on into August, September. I got to know the reservation quite well. I drove to my lookouts and I read the maps. I got to know what area was our land, and it was sad for me to think that the land would no longer be ours in a few years, and I knew for me, it was definitely a loss I don't think our people would ever regain.

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<sup>57</sup> Delphine Jackson 13 December 2002, *Oral Narratives of the Klamath Termination: Individual Elders Reflect on Time and Change*, ed. Linc Kesler, First Nations Studies Program, University of British Columbia, 2005, 13, June 2015  
<<http://fnsp.arts.ubc.ca/klamath/ivt>> 16.13.

Things would change no matter what, even if there was a small piece of land that we could hang on to, and we were on a piece of land at the time, that it wasn't the reservation as my grandfather knew it.

The first time I went back after the termination, and the Forest Service took over, this was after all the land was sold and the Forest Service then took over the land, I was amazed how new roads were put in, the old roads that I used to know were not, they were no longer there, and I actually got lost. I'd never gotten lost before, in the dark you know. It was really upsetting because it was something that I knew almost like the back of my hand...and I think perhaps, this is how the termination effected our people. One time we knew where we were, we had a land, we had a lifestyle, we had families and once the termination came, it, it was different, and I feel that a lot of people, lot of our people got lost, and I think their children are lost right now, because they didn't have what we had. And I'm going to stop right now (laughs).<sup>58</sup>

Jackson went to school and later she traveled to Guam and lived in San Francisco.

Education is a recurring theme within the interviews, and leaving home, coming back and passing something on. There is so much more than loss.

So I went on to Marylhurst College, and not realizing that the money was going to me through from the Termination program, I just knew that there was monies for me to go on, and I stayed there, I was capable of struggling through, and the year that I graduated in 1960, the funding ended. So it just seemed as if there was something in my life that was taking care of me, or I was meant to do whatever I was doing.

In Lynn Schonchin's interview concern for the younger generations and the legacy of elders caring about them as youth is part of what is passed on.

A good friend of mine that's passed away, made a comment to me one time, and he said our elders never gave up on us no matter what we

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<sup>58</sup> Lynn Schonchin, 13 December 2002, *Oral Narratives of the Klamath Termination: Individual Elders Reflect on Time and Change*, ed. Linc Kesler, First Nations Studies Program, University of British Columbia, 2005, 13, June 2015  
<<http://fnsp.arts.ubc.ca/klamath/ivt>> 16.13.

did. They never ever gave up on us. They were always there and that's probably one of the truest statements I ever heard. Didn't make any difference who you were in this community, or what was going on, they didn't give up on you. Always seen green pastures ahead for us, you know. And to have that kind of encouragement and support...I wouldn't be where I'm at today without it.<sup>59</sup>

In their interviews Lynn Schonchin and Delphine Jackson talk about those who came before and those who will come after, there are narratives of presence and the understanding that there have always been Klamath, Modoc and Yahooskin people and there always will be. There are still changes that occurred because of termination that are part of the archive and the interviews narrating these changes I read as change being part of life, against the settler reading of change equals disappearance or loss of a mythic authenticity.

Lynn Schonchin became a teacher to pass on what was given to him as a child.

I always wanted to work with kids, so, and I think that came from my background. When we were growing up, my granddad had coached basketball teams and they coached us in baseball, we had little league before there was little league going on around here, and we had teams in Sprague River and we'd go and play in Beatty...So I grew up doing those things and watching people volunteer and helping us do that and working with us kids and doing anything they could for us kids. I was pretty kid oriented, and so I think that's where some my wanting to work kids came from, the examples I had in my life...I went to school and graduated and was able to come back here and get a job. Chiloquin high school didn't recruit me, I recruited them. I taught for 23 years and then retired from it, so but I think that all those kinds of things in my life prepared me, the folks teaching me, spending time with me.

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

Termination does not end these mentoring relationships. Schonchin describes returning to Chiloquin and his involvement in tribal politics, there are elders to show him what to do and how to do it.

I got involved in tribal politics kind of young...My mother-in-law Mrs. Jimenez, that's my mom, she had a strong hand in teaching me, and people like Freedman Kirk and Joe Ball and Nathan Davis, and Aunt Helen, and that whole realm of elders that was alive then took me in their wing and taught me, and it was kind of like when we were a kid: they took us under wing and had baseball for us and basketball and all those kinds of things, and it was the same thing when I was younger in my life, they stepped in and taught me. And luckily enough, I listened, and I learned a whole lot about tribal history and our form of government and how to work within that.

After termination, Morrie Jimenez struggles with the ways society sees Indian people versus his experiences as a Klamath. His experience of living on the Klamath reservation is a positive one, yet he read of negative reservation experiences of other Native people. Jimenez does not see his experience as unique, yes his family was strong, there were other strong families on the reservation. Termination took the reservation and part of post-termination stories seem always to talk about the good days on the reservation and the way of life that was a happy one for many people.

I've been asked many, many times why I was so different than their perception of Indian people. And in many cases, it's been very difficult for me to accept other people's, particularly non-Indian people's perception of Indian people, 'cause my perception of Indian people has always been so positive. And because I now realize it was because of what we were taught by our nuclear family, our aunts and our uncles and our grandparents, and my parents, who were strong. My mother was a full-blooded Klamath Indian, who grew up in a Klamath community; my father was a, was a Mexican and his period

in time, he was a Mexican-American and very proud of who he was and very proud of his "Mexicaness." And so my father also was, because he was Mexican he was Mestizo, he was half-Indian and half-Spanish, and he remembered his Indian culture back in his, in his home country. And it was very easy for him to be, to be accepted by the tribal community on that reservation.<sup>60</sup>

We were very fortunate, my brothers and sisters and I talk about this, we were very fortunate we had such as strong family unit. But we were just one of many strong family units that I grew up with on that former reservation...there was a dignity and feeling of worth, there was an unspoken confidence, that's what we were taught and we didn't realize what we were taught until many, many years later, and my brothers and sisters and I talk about that today, quite often, is that when I think of where the Indian people in this country have been, and the experiences that they've gone through, I have to extend myself back beyond pre-European settlement period, I have to, and many times I've sat down and said, "Okay now why, why have we survived for so long?"<sup>61</sup> And why have we been successful in surviving in a cultural experience that pretty much could've done away, and, in fact, did do away with a lot us? And it was primarily because we learned to take our previous experience and move it forward and adapt as we needed to in order to survive, because that survival was always there, that certain need for survival was always there, and it was implanted there by our cultural experiences and by what were taught as young people and I, in talking to young people today, I have to share that with them, that what, particularly what I'm trying to reinforce that, the need for an education, the importance of an education. And I have to share with them that education back then; what did that mean? That meant that you learned how to string a bow, how to make a bow, how to use a lance, how to, how to preserve a fish, how to preserve elk and deer, so that you would have food to extend through those months when they were not as available. You had to learn how to gather, you had to learn how to prepare; there were so many things that you had to learn in order to ensure the survival of your people and the survival of your culture.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Morrie Jimenez, 27 August 2002, *Oral Narratives of the Klamath Termination*, ed. Linc Kesler, First Nations Studies Program, University of British Columbia, 2005, 9 December 2015 <<http://fnsp.arts.ubc.ca/klamath/ivt>> 2.27.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

Jimenez sees all that he learned as education, not just what he learned at school. Delphine Jackson and Lynn Schonchin also talk about the way they know the land and their relationships with family and tribal members as part of what sustained them and helped them find their way. These stories are not a complete archive, they are not complete, all cannot and should not be told. They tell us something other texts about termination leave out. The ways that people see termination as part of the settler colonial experience, it is not all of their experience. Morrie Jimenez is an organizer of this archive, he worked with Linc Kessler to create this archive of oral narratives and his interviews reflect long thought given to questions of termination and survival.

We have to, we have to take a look at where we are now, and we have to take a look at what's available to us now, and we have to take advantage of that, and take advantage of what's available to us today in order for us to help our culture and civilization survive. And so, that's just a transfer of thought and a transfer of methodology and procedure and process that will allow us to continue to grow, but at the same time it's very important that we remember the traditional thought, the traditional ways.<sup>63</sup>

And when I remember my grandmother and my grandfather, my great grandparents, and my aunt and my nuclear family I can see them now, and I can hear them now and I continue to hear them now even today. And there are many experiences in my past, whereby I've made mistakes in my life, like so many of us, but I've learned that that's pretty common amongst people, and so there's really nothing wrong with that. But what you have to do is you have to get through that again; survival...I've been able to do that because of what I was taught in my previous, in my reservation experience and my family experience...I had my mother, my grandmother and various people that I knew on the reservation, elders who appeared to me, or appeared to appear to me who asked me those hard questions: "Why

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

are you doing what you're doing?" you know, and who said to me, is, "Is this your purpose? Is this what you prepared to do, is that what you're parents wanted for you? Is this what your grandmother would have wanted? Is this what your peer group would have wanted?" Because even my peer group, as I moved off the reservation and began excelling in athletics, and became well known for going on to college and getting an education, would come by and encourage me and would continue to counsel me.<sup>64</sup>

Well, we now know what it was that they valued on our reservation more than other. We continue to learn that lesson, even though we don't have a reservation land base. Most of that is gone, but they continue to want the water, they continue to want the land, they continue to want the natural resources, they continue to want the control of the mind and the philosophy.<sup>65</sup>

So that's what I remember, my reservation experiences is very positive because I was still a part of that culture, that was disappearing, but at the same time, there was still large segments of that early belief and that early practice. And that is what has sustained me in my own life, through the years since I left the reservation in the late 40's, to where I am now. It allowed me to survive.<sup>66</sup>

Jimenez is philosophical about the reasons for termination and ties them to the ongoing efforts at dispossession. He extends that philosophical view to himself, to his life as he looks back having survived. I read these elders as survivance warriors, as complex and I am glad they survived, and grateful for this archive of their experiences, for myself and others to visit and appreciate the depth of their love for Klamath people and land.

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<sup>64</sup> 4 Morrie Jimenez, 27 August 2002, *Oral Narratives of the Klamath Termination*, ed. Linc Kesler, First Nations Studies Program, University of British Columbia, 2005, 9 December 2015 <<http://fnsp.arts.ubc.ca/klamath/ivt>> 2

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

In this chapter I examined the post-war federal Indian policy of relocation through a semi-documentary, *The Exiles*, which never mentions relocation but is a unique portrayal of Native Americans living in Los Angeles as a result of relocation policies. This film not only portrays Native Americans in khakis and dive bars, but includes a portrayal of Yvonne Williams, a soon to be mother whose failure to assimilate is a pause before taking up Red Power and pride in the coming 1960's. It is through her deep reflection that we can read a future for her child and her grandchildren that reflects her desires, for education, for connection and Native community. Although I am bored with termination, I analyze the documentary made by The Klamath Tribes and Oregon Public Broadcasting and the archive of oral narratives, interviews with Klamath tribal elders who talk about their lives before, during and after termination. The documentary and interviews are in contrast to the juridical and tragic narratives of termination, in which tribes lose and the people disappear. The oral narratives provide a depth of feeling for the land and people that is also reflected in the documentary, and in both cases it is clear that through a Native feminist reading of these representations, there is loss, and there is a future because the losses were not complete and the people survived.



## CHAPTER 4

### **Regenerating Families: Making Art and Mapping History**

Indian wars are wars on Indian families.

(Beth Piatote, *Domestic Subjects*, 2013)

She taught me this above all else; things which don't shift and grow are dead things.

(Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony*, 1977)

The two artists discussed in this chapter are family; Peggy Ball is aunt to Natalie Ball, Natalie Ball is Peggy's niece. Like the friends and writers in the story quoted above and the narrator who is attending the reading, there are shared memories, experiences and overlapping histories within their work. Peggy Ball makes star quilts, and taught Natalie Ball. Gerald Vizenor writes that intergenerational communication might be passing on a trade, or business, in his family it was survivance stories that were passed on. I argue these quilts are practices and texts of survivance that hold history and meaning.<sup>1</sup>

Natalie Ball paints on quilts in her installation art. Peggy Ball had to stop making quilts because of diabetes affecting the nerves in her fingers, and she began painting. Her paintings (discussed in Chapter 2) are inspired by memories and pictures from family albums. Natalie Ball's installations include family photographs and family histories. In this chapter I argue that their art addresses absences, settler colonial violence, hauntings, dispossession and anti-blackness. Their work

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<sup>1</sup> Vizenor, Tuck & Yang 107.

establishes presence where there is absence, and persistence where there is termination and gentrification. This intergenerational communication is a conduit for bridging the past and future. Peggy Ball's quilts change from traditional star quilts to smaller stars and squares with meaning for her, still recognizably Native but not the great grand star quilt pattern. Natalie Ball's quilts are haunted and unfinished, they display violence and regeneration. The quilts are connected through this intergenerational communication and what is communicated is survivance.

Survivance is an intergenerational connection to an individual and collective sense of presence and resistance in personal experience and the word, or language, made particularly through stories.

I read these quilts and art as texts and what they communicate are survivance stories. In this chapter I describe the significance of making of star quilts in an urban intertribal community of Native women, mothers and activists. I tell this story of Peggy Ball and Eileen Jasper because making star quilts like many of the cultural practices women perform are not visible outside of the home and family, and because star quilts and referring to that practice, of having a quilt up, of coming together to make a quilt and giving it away are ceremony, and after termination, and war, after relocation and removal, learning to make star quilts and all that process meant was a healing ceremony that for my family traveled from Lakota community member Eileen Jasper to Peggy Ball and moved outward, into family, and the Native community in Portland and continues to influence my research and is an important influence on the work of artist and niece of Peggy Ball, Natalie Ball. Natalie Ball's

art installations include textiles, star quilts, family photographs, and tribal histories. Ball's work references the North Portland neighborhood where she grew up and addresses the complexities of occupying the intersection of Blackness and Indianness. Natalie Ball is Modoc/Klamath and black and yet as an artist she often struggles to occupy Blackness, she is read as "always speaking as an Indian."<sup>2</sup> There is a ceremony within making star quilts, imagining them, sewing them, giving them away where they have a life as part of the community. They are part of the communities cultural treasure. As an artist, there is also ceremony in envisioning, installing then showing the art. People come and make meaning, draw connections and experience another person's vision, incorporating it into their own experience. These layers of ceremony connect to what Nez Perce scholar Beth Piatote has named the "tribal national domestic."<sup>3</sup> Primarily a struggle within Native homes and families, Piatote argues U.S. "foreign domestic" policies aimed to destroy Native families through "foreign domestic" assimilation-era policies that moved Native children out of their homes, into boarding schools and attempted to "cultivate children's allegiance to the United States rather than to the tribe."<sup>4</sup> Making quilts and making art for Peggy Ball and Natalie Ball most often happen within the home, and Piatote argues that Indian domesticity has always been a site of struggle with

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<sup>2</sup> Lyons 25.

<sup>3</sup> Beth H. Piatote. *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid 5.

much at stake, “At stake in this contest is control over Indian futures - children, culture, land and imagination.”<sup>5</sup>

### **Ceremonial Star Quilts**

Peggy Ball grew up in North Portland, her mother was enrolled in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma and her father in The Klamath Tribes, but aside from some of their friends their lives did not center around Native community events, it was the assimilation era and though Portland, Oregon did have an Indian organization, it was not a cultural but a political organization. Being Modoc, Klamath and Cherokee was an important part of her life. Peggy spent time during the summer in Chiloquin with family, where there was a reservation for The Klamath Tribes. The termination of the Klamath Tribes was a news story throughout the 1950’s, though termination was not enacted until 1961. After termination there was a change in the family circumstances. Peggy Ball’s mother, Lillian Ball, was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis and used a wheelchair, her father, Woodrow Ball, had left the family. They went from barely getting by to well-off when each of the six children received payment for the land the government sold in the amount of \$43,000.<sup>6</sup> Peggy Ball married shortly after she graduated high school and started a family but was divorced with three small children by the end of the 1960s. Urged on by her younger brother, Tom Ball, who was a student activist at Portland State

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Susan Hood. “Termination of the Klamath Indian Tribe of Oregon.” *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 19, No. 4. (Autumn, 1972), pp. 379-392. Stable URL:<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0014-1801%28197223%2919%3A4%3C379%3ATOTKIT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-F>

University, Peggy began attending culture nights at the Bow & Arrow Club in the gymnasium at St. Andrew Catholic church on Friday evenings.

Peggy Ball's involvement with the Native community in Portland led to a friendship with Eileen Jasper, a Lakota woman whose family was well-known. Eileen Jasper's mother, Mary Owens, moved from her reservation to Portland during World War II to work in the shipyards. Peggy Ball's parents did the same. Both women had children and extended family in the Portland area and they became friends. Eileen made star quilts and Peggy began asking her if she could help her make them. Eileen did not agree at once, but eventually, Peggy Ball began an informal apprenticeship with Eileen that lasted ten years. Eileen Jasper shared her knowledge with Peggy Ball and taught her to make star quilts. Anthropologists Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine wrote in 1983 about the importance of the star quilt to Lakota culture.

Since their appearance in early reservation times, star quilts have taken the place of the decorated hide robes which once commemorated honor, respect, and achievement in the lives of those who wore, gave or displayed them. But unlike the hide robes of the past, where designs were varied and linked to specific kinds of honor, star quilts embody a single design motif with multiple meanings. Beginning as a symbol of immortality and associated with mortuary practice, the star quilt has come to represent the preservation of family and community honor. Finally, it has achieved the status of an ethnic banner, upholding all of those meanings and symbols that signify Sioux traditionalism.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. "The Role of Sioux Women in the Production of Ceremonial Objects: The Case of the Star Quilt." *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. Editors Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. University Press of America, 1983, 133. In their 1983 anthology scholars Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine produced a ground-breaking work based on papers presented at a 1977 symposium in Lincoln, Nebraska. The symposium

Although star quilts are a result of contact with European culture, they are culturally important to many intertribal Native communities.<sup>8</sup> Star quilts are often given to babies and children, they are buried with the dead and given away at memorials. Star quilts are used in honor dances at powwows and are significant as a gift and a symbol. Being able to make a star quilt brings respect to the maker of the quilt. Alber and Medicine write, “Importantly, women are drawn to quilting not for wealth, but for the admiration and respect it brings.”<sup>9</sup> Peggy Ball was interested in the cultural importance of the star quilt, but she was also an artist. It is something more than artistic and cultural expression. A star quilt is a material expression of survivance. It was important too, the making of the quilts. Eileen Jasper was a well-known figure in the Native community in Portland, despite her married name, Jasper, she was known as an Owens. Her family was respected, her mother, Mary Owens was one of the respected elders in the community. Peggy Ball’s family, her brothers and sisters were active in the Native community, but being from a terminated tribe, which had not been restored at the time, working with Eileen Jasper gave Peggy Ball

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intended to challenge the stereotypes and existing scholarship on Plains Indian women. The intentions of the editors are clearly stated in the title of Albers introduction, “New Perspectives on Plains Indian Women.” Albers argues that the side of Native Americans, and Plains Indians in particular that is well-documented is masculine, the warrior and the hunter are well-known tropes in scholarship and popular culture. When Native women are portrayed it is as a backdrop, an after thought or as the potential or actual lover of a white or Indian man. Albers explains, “Except for the now mythologized figure of Sacajawea, women are conspicuous in their absence in the historical literature on the Native Plains. In the ethnographic writings of anthropologists, Plains Indians women are also generally ignored.” Albers and Medicine are attempting to include Native women in historical narratives and provide a counter-narrative to biased work by anthropologists and historians.

<sup>8</sup> *To Honor and Comfort: Native Quilting Traditions*. Edited by Marsha L. MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst. Museum of New Mexico in association with Michigan State University Museum. 1997, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Albers and Medicine, 135.

cultural capital. Beth Piatote uses anthropologist Bill Brunton's study of stick game among Plateau Indians, which he argues allows a person to "satisfy a need to behave in a culturally salient manner" to describe the performance of *being* Indian. "Playing stick game is a matter of performance, a performance that produces indigenous subjectivity within established cultural frameworks."<sup>10</sup> Piatote is discussing the complexities of identity and performance of Indianness in a novel during the assimilation era. I see this Red Power era as an opportunity for many to reclaim knowledge and invest time in cultural activities we might now think of as decolonizing practices.

I want to add another Native feminist theory as conceived by Kanaka Maoli scholar Maile Arvin, who suggests regeneration as an response to being "possessed by whiteness." Peggy Ball was a terminated Indian, a ghost without federal recognition and the apprenticeship with Eileen Jasper allowed not only Jasper to recognize Peggy Ball as Native, and the wider community, but also encouraged self-recognition, an antidote to trauma and depression from settler colonial violence.

Regeneration attempts to recognize complex personhood in the actions of those who are colonially possessed. Regeneration can involve actions we might classify as exorcism, repossession, or reproduction...regeneration reminds us that even as colonized peoples are possessed by power/knowledge, they are never completely erased, but also sometimes haunt and unsettle the very institutions that have turned them into ghosts. Certainly the regenerative power of the colonized is not commensurable with or equivalent to the colonial powers that possess them. Thus, regeneration should be understood not as the straightforward opposite of Western knowledge production or the specific logic of possession through whiteness. Rather, we can

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<sup>10</sup> Piatote 117.

follow the model of Colin Dayan's understanding of the "alternative understanding[s] of law" resorted to by "persons judged outside the law's protection": "Degraded and socially excluded, they interpret legal precepts and proscriptions for themselves and reconceive the rules: not the opposite of law but its haunting." Regeneration in its own way is not power/knowledge's opposite but its haunting.<sup>11</sup>

Regeneration is a response but also a recognition of complexity, of incomplete losses and hauntings. Anishinaabe writer and activist Leanne Simpson describes regeneration to describe as a "process of bringing forth more life— getting the seed and planting and nurturing it. It can be a physical seed, it can be a child, or it can be an idea. But if you're not continually engaged in that process then it doesn't happen."<sup>12</sup>

Peggy Ball became a quilter by making star quilts and until she adapted the design she did not make other patterns. She invested all her time and much money in making quilts, when she could buy the best fabric, she did. She did not sell her quilts but donated her star quilts to auctions to benefit the Native community, she gave her quilts to family and friends. She made quilts when requested for ceremonial purposes. Although Eileen Jasper taught Peggy Ball to make quilts, when Peggy began to make her own quilts and choose her own fabrics, Eileen did not always approve. Peggy Ball said when she picked patterns Eileen did not like she would say, "That's not Indian." Peggy also said she would catch Eileen watching her

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<sup>11</sup> Maile Arvin. dissertation "Pacificaly Possessed: Scientific Production and Native Hawaiian Critique of the "Almost White" Polynesian Race" 54,55.

<sup>12</sup> Naomi Klein. "Dancing the World into Being: A Conversation with Idle No More's Leanne Simpson," Article, *YES! Magazine*, accessed March 25, 2013, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/dancing-the-world-into-being-a-conversation-with-idle-no-more-leanne-simpson>.



sometimes, and she would wonder if she was thinking whether she should be teaching Peggy to make quilts. Sharing this knowledge was probably a decision Eileen Jasper took seriously, Peggy Ball asked her to teach her several times before Eileen decided to let her help with a quilt.<sup>13</sup>

The quilts Peggy Ball made and shared with her family and community helped to regenerate Native presence and practices. When Peggy Ball's nephew was released from prison, twelve star quilts were made to give away at the ceremony celebrating a new beginning and welcoming Peggy Ball's nephew back into the community. Albers and Medicine write specifically about Plains women, but their argument applies to the women within the Native community in Portland as well.

They write,

Sioux women continue to make important contributions through their quilt work. Quilts with a star motif, although introduced to the Sioux through Anglo-American influences, have come to be associated with traditional meanings and functions. Today, these quilts are ubiquitous in their ceremonial use, and they play a prominent role in the preservation of Sioux tradition.<sup>14</sup>

The giving of star quilts and their presence at ceremonies and events is one way the quilts are visible. Star quilts are made in homes and live mostly in homes, although they may travel to powwows and other places where they are displayed. Still, the symbolic power of the star quilt pattern is recognized and does the complicated work

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<sup>13</sup> Peggy Ball said she did agree once to teach some women she did not know well and who were not Native how to make star quilts. She soon realized it did not feel right, that they wanted to learn to make a pretty quilt and she ended the lessons. Peggy Ball gave a lecture at Oregon State University in May 2012 about making star quilts and the details of her apprenticeship are drawn from that conversation.

<sup>14</sup> Albers and Medicine, 137.

of asserting ongoing presence of Native communities and women while being a response and product of assimilation era policies.

In Spring 2012 Peggy Ball was invited to speak at the Native American Longhouse at the Oregon State University. She spoke of her apprenticeship and her methods. She began adapting the star quilts and making quilts with stars that were symbolic of personal events and people. Peggy Ball presented the students with a black and orange traditional star quilt, (the colors of Oregon State) she made for the occasion. She gave her older sister, Evelyn Bolme, one of her quilts made in the new style. In this way she performed Native presence on Native land, and included the honoring of family and students at the university who use the Longhouse as their home away from home. Her quilts were displayed on the walls of the longhouse. The talk was open to the public and attended by students, staff and faculty as well as members of the artist's family. The talk was an opportunity for Peggy Ball to be recognized and in turn recognize all she contributed to her communities for many years. This recognition was meaningful because shortly after this talk, Peggy Ball's health declined and making quilts was no longer possible due to numbness in her hands and fingers. Her work making star quilts spanned nearly thirty years and her quilts swaddled babies, honored graduates and professors, and went with those who passed from this world to the next. In teaching Natalie Ball to make quilts, she recognized that Natalie Ball was proud of being Modoc and Klamath and interested in family history and cultural practices. Peggy Ball's intergenerational

communication was an act of Native feminist recognition and practicing regeneration. Natalie Ball's quilts are something different, they are not quilts for comfort, they are meant for a larger critical audience and are complex sites of recognition, storytelling, haunting and violence.

### *Circa Indian*



Figure 4.1: Natalie Ball. *Circa Indian*. 2009. Mixed media. Grunt Gallery, Vancouver, B.C.

In Natalie Ball's 2009 art installation at The Grunt Gallery in British Columbia, *Circa Indian* (see Figure 4.1 above), star quilts are propped against the walls, unfinished and painted. From the artist notes:

A chronological installation that carries collective tribal history and individual experiences from the 1800's to current, using textiles, painting, and dolls. The thematic focus are the women participants of the Modoc Ghost Dance ceremonies of the 1860's whom are depicted at important stages of the ceremony; gathering, dance, singing, and rest. 100 years since the dances, quilting was introduced to my family as a Sioux-Modoc intertribal exchange... 150 years later, the dancers

have visually re-emerged to continue my genealogy... The figurative sculpture embodies story to transition between each painting in support of the installation thesis of locating and dissolving the boundaries of Indian art, history, and identity.<sup>15</sup>

Natalie Ball's *Circa Indian* focuses on women, from her tribe and family, her ancestors who participated in a dance that was a promise of freedom from the violence of settler colonialism and restoration of land. The ghost dance has been called a revitalization movement based on a vision by a Paiute prophet, Wovoka.<sup>16</sup> If the people gathered together, danced for four days, bathed and ate on the fifth and repeated this every six weeks, there would be justice. The settlers would be buried in the earth and all they destroyed would be restored. However, people gathered, and ate and danced in ceremonies long before the Ghost Dance. In *Circa Indian*, it is women who gather and carry the ghost dance forward. Ball writes that dancers "visually re-emerge to continue my genealogy."<sup>17</sup> Natalie Ball is haunted by the dancers, she is descended from the dancers and brings them forward in order to recognize them and remember and renew their purpose.

Ball's star quilt pieces are tops that are unfinished, the backs are not on the quilts. Instead of four frames holding the quilt there are only two. The back of the top of the quilts are displayed, the rough edges that are never exposed and always hidden from view except to the person sewing the top together. The quilts are painted

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<sup>15</sup> Natalie Ball's website: <http://nataliemball.com/section/33295.html> (last accessed 5/17/2015).

<sup>16</sup> James Mooney, The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, *14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2* (1896).

<sup>17</sup> Natalie Ball's website: <http://nataliemball.com/section/33295.html> (last accessed 5/17/2015).

on and sewn, there are items attached to the frames, the frames rest on photographs and books and each frame has different pieces around it. The displayed quilts are unfinished. Attached to frames made of sticks wrapped in fabric, they would be set up on chairs so women could sew the tops to the backs, sew the borders and finish the quilts so they can be given away or used for ceremonies. The quilts in *Circa Indian* are arrested, they are backwards, unfinished and distinctly Native feminist. In choosing to reveal the underside of the unfinished quilt, the artist is commenting on history as unfinished. The quilt is in progress, it is on the frame, however, the story is unfinished.



Figure 4.2: “Incident at Fort Klamath.” *Circa Indian*, 2009. Grunt Gallery, Vancouver B.C.

In “Incident at Fort Klamath” the title is embroidered into the quilt (see Figure 4.2 above). The quilt could be work that was interrupted. The quilts may be what ceremonial star quilts look like when they are made during wartime. “Incident at Fort Klamath” is a quilt that is also a winter count, the record Lakota kept on buffalo hides to mark the significant events of the year and to help them remember their oral histories. On the far panel there seems to be a ghost dancer with a tall hat looking out from the quilt. Below the dancer there is the representation of the incident, the hanging of Captain Jack, Black Jim, Boston Charley and John Schonchin on October 3, 1873. The hanging is a part of her body, beginning below her hips, the men hang like a skirt she is wearing. The center of the star is ghostly white, there is an emptiness where there should be wholeness. Diamonds radiating out from the center are in black and white patterns that look like the star is torn, the patterns are unmatched and discordant. The tips of the star points are dark red. A skull rests outside the star, sideways, next to a headless body. After the Modoc men were hanged for their “war crimes” and the bodies were taken from the scaffold, the men’s heads were removed and exhibited until they were finally stored at the Smithsonian Museum. This horror story is family history, the Ball family is related to Captain Jack through his sister, Fanny Ball.



Figure 4.3: "Dancers Ka-ko-ls." *Circa Indian*, 2009. Grunt Gallery, Vancouver B.C.



Figure 4.4: Detail "Dancers Ka-ko-ls." *Circa Indian*, 2009. Grunt Gallery, Vancouver B.C.

In another quilt piece, "Dancers Ka-ko-ls," the star is whole, there is pink in the quilt and drawings, most prominently a group of dancers, with tall hats, stand together to the side (see Figures 4.3, 4.4, above). They are ghostly ghost dancers.

Their breasts sit white on their chests, their faces are blank. Two hold a child by the arms. Words accompany the dancers, kakols, which means bones and is part of the song they sing as they dance.<sup>18</sup> In the detail you can see their clothes are stitched onto the bodies, patched and repaired, giving them the look of wounded and repaired. The ghosts have been and still are at war (see Figure 4.3 above). They are dancing for justice, for change, someone's bones will be in the earth, they seem to say, and this time those bones will not be ours. They are a reminder that the ghost dance is not finished but that the project of decolonizing is ongoing, and the dancers dance for regeneration, to grow and return. They are still with us, and will be with us.

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<sup>18</sup> Natalie Ball explains this is from a Modoc ghost dance song women sing when your bones are not dead yet, you are still alive. It is a song of resistance: Muqlux umm kakols lie lie.





Figure 4.5: Detail *Circa Indian*. Natalie Ball. Grunt Gallery, Vancouver BC. 2009.

This tracing of tribal history and family continues with a gallery of family portraits that are displayed around the bottom of one of the quilt frames. There is a picture of Fanny Ball, standing with some Klamath friends outside a tent. There is a picture beneath it, Natalie Ball's grandmother Lillian Dunham Ball with her children, including Peggy Ball and Natalie's father (see Figure 4.5 above). The frame rests on a photo of the artist herself, with her cousins. In this way she brings the end of the Modoc War, the end of the history of the Modoc according to books about the war, into the present through the descendants of Fanny Ball. Ball's installation resists the

history books that do not write Modoc women into history except as saviors of white men. The women you do not see, the ghost dancers, the mothers of our grandmothers brought us into this unfinished future. *Circa Indian* is proof of presence, then, now and in the future, as the ghost dancer looks out from the unfinished star quilt to see who is there. Someone is there. The ghost dancers still looks into the future from the surface of the quilt.

To see the past as unfinished and the future as unknown is acknowledging the complexities of Native survival, but placing these questions within quilts also places them within Native families. Decolonization is nothing less than the success of the ghost dancers, the winning of the Modoc War, the winning of many Indian Wars, past and present and a future where we exist, here, on our land. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang write, "Decolonization is not an 'and.' It is an elsewhere."<sup>19</sup> That decolonized elsewhere does not try to maintain a future for settler colonialism, and in the art installation *Circa Indian*, there elsewhere is here as the past is brought into the present through these quilts as portals. The ghost emerges as artist and creator of futurity, a visionary who responds to the concern for justice manifested by haunting. In the installation, it is beneath the figure of the watching ghost dancer that the pictures of family are placed. The wooden frame is balanced upon the picture of the contemporary family members who are now alive and while the older pictures look out, staring back at the audience, the entire frame rests upon those alive now.

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<sup>19</sup>Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* Vol.1, No.1, 2012. 1-40. 36.

Quilts are canvases again in Natalie Ball's 2015 art installation "Mapping Coyote Black" at the Nerman Museum of Contemporary Art in Overland Park, Kansas. Again Ball goes back to the Modoc War and travels to North Portland in the 1980's.<sup>20</sup> Although Natalie Ball is a member of The Klamath Tribes, she works for the tribe and lives in Chiloquin, Oregon, she was raised in North Portland and her mother is Black. Within her family, and in some Native spaces like the Delta Park Powwow, only her Indianness was welcomed and her Blackness was unacknowledged or erased. In this installation, Ball places herself at the complex intersection of Indianness and Blackness, and she employs a female crossdressing Coyote as an avatar. Coyote is depicted in the mythology of many indigenous peoples in the Americas; a complex, anthropomorphic character, Coyote is at times intelligent and powerful, yet there are stories where Coyote appears to play the jovial fool. Coyote is a game changer. In *Mapping Coyote Black*, Coyote cannot be contained by any single assigned gender or any other role, therefore Coyote takes on several roles: as an avatar for the artist, a location on the map, and a storyteller. Coyote is part of the strategic remapping of history and ethnicity, marking places and commenting upon it with her queer and defiant presence. Coyote warns viewers to be wary of previous assumptions and prepares them for transformation. Coyote signals the multiplicity of complex meanings within Ball's artistic narrative.

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<sup>20</sup> North Portland is a formerly historic black neighborhood in Oregon's largest city, discussed in more detail in Chapter two.



Figure 4.6: Natalie Ball. *June 12 & 13 1972*. 2015

Hupa/Yurok/Karuk scholar Cutcha Risling Baldy argues for resisting a western paradigm that strips Coyote of his/her Indigeneity and remakes Coyote into a universal trickster. Baldy argues Coyote First Person “actively participates in building a decolonizing praxis for Indigenous communities by challenging settler colonialism” and “embodies this futurity for Indigenous peoples.”<sup>21</sup> In Ball’s work, Coyote is signifying - while I would argue that this is not the “colonial parallelism” Baldy describes,

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<sup>21</sup> Baldy, Cutcha Risling. “Coyote is not a metaphor: On decolonizing, (re)claiming and (re)naming Coyote.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2015. 1-20.5.

Indigenous peoples are consistently asked to draw parallels between their culture and western ideas about the world in order to legitimize and utilize this knowledge within a western paradigm.<sup>22</sup>

I would argue that Ball comes by this version of Coyote honestly. In Ball's piece, Coyote is cross-dressing and code-switching. She is signifying, an African-American practice that is known for wordplay but it is a visual signification, not a sound.<sup>23</sup> In an art installation where Ball is asserting her presence as a Black woman, Coyote, who is known to be Native, is present. However, Coyote is dressed as military, not in beads but in blue. Wait, the chevrons on Coyote's uniform are quills. Coyote is not dressed in the clothes, her head is simply posed atop the clothes, her body behind the uniform as if she is holding it up in front of her. (See figure 4.6 above) The uniform looks like military blues at first glance but the quills and the floral back of the uniform calls the whole thing into question. Natalie Ball as a powwow princess, in North Portland on land that was once Vanport, Oregon, where her grandparents lived, is only recognizable as Native. But she is not what she seems and she asks you to look closer.

Baldy further argues that Coyote is too general a name, and asks,

Each of us, as we engage with Coyote First Person as a philosopher of decolonization discourse, should consider how the naming (and (re)naming) of Coyote First Person speaks to the ideologies and understanding of Coyote First Person and his/her many iterations. The choice of naming, either as Coyote, Coyote First Person or through the use of the given Indigenous language name, ultimately speaks to our theoretical standpoint. As we engage in our own relationships

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Henry Louis Gates, Jr. *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1988).

with the complex Indigenous epistemologies contained in the oral tradition, it is important to demonstrate how the naming of Coyote First Person frames the work being done in (re)building and (re)vitalizing Indigenous ways of knowing. Reclaiming Coyote's Indigenous name can be a powerful decolonizing methodology that teaches the next generation of Indigenous peoples that the fundamental building blocks of their cultural beliefs and how the names of their "First Peoples" are just as important as the English translation of those names.<sup>24</sup>

It is an important distinction, the difference between a general, Westernized Coyote who is a trickster, to be placed wherever for whomever. Coyote First Person is Indigenous once and always. However, if the person invoking Coyote, or visited by Coyote is Native, then Coyote is home, and can be called by name. For those who know Coyote's name in Klamath, it is written phonetically on a panel on the quilt. The quilt, despite Coyote's scene stealing presence, is a cheat sheet, and leaves not a doubt Coyote, in this invocation, is Klamath.

Natalie Ball's work is at the cutting edge of Indigenous art as she imagines what is possible within the intersections of black and Native representation. Her work disrupts embedded ideologies that insist race matters only when it is a matter of black and white, through discourses that assumes Natives are gone and the Indian Wars are over. Using paint, quilts, textiles, pelts, rocks, images, and antique newspapers, Ball stretches and overlaps events determined by colonization. Slavery provided the labor to create wealth and removing the Natives provided the land. Her work addresses what it means to be Indigenous and Black in an occupied country. The old newspapers that partially cover the walls document the grisly events of the

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<sup>24</sup> Baldy 12.

Modoc War. For descendants haunted by the violence of slavery and settler colonialism, the newspapers provide protection. Hoodoo lore (folk magic associated with both Black and Native traditions) recommends putting newspaper up on the walls as protection against evil spirits, which the spirits must read every word before they can enter. In this installation the inevitable presence of ghosts, ancestors and spirits is acknowledged.

*Mapping Coyote Black* engages theories that challenge mainstream ideas of indigeneity, race and ethnicity; Native lives and Black lives are often lived within racial intersections that remain hidden or unacknowledged for various reasons, these reasons may need to be shared, others may be nobody's business. Ball uses her personal and family history to create a new autoethnographic narrative, a narrative mapping of untold histories that lends itself to new possible futures. Natalie Ball invents the future through the past, imagining a visual genealogy to disrupt the mainstream definition of Indian, a definition too limited for the complexity of Native lives. Native feminist scholar Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Seneca) writes, "Maps, in their most traditional sense as a representation of authority, have incredible power and have been essential to colonial and imperial projects."<sup>25</sup> She argues Native women are doing the decolonial work of remapping our lives and histories through creating our own stories that reflect the complexity of our experiences. This remapping is necessary to imagine futures where Natives are alive

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<sup>25</sup> Mishuana Goeman. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping our Nations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 16.

and thriving, not forgotten and neglected remnants of settler conquest. Natalie Ball imagines a future that draws on personal experience and family history but is somewhere that has always already existed, before and beyond conquest. It is this imagining that involves the Native feminist perspective, that sees what is not necessarily there but maps possibilities.

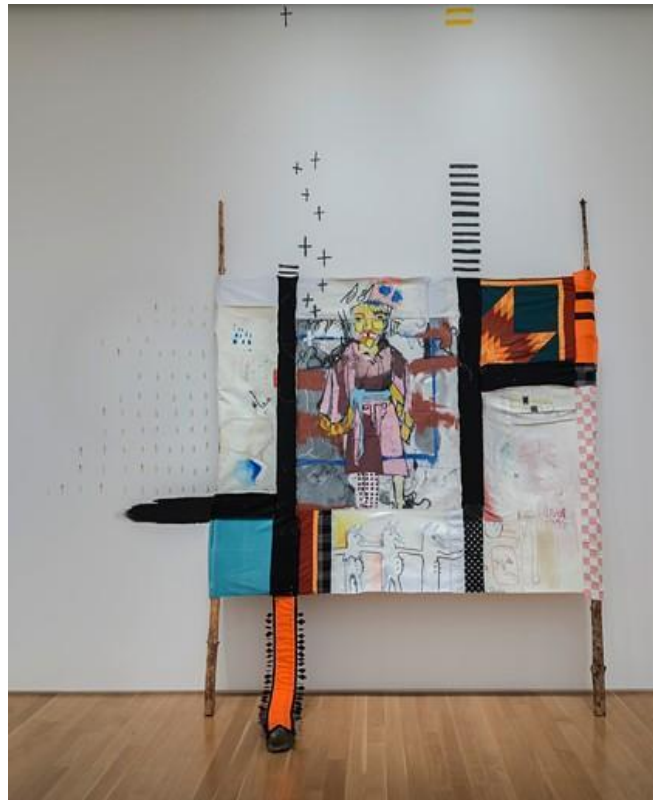


Figure 4.7: Natalie Ball. *June 12 & 13 1987*. 2015

This is represented in two parts of the installation that share the same date 115 years apart. In the first piece, *June 12 & 13 1987*, a section of an unfinished quilt is propped against the wall fastened to two pine lodge poles (see Figure 4.7 above). In the center of the quilt a painting of a young girl stares facing front, she is dressed in pink regalia and wears a pow-wow crown. Below her on another panel



pregnant coyotes round dance, mothers with teats that echo the ghostly figures sketched out behind the girl, not coyotes but human figures without detail. All the figures seem to be attending the same powwow but not necessarily at the same time and place. A black band on the quilt is not contained but extends into a streak of black paint on the left side of the wall. Elk teeth bleached and unbleached play with time and seem to fall from the quilt in patterns on the wall, as if the quilt is in motion, spinning in a clockwise motion around the walls of the gallery. From the top of the quilt crosses that begin on the fabric near the figures and the girl float upward onto the wall, they might be markers for graves, they are certainly marking a place on a map, a location that is changing. Anchoring the piece in the top right corner is a section of a traditional Lakota star quilt top, a part of the pow wow scenery, as if the piece had started out as this legible pattern, recognizable and became this collage of stories through time, beyond the framework and pattern but still within a cultural narrative. This piece maps a significant date to the artist, the dates of the annual Delta Park Powwow, held yearly in Portland, Oregon on the site of what was once Vanport, Oregon.<sup>26</sup>

The painting is represented in fragments of memory that map places, creating a sense of identity for the figure.. The figures behind her are ancestors, they watch over her, Black and Native. Some ancestors are known to her and some unknown, she is drawing from ancestors whose names are not hers to know, yet she is a young

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<sup>26</sup> Vanport, Oregon was the largest public housing project in the U.S., the city of Vanport housed a large multiracial population through and after WWII until it was destroyed by the Vanport Flood on May 30th, 1948. Peggy Ball and her mother and two siblings escaped the flood through rising water.

representative of a large urban inter-tribal Native community, crowned a princess. The young girl confronts the viewer, she is Native and Black but wearing a powwow crown, her Blackness is not recognized. There is only room at the powwow for the recognition of Native presence, and Natalie Ball demands recognition now, and will not deny any part of her history.

Still, in this installation she is holding both spaces, mapping a new terrain on the well-known symbol of a star quilt. In "A Glossary of Haunting" Eve Tuck and C. Ree write, "Settler colonialism is the management of those who have been made killable, once and future ghosts - those that have been destroyed, but also those that are generated in every generation."<sup>27</sup> Settler colonialism in the U.S. is a system dependent upon occupying the land of Native peoples, therefore genocidal, and the labor necessary to use the land led to the dehumanizing of Black people into slaves which are not people with rights and citizenship but property. This history of anti-blackness and this figure of the artist as a young girl stands before and in a sense, *with* her ancestors, a future ghost, descendent of two groups whose histories haunt the United States. Tuck and Ree argue, "The United States is permanently haunted by the slavery, genocide, and violence entwined in its first, present and future days."<sup>28</sup> This haunting is permanent and the girl is haunted and haunts the viewer, and the artist who remembers and recognizes her.

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<sup>27</sup> Tuck, Eve, and C. Ree. "A Glossary of Haunting." *Handbook of Autoethnography*. Left Coast, 2013. 639-658. Print. 642.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*



Figure 4.8: Natalie Ball. *June 12 & 13 1972*. 2015

*June 12 & 13 1872* is a similar piece with an almost identical name, an unfinished quilt top, painted and propped against a wall. The second quilt looks a little like the first, but there is no central young woman, there is a figure that faces front, confronting the viewer but it is not on the quilt. This figure is Coyote, wearing an army jacket that carries a bone breast plate (see Figure 4.8 above). This references Captain Jack, the ancestor of the artist, but it is Coyote who wears the jacket. Coyote's presence here twists the authority associated with the military jacket, it is not the army, it is not a genocidal presence but a queered assertion of power, the back of the jacket, which is visible within the gallery but not in the

picture, is a floral fabric. The date is coded, the Modoc War began in November 1872, but there was a lengthy build up of tensions and violence. Instead of a carefree summer this prelude to war meant gearing up for battle.

There is a large diamond on the quilt that is in the pattern of a black and white chequered flag, the flag that waves when a car crosses the finish line in a race. There is a family portrait that is sideways, it does not face the viewer, the viewer sees it slant, and surrounding the portrait are the blue blooms, the blue roses that decorate the beaded crown of the girl in the previous piece. The flowers that decorate the girl's crown in the previous panel celebrate her indigeneity and that is something she inherited, that was paid for through a history of violence. The pink dress is represented by a pink stripe that begins on the wall. The stripe moves through the fabric and ends on the floor, blue roses from her powwow crown decorate the stripe. The girl in the future is present in the past. She is with her ancestors, she is already on the map, she has not been born but she will be, there is a promise of a future.

Addressing themes of family, ancestors, and identity, there is something more than what is seen and felt by the audience, there is something represented that is difficult and perhaps impossible to explain. Violence is an inevitable part of the story of conquest, and this story involves the story of the Modoc War, where a small band of Modocs made big news by surviving longer against the full force of the U.S. army than anyone thought possible. At the end of the war the leaders were hanged,

all the Modoc people, men, women and children were jailed and forcibly removed from Oregon to Oklahoma. Despite this violence, descendants of the war survived. Recognizing our complexity is essential to our survival. Establishing visual sovereignty through creating our own representations is important because settler representations of Native women have served the interests of disappearing the Indian in gendered, sexualized modes. Indeed the settler project of visual genocide has always appropriated the Native woman as a lush territory to carry out its mission. Early representations of Native women are used to justify genocide and stealing land when the Native women are portrayed as less than human. The mythology of Pocahontas, the Indian Princess who falls in love with a white man and then mothers the settler nation, works to establish settler innocence by representing Native women as allying themselves with settler desires and not their own. From the European explorer representing civilization in the 1575 drawing Vespucci discovering America, to representations of young Hawaiian girls welcoming tourists to their islands, to the recent U.S. dollar coin featuring Sacagawea, these images and media representations are used to justify settler colonial desires and diminish Native claims to sovereignty, land and life.

*Mapping Coyote Black* addresses Indigeneity and race, but the audience may not understand the signs, the history and context, which means the artist speaks through her art to a specific audience. Anyone can appreciate lines and color, the symbols and the ideas within the installation. However, a Native feminist reading

will see beyond those things. There is the reading of a text that presumes the logics of settler colonialism, accepts the sexualized, savage or diseased Native woman for what it shows, the indigenous as not enduring, as vanishing, unable to cope with modernity. The Native feminist reading recognizes the effectiveness of representing the pathologized Native woman and is critical of settler colonial claims and attempts to weaken or erase indigenous sovereignty. There is another methodology within this methodology of reading, which is recognition. That is, recognition is a Native feminist reading practice that sees the blood seeping through the paper – the Native woman who seeps through Pocahontas’ cartoon image, the Native woman who is laughing at the coin that took her name Sacajawea. The Native feminist reading methodology is possible because of recognition, which we mostly understand as a political situation we are always, as indigenous people, reckoning with. Visual sovereignty is also a practice of this recognition - Recognizing one another is form of love, but what is being recognized? What is in those spaces? We are Native and we have love for ourselves that is beyond land and sovereignty, there is something to recognize beyond representations, the enduringness of what we are. The girl in *June 12 & 13 1987* is an Indian Princess, she is Pocahontas and Tiger Lily and all the colors of the wind except the one nobody wants to acknowledge; she is black. But the artist sees her blackness, she recognizes her and creates a map for her, as an adult, as an artist, for herself to follow, and for others to read. That map leads the artist back to that moment and acknowledges now what could not be recognized

then. The representation the artist creates of her experience, of her history, of her hauntings; are spaces that can be mapped and recognized. The pleasure in seeing what has not been beautiful, what has been destroyed, what is impossible, that pleasure in recognition is a form of desire and a regenerating practice, perhaps, of love.

## CONCLUSION

### Reading Methodologies, Dreaming Futures

#### 10. Reading

This involves the critical re-reading and understanding of western histories and the place of indigenous stories within them. Re-reading these western accounts of indigenous history allows us to finding new meaning and understanding about colonisation and how that has impacted on indigenous people. Some use these histories as a means of drawing evidence for claims of injustice done to indigenous people, and as a means of tracking these injustices.

(Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Twenty-five Indigenous Projects," 1999)

You owe it to yourself to create your own methodologies.

(K. Wayne Yang, 2012)

Throughout the chapters I used examples of Native feminist methodologies, including Audra Simpson's ethnographic refusal and Eve Tuck's desire-based research, Michelle Raheja's visual sovereignty and Leeanne Simpson and Maile Arvin's regeneration as a response to being possessed by whiteness. Throughout I use haunting as a methodology adapted from sociologist Avery Gordon's work and drawing upon Tuck and C. Ree's theorizing.<sup>1</sup> What is gained from Native feminist methodologies is the work of trusting our knowledge, and bringing that knowledge through primarily Western institutions to one another as a form of recognition. My dissertation is an intervention and participation in that ongoing decolonizing project.

In Chapter One I use Dian Million's felt theory as a way of defining Native

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<sup>1</sup> "A Glossary of Haunting."



feminist reading practice as something felt, as deep recognition that goes beyond the literal. Then, the bulk of the chapter engages the histories of two Modoc women from the Modoc War era (1872-73), one hyperrepresented in settler history, Toby Riddle, who was sometimes called the "Pocahontas of the lava beds," and one disappeared by it, Fanny Ball, who is also my ancestor. Through a Native feminist reading, I read against the narration of Toby Riddle into the Pocahontas pantheon of Indian women shepherding in the settler nation; conversely, I resist the disappearance of Fanny Ball, despite the silence around her life. The chapter acknowledges refusals and unknowns as part of knowledge and integral to the practice of survivance. Refusals and unknowns are not sympathetic to the colonial methodologies and intentions of Western academic research practices, they are productive, but not philanthropic. Giving transhemispheric voice to the project is the framing through the *Autobiography of Delfina Cuero*. This framing underscores the complexities and politics of storytelling and knowing. The chapter concludes with aspects of Native feminist reading practice to be methodologically expanded in the upcoming chapters.

The second chapter explores how Native feminist hauntings and desire defy dislocations, focusing on the paintings of Modoc-Klamath artist Peggy Ball and family photographs. There is a bit of time travel through different displacements: Indian removal, ghetto colonialism in the time after the Indian Wars and before tribal termination, ghetto colonialism in the time after termination. Family photographs

are proof of presence that speak from the past to the future. These photographs fill the past with people and events that would otherwise disappear according to the whitestream mythology of the authentic Indian, who wears regalia, lives in a tipi and is always ready for a very solemn sepia toned photoshoot. In a Native feminist reading, these photographs celebrate relationships, new clothes, a good hunt and a favorite dog. They tell stories and inspire imagination. They haunt the present with demands on the future. Avery Gordon, Eve Tuck and C. Ree's analysis of haunting Hauntings make demands; from the past to the present, based on desire for recognition, justice, or something that may be unknowable. Finally, the chapter analyzes dislocations and hauntings through paintings that are rememories, creating place through memory. These paintings remap gentrified dislocations and reimagine desire, telling stories that focus on the relationship of the present to the past and the past to the future. The paintings resolve hauntings through interventions that speak to the future.

Chapter three engages dispossession through the mid-twentieth century federal Indian policies of termination and relocation. This chapter wearily theorizes loss and dispossession. It is guided by these pressing questions: How do we continue to recognize ourselves when we are dispossessed of tribal enrollment and separated from our homelands? How do we assert presence when we are erased? The settler colonial thirst to acquire land and resources mandates the dispossession of Native people, which results legally in anti-Indian policies and culturally in faux-Indian

representations that justify dispossession. Building on the previous chapter, I consider survivances of dislocation from termination, of relocation of Indians to urban areas, and Native feminist desires that haunt disappearances. This chapter engages these topics through analyses of film and video, with the perspective that films about Indians are always already documentaries, and documentaries about Natives are always already weary with our dispossession. However, continuing the argument from the first chapter, documentaries of Native people are also a contradictory blend of colonial fictions and Native refusals. Further, they are proof of Native presence that also reflect the desires of the imaged Indian to project her own image into the future, like the photographs discussed in chapter two. I am writing, weary of the necessary discussion of dispossession, yet still with the Native feminist practice of recognizing everything I love is beyond dispossession.

Finally I look at the gendered cultural practice of making star quilts and how that practice was taught to my mother Peggy Ball by her friend and Lakota Native feminist activist Eileen Jasper, then taught to Natalie Ball, who uses star quilts in her art installations. Part genealogy and participant informer report on the underwritten undertheorized cultural practice of making star quilts, I also explore the intersection of Indigeneity and Blackness in Natalie Ball's "Mapping Coyote Black." Peggy Ball's star quilts became stars on quilts, specific to her family and events she wanted to recognize and remember. Both Natalie and Peggy Ball establish presence where there is perceived absence, and persistence where there is termination and

gentrification. Their intergenerational communication is a conduit for bridging the past and future of their families, for regeneration and Native feminist recognition.

I began with a different, though related project and found myself at the end where I was before I began; thinking about how we know what we know, and how intellectual sovereignty is not out there in an academic department or an unread text but at home, within our families and communities. Ultimately, what I know is Native feminist experiences are worth theorizing. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith presented a manifesto for Indigenous researchers and a map. Her list of “Twenty-five Indigenous Projects” is a place to draw inspiration, make a plan and engage what it means to do research within Indigenous communities. It matters, whose knowledge is shared and for what purpose. The project of decolonizing methodologies is a critique of Western knowledge production, and the serious call to investing in Indigenous projects and creating methodologies based on Indigenous epistemologies is a critical part of what moves the field of Native feminist scholarship and Native studies. Dian Million asked in 2010, ten years after Smith’s book:

How are we or how do we become conscious subjects rather than objects of these discursive strategies that have grievous outcomes in our daily lives? It is, perhaps to be alive to the motion of it. It is to constantly ask, What are the politics of meaning making that we are always a part of?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Dian Million. “Intense Dreaming: Theories, Narratives, and Our Search for Home.” *The American Indian Quarterly*. Vol 35, No 3, Summer 2011. 313-333. 320.

Those questions she poses are at the heart of Native studies pedagogies and theory. “Theoretical narratives mobilize boundaries of what can be thought and acted upon. I hold on, then, to the idea that theories are active, embodied, narrative practices that inform mobile abstractions” and she reminds us, “theory may also colonize.”<sup>3</sup> Indigenous people are political and our experiences may be theorized, which means they will be interpreted, reinterpreted and while they come from our lives, stories and even our tribes, they are not pure, yet they remain Indigenous.

These Indigenous concepts of what happened can never be summarily dismissed...Story has always been practical, strategic, and restorative. Story *is* Indigenous theory. If these knowledges are couched in narratives, then narratives are always more than telling stories...Narratives both make links and are the links that have been made...And last but not least, Indigenous narratives are also most often emotionally empowered. They are informed with the affective content of the colonial experience. The felt experience of colonization is in our narratives, and that has made them almost unrecognizable to a Western scholarship that imagines itself “objective.”<sup>4</sup>

Million calls upon Glen Coulthard’s turn away from recognition from the state to Fanon’s “transformative praxis”<sup>5</sup> and she writes that it is not an accident, what she calls, “The rise of Indigenism.”<sup>6</sup> “It is an alternative, active and mobile set of meanings available in the midst of globalization, diaspora, multiplicity, and “complexity.” ...It is also a language of the heart and cannot be fully expressed in

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<sup>3</sup> 322

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Coulthard, Glen S. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory*, 2007, 437-60. 456.

<sup>6</sup> Million 329.

rationalized languages.”<sup>7</sup> The recognition I practice is not hierarchical, it is not the recognition of the state. It is the recognition one has within families and within common Indigenous experiences. It demands to be seen, and heard and felt. It asks to matter.

The potential of methodologies is limited by the researcher, by the needs of communities and what one scholar or collaboration by scholars produces can be used, adapted and changed by others. Honoring complexity, location, aligned struggles and parallel research means that we do, in the social sciences, in the humanities, in education and other interdisciplinary fields owe it to ourselves to be creative, to dream and draw from our Indigenous knowledge and our experiences and our families. We owe it to ourselves, to those who came before and will come after to find ways of understanding and locating knowledge that acknowledges what we do, what we have done and follow that knowledge into the futures we are always already creating.

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibi d.*

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