

**Decolonizing Sexualized Cultural Images of Native Peoples: “Bringing Sexy Back”
To Native Studies**

by

Christine April Finley

**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(American Culture)
in The University of Michigan
2012**

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Nadine Naber, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Andrea Smith, University of California Riverside, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Scott Kurashige
Associate Professor Sarita See

© **Christine April Finley**

All rights reserved

2012

Dedication

To my two favorite fellas: Neil and Duane Small.

Acknowledgements

There are many people, places, and spirits that helped me through graduate school and the completion of my dissertation. First of all, I would like to thank my committee Andrea Smith, Nadine Naber, Sarita See, and Scott Kurashige for all your support, encouragement, and mentorship. Marlene Moore: thank you for being the best graduate student administrator ever! Your “can do” attitude, generosity, and kindness were all inspiring to me during this process. Jesse Carr: Thanks for being the best copy editor ever! Without your kindness and great work, my dissertation would not be legible to anyone besides the other crazy robots like myself. I also appreciate your encouragement and your own amazing work. I could not have done this without all of you.

Personally, I would like to thank my brother Neil Small for all his love and support. Seriously, without you and your amazing wife Kami, I would have not had the strength to continue this work all these years. I especially appreciate you and Kami for bringing your beautiful son Duane into our lives. This has made the last couple of years very special. Next, I want to give mad props to my dear friend and colleague Angela Morrill. Talking to you several times a week about work and our lives has made me a better person. Your “can do” attitude was much appreciated even though I resisted it. You helped me get through this with all your encouragement, ideas, love, and most importantly: laughter. We are hilarious! And terrible. Sad Animal Club (SAC) forever! Sara Houck and Sara Snyder: my oldest friends! Twenty years of beauty, love and laughter. I thank you for this and treasure it every day. Matt Lechner: Thank you for

letting me stay with you and Sara Houck during my visits to Seattle. You are a great man and friend. Kathi Ganz: My dear friend, mentor, and guide through life and recovery. I love you more than words can express. You are very dear to me. Lee Ann Wang: My dear friend. We have been through a lot as fellow cohort members and have successfully navigated the academic industrial complex together. I love you and am glad to know you. Our conversations throughout the years have kept me going both intellectually, politically, and emotionally. Brian Chung! Few people make me laugh as hard and as long as you do. You are one of my favorite movie buddies and a great DJ! Bamboo faces forever! Lani Teves: We have shared many adventures all over the country together. You are the queen of cool! Stephen Wisniewski: My dear lovely man. I treasure you so much. You never judged me. Only once, when I was giving a very loud and offensive impression in a restaurant, you simply said: "Use your inside voice." Hahahah! I love to make you laugh because you rarely crack a smile. Eric Shih: I have not known you very long, but your kindness, humor and beauty have changed me forever. I am glad I've had the opportunity to get to know you. Jason Contrucci, Zak Mohler, and Bobby Tomatoseed: I love you fellas! I've spent so many wonderful Friday nights with you guys laughing, watching bad movies, and discussing the meaning of love, life, and sex. These Friday nights have saved my life and sanity on many different occasions. I'm so glad I found some fellow deviants to spend time with in the Midwest! Maile Arvin: My dear sweet Starfish! I love you very much. You have helped me grow intellectually and as a person. I find your quiet strength, grace, and intellect inspiring and I'm glad we are on the same side! Mary Lang: You are a tower of strength! I love how you do not let anything get you down and continue to move forward. I have found this inspiring.

Thank you for this. Janet Martin and David Wade: Thank you for hanging out with me! We have had many great dinners together in Portland and look forward to many more! I appreciate your support of my educational endeavors. Kathy Kipp: My other mother! Thank you for all your generous love and support. You gave me a place to live as a teenager and encouraged me to get an education. I feel proud walking this path of recovery with you. Grandma Delores Lawrence: Thank you for showing me the way of strength. Melanie Vaagan and Jo Day: Thank you both for being so sweet and supportive and keeping the home fires burning in Colville. Denise Renea Dahm: You inspired me to keep moving through. I am glad you were always a step ahead of me and showed me it can be done! You are a kind and good friend. I love you very much. Peggy and Dwight Ball-Morrill: I appreciate your love and support of me over the years. You always welcomed me into your family and your home. I will never forget your generosity! Alison Adlaf: you taught me a lot about myself. Your generous heart and understanding of the world have showed me a different way to be in the world. Thank you for walking me through hell and bringing me back to the living again. This project never would have happened with you and your support. Mejdulene Shomali: Thank you for being such a hilarious friend! I am so glad to have a wonderful 4 in my life. You get it done and enjoy yourself! Bravo! CaVar Reid: Your beauty and charm always brightened my day. You remind me to take it easy without ever saying this to me, which I appreciated. Jen Smith: Thank you for showing it can be done and the effort you put forth to live a better and fuller life. You have taught me a lot! Thank you Universe for making *Workaholics*. Without this show, I never would have finished my dissertation! So much joy! My biggest thanks go to my families, both of my choice and origin, for giving me the strength

to keep the medicine wheel turning. I have not done this alone and am proud of this fact.

Ancestors: thank you all for your anger, guidance, and strength to complete this project.

To my dear great Aunt Tootie: I love you very much. You gave me a beautiful music

box and a cross before I came to Michigan, which reminded me of home, the strength of

our nation, and your kind and forgiving heart. I treasure you and strive to be like you.

Table of Contents

Dedications.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	
I Never Wanted to Be an Indian Princess but a Queen: Towards a Sex Positive Native America.....	1
I. Gender and Sexuality in Native Studies.....	7
II. Boundaries And Federal Indian Law: The Importance of Sex Positivity in Matters of Sovereignty and Self-Determination.....	13
III. Heteropatriarchy, Biopower, and Colonial Discourse: Not So Sexy.....	19
IV. Nation-Building: Native Feminist Critiques and Decolonization as Foreplay for Sexy Native Nations.....	26
V. Images of Sexualized Native Peoples: The Visual Excitement of Conquest.....	30
VI. Methodologies.....	40
VII. Chapters.....	45
VIII. Conclusion.....	47
Chapter 2	
Violence, Genocide, and Captivity: Exploring Cultural Representations of Sacajawea as a Universal Mother of Conquest	53
I. Museums As Sites of Preservation, Containment and Dispossession of Native Lands: The American Museum of Natural History and <i>Night at the Museum</i>	68
II. Freeze Frames: Staking the Claim of U.S. Ownership of Native Lands Through Sacajawea Statues.....	88
III. Monique Mojica’s Sacajawea: A Native Mother’s Sovereignty and Self Determination in Memory and Death.....	102
IV. Conclusion.....	107
Chapter 3	
Pocahontas: A Return To Sexual Origins.....	115
I. Introduction.....	115
II. Love, Universalism and Heteropatriarchy: Opening the Land for Conquest in the <i>New World</i>	123
III. Oedipal Desires: Queering Discourses of Incest and Natives/Nature as Mother.....	132
IV. <i>Avatar</i> (2009): Future Visions of Conquest As A Love Story.....	139
V.	
VI. Miscegenation: Not Racial Freedom But a Liberal Alibi for Settler Colonialism.....	149

VII.	Property, Heteropatriarchy, and Settler Colonialism.....	152
VIII.	The Importance of the Pocahontas Myth to the Lives of Black Peoples and African American Studies.....	157
IX.	Conclusion.....	160
Chapter 4		
	<i>Billy Jacked: Native Masculinities and Self-Recognition in Modernity.....</i>	165
I.	<i>End of the Trail</i> and Wounded Knee 1890: The Beginning of the End of Native Men in Modernity.....	179
II.	Heteropatriarchy and Death in <i>Billy Jack</i> (1971).....	186
III.	Native Self-Recognition and Land: Discourses of Life in <i>Sneaky</i>	201
IV.	Transforming Traditions in Modernity: Storytelling and Traditions in <i>Ceremony</i>	205

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Jimmy (Michael Pitt) and Richard (Jack Huston) Scalps Jackson (Richard Easton) the White Collector of Native Cultural Artifacts in <i>Boardwalk Empire</i> (2011).....	2
Figure 1.2: James Earle Fraser’s “End of the Trail” Figurine at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan.....	32
Figure 1.3: Jessica Danforth labeled this photo on Facebook: “We’ve done it again! Elder role modeling making a dental dam from a condom”.....	39
Figure 2.1 Glenna Goodacre’s “Sacagawea” Coin.....	54
Figure 2.2 Even the Balls on Teddy Roosevelt’s Horse at the AMNH Are Huge!.....	72
Figure 2.3 American Museum of Natural History Indian Display.....	73
Figure 2.4 Bottom of Display of Figure 2.3.....	74
Figure 2.5 Male Indian Next To Invisible Woman.....	75
Figure 2.6 Native Women’s Clothing On Male Mannequin.....	76
Figure 2.7 Male Indian Head Set on Top of Stolen Leather Dress Filled with Stuffing...77	
Figure 2.8 Cheap Wig on Indian Head with More Native Clothing without a Body.....	78
Figure 2.9 Sacajawea and Teddy Roosevelt in <i>Night at the Museum</i> (2006).....	81
Figure 2.10 Caveman Disintegrating in the Sun in <i>Night at the Museum</i> (2006).....	87
Figure 2.11 Sacajawea in the Museum Case in <i>Night at the Museum</i> (2006).....	92
Figure 2.12 Sacajawea, Lewis and Clark Diorama in <i>Night at the Museum</i> (2006).....	93
Figure 2.13 Glenna Goodacre’s Sacajawea Statue in Godfrey, Illinois.....	94

Figure 2.14 The New Heritage Sculpture Garden Godfrey, Illinois.....	96
Figure 2.15 Close-Up of Glenna Goodacre’s Sacajawea and Jean Baptiste Statue.....	97
Figure 2.16 Alice Cooper’s Sacajawea Statue in Portland, Oregon.....	98
Figure 2.17 Close Up Picture of Alice Cooper’s Sacajawea Statue Plaque.....	99
Figure 2.18 Alice Cooper’s Sacajawea Statue in Portland, Oregon.....	100
Figure 3.1: John Smith (Colin Farrell) in Terrance Malick’s <i>The New World</i> (2005)....	124
Figure 3.2: Colin Farrell as Captian John Smith in <i>The New World</i> (2005).....	125
Figure 3.3: Pocahontas (Q’orianka Kilcher) and John Smith (Colin Farrell) Making Out in <i>The New World</i>	126
Figure 3.4: Forbidden Love Between Smith and Pocahontas In <i>The New World</i>	129
Figure 3.5: Pocahontas (Q’Orianka Kilcher) Swimming Buck Naked in Mother Earth While Talking about Mother Earth in Terrance Malick’s <i>The New World</i> (2005).....	138
Figure 3.6: Pocahontas (Q’Orianka Kilcher).....	139
Figure 3.7: Jake Sully (Sam Worthington), the New John Smith, Looking at His Avatar in James Cameron’s <i>Avatar</i> (2009).....	142
Figure 3.8: Neyteri (Zoe Saldana) in James Cameron’s <i>Avatar</i> (2009).....	143
Figure 3.9: Jake Sully in His Avatar Body Being Chosen by the Spirits of Pandora.....	144
Figure 4.1 James Earle Fraser’s “End of the Trail” Figurine at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan.....	166
Figure 4.2 The Cowboy Figurine at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan.....	167
Figure 4.3 Picture from the Massacre at Wounded Knee 1890.....	183
Figure 4.4 Tom Laughlin as Billy Jack.....	190
Figure 4.5 Martin getting flour dumped on His Head in Tom Laughlin’s <i>Billy Jack</i>	192

Figure 4.6 Native Woman Getting Flour Dumped on Her to Make Her White and Her Fighting Back Against the White Man in Tom Laughlin's <i>Billy Jack</i>	193
Figure 4.7 Billy Jack Using His Kung Fu Skills to Kick Some Cowboy Butt in Tom Laughlin's <i>Billy Jack</i>	195
Figure 4.8 Martin's Brutal Murder in <i>Billy Jack</i>	197
Figure 4.9 Martin's Bloody Body Being Loaded into the Ambulance in <i>Billy Jack</i>	198

Chapter 1

Introduction: I Never Wanted to Be an Indian Princess but a Queen: Towards a Sex Positive Native America

“Don’t anybody ever tell you that Indians never smile. Don’t anybody ever tell you that Indians never win.”—Simon Ortizⁱ

“Are you afraid of me sexually?”—Susan from *Billy Jack*ⁱⁱ

“I mean, what do people really think we used to do? Wait for the colonizers to come and teach us about sex?!”—Jessica Danforthⁱⁱⁱ

“Just because you can make me come doesn’t make you Jesus.”—Tori Amos^{iv}

“There’s no love like the future love.”—Madonna^v

One of the most thrilling minutes of television history happened for Native peoples in the fall of 2011. It was a small but significant moment of revenge. In *Boardwalk Empire*, a historical drama about prohibition in Atlantic City in the 1920s, Jimmy Darmody (Michael Pitt) and Richard Harrow (Jack Huston) scalp a white man named Jackson Parkhurst (Richard Easton). Earlier in the episode, Jackson strikes Jimmy on the head with his cane during a business meeting with the elite of Atlantic City. During the meeting, Jackson, like Andrew Jackson, brags about his reputation as an Indian killer in an unnamed battle in the nineteenth century. Later in the episode, Jackson is at home in a room surrounded by Indian artifacts he has collected over the years. (In other words, the rich man is an Indian grave robber.) Jackson has a magnifying glass in his hand and closely examines the beadwork on a “Sioux” breechcloth. His Black butler comes into the room and Jackson tells him how rare it is to

find a breechcloth and how revealing of the human body breechcloths are during warfare. The Black butler leaves to get Jackson a cup of cocoa and Jimmy and Richard sneak up behind him. To exact revenge, Jimmy stuffs Mr. Jackson's mouth with part of the breechcloth and holds him down in his wheelchair. Jimmy restrains Jackson's arms with the very cane he used to beat Jimmy over the head. Richard scalps him from his forehead to the back of his skull. The grave robber's screams of pain are silenced by a pair of Indian chaps and he dies amongst his stolen Indian treasures. The audience sees this in graphic, violent and bloody detail. (See Figure 1.1.)



Figure 1.1: Jimmy (Michael Pitt) and Richard (Jack Huston) Scalps Jackson (Richard Easton) the White Collector of Native Cultural Artifacts in *Boardwalk Empire* (2011)

What does this scene of violence have to do with sexualized cultural representations of Native peoples and settler-colonialism? After all, there are no Native peoples in this scene. Nonetheless, looking at this frame through a sexualized lens brings the real perversity of settler colonialism into focus. The scene is a ménage a trois between the three men and framed between exploited Black labor and the genocide of

Native peoples. While there are no Native peoples in the scene, the room where this man dies is filled with Native artifacts, invoking the history of the pillaging of Native America. Not even the graves of Native peoples are safe from settler-colonialism's accumulation of indigenous peoples. In fact, the domination of Native bodies and land (even in death), by settler-colonialism positions Native peoples as passive bottoms to the settler-nation state. The scene of scalping disrupts Natives as passive because scalping recalls a history of violence perpetrated by Native peoples against settlers and the threat Native peoples and nations posed to the settler state.

The scalping of a white man is what every settler on the frontier feared: being, quite literally, savaged. Although scalping has to do with the skinning of the scalp on a person's head, scalping also implies the severing and death of the other head, the penis. Castration and scalping both threaten death against the white heteropatriarch. In scalping, the death is literal while the death caused by castration is a symbolic death of masculinity. The fear of scalping/castration indicated that white masculinity cannot survive without the penis, or after a non-white man has held white manhood in his hands. The savagery and the violence of scalping re-enacts a history of conquest that usually occurs outside the frame of visual culture.

When savages do scalp a white person in film, these representations tend to lack any political or historical context of the practice, thus reinforcing the idea of Native peoples as savages who stand in the way of civilized progress. In John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939), Ford blazes the trail for future westerns. Unfortunately, the history of conquest and the dispossession of Indian lands in the film go unmentioned. In *The Searchers* (1956), another John Ford movie, Ethan Edwards (John Wayne) goes after an

Indian named Scar (Henry Brandon) who has taken Ethan's niece Debbie (Natalie Wood) hostage. The film opens with a brutal murder scene of Debbie's family by Indians on the frontier. The film focuses on the years of Ethan's search for his niece Debbie and his desire to get even with Scar for the killing of his brother's family and the kidnapping of his niece. The actions of the Indians are not explained even though it makes logical sense that Native peoples would fight against the encroachment of settlers on their land. Ethan's desperate search for his niece gives way to disgust when he finds that Debbie has assimilated to Native culture and been adopted into Scar's family. The horror of having a white woman incorporated to a non-white man's realm of power justifies Ethan's actions under the logics of settler-colonialism and heteropatriarchy. Under the logic of heteropatriarchy, Debbie's adoption of Indian culture becomes a threat to Ethan's manhood because, as patriarch, Ethan is responsible for the sexual and racial management of his family.

A queer, indigenous, sex positive reading offers a larger frame to critically analyze settler-colonialism and Native peoples' response to conquest. Often Native peoples are represented as hypersexualized and as desiring white people.^{vi} As Shari Huhndorf has argued, little work in Native studies has been done on visual representations of Native peoples in popular culture even though that is where most of the narratives of Native peoples are distributed. In other words, fictional historical accounts of Native peoples are the dominant mode of representation, yet these have little to do with actual living and breathing Native peoples. Native peoples are always placed in the past and not in the present or future. Most representations of Native peoples involve periods of first contact between settlers and Native peoples; rarely are Native peoples

represented pre-contact or post-conquest. Sacajawea and Pocahontas have gained a mythological status as a result of these types of representations. However, Pocahontas and Sacajawea are presented as caricatures and not as Native women who were loyal to their Native nations. The idea of Native people and Native political issues existing in the present disrupts the primary representations of Native peoples as fictional characters from history. I focus on representations of Native peoples in popular culture because many of these images circulate un-interrogated. The analyses that do exist lament the sadness and tragedy of these representations, but alternative “positive” representations respond to colonial sexual violence portraying Native peoples as asexual to protect them from heteropatriarchy and settler-colonialism. A queer Indigenous reading of popular culture places Native peoples in the present *and* offers sex positivity as an alternative to desexualizing Native communities. After all, as history shows, desexualizing Native peoples has not helped us escape the sexual violence inherent in the heteropatriarchal logic that is the foundation of settler colonialism.

Violence. Death. This is what awaits Native peoples in modernity. Love. Hope. These feelings are also part of the Indigenous experience in Native America. As a queer Native woman who belongs to the Colville Nation, I am passionate about my work on sexualized cultural representations of Indigenous peoples that have been informed by colonial narratives, heteronormativity, and death. By investigating the iconography of popular representations of Native people, my dissertation documents how Native peoples have been historically and culturally sexualized through media like films, coins, statues, and plays. I critique and ultimately challenge how dominant U.S. popular culture sexualizes Native bodies as culturally (and therefore racially) unable to conform to white

hetero-reproductive norms. I argue that the white colonial body politic constitutes Natives as dispensable bodies and populations through the queering of indigeneity, a process that changes across different historical contexts. Native peoples have been “queered” through colonial logics of sexuality by making Natives appear sexually aberrant from white settlers and therefore in need of paternalistic care by heteropatriarchy. This move to queer Native Americans maintains settler colonialism in several important ways: the queering of Natives is a crucial part of how they are constructed as unable to manage their land and resources. Unable to fulfill the role of householder, Native peoples fall under the management of white heteropatriarchy instead. These images support narratives of settler colonialism that erase the violence of conquest. Native peoples have internalized and/or rejected these representations of settler colonialism through writing poetry, becoming alcoholics and drug addicts, performing Native theatre, producing and directing Native films made by and for Native peoples, committing suicide, laying sad on their couch watching hours of television, etc. In other words, Native peoples continue to live with these representations of death and grapple with the ongoing effects of settler-colonialism. Some Native nations have responded to these images by desexualizing Native communities and conforming to heteronormativity, passing anti-gay marriage laws, and enforcing a structured silence around sex, all in an attempt to avoid the violence of settler-colonialism. This response has meant the exclusion of queer Native peoples and has not allowed either Native peoples or Native studies to take sexuality seriously as an analytic of study. As an alternative to heteronormative and desexualized readings of representations of Native peoples in

popular culture, I use sex positivity as a framework and explore queer possibilities for articulating Indigenous nationhood, sovereignty, and self-determination.

Gender and Sexuality in Native Studies

The role of gender in reifying colonial power has become an increasingly important analytic in Native studies in the past few years, with the publication of special issues on Native feminisms in *American Quarterly* (2008) and *Wicazo Sa Review* (2009), and a number of exciting panels at the 2008 Native American and Indigenous Studies Conference in Athens, Georgia.^{vii} While gender is not a main theoretical framework in Native studies, discussions of gender occur more frequently than do those about sexuality. In Native studies, gender is not as taboo as sexuality, especially when it comes to Native sexualities. Yet, discussions of sexualities in Native studies *require* a gendered analysis of colonialism, as well as an admission that Native peoples have sex and express their genders and sexualities in many different ways. In light of this, two new exciting fields of Native scholarship have emerged: Native feminisms and queer Indigenous studies. Scholars in these subfields argue that ignoring the gendered and sexualized nature of settler colonialism further consolidates heteropatriarchy and leaves Native nations vulnerable to biopolitical logics that support genocide. The problem is that many scholars in Native studies remain invested in heteronormativity as a form of anti-colonial resistance. Like queerness itself, queer Indigenous studies is accused of decadence, an accusation that is sometimes delivered under the guise of objecting to the use of theory. I would argue that the study of sexualities and queer theory is not decadent, nor is it too theoretical. Heteropatriarchy must be challenged, because heteropatriarchy is an intricate component of the colonization of Native America. This lack of attention to the study of

sexualities does not allow for a full analysis of settler colonialism and the genocidal logics of biopower. This reaction against the study of sexualities in Native studies should be reconsidered. An important analysis of colonial power for Native studies and Native nations can be found in Michel Foucault's theories of sexuality and biopower. He argues that the modern racial state comes into being by producing "sex" as a quality of bodies and populations. Foucault goes on to note that historically this "gave rise...to comprehensive measures, statistical assessments, and interventions aimed at the entire social body or at groups taken as a whole. Sex was a means of access to both the life of the body and the life of the species."^{viii} The management of sex, then, becomes a way for state power to manage life and death more generally. Native peoples are especially vulnerable to genocidal practices by the settler colonial state because of Native peoples' ownership and control over land and resources that the settler state desires. If the management of death (genocide) is at least partly enacted through sex, then Native studies must invest in the study of sex and sexualities in relation to the settler colonial state. Scholars in Native studies increasingly agree that biopower defines the colonization of Native peoples, making sexuality, gender, and race linchpins for the power of the settler state.^{ix}

Histories of biopower deeply affected Native people's relationship to the body and to sexuality. Being surrounded by discourses of death, annihilation, and conquest, embedded in almost every popular image of Native peoples, negatively affects Native peoples' self-esteem, contributing to numerous personal and collective challenges. Most images of Native peoples produced by popular culture are of Pocahontas or Sacajawea. Typically, these Native women are placed within narratives that would have them

betraying their race and sacrificing themselves and Native lands for their love of white men. Looking at repetitive images of Native bodies ripped apart physically, mentally, spiritually and sexually by settler colonialism reminds Native peoples that the inevitable expectation for them is death. How can Native peoples feel good about their bodies and sexuality when these are the dominant images and historical facts of their lives?

Conquest requires learning a new set of rules for intimacy. Despite these negative images, Native peoples continue to survive and feel sexual desire.

Natives, and lots of other folks, like sex but are terrified to discuss it. For many tribes, this shame around sex started in the boarding schools, and sexual shame has been passed down for generations.^x Native communities have adapted silence around sexuality to survive the imposition of colonialism in the United States. While the silence around sex and sexualities in Native communities is in some respects similar to that found in mainstream U.S. society, this attitude of silence has dire consequences for Native peoples, because of the relationship of sexuality to colonial power. Colonialism constitutes biopolitics, which marks the Native for death because of the biological and political threat they pose to the U.S. nation-state. Biopolitical logics are advanced through sexualization, racialization, and the gendering of colonial and non-colonial subjects. Sexuality is difficult terrain to approach in Native communities, since it brings up many ugly realities and colonial legacies of sexual violence. As Andrea Smith argues, sexual violence is both an ideological and a physical tool of U.S. colonialism.^{xi} Because of this reality, there is a high rate of sexual abuse in Native communities. Non-Native pedophiles target children in Native nations because there is little chance of perpetrators being brought to justice or caught by tribal police, since non-Natives on tribal lands are

not bound to the same laws as Natives. Historically, and arguably in the present, Native women have been targeted for medical sterilizations. In some Native nations, tribal councils have adapted heterosexist marriage acts into their tribal constitutions. All of this proves that the hyper-sexualization and dehumanization of Native peoples negatively affects Native communities. The response to these horrific crimes has often been silence both by the victims and Native communities as a whole. Native nations have also made laws concerning sexual abuse and rape, so conversations regarding inappropriate behavior of sexual expression do occur in Native nations. The problem is that conversations about safe and fun sex rarely happen because conversations about sex usually only focus on what sexual behaviors are wrong and bad. Sexuality cannot be repressed because it is everywhere. Yet the relationship between colonial power and normative discourses of sexualities is not a part of these dialogues. Heterosexism and the structure of the nuclear family need to be thought of as a colonial system of violence.

My goal here is to show how new and exciting work linking Native studies and queer studies can imagine more open, sex-positive, and queer-friendly discussions of sexuality in both Native communities and Native studies. This not only will benefit Native intellectualism but also will change the ways in which Native nationalisms are perceived and constructed by Native peoples, and perhaps by non-Native peoples as well. An emerging field of queer Indigenous studies is already nascent, with the publication of a special issue of *Studies in American Indian Literatures* that discussed GLBTQ2 literatures; a special issue of *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* dedicated to the intersection of Native and queer studies; and the anthology *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Literature, Politics, and Literature* (2011) edited by

Qwo-Li Driskill, Brian Joseph Gilley, Scott Lauria Morgensen, and myself. The anthology includes many exciting interventions in Native and queer studies by authors Andrea Smith, Michelle Erai, Dan Taulapapa McMullin, Clive Aspin, Lisa Tatonetti, June Scudeler, as well as the editors. This new field of study critically analyzes sexualities and gender through the colonial logic of biopower. Queer Indigenous studies offers new alternatives to the heteropatriarchal U.S. nation-state mirrored in the formation of many Native nations. Using sexualities as an analytic allows Native studies scholars to view Native identities, Native nations, the colonization of Native America, Native futurities and Native survival to reveal the violence of settler colonialism that belies the hegemony of heteropatriarchy. Heteropatriarchy and biopower are rarely used as theoretical frameworks in Native studies, but this is rapidly changing. As a result, scholarly analyses of colonialism can more deeply penetrate the biopolitical gendered and sexualized violence directed towards Native peoples. Scott Lauria Morgensen argues in “Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism with Queer Modernities:”

Colonists interpreted diverse practices of gender and sexuality as signs of a general primitivity among Native peoples. Over time, they produced a colonial necropolitics that framed Native peoples as queer populations marked for death. Colonization produced the biopolitics of modern sexuality that I call “settler sexuality”: a white national heteronormativity that regulates Indigenous sexuality and gender by supplanting them with the sexual modernity of settler subjects.^{xii}

Morgensen’s reading of settler colonialism shows how the constellation Native/primitive/queer/dead is opposed to the settler/straight/modern, constituting the racialized and sexualized identities of settler colonialism that rely on a biopolitical framework to justify the genocide of Native peoples. His work also critiques non-Native queer communities for engaging in “settler homonationalism” and argues that queer

communities need to recognize their positionality as settlers. This means politically organizing around this recognition and respecting the sovereignty of Native communities and queer Native communities. Importantly, Morgensen's work does more than critique anti-Native racism and white supremacy. He also shows the ways settler colonialism *relies* on straight and queer representations of settler sexualities to construct settlers as superior to Native peoples as a result of settlers' modern and therefore more "advanced" sexual beliefs and practices. My work, like Morgensen's work, shows how settler colonialism relies on representations of Native sexual primitivism in order to make settler sexualities more logical, modern, and capable of productively governing former Native lands.

Another key component of my dissertation is how Native sexualities are seen as inferior to settler sexualities because Native peoples cannot conform to the heteronormative nuclear family. Mark Rifkin shows how heteronormative kinship (the heteronuclear family) excludes Native peoples by denaturalizing Native place based kinship. Rifkin argues:

A queer methodology organized around kinship that places native peoples at its center, however, does not take the (settler)state as its de facto frame, instead attending to forms of place-based political collectivity abjected or rendered unintelligible within U.S. governance. From this perspective, heteronormativity is not an internal set of distinctions within citizenship or among national subjects but a system that emerges in relation to the ongoing imperial project of (re)producing the settler state as against competing indigenous formations.^{xiii}

Both Rifkin and Morgensen's ideas discuss settler colonialism as an ongoing imperial project that uses discourses of sexualities to maintain heteropatriarchy, genocide, and the U.S. nation as a natural outcome of the conquest of Native America. Rifkin discusses

how Native kinship threatens U.S. citizenship and nationalism. Settler colonialism and Indigenous nations are set against one another. The lack of heteronormativity in Native kinship systems, which undergird Native national formations makes settler colonial heteronormative systems of governance superior to Native governance because settler colonial is defined through belonging or not belonging to the heteronormative settler state. In other words, heteronormativity needs to be understood as constituting settler colonialism and queer theory needs to question heteronormativity as not only homophobic but as a system of colonial racialized violence. My dissertation works with these ideas to question the logics of heteronormativity, settler colonialism, and the U.S. nation by exposing the violence of settler colonialism in sexualized cultural representations of Native peoples. My project builds on the labor of other scholars who are working at the intersection of queer and Indigenous studies. How are queered Native bodies made into docile bodies that then become open to subjugation by colonial and imperial powers? How does the queering of Native bodies affect Native sovereignty struggles? Can Native peoples decolonize themselves without taking colonial discourses of sexualities seriously? What might some of the results of a decolonizing revolutionary movement for Native people that challenged heteropatriarchy look like? How could a decolonizing movement that challenged biopower be constructed as a coalitional and community-building movement?

Boundaries and Federal Indian Law: The Importance of Sex Positivity in Matters of Sovereignty and Self-Determination

One of the major negative aspects of colonialism is the U.S. settler nation's lack of respect for boundaries and for the jurisdiction of Native nations. The violation of

Native lands and sovereignty has been occurring before the formation of the United States. In David H. Getchese, Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr.'s *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law, 5th Edition*, the first president of the United States continued the project of dispossession:

In 1789, President George Washington personally appeared before the Senate to complain, "The treaty with the Cherokees has been entirely violated by the disorderly white people on the frontiers." Armed invasions of Indian country in the western lands of Georgia and North Carolina took the lives of hundreds of Indians and dispossessed the tribes of guaranteed lands.^{xiv}

The U.S. was bound by treaty agreements to protect Indian lands from the encroachment of white settlers yet they did not fulfill their treaty obligations and Native nations were dispossessed of more land. Even with treaties and legal agreements to ensure boundaries, these boundaries were and are continually disrespected.

The constant violation of Native boundaries (sovereignty) does not allow Native peoples and Native nations to have security. Federal Indian law does not protect Native peoples and disrespects Native sovereignty by usurping Native jurisdiction when the case involves a non-Native, is considered a major crime, or happens outside of Indian land. David H. Getches, et. al argues, "But in dictum, Marshall laid down principles that, even now, make *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* an important part of the foundation of the federal tribal relationship."^{xv} The United States, with the construction of "domestic dependent nations" in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), limited the ability of Native nations to behave as fully sovereign nations and therefore self-determining subjects. This is why this case is still relevant to federal Indian law and Native peoples. Chief Justice Marshall argued:

They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.^{xvi}

Not only does *The Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) limit the sovereignty of Native nations as domestic dependent nations, it also situates Native peoples in an overtly paternalist relationship in which Native people are the wards (children) and the U.S. nation-state is the guardian.

Many conflicts in federal Indian law happen over jurisdiction, which is why it is important to focus on jurisdiction in terms of boundary violation. *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) made dealings with the Indians fall under federal jurisdiction, and federal jurisdiction usurps state jurisdiction. Samuel A. Worcester was a missionary in the Cherokee nation who had permission from the Cherokee Nation to be there. At this time, the state of Georgia required non-Indians to get a license from the governor to be in the Cherokee Nation. Worcester did not get a license and was sentenced to four years hard labor. He took his case to the Supreme Court where Native and state sovereignty came into direct conflict. Chief Justice Marshall stated: “The defendant is a state, a member of the union, which has exercised the powers of government over a people who deny its jurisdiction, and are under the protection of the United States.”^{xvii} This case was not about the power of the Cherokee Nation; it was about whether the state of Georgia or the federal government had primary jurisdiction over the Cherokee nation.

Every treaty that the US has made with Native people has been broken, which does not represent the U.S. as respectful of Native national boundaries. Colonial relations do not tend towards balanced, healthy relationships built on love and trust.

Instead, colonial relationships are built on fear and capitalist exploitation. The colonial relationship between the colonizer and the colonized is not consensual but this relationship is sexualized so colonialism can justify biopolitical interventions to protect the nation-state against the dangerous, sexually abnormal Native peoples. At the same time, Native peoples are needed by the settler colonial state as a part of their origin story. But colonial relations seem consensual/enmeshed because they have been there for a long time and have infected every part of Native life. In other words, it is hard to distinguish between the colonizer and the colonized.

Boundaries are especially important in intimate relationships. In Andrea Smith's chapter, "Spiritual Appropriation as Sexual Violence," in *Conquest* (2005), she argues that the New Age Movement's appropriation of "Native spiritual practices" can be understood as acts of sexual assault. Smith writes:

Consensual sexual relationships require the loosening of the boundaries of one's physical and psychic space—they involve not only allowing another person to become close to you physically, but allowing her or him to know more about you. Sexual violence then suggests that the violation of these boundaries operates not only on the physical but on the spiritual and psychic levels as well.^{xviii}

Since sexual violence affects Native peoples on "spiritual and psychic" levels, Native peoples need to consider sexual healing on spiritual and psychic levels. Part of this healing will be to understand our selves, which will enable Native peoples to set better boundaries. Smith continues:

In addition, sexual violence is ultimately structured around power relations—it entails establishing the power to control someone's life. Similarly, "knowledge" about someone also gives one power over that person. Withholding knowledge, then, is an act of resistance against those who desire to know you in order to better control you.^{xix}

This need/desire to know Native peoples is colonial because the colonizer studies and thinks she knows the Native. The possession of our bodies and the attempt to understand our souls through the studying of our religious and spiritual practices do not amount to actually knowing Native peoples. We are not possessions to be owned or commodities to be bought or objects to know. And this is traditional. Boundaries are important even though they are constantly violated. Unfortunately, Native communities have internalized some negative and historically inaccurate stories about sexual violence in our communities.

Since the sexual assault of Native America has been ongoing, some Native peoples have internalized sexual violence as “traditional.” Smith argues this is a result of the New Age movement appropriating Native culture and hypersexualizing Native spiritual practices as a mode of commodification. Native peoples are constantly exposed to cultural appropriations, representations of our cultural practices in the media by non-Native peoples. This leads Native peoples to further alienate themselves from their culture when what people know to be true is constantly and vulgarly represented by mainstream culture.^{xx} Smith writes:

The Mending the Sacred Hoop Stop Violence Against Indian Women Technical Assistance Project in Duluth, Minnesota notes that one difficulty in organizing against sexual violence in Native communities is that many community members believe that it is “traditional,” despite the historical evidence which suggest sexual violence was rare in Native communities prior to colonization.^{xxi}

The idea that sexual violence is traditional in Native communities is one of the ways Native peoples have internalized negative histories of sexual behavior in Native communities. Sexual violence in Native communities should be historicized and sex positivity should be part of these histories. One of the reasons that sexual violence is

naturalized in Native communities is a result of the long historical tradition of boundary, treaty, and jurisdiction violations by the settler colonial federal government.

Sarah Deer argues that the federal legal system, through the Major Crimes Act (1885), Public Law 280, the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, and *Oliphant v. Suquamish* (1978), is wrongfully in control of Indian court cases where Native women and children were victimized within the bounds of a federally recognized tribe. Deer argues these cases should be tried in tribal court systems to help restore accountability and sovereignty to Native nations and their legal systems. She argues: “But drafters and proponents of a national apology would do well to study and understand the complicated history of criminal justice in Indian country, and the impact victims who fall through the wide gaps created by a system originally designed to destroy—not heal.”^{xxii} Deer’s work shows how the disregard of Native boundaries and jurisdiction is hurtful to Native peoples because Native peoples rarely get justice from the federal legal system. The violation of Native jurisdiction by the federal government is a violation of boundaries and promises stipulated by the U.S. Many of these federal boundary violations of rape, child molestation, and even murder of Native peoples, do not get tried in court because the offenders are non-Natives. Tribes do not get to try non-Natives since the Supreme Court case *Oliphant v. Suquamish* (1978) ruled that crimes committed by non-Natives within the bounds of Native nations cannot be tried by tribal courts. Automatically, these cases fall under federal jurisdiction. Deer writes: “Responding to crimes such as child abuse, rape, and domestic violence is linked to the ability to protect one’s citizens.”^{xxiii} Since Native nations are not allowed to protect their own citizens from the colonizers, it is hard to feel safe in our Native nations. Without the ability to protect ourselves because of

violations of legal jurisdiction and quasi-sovereignty, Native peoples will have a hard time building bodily integrity and self-determination.

Heteropatriarchy, Biopower, and Colonial Discourse

Sexuality, when used as an analytic in Native studies and Native nations, produces many stimulating possibilities for decolonization. One place where sexuality is discussed explicitly is in queer studies, yet this field only rarely addresses Native peoples and Native issues. The debates over the civil rights of queer peoples form one of the main topics of discussion in queer studies. Thinking about sovereignty and colonialism in relation queer theory and queer studies shifts conversations of citizenship and subjectivity by rethinking the validity of the US nation-state. Importantly, queer theory's critiques of heterosexism, subjectivity, and gender constructions would be very useful in the context of Native studies, because they demonstrate how heteronormativity contributes to the forms of racialized and gendered violence that have harmed Native peoples and prevented self-determination.

In Native studies, discussions of sexuality, gender, and colonialism have the potential to expose heteronormative discourses of colonial violence directed at Native communities. Heteropatriarchy and heteronormativity should be interpreted as logics of colonialism. Native studies should analyze race, gender, and sexuality as logics of colonial power without reducing them to separate identity-based models of analysis, as argued by Andrea Smith in "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing."^{xxiv} The simple inclusion of queer people or of sexuality as topics of discussion in Native studies and Native communities does not effectively disrupt settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy because the naturalness and

future of the US nation-state is not questioned. Sexuality as a logic of colonial power has the potential to further decolonize Native studies and Native communities by exposing the hidden ways that Native communities have been colonized and have internalized colonialism. I use Andrea Smith's argument of how colonialism is supported through the structure of heteropatriarchy, which naturalizes hierarchies to build a critique of heteropatriarchy and to offer queer alternatives to heteropatriarchy.^{xxv} Heteropatriarchy disciplines and individualizes communally held beliefs by internalizing hierarchical gendered relationships and heteronormative attitudes toward sexuality. Colonialism and heteropatriarchy work together to naturalize hierarchies within and outside Native communities. Without heteronormative ideas about sexuality and gender relationships, heteropatriarchy, and therefore colonialism, would fall apart. Yet heteropatriarchy has become so natural in many Native communities that it is internalized and institutionalized as if it were traditional. Heteropatriarchal practices in many Native communities are written into tribal law and tradition. Heteropatriarchy changes how Natives relate to one another. Native interpersonal and community relationships are affected by pressure to conform to the nuclear family and the hierarchies implicit in heteropatriarchy. The control of sexuality, for Native communities and Native studies, is an extension of internalized colonialism. As Foucault argues in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, the act of Native peoples simply talking about sex and having more 'queer' sex do not in and of themselves constitute challenges to the power relations produced by sexuality. Instead, the "excitement" of sexuality discourses reifies their power.^{xxvi} But this does not equal sexiness for Native peoples. Sexuality discourses of the settler colonial nation-state mark Native people as hypersexualized and diseased, which makes

them threats and targets of genocidal practices. In other words, identity politics through recognition of difference and a desire for this identity difference to be included into the settler state disregards Native sovereignty and Nation nationhood and is not critical of the biopolitical nature of the settler state. Purposeful deconstruction of the logics of power that sexualize and interpellate Native peoples into a biopolitical settler state will help end colonial domination for Native peoples.

Colonialism disciplines both Native people and non-Native people through sexuality. The logics governing Native bodies are the same logics governing non-Native people. Yet the logic of colonialism gives the colonizers power, while Native people are more adversely affected by these colonizing logics. The colonizers are repressed by self-disciplining logics of normalizing sexuality, but Native people are systematically targeted for death and erasure by these same discourses. Scholars in Native studies have begun doing the work of how Native peoples are targeted for death and erasure through representations of gender and sexuality in US popular culture.

Rayna Green discusses the intersecting logics of race, gender, and sexuality in her work to show the unequal power relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. In “The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture” Green argues that in colonial discourse Native women are represented as sexually available for white men’s pleasure.^{xxvii} These images of Native women equate the Native female body with the conquest of land in the “New World.” In other words, the conflation of the “New World” with Native women’s bodies presents Native women’s heterosexual desire for white male settlers as a justification for conquest and the settlement of the land by non-Natives. I would like to reconsider this sexualization, gendering, and racialization of

the land by providing a queer reading. First, white men heterosexualize the land within the heteropatriarchal order through the discovery, penetration, and ownership of (i.e. marriage to) the land. John Smith, John Rolfe, and other white men settled land that belonged to Native peoples and justified these actions by falling in love with Pocahontas. Of course, this narrative erases the fact that Native peoples were living on and owning these lands. There is no discussion of how these lands were negotiated and traded, which erases Native sovereignty and ability of Natives to be political actors. The conflation of Native women's bodies with racialized and sexualized narratives of the land constructs it as penetrable and open to ownership through heteropatriarchal domination. Since John Rolfe married and had a child with Pocahontas, the conflation of the land with Native women is not just sexualized, but speaks specifically to *heterosexual* reproduction, with the birth of a child symbolizing the ability of the colonizer to make the land bear fruit. A queer Indigenous studies approach to rethinking conquest would be critically aware of the heterosexual construction of land while queering Native peoples. This approach would shift ideas of sovereignty, subjectivity, recognition, nationalism, and self-determination to include queer Indians' readings of the land.

While I agree with Green's formulation, her focus on Native women's conflation with the land erases the sexual desirability of Native men in the colonial matrix. Green states, "But the Indian woman is even more burdened by this narrow definition of a 'good Indian,' for it is she, not the males, whom the white men desire sexually."^{xxviii} Here, I want to include Native men as well as Native women who are (hetero)sexually controlled by white heteropatriarchy, for Native men are feminized and queered when placed under the care of a white heteropatriarchal nation-state. Native people are constructed as

incapable of self-governance because Native peoples do not “naturally” possess a heteropatriarchal influence. Most traditional Native gender roles and family structures are matriarchical and do not conform to heteronormative gender standards. The lack of conformity and discipline constitute Native peoples as non-heteronormative and therefore queer. Under the disciplining logics of colonialism, Native women need to be heterosexualized to justify conquest. Native women are carefully included in “creation” stories of the U.S. nation. Pocahontas, whom I discuss in Chapter 3, chooses her love for John Smith, and later John Rolfe, over the interests of her Native family. According to these colonial logics, Native women need to be managed, because they lack control over their sexuality and therefore their bodies. Native women are hypersexualized and fecund, embodying the reproductive position as recipient of the virile white colonial heteropatriarch’s seed. But only one special Native woman can be the mother of the U.S. nation. Under the logics of patriarchy and white supremacy, when Pocahontas reproduces with a white man the child of this union becomes a white inheritor of the land. The child, although racially half Native, becomes white since inheritance under patriarchy is passed on through the father. Indigeneity, unlike Blackness, is erased through miscegenation with whiteness, since the colonizing logic stipulates that Native people need to disappear for the settlers to inherit the land. Then as soon as the Native mother gives birth, her indigeneity must disappear and die for her offspring to inherit the land and replace her body. For this whole narrative to work, the Native woman must be heterosexual and desire to have her body sexually and reproductively conquered through her love of the white man. Her body, and therefore her land, will then be owned and managed by the settler nation.

If the Native woman were read as queer, the narrative of universal love covering for imperial expansion and colonial violence would be exposed and destroyed. For this narrative to work, the Native woman *must* desire white heteropatriarchy through her desire of heteronormative sex and the love of white men. With a queer Native mother, the sex with the white settler may not have been consensual. In the absence of consent, and the death of the mother sans the love story, conquest is revealed as a violent process with no regard for Native life. Colonialism naturalizes the heterosexual Native woman's desire for a white man to make conquest a universal love story.

In turn, in colonial narratives Native men must be queered as sexually unavailable object choices for Native women. While Native women are necessary for the imaginary origin story for the US nation, Native men are not. In fact, Native men's presence in that story is erased. They must disappear to allow the white male heteropatriarch to rule over Native women without competition from Native men. Representations of dead and vanishing Native masculinities stabilize paternalistic colonial relationships between Indian people (and therefore Indian land and resources) and the United States by making Indian men inadequate heteropatriarchs. For this to occur, Native men are constructed as nonheteronormative and unable to reproduce Native peoples. Native men are read as nonheteronormative because Native men do not correctly practice heteropatriarchy and govern Native women and children. Native gender norms and family structures, which vary from tribe to tribe, do not conform to Native men having control of the public space and the nuclear family or to caring for the land correctly. Mark Rifkin shows how heteronormative kinship (the hetero nuclear family) excludes Native peoples by denaturalizing Native place based kinship.^{xxix} The queer Native man is infantilized and

put in the care of white heteropatriarchy so he can be dominated by white heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism. Even if Native men could “prove” their heteromascularity to the heteropatriarchal settler state, they would never be considered full subjects (transparent I’s) because Native men are already facing the horizon of death through their position as affectable subjects that will be annihilated by modern thought and representations in modernity. In other words, in a colonial reading, Native men “allow” matriarchal structures to govern society and extended families, while Native peoples as a whole do not make as much profit off the land as the settlers would. This makes them ineffective modern men because they cannot economically care for their families. Native men are seen as sterile members of a dying race that needs a “genetically superior” white race to save it from the “unavoidable” extinction. Native men are constructed as nonheteronormative to justify the extinction of Native people. Since it is the father that gives the child the inheritance in patriarchy, white heteropatriarchy can “save” the Natives through the management of Native women and the erasure of Native men.

Through the actions of colonial discourses, the bodies of Native women and men are queered, un(re)productive, and therefore nonheteronormative. By making Native “bodies disappear,” the colonial logic of nonheteronormative sexualities justifies conquest as an effect of biopower. On these terms, Native people are diseased, dying and nonheteronormative, all of which threatens the survival of the heteronormative U.S. nation-state. Native people are eliminated discursively or actually killed to save the heteronormative body politic from possible contamination by nonheteronormative threats. Natives are transformed into heteronormative spirits/subjects in discourses told

by the colonizer to appropriate the land and culture of Native peoples while building a heteropatriarchal nation.

Nation-Building and Decolonization: Native Feminist Critiques and Decolonization as Foreplay for Sexy Native Nations

Taiiaki Alfred, a Mohawk Native, offers a decolonizing challenge to Native people. He does not center his construction of indigeneity in apolitical identity politics or solely on genealogy. Instead, he wants Native people to recreate the relations between themselves and their land base. He advocates fighting colonialism through regaining the spiritual strength and integrity colonialism has stolen from Native communities (as well as the hope Native people have given away to colonialism). This is a fruitful conception of sovereignty and self-determination. Alfred writes:

Wasase, as I am speaking of it here, is symbolic of the social and cultural force alive among Onkwehonwe dedicated to altering the balance of political and economic power to recreate some social and physical space for freedom to re-emerge. Wasase is an ethical and political vision, the real demonstration of our resolve to survive as Onkwehonwe and to do what we must to force the Settlers to acknowledge our existence and the integrity of our connection to the land.^{xxx}

Alfred wants freedom for Native people that can come only from decolonizing Native communities. For him, this is a political project that involves Native communities *and* the colonizing settlers. Alfred does not discuss how colonialism impacts Native women specifically or how colonial discourses of sexuality dispossess Native people from the land and from capacity for governance. Yet his alternative construction of sovereignty can be used to include sexuality as part of politics and land management.

Jennifer Nez Denetdale is one of the few Native scholars overtly discussing the politics of sexuality, gender, and Native nationalisms in her work. Denetdale's work

exposes homophobia as part of modern Native nation building. To critique masculinist discourses working within Navajo nationalism, Denetdale, along with other Native feminists, has found it necessary to critique traditionalism in Native communities. This is an important intervention because Native peoples are often read as existing outside of homophobic discourse or as more accepting of trans and queer people in Native communities because of traditional Native ideas regarding gender and sexuality. Denetdale writes: “With the imposition of Western democratic principles, Navajo women find themselves confronted with new oppressions in the name of ‘custom and tradition.’”^{xxxii} Here, tradition is invoked to justify heteropatriarchy and male leadership in the Navajo Nation (as in other Native traditions) by discouraging or forbidding Native women from taking leadership roles, on account of this being constructed as untraditional. Ironically, as Denetdale points out, Navajo women are allowed to participate in the Navajo Nation beauty pageant but not to hold a position on the tribal council. Denetdale supports Native sovereignty, but she also believes Native traditions should be historicized so that traditions are not abused and used to support forms of oppression, such as anti-Black racism and heteronormativity. She writes:

While it is necessary for Native scholars to call upon the intellectual community to support and preserve Indigenous sovereignty, it is crucial that we also recognize how history has transformed traditions, and that we be critical about the ways tradition is claimed and for what purposes. In some cases, tradition has been used to disenfranchise women and to hold them to standards higher than those set for men. Tradition is not without a political context.^{xxxii}

Denetdale explains that traditionalism is used in Native communities to silence women and to disenfranchise them from possessing political power. She does not dismiss Navajo traditions when she asks critical questions about whether certain traditions emerge in a

historical trajectory or how Navajo men benefit by defining traditionalism in a historical vacuum. Her critique denaturalizes heteropatriarchal traditionalism by placing it inside histories of heteropatriarchal discourse instead of outside of modern constructions of power.^{xxxiii} Native nations should be self-critiquing of Native constructions of nationalism.

Native nations' use of heteronormative citizenship standards also disallows nonheteronormative identity formations from belonging in Native nations. Denetdale discusses this matter further when she takes on the Dine Marriage Act passed by the tribal council of the Navajo Nation, in her paper, "Carving Navajo National Boundaries: Patriotism, Tradition, and the Dine Marriage Act of 2005."^{xxxiv} Denetdale examines how the intersection of heteropatriarchy, militarism, and homophobia strengthened the Navajo Nation post—9/11. She criticizes her tribe for participating in oppressive colonial nation building by trying to enforce heteronormative marriage practices on Dine people. This sort of homophobic nationalism is similar to the US nation-state's use of homophobic nationalism and militarism in this time of war. Nationalism that is dependent on the exclusion of queer people has many consequences for Native communities. Denetdale tells how some Navajo youth left the Navajo Nation to move to urban areas and find a queer community because of the backlash against nonheteronormative Navajos. Queer youth who leave the Navajo Nation to find a safe queer community elsewhere is a loss to the Navajo Nation. As Denetdale successfully argues, Native nations that mirror the U.S. nation-state by relying on homophobia and heteropatriarchy to establish national belonging and exclusion are not ideal models to further Native sovereignty. She forcefully argues,

Critically examining the connections constructed between the traditional roles of Navajo warriors and present-day Navajo soldiering for the United States, as well as the connections made between family values and recent legislation like the Dine Marriage Act, are critical to our decolonizing as Native peoples.^{xxxv}

Like many other Native scholars, Denetdale advocates looking for a construction of sovereignty and Native nation building other than the model of the U.S. nation-state. She does not want to reproduce the oppressive colonial methods that exclude queers, women, and Black Natives. Instead, she, like Alfred, challenges us in Native studies to conceptualize a more harmonious construction of sovereignty and Native nationhood. Native people and Native studies need to understand how discourses of colonial power operate within our communities and within our selves through sexuality, so that we may work toward alternative forms of Native nationhood and sovereignty that do not rely on heteronormativity for membership.

If we in Native studies work toward centering discourses of sexualities, we will be able to engage with gender, sexuality, and indigeneity in more profound ways. More importantly, it will become harder to treat gender, sexuality, and indigeneity as discrete categories of analysis. Instead we will be able to see how they are enmeshed with each other. Such an approach toward the examination of sexuality and gender is a crucial step toward deconstructing sexualities and exposing colonial violence. Andrea Smith writes,

The very simplified manner in which Native women's activism is theorized prevents Native women from articulating political projects that both address sexism *and* promote indigenous sovereignty. In addition, this framework does not show the complex way in which Native women organizers position themselves with respect to other coalition partners.^{xxxvi}

I build my ideas upon the work of Indigenous feminist theorists whose ideas and articulations of indigeneity could transform other fields of study, such as white feminist and white queer theories. The scholarly work of Indigenous feminisms centers Native women and critiques white heteropatriarchy, colonialism, sexual violence, and the U.S. nation-state model of nationalism. I want to take this a step further, as some Native feminists and queer Indigenous scholars have done, and add the intersection of these power relations with sexuality to reveal colonizing logics and practices embedded in constructing Native peoples as hypersexual and nonheteronormative. It is time to bring “sexy back” to Native studies and quit pretending we are boring and pure and do not think or write about sex. We are alive, we are sexy, and some of us Natives are queer. Native nationalisms have the potential to be sexy (and are already sexualized), but to be sexy from a Native feminist perspective, they need to be decolonizing and critical of heteropatriarchy.

Images of Sexualized Native Peoples: The Visual Excitement of Conquest

Images of Native peoples change over time but Indigenous peoples are the foil of modernity and progress. This creates problems for representations of Native peoples. Since most people “know” and “understand” Native peoples through representations of Native peoples in popular culture, these representations of Native peoples *are* Native peoples to most non-Native people. Representations of Indians who adapt to modern conditions, “assimilate,” use modern technologies, and/or do not maintain static ideas of pre-contact are no longer considered Native peoples because they do not exist in the static past. Representations of Indigenous peoples, unlike any other racial identity, cannot

change over time without killing their Indian racial identity. This is a representational form of Native genocide. Alan Trachtenberg argues:

Annihilated as persons, subsumed as 'Indians' in repeated rituals of symbolic sacrifice, the indigenous population seemed in certain eyes to promise national redemption: absolution of the sins of conquest, legitimation by offering themselves as founders and guardians of [United States not Native] nationhood.^{xxxvii}

As Trachtenberg discusses above, representations of Indians have changed dramatically but it is the “annihilation as persons” in repetitive modern representations interests me here. When Indians were no longer perceived as a violent, military, land-owning, and political threat to the United States, Indian peoples became a “sacrifice” and the “founders and guardians” of the US nation. Native peoples became victims of progress and the static pre-modern ideas about Indians became creation narratives and symbols of the U.S. nation.

Representations of Native life and death are significant in sexualized cultural representations of Native masculinity. *The End of the Trail* statue (Figure 1.2) exemplifies how the death of the Native man in modernity gives life to the settler.



Figure 1.2: James Earle Fraser's "End of the Trail" Figurine at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan

Denise da Silva discusses the horizon of life and the horizon of death in her theorization of modern racial representations in her book *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. In her figuration, racialized subjects and the transparent and universal subjects *both* face the horizons of life and death. Her discussion of the life and death of racialized subjects is significant to the topic of Native cultural representation because in Native art forms, Native peoples, for once, face the horizon of life instead of annihilation by the horizon of death. For Da Silva, people of color through Enlightenment thinking and scientific racism cannot be a transparent or determining subject but they can strive for justice by challenging the physical and psychological violence that is an inherent part of their lives.

This violence of settler colonialism is gendered and Native masculinity and sexualities are rarely discussed in Native studies. As I argue throughout my dissertation, this does a great disservice to Native studies because Native people are represented as dead, dying, or disappearing through sexualized cultural images. Yet Native peoples resist these images and Da Silva's horizon of death by embodying Native subjectivity through Native theatre and art. When Indigenous peoples recognize moments when they face the horizon of life instead of death, this acknowledgement of life is a place where Native peoples can gather strength and hope. This is as important as finding ways colonialism has negatively affected our lives. It is a time to use images and narratives of death to our advantage. To make this happen, we need to gather strength from places where we are already strong. This can happen through Native self-recognition.

Glen Coulthard argues in "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada" that Native peoples need to stop asking the colonizers to be recognized as sovereign Native nations so Native nations can "benefit" from capitalist development. Instead, Indigenous peoples need to look to their traditions, land, and themselves to recognize themselves as a people and not rely on the colonial settler state to recognize them as a nation of peoples. Coulthard uses Fanon and Hegel to discuss the philosophical importance of recognition. He states:

I think that today this process will and must continue to involve some form of critical individual and collective *self*-recognition on the part of Indigenous societies, not only in an instrumental sense like Fanon seemed to have envisioned it, but with the understanding that our cultures have much to teach the Western world about the establishment of relationships within and between peoples and the natural world that are profoundly non-imperialist. Also, the empowerment that is derived from this critically self-affirmative and self-transformative process of desubjectification must be cautiously directed *away* from the assimilative lure of the statist politics

of recognition, and instead be fashioned toward our own on-the-ground practices of freedom.”^{xxxviii}

This mode of relation, knowing ourselves as Native peoples through the land, is an important means of recognition. Coulthard’s formulation of recognition relies on Native peoples knowing one another and looking towards one another for recognition instead of asking the settler colonial state for recognition. In other words, self-recognition is the path towards freedom. Identifying and recognizing queer Native people is another act of recognition that needs to be added since we are often forgotten or silenced in Native studies and Native communities.

Coulthard also discusses the effects of the internalized racism. He states:

In effect, Fanon revealed how, over time, colonized populations tend to internalize the derogatory images imposed on them by their colonial ‘masters, and how as a result of this process, these images, along with the structural relations with which they are entwined, come to be recognized (or at least endured) as more or less natural.^{xxxix}

Defining ourselves by the colonizer’s recognition of us as colonized people and giving the settler state the ability to define Native nations as legitimate nations is a significant aspect of colonialism that needs to be discussed in order for decolonization efforts to be effective. The decolonization of Native America begins in the minds of Native peoples. Native peoples need to look to other Native peoples, Indigenous culture, and Native relations to the land for recognition and self-esteem. Native peoples have responded to these genocidal images and narratives through acts of self-recognition and performance of Native life in modernity. Native artists lead the way in self-recognition by reinventing Native cultural traditions and making explicit connections to Native peoples connecting to their land base. This is an important starting point. As Shari Huhndorf argues, filmic

and other cultural representations of Native peoples constitute how many people “know” and learn about indigenous peoples. Like Huhndorf, it is through the visual that I wish to engage colonial narratives and images.

Native theatre is a space where radical self-recognition occurs for the audience, performers, and Native authors who wrote the play because Native peoples embody Native characters and Indigenous artists’ ideas in that space. The characters in Native theatre are representations of how colonialism is internalized by different indigenous subjects, which is an important discussion to have in Native communities. When the subject recognizes the internalization of colonialism, decolonization has begun. In Native theatre, the performance of the internal struggles of colonialism occurs on the stage and Native peoples get to perform Native struggles as an act of sovereignty.

The staging and performance of Native identity are important in cultural studies work being done about Indians. Alan Trachtenberg argues: “They [Indian treaties] were ‘our first American plays,’ inaugurating American dramatic literature in records of a still unrecognized formative experience of the nation: its encounter with the customs and law of the natives of North America.”^{xl} Considering the treaties between Native nations and the U.S. nation-state as an “American play” questions the sovereignty of both the Native nations and the U.S. nation while dismissing the legal relevance of these treaty signings. Scott Lyons argues:

Treaties led to dramatic changes in the Indian world: loss of land and political autonomy, assent to assimilation policies, the creation of quasi-private property on communal lands, and much else. Natives knew it and sometimes resisted it. At treaty councils, individuals retained a right to withhold their x-marks, and many did. But most did not.^{xli}

Gendering Native peoples as male is a way to move indigeneity into modernity and, then, obliteration. Trachtenberg believes the change over time from Indians as savages to Indians to be respected is a result of the completion of the settlement of Native America. He writes: “Many of those who believed that immigrants posed a threat to nationality looked toward the American Indian for evidence of national distinctiveness and proof of nationality.”^{xlii} Yet while Trachtenberg challenges the idea of the vanished Indian, he does not discuss the gendered and sexualized aspects of the vanishing Indian.

Representations of Native masculinities in U.S. cultural productions have changed a lot over the past one hundred years but the future demise of Native peoples are inherent in all these images. If the modern representation of humanity is an individual man, then it makes sense that images of actual Native men proliferate in the modern technology of photographs and film while Native women are represented more as abstract Indian princesses or historical figures in the modern technology of film. Representations of heterosexual Native women in modernity are threats to the state because they have the ability to reproduce more Indians, while Native men, queered by modernity, do not have the ability to reproduce. Rarely in mainstream films do Native women exist as individuals invested in their communities. This liberal idea of individuality is what will ideologically engulf Native America. The idea of the individual Indian man fighting with the settler nation-state for his self-determination and freedom is liberalism at its apex and settler colonialism reified. Symbolically it is the beginning of the end of Native peoples because Native peoples who have “assimilated” or “progressed” into modernity have ceased to be Indian. In other words, any Indigenous peoples who do not live in tepees, ride horses, or wear their hair long fall into the category of modernity. The fact this

erasure happens through masculinity and heteropatriarchal discourse means these images need to be disputed through gendered and sexualized discourses. Since these images of death, dying, and erasure are violent, this chapter is concerned with Indian life and future in modernity.

Sex Positivity and the Future in Native America

If Native peoples are colonized by sexual discourses then why sex positivity in Native America? What does sex positivity have to do with the future? It makes sense that the solution would be to change our relationship to sex and sexualities and to value and honor Native bodies. Sexual knowledge and sex positivity are traditional. Shame is not traditional. Being silent about sex does not benefit Native peoples or stop sex from happening, because Native peoples are having sex. Native women have the second highest rate of Chlamydia and gonorrhea infections.^{xliii} The Center for Disease Control and Prevention state:

Based solely on case counts, the actual impact of HIV/AIDS on American Indian/Alaska Natives may not be apparent. The small number of cases compared with other racial/ethnic populations may obscure the true meaning of epidemiologic trends among Native Americans and Alaska Natives.^{xliv}

One of the most exciting sex positive movements happening in Native America is around sex education. Jessica Danforth, formerly known as Jessica Yee, is a youth sex educator for youth of color. Her goal is to make sexual health for Native youth a priority.

She writes:

I have long wondered about the vast relationships between the sexual education of youth of color are receiving and the impact of colonization on their sexuality in general. As a First Nations young woman, I often hear about colonization and how it has gravely affected the state of our people

for generations on a multitude of levels, but rarely do these discussions go anywhere near the topic sexuality.^{xlv}

If Native communities started being open about the topic of sexuality with its young people, this would begin the healing around the silence and repression of sexuality that comes with colonialism. Elders would have to educate themselves about sexual issues such as sex positive safe sex practices and how their sex lives have been negatively impacted by colonialism. Danforth works with elders to educate them about these practices so the elders can be the ones who are educating the youth in their communities.

(See Figure 1.3.)



Figure 1.3: Jessica Danforth labeled this photo on Facebook: “We’ve done it again! Elder role modeling making a dental dam from a condom.”

Another reason it is important to discuss colonialism in relation to sex education and sex positivity is because the statistics do not take into account how colonialism internalized or otherwise affects these negative statistics. These numbers do not reflect the lives or circumstances of Native people; instead statistics reproduce biopower by marking Native peoples as sexually diseased. Danforth argues:

The information that is frequently disseminated from communities of color regarding our sexual health is almost always pervasive in nature,

highly statistical, and seldom speaks to the true realities we are facing to be represented in those “risky” numbers in the first place.^{xlvi}

Importantly, Danforth historicizes youth sex education. She discusses these ‘risky’ numbers in the context of colonialism. In other words, she does not just blame Indians for being lazy and stupid, but critiques Native nations for not being sex positive and the role colonialism plays in that.

Methodologies

I want to refuse to be an agent of history and anthropology, and I enact this refusal by not excavating new knowledge or truth about the actual Sacajawea or Pocahontas to get my Ph.D. Instead, I analyze what the settlers say about these women through narratives and cultural representations of these Native characters and then “discover” what anxieties settler colonialism tries to hide within the images of different Native peoples. I pay special attention to popular culture because it is within the realm of popular culture that the majority of images of Native peoples are found.

Audra Simpson argues in her groundbreaking article “On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, ‘Voice’ and Colonial Citizenship:” “To Speak of Indigeneity is to speak of colonialism and anthropology, as these are means through which Indigenous people have been known and sometimes are still known.”^{xlvii} This desire to “know” and write about Natives before our cultures “disappear” into modernity naturalizes conquest and the vanishing Native, which has historically been the project of anthropology. In these formulations, Native peoples who change and adapt to historical conditions are no longer historically recognizable Natives.^{xlviii} Ned Blackhawk writes: “Once adaption becomes synonymous with assimilation, change over time—the commonplace definition of

history—becomes a death knell. The more things change, the greater the loss.”^{xlix}

Unlike other people, Native racialization relies on the history of Native culture and people remaining frozen like dioramas in time. This is why the idea of Native people as political actors in the present moment is unfathomable. When Indigenous peoples do not conform to this model of historicity, it challenges both the social and scientific construction of the racialization of indigeneity. In other words, the racialization of Native peoples relies on them “living” only in dead archival sources in narratives of settler colonial such as the coin and as past victims of progress.¹ Simpson argues:

Such categorical forms of recognition and mis-recognition are indebted to deep philosophical histories of seeing and knowing; tied to legal fiat, they may enable disproportionately empowered political forms (such as ‘Empire,’ or particular nation-states such as the United States, Canada and Australia) to come into being in a very short time, as without that category of knowing and its concomitant force land could not be wrested from those that belong to it, and those to whom it rightfully belongs.^{li}

In other words, knowing and willfully “mis-recognizing” Natives through origin narratives is essential to nation-states built on empire to justify the dispossession of land from Native peoples. These tales of difference and disappearance constitute the means of knowing, and these means of knowing in turn constitute Native peoples as different from (and inferior to) those of the settler colonial nation. Native peoples who have politically adjusted to modernity and are living in the present do not fit into the small parameters of Native racializations in the United States. These remaining Native peoples cannot be read as Native because they do not conform to stereotypes and “normal” representations of Native peoples in popular culture. Since many cultural representations of Native peoples are of Native women, cultural representations of Native peoples are feminized. Representations of Native men are either feminized or hyper-masculinized and

constructed as dangerous to the U.S. body politic. This is significant because visual representations of Native peoples are widely circulated throughout the world. Shari Huhndorf argues for more engagement with visual culture in Native Studies since more images of Indigenous peoples exist than does literature. She writes:

Although the political dimensions of literature have garnered much critical attention, less notice has been paid to visual expressions in indigenous contexts. This is true despite the increasing importance of images in colonial studies more broadly and the fact that Natives are among the most commonly represented people in the world, their images circulated in museums, photographs, films, ethnographic displays, and national monuments.^{lii}

The fact that Native peoples are the “most commonly represented people in the world” gives validity to the importance of unpacking these images to see what work these images serve since the gaze is often directed towards these images of Native peoples in many different visual and political contexts. My work critiques colonialism in history and museums to return the focus of the colonial gaze back to the colonizer. I discuss how colonial narratives of Sacajawea, Pocahontas, and other Native people in popular culture justify conquest, heteropatriarchy and the expansion of the United States while supporting the continued colonial management of Native peoples, the erasure of Native national identities, and the theft of Native lands. Shari Huhndorf writes:

Of these ‘dominated and excluded’ groups, Native America presents the most radical challenges to U.S. nationalist myths and imperial practices. As the foundational event in American history, the colonization of Native America exposes U.S. identity, from its origins to the present, as constituted through conquest, the imposition of political control, and the appropriation of indigenous lands. Contained by neither geographic region nor time period, this ongoing process cannot be marginalized; it implicates all non-indigenous peoples in that conquest.^{liii}

As Huhndorf argues above, this process of settler colonialism must be seen as a continuing process. For most Americans, enactments of settler colonialism take place in the visual landscape of culture, which are softer and more entertaining form of settler colonialism. Yet the ideas circulated in films, advertisements, novels, and photographs naturalize settler colonialism.

Currently, much of the visual representations of Native peoples are in films. For almost one hundred years, depictions of Native women in film have been used to support the conquest of Native America.^{liv} From the beginning, the film industry has been a technology of violence by producing justifications and images of the “successful” conquest of Native America. Importantly, scholars such as Michelle Raheja shows how place is important to these representations of Native peoples in film. She argues: “Cinema as virtual reservation exemplifies this space in between ‘real’ conceptions of space, physicality, and time and the purely imagined.”^{lv} It is the “real” and “purely imagined” spaces of Native peoples that show how these narratives of representation dispossess Native peoples of land while naturalizing the United States as a colonial settler nation-state.

The Native gaze reflects a different interpretation of Native images in films.

Raheja argues:

Stemming from a long tradition of staged performances such as the Wild West shows that were themselves informed by American literature’s obsession with Native American plots and subplots, film and visual culture have provided the primary representational field on which Native American images have been displayed to dominant culture audiences in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. But these representations have also been key to formulating Indigenous people’s own self images.^{lvi}

Raheja's ideas are important here because she discusses how *Native peoples* interpret these filmic images and does not focus on the perspective of the colonizers. Indigenous people can use these negative representations of Native peoples in film and create positive meaning for them. Focusing on Native peoples interacting with modern representations of Native peoples disrupts the idea that Indians do not exist in the present. In this way, Native peoples return the gaze of the colonialism because making Native peoples hyper-visible produces the possibility that these images could serve multiple purposes to Native people. Rajeha writes:

Because most twentieth-century cinematic images of Indigenous peoples often either reflected important pressures that Native communities were facing or completely elided Native concerns in ways that demonstrate deep-seated cultural anxieties, film scholarship provides a useful framework of analysis for considering how Native Americans have responded to change and persisted in keeping and improvising traditions from the silent film era to the present.^{lvii}

In other words, the audience for images of Native peoples in film includes Native peoples. Native film critics place themselves in the present by discussing how Native film impacts Native communities and offering Native responses to these images.

M. Elise Marubbio in her book *Killing the Indian Maiden* uses the term Celluloid Maiden to discuss how Native women are represented in films as the princess, sexualized maiden, or a hybrid of these in different historical contexts. The princess is beautiful, childlike and a helper to the white male hero and the sexualized maiden is a femme fatale whose lust destroys both her and the white male hero. These Celluloid Maiden films enjoy critical and large audiences because Hollywood uses first-rate directors, producers, and actors to make high-end productions out of films with the Celluloid Maiden archetype. Importantly, the Celluloid Maiden films are not B pictures. The artistry and

cinematic beauty of the Celluloid Maiden films produce a truthful and seamless appearance because of the technology and money deployed to make the underlying colonial narratives of the film seem right and just. *Avatar* (2009), the most expensive and technologically advanced movie ever made (as of 2012), is a startling example of a Celluloid Maiden film. I look to *Avatar* and two other films, *Night at the Museum* (2006) and *The New World* to discuss representations of Pocahontas and Sacajawea in the twenty-first century. In these films, I deconstruct how Native peoples, and Native women in particular, are represented in modernity as Denise da Silva's affectable subjects facing obliteration by the horizon of death. When I say affectable subject, I mean da Silva's conception of a racialized subject that acts on "natural" instincts exterior to the mind (what she calls exteriority) rather than the rational and reasonable interior mind (what she terms the transparency thesis and the subjectivity produced by it, the "transparent I"), to reasonably consider things and ideas. Both affectable subjects and transparent I's face the horizon of death. Affectable subjects are closer to the horizon of death because they do not have interior reason to protect them against the effects of nature like transparent I's: transparent I's have power over the affectable subject and the ability to take their lives.

Chapters

The next chapter, "Violence, Genocide, and Captivity: Exploring Cultural Representations of Sacajawea as a Universal Mother of Conquest," discusses representations of Sacajawea in film, museums, statues, and theatre. In the film *Night at the Museum* (2006), Sacajawea is a sexualized Native woman trapped in a museum who acts as guide to Larry, the lead character of the film. The most striking part of the film is

the absence of Sacajawea's child in representations of her in the American Museum of Natural History. I connect this absence to the history of sterilization of Native women and the discursive inability of Native mothers to reproduce and care for Native children. This film allows for important critiques of the way Native peoples are culturally represented in museums and in films.

The third chapter is titled "Pocahontas: A Return To Sexual Origins." This chapter critically analyzes the love story between Pocahontas and John Smith and discusses how this national origin narrative makes conquest a love story instead of a story of settlement and violence. The Pocahontas narrative requires love and marriage between the white man and Native women to justify the narrative of conquest and nation-building through the universal concepts of love and marriage, while Black women's relationship to white heteropatriarchy is one of sexual dominance, surveillance, and corporal control. The complexity of Native and Black women's relationships to love and marriage (as well as hate and violence) with white men, is particularly interesting in light of how interracial relationships are often used to prop up liberal notions of progress through the legalization of miscegenation. The narrative of Pocahontas is hypervisible in the visual cultural imaginary yet the role of Black women in white heteropatriarchy is invisible. I use Cheryl Harris' concept of "whiteness as property" and Denise Da Silva's *Towards a Global Idea of Race* (2008) to frame a discussion of how universality, technologies of film and discourses of raciality collude to culturally, philosophically, and scientifically feminize Native peoples and place Indians in the state of nature.

Chapter Four "*Billy Jacked: Native Masculinities and Self-Recognition in Modernity*" explores the connection between the moment Native men enter modernity

and how this moment is documented through the photograph of the dead chief at Wounded Knee 1892, the statue “End of the Trail,” and the film *Billy Jacked*. In this chapter, I discuss how representations of dead and vanishing Native masculinities stabilize paternalistic colonial relationships between Indian people (and therefore Indian land and resources) and the United States by making Indian men inadequate heteropatriarchs. The queer Native man is infantilized and put in the care of white heteropatriarchy so he can be dominated by white heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism. Even if Native men could “prove” their hetero-masculinity to the heteropatriarchal settler state, they would never be considered full subjects (transparent I’s) because Native men are already facing the horizon of death through their position as an affectable subject that will be annihilated by modern thought and representations in modernity.” I conclude this chapter with a discussion of William Yellowrobe Jr.’s play *Sneaky* and Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony* to show how Native artists counter representations of death and the erasure of Native men in modernity by making direct connections to Native land bases. I argue that Native traditions and ceremonies need to be constantly changing to challenge colonialism.

Conclusion

I have argued that the critical theory of biopower exposes the colonial violence of Native nonheteronormativity. Nonheteronormativity is used to justify Native genocide and the “disappearance” of Native people through the logics of biopolitics. The closet of Native studies needs to be opened to expose how colonial power operates within a biopolitical matrix in Native nations; this recognition will further deconstruct Native sexualities. The silence in Native studies around issues of sexuality, even

heterosexuality, does not benefit the work of decolonizing Native studies or articulating it as a project of freedom for Native people. Silence around sexuality benefits the colonizers and erases queer Native people from their communities.^{lviii} Native studies and queer studies need to be put in dialogue to further decolonize Native communities. Doing so will expose colonial violence in discursive practices that construct the Native body as hypersexualized, sexually disordered, and queer while presenting Native people as incapable of governance on Native land. Centering a queer studies framework within Native studies also calls Native communities to confront heteropatriarchal practices that have resulted from internalizing sexual colonization.

Settler colonialism works through sexualized cultural images of Native peoples on coins, films, books, photographs, statues, porn, and any other visual cultural format imaginable to naturalize settler colonialism through heteropatriarchy. Settler colonialism becomes an event and not an ongoing process of genocide legitimated by biopower and universalism.^{lix} Native artists lead the way in self-recognition by reinventing Native cultural traditions and making explicit connections to Native peoples connecting to their land base. Playwrights Monique Mojica and William Yellow Robe both use Native theatre as an empowering space of articulating and performing contemporary issues surrounding the ongoing conquest of Native America and issues of self-determination. Leslie Marmon Silko makes a profound critique of the environment in *Ceremony* by reversing a capitalist ideology of people owning the land. Instead Silko's environmental philosophy explains how Native peoples *belong* to the land. James Earle Fraser's depiction of the Indian going down fighting in his *The End of the Trail* statue helps justify conquest because it makes conquest a fight between men and hides ongoing acts

of settler colonialism. If the modern representation of humanity is an individual man, then it makes sense that images of actual Native men proliferate in the modern technology of photographs and film while Native women are represented more as abstract Indian princess or historical figures in the modern technology of film. This dissertation argues that critically analyzing sexualized cultural images of Native peoples widens the frame of conquest to constitute a more thorough understanding of how settler colonialism works with heteropatriarchy to make conquest “universal,” which naturalizes the violence of settler colonialism and the erasure of Native peoples.

In response to Justin Timberlake’s song “Sexy Back,” the artist Prince stated, “Sexy never left.”^{lx} The same can be said for Native studies and Native communities, because sex is always there, but Native sexualities are just beginning to be theorized. Sexuality discourses have to be considered as methods of colonization that require deconstruction to further decolonize Native studies and Native communities. Part of the decolonization project is recovering the relationship to a land base and reimagining the queer Native body. What does this look like? We will have to imagine this and build this together. I want to imagine that Native peoples have a new bright future full of life and the sprits of our ancestors.^{lxi}

ⁱ Ortiz, Simon J. “Just Call It Smiling For Victory.” *Out There Somewhere*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2002: 155.

ⁱⁱ Laughlin, Tom and Delores Taylor. (Screenplay) *Billy Jack*. Dir. Tom Laughlin. 1971.

ⁱⁱⁱ Yee, Jessica. *Sex Ed and Youth: Colonization, Sexuality, and Communities of Color in Our Schools, Our Selves: The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*. V. 18 No. 2 Winter 2009: 2.

^{iv} Amos, Tori. “Precious Things.” *Little Earthquakes*. Atlantic Records, 1992.

^v Madonna. “Future Lovers.” *Confessions on a Dance Floor*. Warner Bros., 2005.

^{vi} Green, Rayna. “The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture.” *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (1975).

- vii Goeman, Mishuana and Jennifer Nez Denetdale, eds., "Native Feminisms: Legacies, Interventions, and Sovereignties," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 9-187; Andrea Smith and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, eds., "Forum: Native Feminisms without Apology," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 241-315.
- viii Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1: *An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978: 146.
- ix See, for example: Andrea Smith, "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism." In *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*. Edited by Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2011: 43-65.
- x For examples of the negative legacy of the boarding school experience see: Smith, Andrea. "Boarding School Abuses and the Case for Reparations." *Conquest*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005; David Wallace Adams. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928*. Topeka, KA: University of Kansas Press, 1995; Brenda J. Child. *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000; and K. Tsianina Lomawaima. *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- xi Smith, Andrea. *Conquest*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005.
- xii Morgensen, Scott Lauria. "Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialisms with Queer Modernities." *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies* Vol 16 (2010): 106.
- xiii Rifkin, Mark. *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011: 26.
- xiv Getchese, David H., Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr. *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law, 5th Edition*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 2005: 95.
- xv Getchese, David H., Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr. *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law, 5th Edition*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 2005: 104.
- xvi Getchese, David H., Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr. *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law, 5th Edition*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 2005: 105
- xvii Getchese, David H., Charles F. Wilkinson, and Robert A. Williams, Jr. *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law, 5th Edition*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 2005: 114.
- xviii Smith, Andrea. "Spiritual Appropriation As Sexual Violence." *Conquest*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 119.
- xix Smith, Andrea. "Spiritual Appropriation As Sexual Violence." *Conquest*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 119-120.
- xx
- xxi Smith, Andrea. "Spiritual Appropriation As Sexual Violence." *Conquest*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 130.
- xxii Deer, Sarah. "Federal Indian Law and Violent Crime: Native Women and Children at the Mercy of the State." In *The Color of Violence: The INCITE Anthology*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006: 32-33.
- xxiii Deer, Sarah. "Federal Indian Law and Violent Crime: Native Women and Children at the Mercy of the State." In *The Color of Violence: The INCITE Anthology*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006: 40.
- xxiv Smith, Andrea. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." *The Color of Violence: Incite Women of Color Against Violence*, ed. INCITE Women of Color Against Violence (Boston: South End Press, 2006): 66.
- xxv Smith, Andrea. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." *The Color of Violence: Incite Women of Color Against Violence*, ed. INCITE Women of Color Against Violence (Boston: South End Press, 2006): 66.
- xxvi Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1: *An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978: 4. I am certainly not discouraging the practice of deviant sex, which is such a broad category, anyhow.

- ^{xxvii} Green, Rayna. "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture." *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (1975).
- ^{xxviii} Green, Rayna. "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture." *Massachusetts Review* 16, no. 4 (1975): 703.
- ^{xxix} Rifkin, Mark. *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011: 26.
- ^{xxx} Alfred, Taiaiake. *Wasase*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005: 19.
- ^{xxxi} Denetdale, Jennifer Nez. "Chairmen, Presidents, and Princesses: The Navajo Nation, Gender, and the Politics of Tradition." *Wicazo Sa Review* 21. No. 1 (2006): 10.
- ^{xxxii} Denetdale, Jennifer Nez. "Chairmen, Presidents, and Princesses: The Navajo Nation, Gender, and the Politics of Tradition." *Wicazo Sa Review* 21. No. 1 (2006): 20-21.
- ^{xxxiii} Traditionalism is seen as existing outside of discourse and existing before the invention of the law. By contextualizing tradition in history and heteropatriarchy, Denetdale disrupts the narrative of traditionalism as sacred and uncorrupted by modernity.
- ^{xxxiv} Denetdale, Jennifer Nez. "Carving Navajo National Boundaries: Patriotism, Tradition, and the Dine Marriage Act of 2005." *American Quarterly* 60 (2008).
- ^{xxxv} Denetdale, Jennifer Nez. "Carving Navajo National Boundaries: Patriotism, Tradition, and the Dine Marriage Act of 2005." *American Quarterly* 60 (2008): 289.
- ^{xxxvi} Smith, Andrea. *Native Americans and the Christian Right: The Gendered Politics of Unlikely Alliances*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008: 108.
- ^{xxxvii} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xxiii-xxiv.
- ^{xxxviii} Coulthard, Glen S. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory*. (2007) 6: 456.
- ^{xxxix} Coulthard, Glen S. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory*. (2007) 6: 443.
- ^{xl} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xviii.
- ^{xli} Lyons, Scott. *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010: 1.
- ^{xlii} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xvix.
- ^{xliii} U.S. Health and Human Services on Women's Health. "Minority Women's Health: Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs)" <http://womenshealth.gov/minority-health/american-indians/stis.cfm>. March 1, 2012.
- ^{xliv} Center for Disease Control and Prevention. "American Indians and Alaska Natives" <http://www.cdc.gov/nchhstp/healthdisparities/AmericanIndians.html>. June 4, 2012.
- ^{xlv} Yee, Jessica. *Sex Ed and Youth: Colonization, Sexuality, and Communities of Color in Our Schools, Our Selves: The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*. V. 18 No. 2 Winter 2009: 1.
- ^{xlvi} Yee, Jessica. *Sex Ed and Youth: Colonization, Sexuality, and Communities of Color in Our Schools, Our Selves: The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives*. V. 18 No. 2 Winter 2009: 1.
- ^{xlvii} Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (Dec 2007): 67(14): 67.
- ^{xlviii} Phil Deloria's work in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (University of Kansas, 2006) discusses how Indians participating in modernity are seen as anomalies because Indians are not "expected" to be able to interact with technology, get manicures, play sports, or act in movies because Indians are so backward and different than settlers. Deloria's work challenges the idea that Indians are vanishing by showing how Native peoples have been historical and political actors throughout history.
- ^{xlix} Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006: 4.

¹ The conquest of Native America is not seen as an ongoing process, and I want to argue conquest and land theft is continuing through narratives of progress and racializing Native peoples as dead and gone. This neat little narrative leaves white America as the natural inheritors of Native lands.

^{li} Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (Dec 2007): 67(14): 69.

^{lii} *Ibid*, 20.

^{liii} *Ibid*, 16.

^{liv} M. Elise Marubbio's chapter titled: "Death, Gratitude, and the Squaw Man's Wife: The Celluloid Princess from 1908-1931" in her book *Killing the Indian Maiden: Images of Native American Women in Film* (2006) gives a good history of the early history of Indians in film through a gendered lens while the whole book discusses the long historical trajectory and changes in Native American women's representations in film from 1908-1990s.

^{lv} Raheja, Michelle H. *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010: 44.

^{lvi} Raheja, Michelle H. *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010: ix.

^{lvii} *Ibid*, ix-x.

^{lviii} Native people, who are racialized as being dead and gone, should be aware of the psychological damage erasure causes and be mindful not to do it to other people in our communities.

^{lix} Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research*. (2006): 387-409.

^{lxlx} SFGate, "Prince Takes Swipe at Timberlake," August 31, 2006, http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/blogs/dailydish/detail?blogid_7&entry_id=8445.

Chapter 2

Violence, Genocide, and Captivity: Exploring Cultural Representations of Sacajawea as a Universal Mother of Conquest

“Dedicated to Sacajawea, 1786-1884 whoever she may have been; and to all the unnamed women who share her story.”^{lxii}

“Consequently, it is not surprising that control over the reproductive abilities of women of color has come to be seen as a ‘national security’ issue for the U.S.”^{lxiii}

“There seemed rather to be a tripleness, a quadrupleness, to consciousness and an endless play, and it went something like this: ‘I am me, I am what you think I am and I am who this person to the right of me thinks I am and you are all full of shit and then maybe I will tell you to your face.’ There was a definite core that seemed to reveal itself at the point of refusal and that refusal was arrived at, of course, at the very limit of the discourse.”^{lxiv}

In 1997, the supply of Susan B. Anthony coins was almost exhausted. To prevent the currency from going out of circulation, Congress voted to mint a Sacagawea coin to replace the Susan B. Anthony dollars. The new Sacagawea dollar was released in the year 2000. (See Figure 2.1.)



Figure 2.1: Glenna Goodacre's "Sacajawea" Coin

As of 2012, there are one billion Sacajawea dollars in circulation with two hundred fifty million in reserve. One billion images of a Native woman with her child are worth one dollar each. Few people take the time to consider deeply the meaning of the new millennium Sacajawea dollar, but this image is loaded with meaning. Sacajawea and Pocahontas are both described as the founding indigenous mothers of the United States. Their role in conquest is secured through images and origin narratives of the U.S. nation-state. These images and narratives work to justify the continued project of settler colonialism. Jon Berger argues: "The reproduction of the image makes it no longer unique. The meaning of the image changes because of this and the image and its meanings are multiplied."^{lxv} Through the mass circulation of these images, colonial domination is made evident while the colonial desire to empty the land of Native peoples

persists. In this chapter, I destabilize narratives of settler colonialism by analyzing the reproduction of images that justify the theft of Native lands and the genocide of Native peoples. If, as Berger argues: “images were first made to conjure up the appearance of something that was absent,”^{lxvi} then this chapter will show how the conjuring capacity of images illuminates the spirit of the attempted genocide of Native peoples. Illuminating the spirit of genocide that hides in cultural productions disrupts the bloodless origin narratives of settler-colonialism and shows how the genocide of Native peoples is portrayed as necessary for the settlement of the United States. In this chapter, I start with the head of Sacajawea located on the Sacajawea coin. Then I discuss how the body of Sacajawea is sexualized and queered through the loss of her child in the film *Night at the Museum* (2006) and in statues of Sacajawea located throughout the United States. Next, I discuss the absent Native bodies located in the American Museum of Natural History located in New York City. I conclude with Monique Mojica’s play *Sacajawea and the Suffragettes* to show how Native artists can reassemble the Native body and spirit as a means of decolonization.

The coin in Figure 2.1 contains the image of Sacajawea with her child on her back. The representation of Sacajawea was chosen with great care and controversy. The U.S. Mint states: “The issue of how Sacagawea would have carried her baby is one that we at the Mint spent a great deal of time examining. We consulted numerous historians and Native American representatives on this issue, and are comfortable with the historical accuracy of sculptor Glenna Goodacre's depiction.”^{lxvii} Glenna Goodacre, the white female artist who designed the image on the Sacagawea dollar, used a Shoshone model to make the coin since no images of the actual Sacajawea were made during her lifetime.

Goodacre uses a great deal of detail to represent Sacajawea. Each strand of hair is visible, carefully tied back, and you can even see the folds of the baby's blanket who sleeps comfortably on her back. Unlike the other representations considered for the dollar coins, Sacagawea is not in profile and there is more than just her head on the coin.

The fact that we see her whole face instead of a profile is significant because she is represented as a person and not just a profile of an anonymous Indian man's head. We get to know her more intimately; she has a name and a child. Her face and the baby represent more than just a head. This is different than her nameless Native male counterpart represented on pennies and nickels from the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.^{lxviii} While Native men's scalps were worth more than Native women's scalps on the frontier, Native women such as Sacagawea, with a colonial narrative linked to the creation story of the United States, are worth more monetarily in the twenty-first century than their male counterparts.

The Sacagawea dollar is the only currency, besides the other nameless Indian head coins, not to contain an American on it. She is also the youngest person to be represented on U.S. currency. The fact that Goodacre chose to represent Sacajawea as more than an Indian head is significant since the other "Indian" money only has the head of an anonymous Indian similar to what is featured by "Indian" sports mascots. If it were only her head, it would be hard to fit an image of her child on the coin. This representation of Sacajawea is meant to be symbolically different than other cheap representations. This representation was carefully researched and executed to portray the authenticity of Sacajawea, an authenticity that operates as a kind of mastery, symbolizing the United States' possession of her and other Native peoples. The official U.S. Mint

website states: “The brighter, brass highlights, in contrast with the darker background, accentuate the profile and add a dimension of depth to the depiction of Sacajawea and her child.”^{lxix} Why does the one-dollar millennium coin have the image of Sacajawea and her child on it? Both Sacagawea and her child are looking back at us, while moving away and facing a different direction than the owner of the dollar. Where is Sacajawea going? Why is Sacajawea on the coin instead of Lewis and Clark? What does it mean for the political future of Native America to have an image of a Native mother circulating on U.S. currency? Answering these questions requires that we critically examine the narrative of Sacajawea and her role as a mother for the U.S. nation-state.

Taken at face value, Sacajawea’s body and that of her child should not be on *any* U.S. currency because she was not a citizen of the United States nor did she spend her life living in the U.S. Instead, Sacajawea spent most of her life with Native peoples on Native lands. Her face, body, and role as a Native mother are reminders that the U.S. is built on the blood and theft of Native lands, yet she is used as currency for the very nation that inflicted this genocide.

The desire for the U.S. Mint, films, statues, and historians to provide an accurate account and image of Sacajawea, their desire to prove Sacajawea’s “truth” is what I will question in this chapter. Sacagawea was not a U.S. citizen but she is a central figure in the *narrative* of the conquest of Native America and the early expansion of U.S. empire. The truths omitted from “authentic” representations of Sacajawea include the attempted conquest, genocide and theft of Native lands to build this lie called the United States. Shari Huhndorf argues: “A vision of the United States, both past and present, without a significant Native presence remains an integral feature of the cultural imaginary, and it

obfuscates conquest so as to naturalize European ownership of the land.”^{lxx} But the blood of genocide is everywhere. It is flowing in the veins of the U.S. nation-state, a monster, a vampire that is not sexy like Eric Northman in *True Blood*. Settler-colonialism is alive and well in cultural representations of Native peoples and in the attempted erasure of the contemporary politics of Native America. Since the erasure of Native America is never complete, the rotting stench of death is in the very land the colonists covet. The land will never be free of the corpses of Native peoples that universities want to possess to further their knowledge of Indigenous peoples. Yet archeologists and scientists only want to know about dead Natives in the past as part of the land. In this chapter, I will show that the careful contextualization of Sacajawea in history and the desire to represent her and her child ‘authentically’ does not come out of respect for her personhood but rather operates as a means of erasing her and other Native peoples from the physical and political landscape of Native America while simultaneously circulating settler colonial narratives that justify the theft of Native lands and the genocide of Native America. The double erasure/circulation of Sacajawea and the simulation of “truth” disrupts the non-violent narrative of the conquest of Native America and says much about the ambivalence of settler colonialism and the ghosts of genocide that continue to haunt the U.S. nation-state.

Who was Sacajawea?^{lxxi} Did she really love white men? Was she a captive, or a willing guide to conquest? What were her motivations? Did she like venison? These questions will not be answered in this chapter. In fact, this chapter is not about the actual Sacajawea who was born 225 years ago. Sacajawea left no written accounts. The oral history of her gathered by white anthropologists is suspect and even more offensively,

boring.^{lxxii} Because we only speculate and make up stories about her, she cannot really be known as a real person nor do I intend to “discover” her or tell you about her. I refuse to be an agent of history and anthropology, and I enact this refusal by not excavating new knowledge or truth about the actual Sacajawea to get my PhD. Instead, I analyze what the settlers say about her through narratives and cultural representations and then “discover” what anxieties settler colonialism tries to hide within the image of Sacajawea. Audra Simpson argues in her groundbreaking article “On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, ‘Voice’ and Colonial Citizenship:” “To Speak of Indigeneity is to speak of colonialism and anthropology, as these are means through which Indigenous people have been known and sometimes are still known.”^{lxxiii} This desire to “know” and write about Natives before our cultures “disappear” into modernity naturalizes conquest and the vanishing Native, which has historically been the project of anthropology. In these formulations, Native peoples who change and adapt to historical conditions are no longer historically recognizable Natives.^{lxxiv} Ned Blackhawk writes: “Once adaption becomes synonymous with assimilation, change over time—the commonplace definition of history—becomes a death knell. The more things change, the greater the loss.”^{lxxv} Unlike other people, Native racialization relies on the history of Native culture and people remaining frozen like dioramas in time. This is why the idea of Native people as political actors in the present moment is unfathomable. When Indigenous peoples do not conform to this model of historicity, it challenges both the social and scientific construction of the racialization of indigeneity. In other words, the racialization of Native peoples relies on them “living” only in dead archival sources in narratives of settler colonialism such as the coin and as past victims of progress.^{lxxvi} Simpson argues:

Such categorical forms of recognition and mis-recognition are indebted to deep philosophical histories of seeing and knowing; tied to legal fiat, they may enable disproportionately empowered political forms (such as 'Empire,' or particular nation-states such as the United States, Canada and Australia) to come into being in a very short time, as without that category of knowing and its concomitant force land could not be wrested from those that belong to it, and those to whom it rightfully belongs.^{lxxvii}

In other words, knowing and willfully "mis-recognizing" Natives through origin narratives is essential to imperial nation-states' ability to justify the dispossession of land from Native peoples. These tales of difference and disappearance constitute means of knowing by constructing Native peoples as different from those of the settler colonial nation. Native peoples who have politically adjusted to modernity and are living in the present do not fit into the small parameters of Native racialization in the United States. These remaining Native peoples cannot be read as Native because they do not conform to stereotypes and "normal" representations of Native peoples in popular culture. Since many cultural representations of Native peoples are of Native women, cultural representations of Native peoples are feminized. Representations of Native men are either feminized or hyper-masculinized and constructed as dangerous to the U.S. body politic. This is significant because visual representations of Native peoples are widely circulated throughout the world. Shari Huhndorf argues for more engagement with visual cultural in Native Studies since more images of Indigenous peoples exist than does literature. She writes:

Although the political dimensions of literature have garnered much critical attention, less notice has been paid to visual expressions in indigenous contexts. This is true despite the increasing importance of images in colonial studies more broadly and the fact that Natives are among the most commonly represented people in the world, their images circulated in museums, photographs, films, ethnographic displays, and national monuments.^{lxxviii}

The fact that Native peoples are the “most commonly represented people in the world” gives validity to the importance of unpacking these images to see what work they serve since the gaze is often directed towards these images of Native peoples in different visual and political contexts. My intention here is to produce work that critiques colonialism in history and museums and to return the focus of the colonial gaze back to the colonizer. In this chapter, I will discuss how colonial narratives of Sacajawea in popular culture justify conquest, heteropatriarchy and the expansion of the United States while supporting the continued colonial management of Native peoples, the erasure of Native national identities, and the theft of Native lands. Shari Huhndorf writes:

Of these ‘dominated and excluded’ groups, Native America presents the most radical challenges to U.S. nationalist myths and imperial practices. As the foundational event in American history, the colonization of Native America exposes U.S. identity, from its origins to the present, as constituted through conquest, the imposition of political control, and the appropriation of indigenous lands. Contained by neither geographic region nor time period, this ongoing process cannot be marginalized; it implicates all non-indigenous peoples in that conquest.^{lxxix}

As Huhndorf argues above, settler colonialism must be seen as a continuous process. For most Americans, enactments of settler colonialism take place in the visual landscape of culture, which may seem like a softer more entertaining form of settler colonialism. Yet the ideas circulated in films, advertisements, novels, and photographs naturalize settler colonialism. Currently, much of the visual representations of Native peoples are in films. Michelle Raheja argues: “Cinema as virtual reservation exemplifies this space in between ‘real’ conceptions of space, physicality, and time and the purely imagined.”^{lxxx} It is the “real” and “purely imagined” spaces of Sacajawea that I want to interrogate in this

chapter and show how these narratives of representation dispossess Native peoples of land while naturalizing the United States as a settler-colonial nation-state. Sacajawea is held captive without a nation as a symbol of conquest in statues, coins and other representations in U.S. popular culture. Specifically, I want to focus on representations of Sacajawea in the film *Night at the Museum* (2006) to deconstruct how Native peoples, and Native women in particular, are represented in modernity as what Denise da Silva describes as affectable subjects facing obliteration by the horizon of death. When I say affectable subject, I mean da Silva's conception of a racialized subject that acts on "natural" instincts exterior to the mind (what she calls exteriority) rather than the rational and reasonable interior mind (what she terms the transparency thesis and the subjectivity produced by it, the "transparent I"), to reasonably consider things and ideas. Both affectable subjects and transparent I's face the horizon of death. Affectable subjects are closer to the horizon of death because they do not have interior reason to protect them against the effects of nature like transparent I's: transparent I's have the power to affect the affectable subject and take their lives.

The transparency thesis is solidified in the writing of history and narratives of history, which are apparent in the film. Da Silva argues:

Thought is the "essence" of everything that exists, but only insofar as the interior thing also recognizes itself as a thing—not as an extended thing, for we just saw that at this point it still thrives in alienation—but enjoys a profound intimacy, transparency, with the universal force that comes into being in time as it engulfs space, the Transcendental I, namely, "Spirit." This is the moment of "world history."^{lxxxix}

Da Silva uses Hegel's formulation of "Spirit" as a means of writing the transparent subject into time and space through global narratives of world history. Ned Blackhawk, a

Native historian, challenges the transparent I subjectivity by writing a historical narrative that makes Native trauma and violent dispossession central to his historical narrative. He argues: Following [Toni] Morrison's critique [that consumers and producers of writing are too scared to look at racism in the light of day], this work suggests that American history is considered a place of comfort, not one of pain; a realm of achievement rather than one of indigenous trauma.^{lxxxii} As Blackhawk points out, this is especially true of Native history. His work in *Violence Over the Land* uses violence as both a method and framework to illuminate the darkness that colonialism brought to Native America. This challenges a celebratory history of the American West and of settler colonialism *because* it shows the violence of the transparent I to maintain dominance.

Little attention in scholarly historical works is given to Sacajawea.^{lxxxiii} This may have to do with the fact that the only archival evidence of Sacajawea in the historical record is in the journals of Lewis and Clark and is not discussed very often. Since she did not write her own account of her life, it is difficult for historians to write about her. I am not complaining about the presence or absence of Sacajawea in mainstream historical accounts or in the archives, but it is interesting that little attention is paid to her in these accounts while in more fictional accounts of Sacajawea, her presence and contribution to the Lewis and Clark expedition outshines the efforts of Lewis and Clark themselves. James P. Rhonda, a Lewis and Clark historian, wrote an appendix in his book on Lewis and Clark that explains why "the most famous Indian associated with the Lewis and Clark expedition" is rarely mentioned throughout his book. Rhonda claims the mythology that Sacajawea single-handedly led Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean obscures how many other Native peoples along the Lewis and Clark trail assisted the

Corps of Discovery. According to Rhonda, she was not a traditional guide because it would have been strange that Lewis and Clark hired guides along the way if Sacajawea was the only guide. Rhonda also argues that most histories written about her “must be read as fiction, not history” since they are not based on historical evidence and are focused instead on the mythology of Sacajawea.

In Frederick Hoxie and Jay T. Nelson’s *Lewis and Clark and the Indian Country: The Native American Perspective* (2007), Hoxie discusses the fact that without Indians, Lewis and Clark would not have completed the Lewis and Clark trail; but there is not one article devoted to Sacajawea in this progressive anthology, nor little mention of her. Most of the anthology focuses on the Native communities that Lewis and Clark encountered, from a Native perspective. The authors in *Lewis and Clark and the Indian Country: The Native American Perspective* (2007) speak about the devastating impact conquest had and continues to have on their communities. Hoxie argues:

The explorers [Lewis and Clark] didn’t cause the current problems but their vague appreciation of the Indian country through which they traveled passed on to those who came behind them. The issues of language loss, cultural change, economic dislocation, and the disruption of community social traditions were products of their communities’ relationship with the United States, a relationship that began with Lewis and Clark. Stated more pointedly: Lewis and Clark represented a moment in a two-century-long struggle over native culture and community sovereignty.^{lxxxiv}

Instead of looking strictly at what happened when Indians met Lewis and Clark, Hoxie and the other authors describe how contact with Lewis and Clark and the expansion of settler colonialism that followed continues to negatively affect Native communities. This is one of the few books that examine the Lewis and Clark expedition through the lens of the present state of Native America. Ned Blackhawk also looks at the Lewis and Clark

expedition through a longer historical trajectory than most mythological narratives do of Sacajawea. He argues:

Explorers and cartographers like Lewis and Clark initiated less immediate forms of violence, performing the geographical measures required for subsequent disruptions. Armies, settlers, migrants, and their herds soon followed, forever altering the region's ecology and societies. In the span of one generation, from the Rocky Mountains to the Sierras immigrants became settlers, settlements became towns, and Indians became outsiders.^{lxxxv}

Like Hoxie et al., Blackhawk contextualizes the Lewis and Clark expedition as an event that forever changed Native lives in the West. While Blackhawk focuses on archival evidence and the field of history to situate his argument, this chapter will look at ways popular culture keeps colonialism in the dark corners and promotes celebratory narratives of U.S. history through the national mythology of Sacajawea. The lack of representation of Sacajawea in “non-fictional” accounts of Lewis and Clark and the centering of Sacajawea in fictional accounts supports Sacajawea as a colonial fairytale and not as a powerful Native person who existed in history. I wish to disrupt transparent-I narratives of history in my analysis of Sacajawea in *Night at the Museum* by showing the violence inherent in the transparent-I subject formation. In this way, I hope to make the transparent-I identity subject formation unsexy.

In this chapter, I focus on representations of Native peoples in popular culture because of the large audiences and often uncritical way these representations reify structures of power. Importantly, the target audience of this film is children and families. Since most people “know” Natives through stereotypical representations in popular culture, these representations are especially damaging and require a response. At first glance, *A Night at the Museum* and the American Natural History Museum seem to

contain harmless, educational, and possibly even helpful and respectful representations of Sacajawea. Yet representations of Sacajawea and her vanishing children are an important part of the narratives of genocide portrayed in this film and in the Museum of Natural History. The reason I chose *A Night at the Museum* is because of the huge audiences that the film attracted. Domestically this movie grossed \$250,863,268 with another \$323,617,573 in worldwide ticket sales.^{lxxxvi} While the film received mixed reviews, this did not keep many people from the theatre. I will end this chapter with a play written by Monique Mojica that counters these negative representations of Sacajawea and thus offers a critique of colonial representations and narratives of Sacajawea.

Mieke Bal who writes about colonial narratives argues: “Narrativization is a highly efficient way of inserting myth models into the stories of everyday life.”^{lxxxvii} Colonial narratives of Sacajawea are significant because these narratives are stories of “everyday life” for the settler-colonial nation state. We understand Sacajawea as a mother and a guide because of the myth that Native women selflessly help white men conquer Native America by leading white men through the physical landscape. Since the story of Sacajawea involves her assisting Lewis and Clark, it tells a story we already know and understand. This story is not always the same but always implicates Native women as willful participants of conquest. Huhndorf writes: “Stories of sexualized ‘traitors’ such as Sacajawea and Pocahontas offered models of Native-European relations that became colonial national origin stories as they redefined the roles of indigenous women in order to diminish their power.”^{lxxxviii} These unequal gender roles for Native women are constantly reinscribed onto national origin stories that are told over and over again in an attempt to stabilize the guilty and uneasy settler colonial consciousness. For

Native women, these colonial origin stories need to be disrupted and retold in order to expose the violent narratives of settler-colonialism and white heteropatriarchy that attempt to erase by making a Native woman complicit in conquest.

Importantly, in the colonial narrative/myth, Sacajawea's role as a mother is changeable. In cinematic representations of Sacajawea, the character of Sacajawea is not portrayed as a mother if she has a white male love interest.^{lxxxix} The removal of Sacajawea's child and Native motherhood becomes a violent act of genocide in cinematic representations when the continued practice of Native children's captivity is put into historical context.

There is a long colonial history of different bureaucratic agencies taking Native children away from their mothers, families and Native communities as a means of attempting to systematically assimilate Native people into the U.S. heteropatriarchal body politic. Hundreds of years of colonial assault on Native peoples have failed to completely destroy Native sovereignty and the self-determination of Native peoples. Many Native communities have survived boarding schools and the kidnapping of Native children from their families under the guise of child protective services, prisons, military service, and insane asylums. This is not to say Native communities are unharmed or even functioning as a result of these various forms of institutional violence. Despite all this, Native peoples continue to reproduce and live in modernity.

Native mothers and the physical reproduction of Native peoples are seen as a biological threat to the United States. Andrea Smith argues: "In particular, Native women, whose ability to reproduce continues to stand in the way of the continuing conquest of Native lands, endanger the continued success of colonization."^{xc} If there are

further generations of Native peoples, Native lands will continue to be occupied by Native people who own that land. The connection between Native women and Native lands is so explicit that the U.S. government sponsored a sterilization program federally funded through Indian Health Services in the 1970s.^{xci} Smith writes:

As a result, in 1976 the General Accounting Office (GAO) released a report studying 4 of the 12 areas serviced by IHS (Albuquerque, Phoenix, Aberdeen, and Oklahoma City). According to this report, 3,001 Native women of childbearing age, or approximately 5 percent of all Native women of childbearing age in these areas, were sterilized between 1973 to 1976.^{xcii}

Since this is a government-sponsored agency, this is a conservative estimate. The Native activists cited by Smith estimate that between twenty-five and fifty percent of Native women of childbearing age who used Indian Health Services were sterilized during this time. One of the many disturbing aspects of the sterilizations was the targeting of full-blooded Native women mothers. The use of sterilization as a tool of genocide exemplifies the threat of Native motherhood to the U.S. nation-state and the lengths the United States will go to eliminate Native peoples. These ideologies are reflected in cultural representations and colonial narratives of Sacajawea's motherhood.

Museums As Sites of Preservation, Containment and Dispossession of Native Lands: The American Museum of Natural History and *Night at the Museum*

Night at the Museum stars Ben Stiller as Larry and co-stars Dick Van Dyke and Mickey Rooney. Larry, the main character of the film, is a screw-up single father who cannot hold down a career or an apartment. He wants to look successful and stable to his son Nikki, which for him means having an income and not being evicted from his apartment in New York City. Larry gets a job as a night guard at the American Museum

of Natural History to make his son proud. To his surprise, all the displays at the museum come alive at night because of a magical Egyptian tablet stolen from a pyramid and brought to the museums in the 1950s. (Yes, this movie is also filled with Orientalist representations of Genghis Khan and Egyptian pharaohs.) Through many trials and errors, Larry learns to manage all of the characters and animals in the museum, an achievement that makes him a better man. Rebecca works as a museum docent, and she is a historian working on her thesis about Sacajawea. She and Larry have a G-rated love connection in this film, which prompts Larry to introduce Rebecca to Sacajawea so that she can share her secrets with the aspiring historian, allowing her to tell Sacajawea's "real" story to the rest of the world. In the end, Larry becomes a disciplined authority figure who has the respect of his son and the characters at the museum. The overarching narrative of the film is that even a screw-up white man can manage powerful racialized historical figures if he works hard enough and does research to learn the history of these figures.

Although film representations and museum representations do different work, there is a direct connection between these two different mediums in the film *Night at the Museum* (2006) and the American Museum of Natural History. The connections between the film and museum were made explicit during the 2006-2007-holiday season. After the release of the first *Night at the Museum*, there was a twenty percent increase in visitors to the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York.^{xciii} This is especially impressive because the film opened a few days before Christmas in 2006. The film self-referentially predicts that its own release will increase interest in the AMNH. At the end of the film, there is an increase in patrons to the AMNH because news reports of dinosaur

sightings and cavemen lead to a renewed interest in the museum for New Yorkers. There is much overlap between the film-museum and the physical museum and both sites attract large audiences.

In *Night at the Museum* (2006) and in the actual American Museum of Natural History in New York City, the representations of “Indians,” support the narrative of conquest. In other words, museums are positioned as educational sites of genocide.

Mieke Bal argues:

The American Museum of Natural History is monumental not only in architecture and design, but also in size, scope, and content. This monumentality suggests that the primary meaning of the museum is inherited from *its* history: comprehensive collecting as an activity within colonialism. In this respect, museums belong to an era of scientific and colonial ambition, stretching out from the Renaissance through the early twentieth century.^{xci}

The Natural History Museum is a place of history and science; where time and space comprise the analytics of raciality. Importantly for Native peoples, the conquest of Native America is not a past event, but continues through museums’ attempt to contain Native culture and peoples in the past while excluding them from modernity. In other words, the natural history museum works as a cultural reservation where Native culture is saved and preserved for the satisfaction and maintenance of the settler colonial nation-state. Michelle Raheja argues:

From their creation, reservations have been often-perverse tourism sites where non-Indians would travel to experience a glimpse into a purportedly ‘vanished’ culture. Reservations became living dioramas where tourists could punitively step outside of time and space to see ‘real’ Indians (or what passed for the ‘real’ in the settler nation’s national mythology).^{xci}

Since natural history museums go to great lengths to show Natives in the past, the idea of Indians living on reservations or of any Native ties to a land base in the present is erased and destroyed. This is an act of genocide.

Andrea Smith argues in “Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing” that one way to combat white supremacy is to disrupt the logic of genocide. The logic of genocide is anchored by colonialism and the idea that Native peoples are constantly disappearing to make room for non-Native people to settle indigenous lands. Under this logic, non-Native people appropriate Native culture because they believe they are the rightful inheritors of Native lands and culture.^{xvii} The museum takes the place of the reservation as spectacle, which further dispossesses Native peoples of land and life in the U.S. colonial imagination. In other words, settlers do not even have to make the trip to the reservation to see the Indians dance at powwows. Now, the spectacle and performance of indigeneity is located in the museum, offered as a form of education. This is apparent in the representations of Native peoples in the American Museum of Natural History through the presentation of cultural artifacts and the performance of authenticity and death.

After I visited the AMNH in New York City, I realized that the movie took great artistic liberties in its reconstruction of the space of the museum. (See Figure 2.2.)



Figure 2.2: Even the balls on Teddy Roosevelt's horse at the AMNH are huge! In other words, the actual American Museum of Natural History is not at all like the Hollywood version of it. The new science and planetarium wing is impressive and futuristic, but this is not included in the film. In the film, the life-size Native dioramas are mixed in with other dioramas of the same historical period yet the actual AMNH is segregated by race. Different floors and sections are dedicated to different races, not to time periods as the movie suggests. The Pacific part is new and contains the carving stolen from Easter Island. Margaret Mead's "Hall of Pacific Peoples" wing still contains dioramas and stolen artifacts from different groups of Pacific Islanders. Unlike the Native displays in the film, the Indian part of the actual museum is rundown and old. It has dim lighting because the dark, old wood-paneled walls do not reflect much light. The

displays contain empty representations of Native people or Native peoples with just their heads, much like the Indian heads on U.S. currency. (See Figure 2.3.)



Figure 2.3: American Museum of Natural History Indian Display

Native ghosts haunt these displays. The empty clothes float above the ground. Below them are empty moccasins or other shoes with no feet. (See Figure 2.4.)



Figure 2.4: Bottom of Display of Figure 2.3

Could they not even afford another mannequin to wear these clothes or are the empty shoes and clothing meant to symbolize the disappearance of Native peoples? Most of the stolen Native American outfits and other cultural artifacts sit in old decrepit glass cases. The same type of mannequin is used for both Native men and women. (See Figures 2.5, 2.6, and 2.7.)



Figure 2.5: Male Indian Next to Invisible Woman



Figure 2.6: Native Women's Clothing On Male Mannequin



Figure 2.7: Male Indian Head Set on Top of Stolen Leather Dress Filled with Stuffing
Cheap wigs are put on their heads. (See Figure 2.8.)



Figure 2.8: Cheap Wig on Indian Head with More Native Clothing without a Body Not much thought or effort is put into the Native displays, which makes the experience and representations of Native peoples sadder. There is no Sacajawea statue in this museum.

The use of one mannequin for both Native men and women shows the lack of care in clear distinctions between genders for Native peoples in the AMNH. In a way, this is revolutionary yet many Native communities place great importance on the roles each gender plays in the community. The careless, cheap, and dark displays of pieces of Native American culture stolen from Native graves from all over Native America is horrible to witness. The sad part is no one seemed upset or even disturbed by these displays. There were people having their picture taken with some of the mannequins

dressed as Indians. It is absurd settler-colonists would spend all this time and money on grave robbing only to make these half ass displays of ownership and power. The museum did not even try to justify the ownership of these important cultural objects that they took off of Native skeletons to hang in the museum. The empty Native clothes and shoes symbolize the desire of settler-colonialism to take the place of Native peoples both culturally and territorially. This can be seen in the lack of acknowledged Native peoples' participation in the making of the displays of theft and grave-robbing with the complete absence of Native peoples in the present. The film also displays Native characters in dioramas but Sacajawea and other Indians are not on some dark segregated floor. They look new and are placed with other historical actors of their time.

Since *Night at the Museum* is a family movie intended for children, this movie portrays a simplified version of white heteropatriarchal colonial domination and manifest destiny. Sacajawea is one of the only figures, along with Lewis and Clark, who is behind glass in the film. Lewis and Clark do not have any lines in the film. Even though Sacajawea is in a display with them, she never talks to them and they ignore her too. Importantly, in the museum case, Sacajawea does not have a child, nor is she a mother. Her child is a presence/absence because the audience is told during the film that Sacajawea had a baby on the Lewis and Clark trail yet Sacajawea does not even appear pregnant in the diorama in the film. Rebecca, the dossier at the museum and a Sacajawea expert, tells Larry that Sacajawea led Lewis and Clark across the country with a baby on her back, yet she does not explain why Sacajawea does not have a baby in the museum. Nor is Toussaint Charbonneau, Sacajawea's husband, mentioned during Rebecca's informational session with Larry. The absence of Sacajawea's baby is significant for

several reasons. Sacajawea, and by extension the Native women that her character represents, loses the future of Native America with the loss of her child and the loss of her reproductive freedom. The loss of her baby and her motherhood makes Sacajawea appear unattached and sexually available. Yet the absence of the baby in the museum display case also provides a break in the legitimacy of the colonial narrative. Rebecca tells Larry that Sacajawea carried a baby on the Lewis and Clark trail yet in the museum Sacajawea does not have a child with her in the glass case. Rebecca, a white woman historian, does not comment on Sacajawea's loss of her child in the museum. This points to the reality that the museum picks and chooses what it represents and it excludes parts of history. Colonialism, despite what the historical truth may be, can dictate that Native children can be taken from their Native mothers. In other words, museum displays and film narratives do not show the whole picture and have nothing to do with the actual life of Sacajawea.

In the narrative of the film, Sacajawea is represented as the guide. When Larry needs help finding the bandits, he does not turn to any of the other explorers for help. Even though Lewis and Clark and Christopher Columbus are characters in the museum, Larry breaks Sacajawea out of her glass case. Even though Lewis and Clark are in the same display, they are not invited to come along and help track the thieves who steal the magical Egyptian tablet that makes the statues come alive in the museum every night. Once outside of Sacajawea's glass case, she easily adapts to New York City and falls in love with a white man. And not just any white man. Teddy Roosevelt is her love interest. (See Figure 2.9.)



Figure 2.9: Sacajawea and Teddy Roosevelt in *Night at the Museum* (2006)

The romantic pairing of Teddy Roosevelt and Sacajawea is a colonial fantasy and performs an erasure of Teddy Roosevelt's participation in conquest and his eugenicist beliefs. Teddy Roosevelt was a proud imperialist and expansionist who warned Americans against committing "race suicide,"^{xcvii} which is white men or women having children with non-white people. Roosevelt's connection to the eugenics movement is not mentioned in the film. He also was a Rough Rider, governor-general of the Philippines, and actively participated in the military conquest and expansion of the United States, which is why the American Museum of Natural History is dedicated to him. Teddy Roosevelt represents an ideal narrative of American masculinity. He also stole a great deal of Native land held in "trust" and made these Native lands U.S. national parks. In

fact, much of the racism of the actual statue of Teddy Roosevelt at the American Museum of Natural History is erased from the film. Donna Haraway writes: “To enter the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial, [located in the main entrance to the museum] the visitor must pass by a James Earle Fraser equestrian statue of Teddy majestically mounted as a father and protector between two ‘primitive’ men, an American Indian and an African, both standing and dressed as ‘savages.’”^{xcviii} In the film, the statue of Teddy Roosevelt is located inside the museum instead of directly outside the museum. The Indian and African men are not present and Teddy Roosevelt sits on his horse across from the docent’s desk. A skeleton of a dinosaur is the main attraction in the cinematic American Museum of Natural History and the hall devoted to Teddy Roosevelt in the actual AMNH is not included. The overt representations and narratives of colonialism in this film are erased from what exists in the museum. The cinematic museum tries to be a place of multicultural harmony and love instead of a solidification of racial hierarchies.

The “romance” between Teddy Roosevelt and Sacajawea in *Night at the Museum* does not actually threaten Teddy Roosevelt’s idea of race suicide because their relationship, like the characters themselves, is contained to the museum. Since Teddy Roosevelt admits he is a wax statue, his sexual union with Sacajawea cannot produce a child. This also means that there is no possibility for Sacajawea to become a Native mother. Also, Robin Williams plays Teddy Roosevelt and a beautiful much younger Japanese American actress named Mizuo Peck plays Sacajawea. Because of this casting, it is doubtful that out of all of the characters in the Natural History museum that Sacajawea would choose Teddy Roosevelt. But the Sacajawea in *A Night at the Museum* is a Celluloid Maiden character that loves white men and aids in conquest.^{xcix} Even

though Sacajawea is a Celluloid Maiden, she does not sacrifice her life to save the white man she loves in *Night at the Museum*.

Teddy Roosevelt saves Sacajawea's life by pushing her out of the way of the stagecoach driven by Dick Van Dyke. After Teddy Roosevelt rescues her, Sacajawea melts Teddy Roosevelt together after he is cut in half by the stagecoach. Instead of going inside the museum where she could have access to some modern technology to heat Teddy Roosevelt's wax, she uses two rocks to start a fire in the middle of the snow with some bark to melt him back together. (This also alludes to the way film is cut and put together again before digital technology changed film splicing.) Teddy Roosevelt's sacrifice and Sacajawea's effort of putting him back together bind them together romantically. Teddy Roosevelt's ability to be put back together and taken apart is a very telling part of the difference between him and Sacajawea. It is not clear whether she would survive getting cut in half. In the film, Teddy Roosevelt admits to being a statue made in Poughkeepsie but Sacajawea never makes a similar claim. This shows how Sacajawea faces the horizon of death more directly than her white male counterpart because her life as a "living" statue is her real life. Roosevelt's interiority is assured through his ability to rationalize his position as a wax statue. He knows he is a reproduction of Teddy Roosevelt. He has Teddy Roosevelt's essential character, but not his actual memories and life experience. Yet the Sacajawea statue is represented as the "real" Sacajawea, awakened in statue form as a result of the mysterious Egyptian curse. Donna Haraway argues that representations and narratives of Teddy Roosevelt in the American Museum of Natural History transcend his body and focus on his ability to

master and control his body and mind. For Haraway, this mastery is the goal of what she calls “manhood” and what Da Silva calls the “transparent I.” Haraway writes:

The joining of life and death in these icons of Roosevelt’s journeys and in the architecture of his stony memorial announces the central moral truth of this museum. This is the effective truth of manhood, the state conferred on the visitor who successfully passes through the trial of the museum. The body can be transcended.^c

On the other hand, Sacajawea is represented as possessing the interiority of the real Sacajawea who has Sacajawea’s memories and experiences. Her Native body is closely related to Nature and cannot be transcended. Sacajawea is wearing a short-sleeved beaded buckskin dress that does not go below her knees yet she is not cold in the New York winter. This is an example of how Sacajawea is represented as close to nature and less than human. If she were a real person and not a statue/Indian, she would be susceptible to the cold snow.

In fact, the audience is led to believe this statue Sacajawea is the actual Sacajawea. At the end of the film, Sacajawea is going to help Rebecca finish her thesis, by telling Rebecca things about herself that cannot be found in the archives. Now, Rebecca will get to tell the world about Sacajawea through Rebecca’s voice. It is not only Sacajawea’s body that is the object of conquest by white men. White women participate in conquest through the reproduction of knowledge about Native women and by claiming the right to speak for Native women. In this way, Sacajawea gives both her body and mind to colonial institutions. There is no recovery of her child and the future of Native America’s story is bequeathed to a white woman.

Through Sacajawea’s confession of knowledge about herself, Rebecca inherits the future of Native America through her ability to tell the story of Sacajawea to people

outside of the museum. Earlier in the film, Rebecca stared longingly at the Sacajawea statue and told Larry she wanted to know who Sacajawea really was. If Sacajawea were a statue like Teddy Roosevelt, she would not have truths to tell Rebecca about Sacajawea. Unlike Rebecca, a nice white woman, Sacajawea is a dead statue that comes alive at night and cannot leave the museum without turning into dust. The fact that her name is Rebecca, the name Pocahontas adopts when she converts to Christianity, is also symbolic. Both Pocahontas and Sacajawea are seen as traitorous Native women who sacrificed themselves and their communities to aid in the conquest of Native America. Rebecca takes the place of a Native mother in the origin story of conquest by using their narrative to replace both the Native mother and Native child with white and Native ancestry. What does this say about conquest? If the actual Sacajawea willingly stands in a museum and does not complain about losing her son or being kidnapped by Lewis and Clark, and then dates Teddy Roosevelt, a narrative emerges that silences the violence of conquest while producing further colonial violence. Simultaneously, Larry gets to become a good dad to his son while Sacajawea does not get her son back and ends up with Teddy Roosevelt. This reifies white heteropatriarchy and presents a family friendly white masculinity while disavowing a future for Native America.

One of the most violent and powerful narratives of the film is that the characters of the museum will turn into dust if they do not return to the museum before sunrise. If history comes alive at night, then it must be dead during the day. The historical characters are literally the walking dead that have already been engulfed by the horizon of death. Once realized, the modern representation of the horizon of death becomes a conscious reality instead a subconscious part of the thinking process. Disrupting the

“naturalness” of these representations of violence and death of “others” through engulfment in a children’s movie shows how the naturalization of violence directed towards people of color begins in childhood. When Da Silva’s work is used to deconstruct popular culture, her ideas become animated and raise race consciousness. The engulfment of the caveman is a violent narrative of containment because these historical characters are literally contained in the museum or they will die in the light of day. During the night, the characters can fight and dance with other characters of the museum. But these characters must be segregated from the general population. This is the limit of their existence. It is like a magical reservation system except the inhabitants do not possess any land. While the characters of the museum can leave the museum during the night, they must return to their place in the museum or they die. One of Larry’s responsibilities is containing the characters to the museum and making sure that if they do leave, they return to the museum by sundown. On Larry’s second night of work, a caveman escapes the museum because he is fascinated with the fire he sees outside. He jumps out of the museum and Larry notices his absence too late. From Larry’s perspective in the museum, a long shot shows the caveman running up the street before the break of dawn. The next shot is a close-up of Larry trying to get out of the doors of the museum and the camera shows Larry looking on helplessly. Importantly, this shows that Larry can go between the museum and outside of the museum without being engulfed by the horizon of death. There is a shot of the sun coming up over the trees of central park and the sun shining toward the museum and then the unfortunate caveman who does not belong. We see a full frame of the body of the caveman as the sun touches him and he literally turns to dust and disappears. The next frame is the street

cleaner erasing every trace of this body from the streets of New York City. This scene in the film is meant to be a cautionary tale to other characters in the museum and as a moment of awakening for Larry. (See Figure 2.10.)



Figure 2.10: Cavewoman Disintegrating in the Sun in *Night at the Museum* (2006)

The narrative of containment and confinement has no mercy in this film. Not even a cavewoman can escape the colonizing narrative of segregation for this film. The narrative of containment and segregation juxtaposed with the pluralist idea of multiculturalism that exists in the museum at night indicates that the leadership of Larry reifies white supremacy. This plays out to great effect in *Night at the Museum* because the Native woman in the film is a statue of Sacajawea that will turn to dust if she leaves the museum in the light of day. The gentle violence of this film comes through the multicultural idea of a “let all the historical actors of the world get along” narrative of conquest. Native women feminists have led the critique of these silencing narratives of multi-culturalism.

Freeze Frames: Staking the Claim of U.S. Ownership of Native Lands Through Sacajawea Statues

Contrasting images of Sacajawea as a statue to Sacajawea in the film *Night at the Museum* shows how statues of Sacajawea and cinematic representations of Sacajawea do different, and sometimes similar, political work. This film has Sacajawea as a statue during the day and a living diorama at night, which offers a unique opportunity to compare these different sights/sites. In this section, I will analyze the statue of Sacajawea in the film *Night at the Museum*, two Sacajawea statues, and a Sacajawea statue that talks back in Monique Mojica's play *Birdwoman and the Suffragettes: A Story of Sacajawea* (1992). I chose these statues because each one marks the beginning and the end of the Lewis and Clark trail. I visited both of these sites because the context of the place has lots of important information in situating the statues. I will argue that statues of Sacajawea attempt to mark the land they stand on as land under U.S. heteropatriarchal control and not Native nations. The fact that Lewis and Clark are rarely present in these monuments built "to honor" Sacajawea, raise several interesting questions. What work does a solitary Native woman with child commemorate? How does her position as a single mother justify the imposition of a settler colonial state and the inheritance (theft) of Native lands? How do these statues erase the presence of Native peoples on this land now called the United States?

Sacajawea, as a sexualized cultural image, helps us deconstruct settler colonialism through her representation as a statue. Even though Sacajawea is Shoshone, she does not have a national designation as a cultural image. Jean Batiste, her son that she had on the "Oregon trail" is not given a nationality either. This is significant because Sacajawea is an important cultural symbol of U.S. conquest. There are more statues of Sacajawea in

the United States than of any other woman. On these statues, she is not considered a U.S. citizen and in most cases, she is not designated as a member of the Shoshone nation. This is itself is an act of genocide because it is a denial of Sacajawea's Indianness, her role as a Native mother, and her ability to reproduce future generations of Shoshones.

In the film *Night at the Museum*, Sacajawea is represented both as a statue and a living character. In this film, she is not represented as a Shoshone Indian. Her body comes alive at night but she, along with all the other statues at the museum, is not allowed to leave the museum. If the statues leave the museum and meet the light of day outside of the museum, the morning sun will disintegrate their bodies and they will no longer exist. In this way, the statues are confined to the museum. While other statues claim to not to be the person they represent, the Sacajawea statue does claim to be Sacajawea. If she tries to exist outside of the museum, the threat of annihilation for Sacajawea would be actual and not symbolic. Once again, Sacajawea is represented as a symbol of conquest and her guidance on the Lewis and Clark Trail used to justify the expansion of the U.S. She represents a nationless American legend. Not even her body is her own. By erasing her Shoshone citizenship and her role as a Native mother, her personhood is dismembered. Her ability to give birth to a future generation of Shoshones is also erased by representing her without her children and without a Native nation in this film. In representations of Sacajawea as a statue, she is not seen as an American citizen nor does this distinction allow her to exist outside of the bounded narrative of U.S. nation building. Being locked into a nation- building narrative structure that represents her race as dead and Sacajawea as exceptional is an act of captivity in a U.S. genocidal narrative structure. This is an act of violence to Sacajawea, Shoshones,

and to Native peoples generally. This is why there are so many Sacajawea statues to mark the United States as a settler colonial nation-state.

Performances and narratives of Native women that support white heteropatriarchy through sexual relationships, the sharing of Native knowledges, and the bearing of non-Native children for the white heteropatriarchal future are all narratives that justify conquest and the imposition of heteropatriarchy. This is bad for both Native peoples and non-Native peoples. Obviously, this negatively affects Native peoples more since it is our lives and land that are taken, so there is more at stake for us to expose these narratives of conquest. Using a Native mother as symbol of the care of heteropatriarchy is successful until the sexual, physical, cultural, and reproductive violence of white colonial heteropatriarchy is exposed as an alibi for the conquest of Native America.

Much of the work of conquest happens in the public sphere. This is especially true for Native women since the public sphere is a dangerous and powerful place for Native women to occupy. Dangerous because we are hypersexualized and powerful because our movement in the public sphere disrupts ideas of dead and erased Indians and place us in modernity. Shari Huhndorf argues:

Countering oppositions between indigeneity and questions of gender, these works imagine an identity and an anticolonial politics that is *both* Native and feminist. Yet at the same time, they inevitably confront the dangers of public space, which for indigenous women is always sexualized, laden with histories of violence and displays of commodified Native bodies.^{ci}

Using Native feminist politics, Huhndorf breaks down the importance of a gendered reading of visual images to tell us more about the nature of conquest. Adding a

sexualized account of these images adds a deeper analysis and expose how heteropatriarchy is a foundational part of constructing these visual images of Empire.

Both the cinematic representation of Sacajawea and statues of Sacajawea secure a non-violent past, present, and future for white America by placing Native peoples in the past and not in the present. At the same time, the bloody history of conquest and the existence of a Native America beyond the doors of the museum is forgotten and ignored. Since statues, seemingly un-problematically, fill in for Native peoples, actual Native peoples and current Native politics are not overtly a part of the film. The Sacajawea exhibit in the movie version of the American Museum of Natural History looks like a stage and it is where the audience's gaze is drawn. This makes the Sacajawea exhibit the main exhibit in the room that holds other important American historical scenes such as the Civil War. In the film, the statue of Sacajawea stands in front of a melodramatic painted mountain and stream. (See Figure 2.11.)



Figure 2.11: Sacajawea in the Museum Case in *Night at the Museum* (2006)

There are also some sad little bushes and trees that surround the Lewis and Clark diorama. Since Sacajawea is in a glass case that reaches from the floor to the ceiling, she is physically untouchable by the other characters. Sacajawea is unable to speak, be heard or listen to what is going on outside of Lewis and Clark arguing about what direction they should go in the diorama they are all trapped within. There is no way out for these characters in the diorama. Importantly, Sacajawea does not come to the aid of Lewis and Clark in the film. She does not give them directions or willingly listen to them, which is unlike the colonial narrative of Sacajawea. Unlike the other characters in the film, these three characters do not get to run around the museum at night. But this does not mean that other characters in the film do not notice Sacajawea and Lewis and Clark.

The scene in the film is staged for the audiences' gaze to be drawn to the diorama of Sacajawea and Lewis and Clark both in the museum and in the film. When Sacajawea comes alive at night, Teddy Roosevelt has her under surveillance. She does not see him because he is hiding in some fake trees and bushes. Roosevelt's panoptic surveillance of Sacajawea is a privileged position because he can escape the gaze of the one he wants to see but Sacajawea cannot avoid this gaze. (See Figure 2.12.)



Figure 2.12: Sacajawea, Lewis, and Clark Diorama in *Night at the Museum* (2006)
Yet Teddy Roosevelt, the museum audience, and Sacajawea's gaze are further complicated by the film audiences' gaze of the panoptic seer. Can the audience have a panoptic view when every frame of the film is staged with the intention to be seen by an audience? The audience has a panoptic view of both Teddy Roosevelt and Larry looking

at Sacajawea while the audience looks at both characters looking at Sacajawea. The audience is supposed to see through the perspective of Teddy Roosevelt whose gaze the camera follows. The beautiful Native woman is the main target both on the stage in the film and in the actual American Museum of Natural History. Sacajawea is to be seen but not heard, nor is the audience to see from her perspective.

One major difference between representations of Sacajawea in film and statues is a metaphysical conception of time. Statues, while they can be moved to different locations, appear timeless and are objects to be seen without the threat of a returned gaze. Films do not possess a timeless quality. The technology of films is constantly developing, and films from a century ago and even ten years ago look very different than films made now. Statues can be over a century old or a year old and look similar to one another. This idea of timelessness haunts these statues. Sacajawea statues use an image of a Native woman in buckskins with a papoose. The erasure of the violence of conquest exists outside of time since these narratives are constantly produced and reproduced throughout time. Yet both film and statues support visual images of colonial narratives. Statues are commemorations of colonial violence and domination of Native peoples and Native lands that are now owned by someone else. However, as I have argued above, Native politics and the history of colonialism are writ large in the film *Night at the Museum* and on statues of Sacajawea outside of this film because the desire to erase the violence of conquest leaves a bloody residue that can only be seen by certain viewers. In other words, the absence of colonial violence reproduces the idea that Native peoples are no longer struggling to maintain Native lands (or that Native peoples ever resisted conquest). Like film audiences, people who look at Sacajawea statues have Sacajawea

looking back at them. What does she say to them? She tells them to get off Native peoples' land. Or maybe she is silent.

The Sacajawea statue made by Glenna Goodacre is located in the middle of the Lewis and Clark Community College in Godfrey, Illinois. (See Figure 2.13.)



Figure 2.13: Glenna Goodacre's Sacajawea Statue in Godfrey, Illinois November 10, 2009

Glenna Goodacre is a white woman who made the Sacajawea dollar coin to commemorate the new millennium and was commissioned by the Lewis and Clark Community College to make this statue in 2004. Across the Missouri river from Godfrey, Illinois is St. Louis, where Lewis and Clark began their journey. This is before they met

Sacajawea along the way. There are over 7,750 students that attend Lewis and Clark Community College. The buildings surround an empty center where the statue of Sacajawea and her child stands by the “main complex” of the campus. The only other artwork on campus are some abstract iron sculptures located on the other side of the courtyard and are titled: “The New Heritage Sculptures” that link the old buildings in a circle to the newer ones beyond the main campus. (See Figure 2.14.)

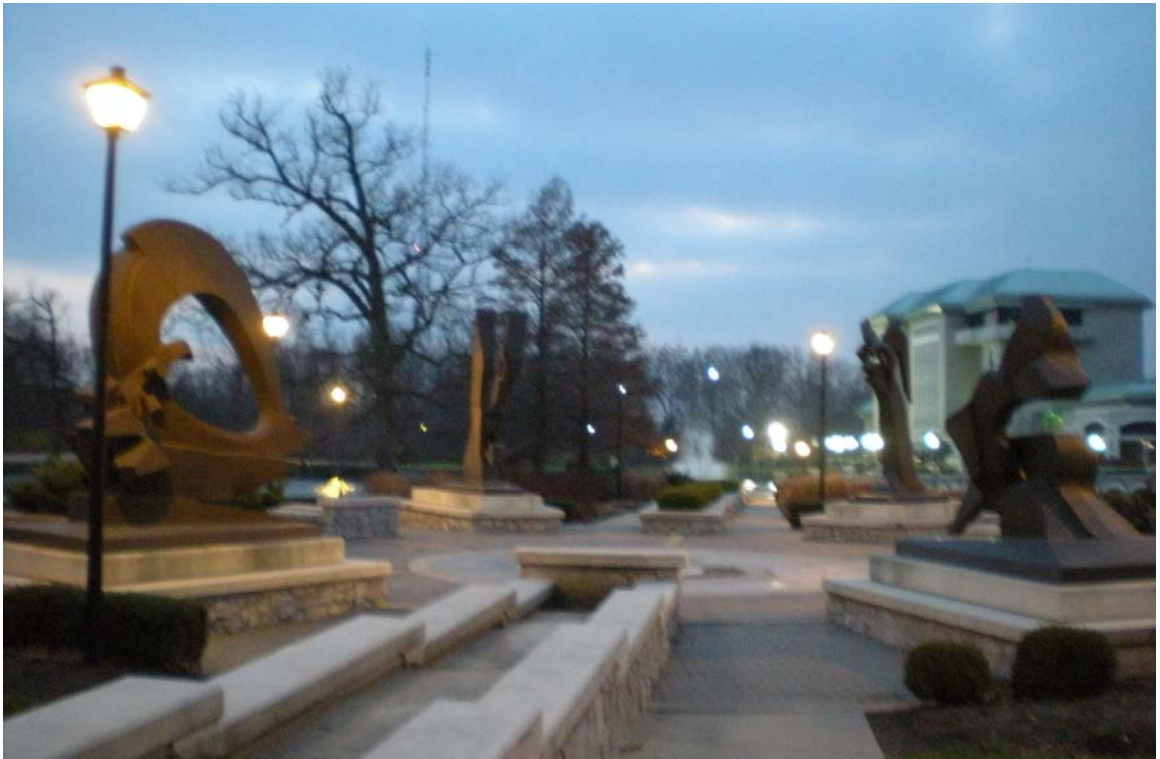


Figure 2.14: The New Heritage Sculpture Garden Godfrey, Illinois November 10, 2009

I have provided a picture of the sculptures above to show how Goodacre’s Sacajawea statue contrasts with the modern abstract sculptures on this campus. It is ironic that the Sacajawea statue is not located in the Heritage circle since she is part of the “national heritage” of the origin story of the expansion of the U.S. nation-state. (Also, Native peoples are known for their affinity for circles.) There are no Lewis and Clark

statues to commemorate the namesake of the community college on this campus.

Sacajawea is all by herself with her child, Baptiste in this beautiful sculpture. (See Figure 2.15.)



Figure 2.15: Close-Up of Glenna Goodacre's Sacajawea and Jean Baptiste Statue
November 10, 2009

This statue is made of bronze and great attention to detail was made to achieve accurate racial features. Goodacre used the same Shoshone-Bannock woman, Randy L'Teton, as a model for both this statue and for the Sacajawea dollar. Strangely, the statue looks as though it could have been there for hundreds of years even though I knew it had only been there since 2004. The statue is isolated from the other outdoor art installations. This Sacajawea statue and the one located at the end of the Lewis and Clark trail are

similar in the fact that Sacajawea stands alone in Portland, Oregon as she does in Godfrey, Illinois.

The Sacajawea statue at the end of the Lewis and Clark trail stands in Washington Park above the city of Portland, Oregon. Alice Cooper sculpted this statue in 1905 for the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition. This Sacajawea statue is located off of Lewis and Clark Drive and is close to the children's playground in Washington Park. (See Figure 2.16.)



Figure 2.16: Alice Cooper's Sacajawea Statue in Portland, Oregon May 14, 2010

Washington Park contains 400 acres of woods, trails, and gardens and the Sacajawea statue is clearly marked on a map of the park.^{cii} The statue was dedicated in 1905. It stands on a foundation of rock. She is not eye level with those that gaze at her. She is above them and closer to heaven. When I visited the Sacajawea statue kids were playing in the fountain and enjoying the warm spring afternoon. On beautiful days and even on rainy days in Portland, Sacajawea points west with a baby on her back. Her position as a guide is made explicit both in her pose and the plaque accompanying the statue. The plate under the statue reads: “Erected by the women of the united states in memory of SACAJAWEA, the only woman in the LEWIS and CLARK expedition and in honor of the pioneer mother of old Oregon.” (See Figure 2.17.)

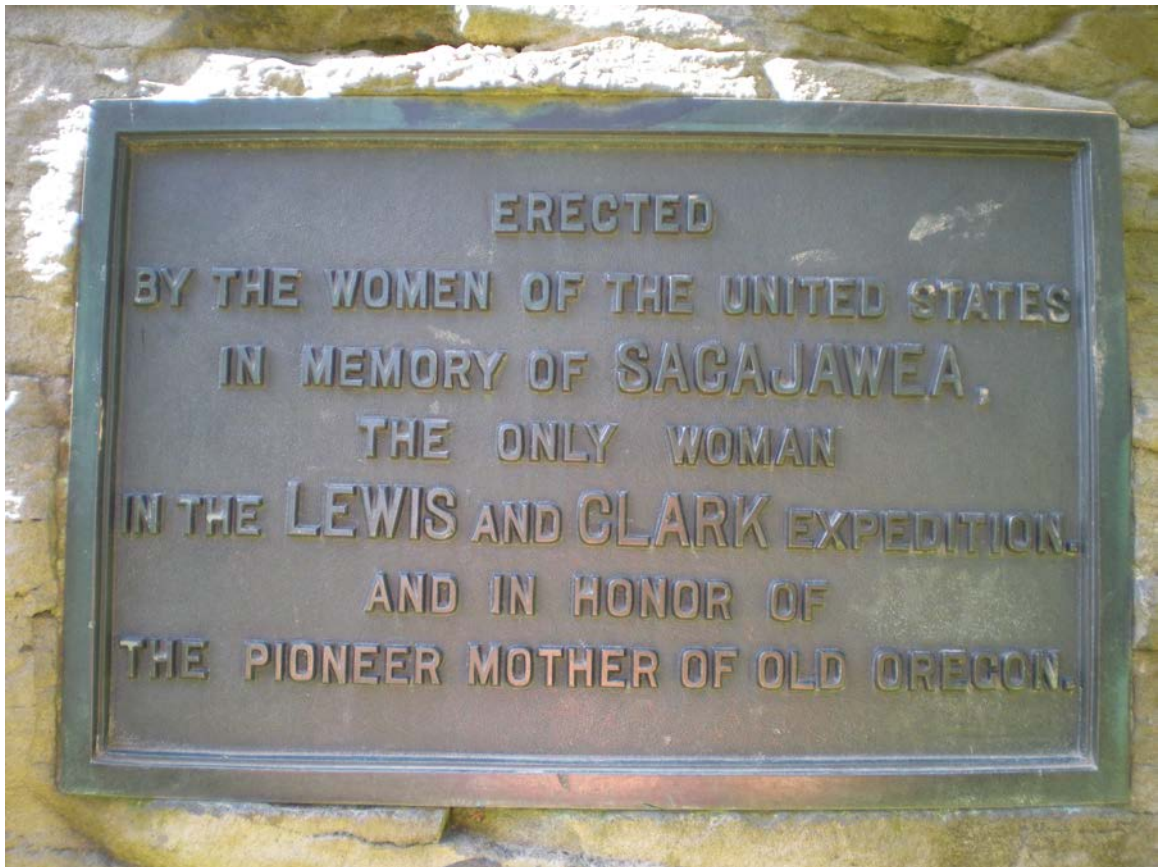


Figure 2.17: Close Up Picture of Alice Cooper’s Sacajawea Statue Plaque

Considering Sacajawea a “pioneer mother of old Oregon” erases her position as a Shoshone woman and mother and attempts to bring Sacajawea into the white heteropatriarchal family of U.S. empire. While Sacajawea is recognized as a mother of old Oregon, her child Jean Baptiste is not mentioned or named yet he is there with his mother. She points west with her whole body. All her fingers extend out away from herself and she steps forward with her torso extended. (See Figure 2.16.) This statue differs from Goodacre’s representation of Sacajawea because Cooper’s Sacajawea looks like an angel. Her coat on one side looks like a wing and Jean Baptiste makes up the other wing. Making Sacajawea appear as a mother angel for settler colonialism disconnects her from her tribe (See Figure 2.18.)



Figure 2.18: Alice Cooper’s Sacajawea Statue in Portland, Oregon May 14, 2010

Sacajawea, a little less than two hundred years later, represents a tale of further settlement and exploration. Portland is proud of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the statue is part of this pride.

There is a queer reproductive element to the reproduction of the statues of Sacajawea in the United States to embody the conquest of Native women, Native land and the obliteration of Native peoples. There are more Sacajawea statues than any other American woman. This is an interesting fact considering the existence of Native mothers counters the narrative of extinction of Native peoples. Or does it? In many of the statues, Sacajawea stands alone or her child is hidden behind her and can only be viewed at side angles. Sometimes Sacajawea is portrayed with her child and often she is on her own in communion with Nature. Since Sacajawea statues are located in built, manipulated, controlled, and modern spaces of nature such as parks, her communion with a transformed and colonized version of Nature becomes more symbolic of her position as a dominated, submissive, and complicit subject of the colonization of this land now called the United States. This naturalizes conquest by making Sacajawea at one with Nature because Native peoples are seen as part Nature and not quite human. Sacajawea gives up her birthright, her claim and future claims to the lands of Native America when her motherhood is taken away from her, or when her position as a mother is omitted from her representation as a statue. One interesting part of Sacajawea's motherhood being taken away by colonial narratives is that this goes against Nature but not the nature of colonialism as a form of heteropatriarchy.

The changing narratives of Sacajawea statues show how her body can be contorted to the different narrative colonialism wants to tell in that moment. Statues, frozen in time, share many different histories. Importantly, these two statues were made one hundred years apart to commemorate the Lewis and Clark centennial and bi-centennial. Like the Sacajawea character in the film, these Sacajawea statues are frozen in time and cannot speak.

Monique Mojica's Sacajawea: A Native Mother's Sovereignty and Self-Determination in Memory and Death

This is like the actual Sacajawea who did not leave any written accounts or memoirs entitled: *Why I hate Lewis, Clark, Charbonneau and Now Love Women*. Satire, for Native peoples, is often a powerful way to make a meaningful critique. In that spirit, I will discuss an important playwright who criticizes colonial narratives by rewriting history and performing it on stage. Monique Mojica's play entitled *Birdwoman and the Suffragettes: A Story of Sacajawea*, reverses the narrative of silence by having her Sacajawea statue speak back to the audience, thus giving the statue a voice. After Sacajawea's statue is unveiled at the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition, Mojica's Sacajawea statue states: "But who are these strange sisters, /and what mountains are they climbing? /I feel the flag being pulled from/my bronze face/pulled from/my bronze arm pointing westward--/but I only wanted to go back home!"^{ciii} Here, the Sacajawea statue speaking back does not want to be a symbol of conquest. The "flag being pulled from/my bronze face" is her own nationality removed and replaced with an American identity that she does not want. Nor does she want her "bronze arm pointing westward" to invite settlers to colonize Native America. Mojica's Sacajawea statue

“only wanted to go back home!” and not have any part of narratives of settler colonialism. As a symbol of conquest, speaking back to the white suffragettes and all the people that see her as a silent statue disrupts narratives of Sacajawea as a supporter of settler colonialism. The Mojica’s Sacajawea statue further states:

Captured again! /Frozen! Cast in bronze, /this hollow form with my name--/Tsakakawea! /Who are these strange sisters? /and what mountains are they/climbing? /‘Brave,’ they say--/‘Squaw,’ they say--/‘Madonna,’ they say?”^{civ} “Now, the Birdwoman’s name--/Tsakakawea/is caged in statues, paintings, /lakes and rivers/mountains, peaks and ridges/poems made of fog and lies/and, ...and a flying machine/‘The Spirit of Sacajawea’—Oh! /cannot contain the spirit/so, high above the clouds, /the Birdwoman beats her wings, /sounds her voice, /soars, /and is free.”^{cv}

Here, the Sacajawea further disrupts Native women’s silence by making Sacajawea a symbol of a violent conquest involving theft of her body and her labor on the Lewis and Clark expedition. Mojica also criticizes the use of statues of Sacajawea to symbolize an indigenous woman opening the land to conquest. The act of both white women and men freezing her, casting her in bronze, giving her a name and representing her both in statues and paintings and using her name for lakes, planes, rivers, and mountains are all acts of colonial violence that have nothing to do with Sacajawea the actual person. Even though this great violence is done to her personhood, Mojica’s Sacajawea statue still has a voice, spirit, and the ability to make multiple meanings out of the representation of Sacajawea as a statue. Mojica’s Sacajawea makes this statue symbolize the violence of settler colonialism in the narratives and representations of Native women and troubles the relationship between white feminists and Native women.

Monique Mojica’s work satires history and the idea that white feminism and Native women have been involved in the same battles for equality and inclusion in the

U.S. nation-state. Her play retells the story of Sacajawea while critiquing how white suffragettes used narratives of Sacajawea as a guide and mother to promote the white feminist project during the Lewis and Clark centennial of the early twentieth century.

Shari Huhndorf summarizes Mojica's work well. She writes:

In *Birdwoman*, Sacajawea's story exemplifies these gendered symbolic and material aspects of U.S. expansion. Enslaved by the Mandan and later gambled away as a wife to Charbonneau, Lewis and Clark's interpreter 'known for raping Indian girls' (72), Sacajawea unwittingly joins the expedition as an unpaid member at her husband's behest in a retelling that emphasizes the hidden history of conquest: sexual violence, the disempowerment of indigenous women, and the exploitation of their labor.^{cvi}

These are important aspects of Sacajawea's story that are left out of narratives presented in *A Night at the Museum*. When Sacajawea becomes an unwilling participant in conquest and is represented as a slave and captive, it changes the benign narrative of conquest. It adds violence to the white heteropatriarchy advanced by settler colonialism and shows the importance of ongoing work of colonial origin narratives to justify settler colonialism. Mojica's work counters these narratives of settler colonialism by complicating and reinscribing the role of Sacajawea in these origin narratives. Huhndorf argues:

These stories [within Mojica's play] depict her instead as a revered Shoshone leader, multilingual interpreter, negotiator of treaties, and spokesperson on behalf of her nation, roles typically imagined as male. The play thus aims to unsettle popular narratives about Native women, expose their patriarchal and colonial aspects, and replace them with oppositional histories.^{cvii}

Mojica does that by showing how white Suffragettes pulled Sacajawea's story out of the archives and forced Sacajawea into the national origin story. Through the structure of a

play, Monique Mojica counters the History of Sacajawea with an oppositional history of Sacajawea that speaks against narratives of settler colonialism while centering stories of Native women's agency and survival instead of complicity in conquest. While these plays complicate Native women's role in conquest, Mojica critiques the role white women played in conquest through the narratives white women produced of Sacajawea's participation in the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Mojica addresses the loss and theft of Sacajawea's child in her play. Although she does not overtly relate it to the sterilization of Native women, Mojica's Sacajawea loves her child deeply and does not want her child to be taken away by her white captors. In the play Clark and Charbonneau discuss taking Sacajawea's child away from her so Clark can raise the child as his own. Sacajawea's response in the play is: "Between my ribs a knife/stabs—and I cannot speak! /My heart drums:/MY child, MY child/I hold him against my chest/MY child, MY child/I brush my lips against/his hair, the smallness of his head/To hold him always so, /that he never can be taken away!"^{cviii} Sacajawea here would not willingly give up her child to the colonizers. In fact, she equates having her child taken away to being stabbed in the stomach. Her holding on to her child through her words in her play solidify the relation of love and devotion she feels towards her child. This Sacajawea does not give up her life or her child to the white colonizers. She makes it clear she will fight with her life to save her child from being raised by these men. This does not show love and devotion between Native women and the colonizers. Monique Mojica inserts violence and loss into the narrative of conquest and the continued physical and discursive occupation of settler colonialism. Mojica continues this critique with a discussion of how white women's use and manipulation of the

Sacajawea origin narrative presses the limits of solidarity between Native women and white women feminists.

In the play, the Suffragettes are a group of women singers that sing praises for Sacajawea and discuss the work they put in by going through the archives to find her story. The Suffragettes use Sacajawea as an example of women's equality with men since Sacajawea, in this narrative, led Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean. Mojica complicates this simplistic narrative by showing different gendered and historicized perspectives in the play. The play moves between Sacajawea in different historical moments, the singing of the Suffragettes, and the elders on the Shoshone Wind River Reservation where Sacajawea went to live and die after the Lewis and Clark trail.

During Sacajawea's first monologue she exclaims: "Captured! Slave girl, hush, keep quiet! No tears for the slave girl/earth houses, skin boats/slave girl of the Mandan. /Mother! —Silence/but for the little ones/crying in the night."^{ciX} Here, Mojica presents an alternative to dominant colonial narratives about Sacajawea by claiming her as a captive mother and therefore an unwilling participant in conquest sold by Native people to Lewis and Clark. It also expresses the pain and suffering Sacajawea and her child might have endured during the Lewis and Clark trail, which is never explored in the colonial narrative. Huhndorf states:

As Mojica's depiction suggests, not only has colonization involved sexual violence, the removal of indigenous women from positions of power and the replacement of traditional gender roles with Western patriarchal practices, but also it has exerted social control through the management of Native women's bodies.^{cx}

This is further complicated in Mojica's play because she also indicts Native men as participants in the sexual violence inflicted on Native women. It was both white

heteropatriarchy and Native men that colluded to sell Native women out to get ahead in the parameters laid out by settler colonialism. Shari Huhndorf argues: “Although these processes [of settler colonialism and white heteropatriarchy] have reshaped Native societies as a whole, they carry particular consequences for indigenous women because they transform sexual victimization into colonial complicity to limit women’s possible roles.”^{cxix}

Mojica furthers this critique of representations of Sacajawea by showing how white suffragettes played a major role in the production of the colonial narrative of Sacajawea as a guide and helper to Lewis and Clark. Suffragette #1 states: “Yes. I then hunted up every fact I could find about Sacajawea. Out of a few dry bones I created Sacajawea and made her a living entity. For months I dug and scraped for accurate information about this wonderful Indian maid.”^{cxii} In other words, Mojica shows how the colonial narrative of Sacajawea that we know today was produced from archival research and imagination one hundred years after the Lewis and Clark trail. White women’s participation in the colonial project exposes their access to the transparency thesis that Sacajawea and other Native peoples cannot occupy. White women can become a transparent I by engaging in colonial violence through writing themselves into history through colonial narratives of affectable others. Rebecca, from the film *Night at the Museum*, is another example of this desire and execution of the colonial knowledge/power project through the telling and writing of Native women’s stories.

Conclusion

This chapter is not about speaking for Sacajawea or trying to figure out who she really was. This cannot be known and unlike Rebecca, the Suffragettes, and other

fictional researchers I criticize in this chapter, I do not want to dig up any archival truths about her. Instead, I use narratives and images of her to expose the need of settler colonialism to continue the colonial violence of the past into the present through the erasure of Native peoples from the political landscape of Native America. This work, once again, empties the land of Native peoples. Importantly, narratives and visual images are often highly sexualized images of Native women. In the case of Sacajawea, she is represented as a single mother and angel for the settler-colonial nation-state. This erases the violence of conquest and the continued assault on Native women's bodies through genocidal policies of sterilization implemented in the 1970s. The U.S. nation-state continues to take Native children away from Native mothers through the child welfare system. Sacajawea, as a mother and as a Native mother represented without her child, reminds us that Native women need to be represented as fertile heterosexual women who willingly had sex with white men and birthed the inheritors of Native lands. Her life is not important to settler colonialism but the discursive and visual narratives reproduce justifications for settler colonialism and further encroachment on Native lands. These colonial narratives make colonists innocent while Native women bear the sin of the nation and are read as betraying their own nations. Coins, movies, and statues about Sacajawea all affirm her position as a traitor to Native America and her allegiance to the settler colonial nation-state. Representing Sacajawea as a helper and guide to white settler men exploring the Louisiana Purchase justifies conquest. Native women, as Rayna Green has argued, are conflated with the land. Making Sacajawea a willing participant in conquest naturalizes the imposition of heteropatriarchy and erases the importance of the lives of Native peoples that lost their land and livelihoods with the incorporation of the

Louisiana Purchase into the United States. The journey of Sacajawea and Lewis and Clark was the beginning of this moment of conquest. U.S. national expansion continues and uses colonized and heterosexualized visual representations of Native women to naturalize and justify this expansion. Native men, even Sacajawea's baby boy, must be erased or have Native men's masculinity challenged by narratives of Sacajawea choosing white men over Native men. This shows Native men as unable to govern their land and communities because they do not even have control over their women. What this leaves out is the fact that many Native communities did not use heteropatriarchy to govern their communities. Matriarchal logics of governance do not make any sense under heteropatriarchy. As Mojica shows us, Sacajawea did not "choose" white men, she was kidnapped and enslaved by Lewis, Clark, and Charbonneau and forced to bear a child that she may not have wanted—a possibility that changes the perspective of colonialism. Narratives of bloodless conquest fall apart if they are pressed or challenged. The truth factor is irrelevant because the mass reproduction of these images make it true. The use of children's material and national monuments to support these sexualized, gendered, and raced narratives make the erasure of Native people seem complete and absolute because it is something people learn from an early age. Since we come into contact with these narratives often, these narratives can be refused or rewritten by those that come into contact with them. The reproduction of these narratives can be stopped, delayed, and changed by the seer. Audra Simpson argues:

What is theoretically generative about these refusals? They *account* for the history detailed above; they tell us something about the way we cradle or embed our representations and notions of sovereignty and nationhood; and they critique and move us away from statist forms of recognition.^{cxiii}

Rethinking visual representations of Sacajawea as narratives that are sometimes refused show that conquest is never complete or absolute. It only takes a word to disrupt it or a different truth to refute the unstable settler-colonial nation-state that is built on the logics of heteropatriarchy.

Embedded in this chapter is my refusal to locate the true Sacajawea. By focusing on a close reading of settler colonial narratives I respect her personhood, her sovereignty and her self-determination. This type of knowing belongs to her and her family. It is not for us to know. This refusal allows me to focus on the narratives of colonialism and empire that have nothing and everything to do with actual Native peoples struggling for political autonomy, land, hope and love. It is the refusal that I reflect back when I see images and logics of the settler colonial nation-state.

I know and I am telling you. The violence and horizon of death loom large in the archives. Without being engulfed or obliterated by the colonial violence of the archives, I bring this death and violence to my work. What I did find out is the telling and knowing that comes from the archives becomes much more powerful in sexualized, gendered and raced forms of visual culture. The ability of colonial narratives of Sacajawea to adapt to specific national crises shows how representations of Sacajawea are affectable by exterior forces. Major details, like Sacajawea's motherhood, can be excluded or exploited circumstantially. M. Elise Marubbio argues: "Cinema, as a white male-dominated industry, and film, as a voyeuristic medium, offer a lens through which to analyze the psychological and sociological structures created through representations of subservient, simplistic, self-destructive Others."^{cxiv} Colonizers desire to portray Native peoples as "self-destructive" instead of accounting for the continued colonial violence

and occupation of Native America. We may be broken; but we are not dead.

Fortunately, there are Native women speaking back to these settler colonial narratives of

Native women. Shari Huhndorf argues:

During this period, playwrights and performers, including Mojica, began to challenge patriarchal colonialism by exploring Native women's shared experiences of sexual violence, social marginalization, and political containment across boundaries of nation, language, and culture. Their transnational perspectives reveal the colonial logic and persistence of violence and narratives of indigenous women's betrayal, while their attention to the centrality of patriarchy in colonization makes possible a critical analysis of Native women's places in the dominant society and in tribal communities, even though these places, both shaped by patriarchy, are often not the same.^{cxv}

I want to conclude this paper with the words of Monique Mojica's Sacajawea because as I discuss further in Chapter 3, the ability of Native people to live and die where they want is an important aspect of self-determination. "If you remember me, /remember a child fighting to stay alive/remember a slave girl gambled away/remember a mother protecting her child/remember a wife defying the whip/remember an old one who loved her people/remember I died at home on my land."^{xlx}

^{lxii} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 65.

^{lxiii} Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 79.

^{lxiv} Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (Dec 2007): 67(14): 74.

^{lxv} John Berger. *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin Books, 1977: 19.

^{lxvi} John Berger. *Ways of Seeing*. London: Penguin Books, 1977: 10.

^{lxvii} *Ibid.*

^{lxviii} The liberty nickel actually has Liberty wearing a male feather headdress, but it is still referred to as the "Indian nickel." The cross-dressing Liberty deserves some scholarly attention. I will address this in chapter 4.

^{lxix} "The United States Mint: About The Mint."

http://www.usmint.gov/mint_programs/golden_dollar_coin/index.cfm?action=sacFAQ

^{lxx} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 19.

^{lxxi} There are many different spellings of Sacajawea's name. In this article I will use the "Sacajawea" spelling because it is the most common spelling of her name and I am interested in discussing

“mainstream” representations of Sacajawea. The website for the United States Mint goes to great lengths to describe the authenticity involved in the production of the coin and the history of Sacagawea, which includes an explanation of why they use the name “Sacagawea” instead of the commonly used “Sacajawea.” The U.S. Mint website discusses how most historians agree that she should now be referred to as “Sacagawea” because the various spelling in the Lewis and Clark journals point to this as the most consistent spelling. For this chapter, I will use the Sacajawea spelling because I want to discuss the colonial narrative surrounding Sacajawea and not the actual person or authentic representation of her.

^{lxxii} *Bird Woman (Sacajawea): The Guide of Lewis and Clark. Her Own Story Now First Given to the World* by James Willard Schultz. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918 and *Sacajawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with an Account of the Travels of Toussaint Charbonneau, and of Jean Baptiste, the Expedition Papoose* By Grace Raymond Hebard (Professor of Political Economy at the University of Wyoming. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, U.S.A. 1933. Found both of these sources in the Newberry Library Avery collection in Chicago, Illinois.

^{lxxiii} Simpson, Audra. “On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, ‘Voice’ and Colonial Citizenship.” *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (Dec 2007): 67(14): 67.

^{lxxiv} Phil Deloria’s work in *Indians in Unexpected Places* (University of Kansas, 2006) discusses how Indians participating in modernity are seen as anomalies because Indians are not “expected” to be able to interact with technology, get manicures, play sports, or act in movies because Indians are so backward and different than settlers. Deloria’s work challenges the idea that Indians are vanishing by showing how Native peoples have been historical and political actors throughout history.

^{lxxv} Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006: 4.

^{lxxvi} The conquest of Native America is not seen as an ongoing process, and I want to argue conquest and land theft is continuing through narratives of progress and racializing Native peoples as dead and gone. This neat little narrative leaves white America as the natural inheritors of Native lands.

^{lxxvii} Simpson, Audra. “On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, ‘Voice’ and Colonial Citizenship.” *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (Dec 2007): 67(14): 69.

^{lxxviii} *Ibid*, 20.

^{lxxix} *Ibid*, 16.

^{lxxx} Raheja, Michelle H. *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010: 44.

^{lxxx} Da Silva, Denise Ferreira. *Towards a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2007: 79.

^{lxxxii} Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006: 1.

^{lxxxiii} Stephen E. Ambrose’s *Undaunted Courage: The Pioneering First Mission To Explore America’s Wild Frontier*. London: Pocket Books, 2003. Frederick E. Hoxie and Jay T. Nelson, Eds. *Lewis and Clark and the Indian Country: The Native American Perspective*. Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois, 2007. Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns. *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery*.

^{lxxxiv} Hoxie, Frederick E. “Introduction: What Can We Learn From A Bicentennial?” In Frederick E. Hoxie and Jay T. Nelson, Eds. *Lewis and Clark and the Indian Country: The Native American Perspective*. Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois, 2007: 11.

^{lxxxv} Blackhawk, Ned. *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006: 10.

^{lxxxvi} “Night at the Museum.” *Box Office Mojo*.

<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=nightatthemuseum.htm>

^{lxxxvii} Bal, Mieke. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*. New York: Routledge, 1996: 5.

^{lxxxviii} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 107.

-
- ^{lxxxix} White male heroes dating a Native single mom and/or a Native woman who already has a white husband would create competing white male patriarchies. This would disrupt colonial narratives of a few brave white men coming together against the savage affectable Others of Nature.
- ^{xc} Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 79.
- ^{xcⁱ} Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 81.
- ^{xcⁱⁱ} Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 82.
- ^{xcⁱⁱⁱ} The Associated Press. "Movie Boosts Natural History Museum Visits: Attendance Booms After Ben Stiller Film's Premiere." January 7, 2007. <<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/16549060/>>
- ^{xc^{iv}} Bal, Mieke. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*. New York: Routledge, 1996: 17.
- ^{xc^v} Raheja, Michelle H. *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010: 43.
- ^{xc^{vi}} Smith, Andrea. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." *The Color of Violence: Incite Women of Color against Violence*, ed. INCITE Women of Color Against Violence (Boston: South End Press, 2006).
- ^{xc^{vii}} Haraway, Donna. "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." *Social Text* No. 11 (Winter 1984-1985), pp. 20-64: 59.
- ^{xc^{viii}} *Ibid*, 21.
- ^{xc^{ix}} M. Elise Marubbio uses the term Celluloid Maiden in her book *Killing the Indian Maiden* to discuss how Native women are represented in films as the princess, sexualized maiden, or a hybrid of these in different historical contexts. The princess is beautiful, childlike and a helper to the white male hero and the sexualized maiden is a femme fatale whose lust destroys both her and the white male hero. These Celluloid Maiden films enjoy critical and large audiences because Hollywood uses first-rate directors, producers, and actors make high-end productions out of films with the Celluloid Maiden. Importantly, the Celluloid Maiden films are not B pictures. The artistry and cinematic beauty of the Celluloid Maiden films produce a truthful and seamless appearance because of the technology and money deployed to make the underlining colonial narratives of the film seem right and just. *Night at the Museum* is certainly a Celluloid Maiden film with its use of famous actors, large budget, and the representations of Sacajawea.
- ^c *Ibid*, 23.
- ^{ci} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 118.
- ^{cⁱⁱ} <http://www.washingtonparkpdx.org/>
- ^{cⁱⁱⁱ} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 82.
- ^{c^{iv}} 83.
- ^{c^v} 84.
- ^{c^{vi}} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 108.
- ^{c^{vii}} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 106.
- ^{c^{viii}} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 79.
- ^{c^{ix}} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 69.
- ^{cx} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 106.
- ^{cxⁱ} *Ibid*, 107.
- ^{cxⁱⁱ} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 76.
- ^{cxⁱⁱⁱ} Simpson, Audra. "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial Citizenship." *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 9 (Dec 2007): 67(14): 78.

^{cxiv} Marubbio, M. Elise. *Killing the Indian Maiden: Images of Native American Women in Film*.

Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2006: x.

^{cxv} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 108.

^{xlx} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991: 84.

Chapter 3

Pocahontas: A Return To Sexual Origins

“We fight, fuck, get buck wild/Kill, chill, make love, have child.”—Talib Kweli and Xzbit^{cxvi}

“Today I believe in the possibility of love; that is why I endeavor to trace its imperfections, its perversions.”—Frantz Fanon^{cxvii}

“The origins of whiteness as property lie in the parallel systems of domination of Black and Native American peoples out of which were created racially contingent forms of property and property rights.”—Cheryl Harris^{cxviii}

“Women are the earth that is to be discovered, entered, named, inseminated and, above all, owned.”—Anne McClintock^{cxix}

“...The concept of betraying one’s race through sex and sexual politics is as old as corn.”—Monique Mojica^{cxx}

“Being white has never been enough. Not without being black.”—Denise Da Silva^{cxxi}

“‘I kill white mens,’ her voice overrode mine, as though she had not heard me speak. ‘I kill white mens cause the same reason Masa kill Kaine. Cause I can.’”—From

Shirley Anne Williams’ *Dessa Rose*^{cxxii}

Introduction

Pocahontas, although she was a real person, has a national mythology built around her. Universalism pervades narratives about Pocahontas. These stories of Pocahontas are supported by the academy through efforts to prove or disprove the validity of this story, which frames this story with truth found in the archives. The obsession with finding the “truth” about Pocahontas and early colonial American history makes Pocahontas an important genealogical site of knowledge and power in origin narratives of the United

States. Reason and science also play an important role in the excavation of knowledge about Pocahontas. Because of her importance in national narratives, many books, images and movies have been made about Pocahontas to reproduce the justification of conquest.

Like the analysis of Sacajawea in Chapter 2, this chapter is interested more in the discursive work that the fictional story of Pocahontas does, as the foundational story of the U.S. as a settler-colonial nation, rather than any historical “truth” about Pocahontas. Pocahontas is an important figure in representations of Native peoples because of the huge gap between fact and fiction. Little historical academic work has been written about Pocahontas yet there is an ever-growing collection of fiction produced about her. Unlike Sacajawea who is largely eclipsed by the attention paid mostly to Lewis and Clark, is some work about Pocahontas that does not center John Smith and John Rolfe as the main political actors in the early settlement of Jamestown. Camilla Townsend’s *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma* and Paula Gunn Allen’s *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat* are the most interesting academic works about Pocahontas.^{cxxiii} Townsend provides a well-researched and thoughtful historical work about Pocahontas that uses archives, linguistics, anthropology, archeology, and oral histories to tell a story about Pocahontas within the framework of Powhatan culture during this critical period of early conquest.

Below I offer a literature review that sketches the contours of the Pocahontas mythology and the critiques that have been made of it. Since this chapter is about property and law, I use critical race theorist and legal scholar Cheryl I. Harris’ article, “Whiteness As Property,” which offers a useful framing for considering the relationship between law, property and marriage. While Harris alludes to marriage and patriarchy in

her work, she does not directly address it in this article. Yet she does discuss settler colonialism. I build on Harris' legal work here by discussing the intimate relationship between white supremacy and the law to include the roles of heteropatriarchy and marriage as a means of challenging whiteness and the legitimacy of conquest. Once again, Denise Da Silva's deconstructions of universalism and miscegenation in *Toward A Global Idea of Race* (2007) aid my critique of the universality of love in the Pocahontas narrative. Building on Harris and Da Silva, I analyze the most recent repetitions of the Pocahontas narrative through the films *The New World* (2005) and *Avatar* (2009) to show the queer possibilities for misreading Oedipal desire in *The New World* and how technology reproduces the misguided futurity of blue indigeneity in *Avatar*.

Authors such as Rayna Green have discussed the importance of representations of Pocahontas in American Culture. Green's "Pocahontas Perplex" critically analyses the importance of the images of Pocahontas and the story of Pocahontas in relation to securing the United States in moments of national crisis. This article published in 1975 is one of the first examples of analyzing visual representations of Native peoples in colonialism through a gendered and sexualized lens. Green argues: "Delightful and interesting as Pocahontas' story may be, she offers an intolerable metaphor for the Indian-White experience. She and the Squaw offer unendurable metaphors for the lives of Indian women."^{cxxiv} While Green uses gender, indigeneity and heterosexuality as lens of analysis, Green does not discuss the queer possibilities of Pocahontas.^{cxxv} Even while Native feminists are now discussing the importance of engaging heteropatriarchy to analyze colonialism, often queerness has not been fully addressed in a Native feminist

analysis. Yet work by Andrea Smith has started these conversations by connecting sexuality with conquest. She argues:

Rather, the analysis of and strategies for addressing gender violence have failed to address the manner in which gender violence is not simply a tool of patriarchal control, but also serves as a tool of racism and colonialism. That is, colonial relationships are themselves gendered and sexualized.^{cxxvi}

In other words, deconstructing the violence of settler colonialism must happen through decolonizing discourses of gender and sexuality. Because it is through the symbol of the marriage of the Native woman to the white man that Native people enter into heteropatriarchy, this chapter attempts to achieve such deconstruction by queering the story of Pocahontas and unsettling the heteropatriarchal romance assumed between Native women and white men.

Multiple images of Pocahontas exist but these images each tell the same narrative about her: Pocahontas willingly gave this country to settler-colonialism for love. Such a narrative illustrates how heteropatriarchy makes settler-colonialism, the exploitation of land and people, hierarchy, and gender oppression both innocent and natural—even sweet and romantic. Like the meeting of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the narrative of the beginning of the U.S. nation is a mythological story. In this story, Pocahontas plays the role of Eve while John Rolfe and John Smith each stand in for Adam in their turn. Like Eve eating the apple, Pocahontas had a choice. Pocahontas' choice, according to this narrative, was a love affair with John Smith or a marriage to John Rolfe. Both of these choices construct Pocahontas as betraying her community by choosing a settler to marry instead of another Powhatan but because of the strength of her love of the (somewhat interchangeable) white settler man, she bravely stood up to the backwards

traditions of her own people. The power of this creation myth hinges on the love that exists between Pocahontas and these white men. Without Pocahontas' love of white settlers and heterosexuality, there is no Native consent to conquest. Like the fabled Adam and Eve, the figure of Pocahontas continues to haunt the present, structuring national norms of settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy.

The Pocahontas creation narrative of the United States thus hides the broken treaties, stolen property, sovereignty, and self-determination of Native peoples while justifying the settlement of the new world. The “naturalness,” timelessness, and universalism of love is used in this creation myth to birth a love story that hides the violence of the engulfment of Native lands by white settlers and makes conquest a love story. Love stories work through eliciting multiple avenues of identification from their readers. For example, the sexual interest of Pocahontas in white settler men encourages straight, white American men today to believe their own Indian Princess is waiting for them somewhere, whereas straight American women are encouraged to identify with Pocahontas as a conventional feminist, overcoming the strictures of her own patriarchal culture to escape to “freedom” and “love.” Yet Pocahontas also plays another, more foundational role: in the national narrative Pocahontas is the unmarked mother of the U.S. nation-state. Making Pocahontas a mother of the U.S. nation-state instead of a mother to Native America places her in a hierarchical white heteropatriarchal kinship relation and erases Indians from the U.S. landscape. Simultaneously, Pocahontas becomes the feminine specter of Native America by exemplifying the certain death that follows inclusion of Native people into the racial, gendered, and sexual hierarchy of the U.S. nation. The Pocahontas narrative reproduces death of Native peoples through her

desire to participate in conquest. The settler's desire for her body and land lead to the conquering of her spirit through her love of the white man and entrance into white heteropatriarchy. The natural progression of this love through universal narratives of love is into a heterosexual marriage contract with settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy. Ideologically, Native people cannot survive in a heteropatriarchal settler colonial state because Native land is more valuable than their lives.

Here, I am critiquing narratives of universalism because the violence of conquest should not be read as a universal experience. These critiques of universalism build on Denise da Silva's work on the role of enlightenment thinking and scientific racism in justifying violence against people of color in *Towards A Global Idea of Race* (2007).^{cxxvii} I take up Silva's challenge to universalism through her critique of enlightenment thinking. As Silva reminds us, people of color who struggle to be universal subjects or transparent I's are doomed for failure and the horizon of death because people of color are not constructed as self-determining subjects. Since the story of Pocahontas is framed as a universal story, it relies on timeless heterosexual constructions of the family to incorporate Native peoples into heteropatriarchy. The Pocahontas story relies on universal heteronormative ideas of the nuclear family legitimated by the state through marriage.

Love and marriage between the white man and Native women act as universal concepts that justify conquest and nation building. In other words, miscegenation between Pocahontas and John Rolfe through a "legitimate" marriage recognized by the state is crucial to the Pocahontas narrative, but marriage and sexual relationships between white men and Black women disrupt the universal narrative of multiculturalism. In the

Pocahontas narrative, marriage between white and Native peoples means obliteration for Native people. Settlers gain property, and maintain a racial system of white supremacy that incorporates Natives into the nation through heteropatriarchy and then death.

This chapter also points to the crucial fact that the narrative of Pocahontas is hypervisible in visual cultural imaginary yet the role of Black women in white heteropatriarchy is invisible. The relationship between Black and Native women in foundational historical narratives is marked by the hyper-visibility of a Native woman in the national creation narrative of Pocahontas and the invisibility of Black women's labor. The violence, sexual and otherwise, that both Black and Native women have survived is hidden under the protective guise of white heteropatriarchy. Unlike indigeneity, Black and white miscegenation reproduces Black children. Miscegenation laws under slavery and immigration rely on the mother's status to determine the status of the child. (Under slavery, Black women's children would be slaves. The children of U.S. soldiers or other male citizens who have children with women from other countries are not U.S. citizens.) The fact that the U.S. nation-state only had to recognize one marriage between Pocahontas and John Rolfe, and did not recognize other marriages between white men and women of color reveals the settler state's investment in the reproduction of whiteness. Black women's relationship to white heteropatriarchy is one of sexual dominance, surveillance, and corporal control, and is later used to prop up liberal notions of progress through the legalization of miscegenation. If we look at Black women through the lens of the Pocahontas narrative, which promotes biopower and settler colonialism, many conflicting images and narratives of violence that are usually silenced come screaming out of the master's house, prisons, nail salons, reservations, HUD

housing, etc. The goal of settler colonialism is to obliterate the Native through miscegenation with whiteness and uses narratives of racial containment of Black people as evidence of white racial superiority over African Americans. However, white heteropatriarchy does not protect women of color; it exploits them for the sexual and monetary gains of white men. In other words, Black people cannot get ahead in a settler state because white supremacy and heteropatriarchy, which undergirds settler colonialism racializes Black reproduction as a biopolitical threat that needs to be contained.

When Natives reproduce with Black people, as I will discuss in the *Mashpee* Supreme Court case later in this chapter, the offspring of these unions become unrecognizable by the settler state. This supports whiteness as property and white people as property owners while delegitimizing Black and Native peoples as people able to own property and enact self-determination (transparent I's). In 1967, the settler state used a progressive narrative of liberal universalism to justify marriage between people of color and white people in the Supreme Court case *Loving v. Virginia*. In other words, the law legalized marriages between heterosexual white people and people of color when the state reached a progressive liberal apex to show how "liberal," "democratic," and universal it was by allowing white people and people of color to marry. Although miscegenation and romantic relationships are sometimes offered as a "cure," for racism, I argue that this only supports settler colonialism by letting the state recognize which marriages are legitimate and how romantic relationships should be formulated.

I continue with a queer reading of Pocahontas, heteropatriarchy, and settler colonialism through the films *The New World* (2005) and *Avatar* (2009) in the section "Love, Universalism and Heteropatriarchy: Opening the Land for Conquest in *The New*

World.” I critique ideas of universalism by showing how conquest as a love story and the state “giving” people the right to marry further legitimates the state and supports heteronationalism, and whiteness as property. The questions that guide this chapter are: What is the relationship between Native women and land and heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism? How do narratives of Pocahontas framed by love and heteronormative relationships between Native women and white men naturalize settler colonialism and make Black women invisible? To answer these questions, this chapter will follow two lines of argument. First, that white heteropatriarchy implements settler colonialism through the ownership of Native women in marriage. Second, that Black people and Black women in particular, are also negatively affected by the Pocahontas narrative because the biopolitics of settler-colonialism refuse life and liberty to Black peoples as well.

Love, Universalism and Heteropatriarchy: Opening the Land for Conquest in *The New World*

The New World, a 2006 film written and directed by Terrance Malick, is a typical example of the Pocahontas story as the story of the “discovery” of the new world. The focus of the film is the love triangle between Pocahontas, John Smith, and John Rolfe. Later, the film focuses on the “true” love that Pocahontas finds in her husband John Rolfe and with her son. The film deals with the colonialists’ struggle to establish a successful colony and the clash of Indian and English cultures coming together in the new world. In an avant garde documentary style, it is a slow and boring film with many stunningly beautiful shots of the wilds of “untouched” Virginia. The violence of conquest of Native America is invisible and silenced behind the universal narrative of truth and love. The

greatest thing about Malick's *The New World* is the casting of Colin Farrell as John Smith. In the first ten minutes of the film, John Smith arrives chained up in the bowel of the ship. (A very queer beginning indeed.) Sweaty, dirty, short, and greasy Colin Farrell is the perfect John Smith. (Figures 3.1 and 3.2.)



Figure 3.1: John Smith (Colin Farrell) in Terrance Malick's *The New World* (2005)



Figure 3.2: Colin Farrell as Captian John Smith in *The New World* (2005)

Importantly, *The New World* is not overtly about conquest and the rape and plunder of the New World and its people. The beauty and nature in the film help the audience avoid considering the genocidal implications in dominant narratives of contact. Nature is the star of this movie and any sadness the film attempts to evoke from its viewers is a nostalgic and apolitical sadness about the loss of the once pristine land, whereas the genocide of Native peoples is swept to the side. Terrance Malick's attention to Mother Nature in *The New World* is pornographic. Both John Smith and Pocahontas, the two main characters of the film, are filmed running their fingers through the grass as they walk through the fields, stroking the trunks of trees, and visually scoping and

admiring the natural scenery. All of Malick's films are concerned with nature, yet the natural setting of *The New World* is more important than the love story between Pocahontas and Smith. Many of the scenes are just nature shots. There are few close-ups of the actors in this film. All the shots are mostly nature and nature mitigates each scene in the film. (See Figure 3.3.)



Figure 3.3: Pocahontas (Q'orianka Kilcher) and John Smith (Colin Farrell) Making Out in *The New World*

Even this shot of Pocahontas and John Smith tenderly kissing has blades of grass framing their heavy petting. Nature is part of the attraction because of Pocahontas' conflation with the land. She lies on her back and she is literally part of the land that John Smith penetrates outside of the frame.

This focus on nature blurs the lines between Natives and nature and makes both Native and nature something that the colonists are mistakenly mistreating but will ultimately prove to be the colonists' salvation. For the colonists are seen as alienated from nature by dominating or manipulating nature. Malick's portrayal of the colony is of a chaotic, dirty, and diseased place full of ugly smelly white men. (This is historically accurate.) John Smith claims in the film that Indians are not jealous, nor do they have any negative emotions like envy and greed like the English settlers. The colony is contrasted with the simple harmonious living situation of the Natives nearby. The colonists are constantly hungry, fighting, and stealing from one another. On the other hand, Natives are seen as pure, simple, and knowledgeable about their surroundings (but not knowledgeable about much else). *The New World* is an insult to the intelligence of Native peoples. Malick's Pocahontas is always doing ridiculous things like acting like a deer or just smiling and staring off into space—placing her not far away from Disney's cartoon portrayal of Pocahontas. There is little dialogue in the majority of the two hour and fifty minute film. But there are many voiceovers of Q'orianka Kilcher's Pocahontas and John Smith yearning for one another. It is as if the Natives are curious children instead of people involved in a life-changing crisis.

In the frame of conquest, Native people and Native lands are the passive objects of desire for John Smith, since the movie is told mostly from his point of view. While Pocahontas also has voiceovers, she only talks about how much she loves John Smith and wants to be with him. Later in the film, she talks about how much she loves John Rolfe. This is a powerful narrative position to take when describing conquest because politically, it changes conquest from a terrifying ongoing history to a timeless storybook

romance. Paula Gunn Allen writes: “In the narrative tradition of the Indo-European peoples, a woman’s adventure story is inevitably about love.”^{cxxviii} Gunn Allen goes on to say: “Because of this narrative convention, books and articles about Pocahontas have largely fallen into the romance genre, even when marketed as biography or history. Indeed, had it not been for those conventions we might never have heard of Pocahontas other than as a small footnote.”^{cxxix} The presumed universality of love cuts through the racial and cultural differences between John Smith and Pocahontas. Their love in this film is read as timeless and unchanging, which silences the violence of the radical transformation of the North American continent physically in terms of the death of Native peoples and the transformation of the land.

Constructing contact as a love story makes all actions taken by Pocahontas and John Smith gestures of love between two people, which reinforces the universalism of their feelings. Instead of Pocahontas being a political actor in *The New World*, (which she was) Pocahontas is a lovesick nymph of the woods who only cares about being with John Smith and not about her responsibilities to her people. (See Figure 3.4.)



Figure 3.4: Forbidden Love Between Smith and Pocahontas In *The New World*

This is significant because all the decisions made by Pocahontas and John Smith are based on their love and desire for one another, and not on political and economic concerns they both would have had. Therefore, conquest through the “universal” narrative of love becomes a love story and not a violent history of conquest. As a result, conquest is understood as love and sexual relations between Native women, white colonial men, and the land, which is embodied as mother earth. In this story, love binds the Indians to the colonists and John Smith cannot leave Jamestown because he wants to be close to Pocahontas. Pocahontas helps the colonists survive at the risk of the annihilation of her tribe because she wants John Smith to live. This all goes to cover up

the fact that conquest was not all about love, it was (and is) a violent and ongoing attempt to engulf of Native lands and bodies in the colonial machine.

Yet the story of Pocahontas and John Smith cannot stand as the full story of the nation's founding. The ultimate union in the Pocahontas myth must be a legitimate marriage through law that brings the white imperial male together with the Native woman. Marriage allows the legacy of raping and pillaging Native women that colonialism aspires to erase. The narrative of this union is that of the Native woman's choice to legitimate conquest through the willing entrance of the Native woman into a legal contract of marriage. Love is what makes this marriage legitimate. Marriage between Pocahontas and John Rolfe naturalizes conquest because women are conflated with the land and to have control over Native women is to have control over the land. John Smith was not the man for Pocahontas to marry because his queer desire for the land was stronger than his love and devotion to Pocahontas. Smith did not want a monogamous relationship; he wanted Pocahontas and the land. For Smith, Pocahontas was a fetish of the land he desired to conquer and the wealth he desired. Also, according to the narrative, Pocahontas saved his life and was his knight in shining armor. Pocahontas had wealth, connections and intimate knowledge about the land while Smith had little to offer her. In other words, Pocahontas would be the one with the most power in the relationship (the "top") and Smith would be the "bottom." This would not build the ideal foundational heteropatriarchal relationship.

So what does love have to do with it? Can this love be true? The Pocahontas/John Smith/John Rolfe/ love triangle makes the settlement of the New World a choice between individuals that was inevitable because the characters were in love. Love is universal and

marriage is a choice. Love is what brings these people from different worlds together to form the perfect colonial national family: a Native mother (who soon dies), a white settler heteropatriarch, and a hybrid male child from this union. This male child will inherit the land that was given to his mother from her Native father. From this union, white settlers inherit the land, and the cultural differences of Native peoples.

The “truth” is purposefully invoked in this film because Terrance Malick used “real” Native actors, filmed close to the actual location of Jamestown, and hired linguists and historians as advisors.^{cxxx} While Terrance Malick goes to great lengths to make this film authentic in certain regards, he chooses to change the age of Pocahontas.

Pocahontas was nine years old when John Smith and the other English settlers arrived in what is now called Virginia in 1607.^{cxxxi} Although her age in the film is not stated, Malick’s Pocahontas is at least a teenager. While Smith would be accused of statutory rape in the present, his infatuation with Pocahontas is sanitized in the film because she is presented as sexually mature.

In order to follow the Pocahontas love story, Malick changed other facts about Pocahontas to make Native politics absent from the film and avoid portraying Native characters as complex political actors. Camilla Townsend argues:

In reality, the English kidnapped Pocahontas in the midst of a war against her people, and kept her prisoner for many months while they waited for her father to agree to tribute payments of corn. Pocahontas ended the conflict when she converted to Christianity and married a colonist named John Rolfe. She and several of her family members then chose to travel to Europe, not as prisoners but as free agents intent on gathering information that might clarify the Algonkians’ future course.^{cxxxii}

Townsend’s Pocahontas is a much more complex character than the simple-minded Pocahontas in *The New World*. Pocahontas in the film does nothing for her people and is

only concerned about her relationship with Smith. Her marriage is not seen as a political alliance between the settlers and the Powhatans, but is framed as a desire for her to use John Rolfe to get over John Smith and escape the limiting traditions of her people, like a white feminist would. In the film, Pocahontas' goes to England because her husband tells her they have been invited by the king and queen of England to visit the royal court. The Pocahontas narrative of love in *The New World* erases every political motivation.

To be fair, *The New World* does not differ from Malick's distinguishing trademarks of using voiceovers, emphasizing nature and place, and doing period pieces.^{cxxxiii} *The New World* fetishizes the land and retells the Pocahontas story by telling the same story. Yes, Pocahontas has a voice in the film. She uses her voice to talk about how in love she is with Smith and eventually Rolfe. She does not express horror over the radical changes that are happening for her and her people. While there is violence of conquest in the film, Pocahontas is only concerned with how it will affect her relationship with Smith. Like all the other Pocahontas stories, she only cares about John Smith and how she can help him and the other settlers in the new world. Like every other Pocahontas, Malick's Pocahontas is deeply in touch with Mother Nature and she goes against the wishes of her Indian father for her love of John Smith.

Oedipal Desires: Queering Discourses of Incest and Natives/Nature as Mother

In *The New World*, John Smith and Pocahontas talk about the land as "mother."

Caryn James in the New York Times wrote: "Russell Schwartz, president of marketing at New Line, said, 'Terrence [Malick] said to me very early on, 'this is our original mother,'" meaning that her journey is that of America itself, as she goes from her role as native American to a woman who embraces European civilizations when she is baptized

and moves to London.”^{cxxxiv} Since Malick wrote, directed and produced this film, his conception of Pocahontas as the “original mother” is an important narrative structure of the film. This is revealing considering Malick’s film fulfills the fantasy of the Oedipal complex. The desire of John Smith and John Rolfe (Christian Bale) for “the mother” Pocahontas is Oedipal desire. In the Oedipus complex, the son wants to have sexual relations with his mother and is jealous of his father when he realizes he cannot have sex with his mother. The conquering of land (Mother) is equated with sexually conquering the mother. After the son has had sexual relations with the mother, the mother has to be killed to fulfill the Oedipal drama. The relationship between the land and the colonists has retained this violent murderous relationship. In order to continually sexualize colonial relations, the Natives are read as part of the natural world and “mother earth.”

Pocahontas leads the film’s viewers in claiming her mother as mother earth. The audience is not shown a human mother of Pocahontas. This is similar to the cartoon version of Pocahontas where Pocahontas’s grandmother is a talking tree and Disney does not give her a Native mother.^{cxxxv} This makes her overtly a child of nature, which places Natives in the state of nature. Pocahontas never fully comes out of the state of nature but is located in a space between, using Silva’s terms, a “transparent I” and nature. Her in-between position places her on what Silva terms “the horizon of death.” This is a brilliant colonial narrative strategy because her untimely death needs to take place to clear the land for the “new” American man to make a white heteropatriarchal nation with a Native beginning. It also makes her death universal and detached from the colonial violence (disease) that caused it.

The return to sexual origins is reflected in the story of Pocahontas. The fact that she is found in her primitive state of sexuality and is transformed by her love and admittance into white heteropatriarchy is why the U.S. nation-state constantly returns to the story of Pocahontas. Pocahontas possesses this savage sexuality, which is part of her sexual appeal to the civilized white man. Native women are hypersexualized and conflated with the land in order to justify continued conquest, yet the Pocahontas narrative makes Pocahontas a virgin who converts to Christianity. The rest of the Natives are seen as abnormal and queered because they are not viewed as practicing heterosexuality in proper ways such as patriarchy, monogamy, and prudishness. Pocahontas transforms from a state of savage sexuality to a civilized Christian woman belonging to white colonial heteropatriarchy through her love affair with John Smith and marriage to John Rolfe. But it is her devotion to Christianity and her education in English customs, knowledge, and her nobility that the Pocahontas' narrative justifies her as a Native woman to marry and have a legitimate relationship with rather than a sexual conquest. Only one extraordinary Native woman who the white man marries fits into heteropatriarchy.

Since Native sexualities are so closely linked to Nature and “primitive pre-civilization” sexuality, Native peoples are dehumanized by their abnormal infantile sexuality that is constructed as both excessive and underdeveloped or untamed when compared to the settler's sexuality.^{cxxxvi} Origin stories in both the work of psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud and the U.S. nation-state writ large hinge on Native sexualities. For Freud and for settler colonialism, a crucial move is to eliminate savage sexuality by either bringing the Natives into the structure of the heteronormative family

or by absolute annihilation.^{cxxxvii} Thus, I am arguing that integration into heteronormativity and annihilation fulfill similarly genocidal roles for settler colonialism.

The structure of the heterosexual family, according to Judith Butler and Andrea Smith, naturalizes hierarchy. Butler also discusses how the incest taboo normalizes heterosexual desire by assuming the son will want to have sex with the mother and the daughter have sex with the father. Butler writes: “In the context of structuralist linguistics, this primary incest taboo becomes the way in which sexual positions are occupied, masculine and feminine are differentiated, and heterosexuality is secured.”^{cxxxviii} The original heterosexual family of Pocahontas, John Rolfe, and her son Thomas marks the importance of reproducing this familial narrative as a hierarchical site of race, heterosexuality, and gender constructions onto the U.S. nation-state today. Anne McClintock argues:

The family as a metaphor offered a single genesis narrative for global history, while the family as an institution became void as history. As the nineteenth century drew on, the family as an institution was figured as existing, naturally, beyond the commodity market, beyond politics and beyond history proper. The family thus became both the antithesis of history and history’s organizing feature.^{cxxxix}

The family aspect of the Pocahontas narrative is one that needs careful consideration because of its connection to settler colonialism.

White heteropatriarchy relies on the family of man to shape the story of the national family and settler colonialism marks the mother as Native and the father as a white settler. This is why the Oedipal drama plays out over and over again for the settler and for Native peoples in different ways. The earth is gendered as feminine and the mother of Native peoples is constructed as the earth. The conflict takes place between

the Native mother and her children. The conflicts for Native people over the land and to reclaim their Native mother articulate a different conflict: one of not wanting your mother to be sexually violated by a rapist father. This conflict is not one of sexual desire for the mother, it is one of protection or a turning away from the repeated violation of the land and Native peoples' by settler colonialism. When Native peoples are interpellated into the Oedipal drama, violence and death await them.

The Oedipal complex is focused on the masculine and is another battle that happens between men: the father and the son. The mother, in this heterosexist framing of the Oedipal drama, has no say in which one she wants to sleep with. She can make her son and husband jealous of one another, but she does not call the shots in the Freudian construction of the Oedipal complex and attendant neuroses. This is why laws are laid out between men. Laws try to protect settler women against the Oedipal drama and to subsume Native women and Native men under Federal Indian Law. Indian law is all about violating the sovereignty and self-determination of Native peoples while settler law for settlers support democratic values of liberal freedom and the imperative to protect women from their own desires. Laws are not made to protect Black women from the Oedipal drama because a white man believes his mother cannot be Black so she does not need to be protected through laws. But calling on a distant relationship to Pocahontas makes settlers into settlers, a subjectivity which is read as being the best and closest to the origins of U.S.

Incest is taboo yet the sexual desire and competition amongst the son and the father over the attention of the mother/wife creates tension in the family by regulating incest. Even though the mother is in the middle of the Oedipal drama, the real struggle is

between the father and the son. For Native peoples, these familial struggles are mostly about absence. In the struggle for survival, Native peoples fight to have a family and the primary parental battle is with our mothers. It is not all about the father for Native peoples; it is about the Native mother because Native people must constantly reclaim the settler colonial fetish of the Native mother and take her back and make her real. The mother for Native peoples symbolizes the land that has been taken and the protection we do not get to claim as our own under the regime of settler colonialism.

Putting Natives in the state of nature dehumanizes Native people but also makes Natives, in the frame of colonialism, legitimately deviant objects of desire for the colonists. This is significant in relation to thinking of Pocahontas as the mother of U.S. nation-state and the subsequent mother-son sexual relations that constituted the United States. The origin story of the United States becomes sexually deviant and incest becomes a nation-building narrative. In other words, Pocahontas, in the new world, becomes a queer national origin story both for the land and the people.

Another queer part of *The New World* is Pocahontas' desire throughout the whole film to penetrate her mother. The film opens with Pocahontas penetrating and whispering to "mother earth." Pocahontas dives in and swims around the ocean naked seductively speaking to her mother through a voice over. She says: "Come spirit. Help us in the story of our land. You are our mother."^{cx1} (See Figure 3.5.)



Figure 3.5: Pocahontas (Q'Orianka Kilcher) Swimming Buck Naked in Mother Earth While Talking about Mother Earth in Terrance Malick's *The New World* (2005)

Many times throughout the film Pocahontas is in ecstasy rolling around in the grass and groping trees. (See Figure 3.6.)



Figure 3.6: Pocahontas (Q'Orianka Kilcher)

Pocahontas also thrusts her corn seeds in mother earth. Even while she is John Rolfe's wife, she reaches out for her mother instead of her husband. According to the Freudian heterosexual matrix of the incest taboo, the daughter seeks sexual attention from her father. In *The New World*, Pocahontas' focus is not on her father nor does she desire her father's sexual attention. Instead Pocahontas desires and "has" her mother who is not embodied in a human character in the film but is represented by Mother Nature.

***Avatar* (2009): Future Visions of Conquest As A Love Story**

James Cameron's \$300 million dollar film *Avatar* takes place on a planet called Pandora. *Avatar* is the highest grossing film of all time and sold \$232 million dollars in box office tickets the first weekend it opened. This was the biggest film opening, in

terms of capital, for a non-sequel film ever.^{cxli} Cameron's *Titanic* (1997) had held the title of highest grossing film ever before *Avatar* took the lead. *Avatar* is an important settler colonial text because of the technology of the film and the colonial narratives around the making of the film. It also shows how the Pocahontas story continues to hold cultural relevance and how this narrative upholds liberal notions of universality through the love affair between the white settler and the beautiful Native princess. Also, the discussion over the technological advances of the film and the amount of money spent making the film show the continued importance of the Pocahontas narrative in the twenty-first century. Since this film is set in the future, and not in the past as is *The New World*, *Avatar* provides an important view of the future of Native peoples in film. Like other views of Native peoples in film, the politics of Native visual representations are not relevant because the technology of reproduction of Native avatars and the expense to make this film is what audiences and critics find most compelling. Benjamin Svetkey writes:

Indeed, the eye-popping film, which mixes breakthrough photo-realistic CGI [Computer Generated Images] with state-of-the-art 3-D effects in ways the audience has never seen before, is being hailed by some as a technological watershed, the sort of film that redefines what people expect when they go to the movies, the way sound revolutionized film in the 1920s and color did in the 1930s.^{cxlii}

Most discussion of the film focuses on the technology of the film and how it has moved film production to a "new frontier." (A frontier that does not include but is enabled by Native peoples, as Native peoples do not exist in modernity, only on its threshold.) Once again, the focus moves from the colonial narrative to the superior technology of

producing these representations of future indigeneity. Most of the actors in the film who play Native characters have avatars because they are acting through CGIs.

Avatar is a movie about indigenous and settler conflicts over natural resources, culture, and capital in the future. In this case, a whole planet is at stake for settlement. Earth is a “dying planet” so people from earth are colonizing other planets and moons that take six years to reach. Most of the settlers that come to Pandora are mercenaries hired to protect the interests of the corporation mining “unobtainium” that is worth \$20 million dollars a kilogram. The film takes an environmental stance without critiquing capitalism. The Natives are important because they are part of the natural habitat and respect their natural environment. Jake Sully (Sam Worthington), a differently-abled soldier, comes to Pandora to take the place of his twin brother. His brother was scheduled to go to Pandora. Unlike Jake, he was a doctor and a scientist who spliced his DNA with the Na’vi people of Pandora to make a Native avatar. (See Figure 3.7.)



Figure 3.7: Jake Sully (Sam Worthington), the New John Smith, Looking at His Avatar in James Cameron's *Avatar* (2009)

Jake is thrilled at the chance to have use of his legs again even if it is in a Native avatar body that he must leave at the end of the day. Jake gets separated from his expedition and meets Neytiri (Zoe Saldana). (See Figure 3.8.)



Figure 3.8: Neyteri (Zoe Saldana) in James Cameron's *Avatar* (2009)

She is about to kill him but then the spirits choose Sully. (See Figure 3.9.)



Figure 3.9: Jake Sully in His Avatar Body Being Chosen by the Spirits of Pandora

Neyteri takes Jake back to her community and the Na'vi want to kill him. Unlike the story of Pocahontas, she does not try to save him. Her mother saves him after tasting his blood. (This is not explained.) Neyteri's mother Mo'at decides Neyteri should teach Sully the ways of the Na'vi since the spirits of their world had deemed him special despite the fact he is a Native avatar. Although the Na'vi, with the help of Jake Sully, defeat the bad settlers and make them leave Pandora, history has shown that settlers do not give up so easily. It is a temporary win for Native peoples, the animals, and other life on Pandora. Yet *Avatar* does not dismiss the role of Native women as having something

settlers want to obtain: knowledge about the land and a tall blue cat-like body that the settler desires to not only penetrate but to inhabit through the use of an avatar.

James Cameron openly discussed how the Na'vi (the blue Native peoples of the film) were invented to gain the sympathy of the audience. The Na'vi are not modeled to look like Native peoples of earth because Cameron wanted the non-Native audience to be sympathetic to the Na'vi peoples. An *Entertainment Weekly* article states: “Cameron gave the Na'vi feline features to make them more relatable.”^{cxliii} For Cameron and audiences, cats are more “relatable” than Native peoples. Not even in the future can Native peoples who look like Native peoples of the present exist in an imaginary future world where a mostly non-Native audience would cheer for them. Cameron, like Terrance Malick, goes to great length to make the Natives of the film authentic. Benjamin Svetkey in an interview with *Entertainment Weekly* asked Cameron about the language used by the Na'vi in the film. Cameron responded:

Paul Frommer is a linguistics expert at USC, and we hired him to create a language,’ Cameron says. ‘He riffed off the 30 or so character names, place names, and creature names that I had come up with. They had a little bit of a Polynesian/Maori influence because of some time I had spent in New Zealand and in other places throughout Polynesia. So he used some Polynesian roots—but there’s also some African, there’s Native American, there’s even some bits from the Latin languages—and then he mixed it all up with German sentence construction, where the verb comes last. From an acting standpoint, the hard part was speaking English with a Na'vi accent. Zoe Saldana had the most lines, so we let her create the accent, and then everyone had to match her.’^{cxliv}

The fact Cameron uses bits and pieces from languages of places where he traveled is very colonial. The use of many different languages to make the Na'vi language is a multicultural mishmash of Native peoples. Since many of the general groups of peoples mentioned above have and speak their language, his using a linguistics expert to make a

new hybrid language for future Natives assumes that those Native peoples that speak those languages are the same. This does not respect the sovereignty and differences among these radically different groups of people, when the only thing they all have in common is that they are people of color and were places James Cameron wanted to visit. Cameron made the Na'vi blue based on the connection of blue to Hindu deities.^{cxlv} The whole premise of the movie is based on the creation myth of the U.S. nation-state: a hybrid subject with the interiority of a white settler mind and the exteriority of a Native body with entitlement to Native places: an avatar.

This is the colonial fantasy: Mixing the genetic material of the Natives with the heterosexual white male mind makes the perfect, legitimate settler, defender, and inheritor of the land. The science and technology of the film makes this seem like a natural occurrence, a form of progress that humans will inevitably achieve in the future. Cheryl Harris argues:

This legal assumption of race as blood-borne was predicated on the pseudo-sciences of eugenics and craniology that saw their major development during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The legal definition of race was the 'objective' test propounded by racist theorists of the day who described race to be immutable, scientific, biologically determined—an unsullied face of the blood rather than a volatile and violently imposed regime of racial hierarchy.^{cxlvi}

Even in *Avatar*'s futurity, this biological determinism continues. Importantly, it is never mentioned *how* the genetic scientists came across the Na'vi genetic material to make avatars for the scientists. The scientists are framed as the heroes in this film that fight for Indigenous civil rights but not for Native sovereignty, yet they are the ones that can build a "superior" Native subject that helps lead the Na'vi to victory over the settlers. Without Jake Sully, the Na'vi would have been annihilated. It was Jake's idea to gather all the

Na'vi peoples of every region and to ask the spirits of Pandora to aid the Na'vi in protecting the planet from the settlers. Jake begins the fiercest warrior of all the Na'vi because he rides a Toruk, which is a fierce dragon-like creature that hunts the Na'vi and Banshee (the other flying creature that Na'vi warriors ride). It is a special privilege to be chosen to ride a Toruk and Jake wins the trust of the Na'vi when he rides in on a Toruk. He wins back the love and trust of Neytiri that he lost when he told her he was hired as a spy but his love for her and her culture has made him change loyalties from the settlers to the Na'vi.

James Cameron wrote *Avatar* as a love story. Paul Rottenburg quotes Cameron in *Entertainment Weekly*:

The funny thing is, with *Avatar* I set out to do a pretty male adventure movie: a stranger in a strange land encountering this other culture. But in the back of my mind, I'm thinking, 'Well, in my life, the way I've learned the most is through relationships.' I've always found that lovers tend to be teachers. So I took that idea and made that story. What we found as we were editing the film was that the emotion was so strong, we just said, "F-- it, it's a love story."^{cxlvii}

Once again, settler colonialism continues to use love through the lens of heteropatriarchy to universalize conquest. As this quote shows, Cameron did not intentionally use a love story to hide conquest but he believes that romantic relationships (even in the future) will be what they are today. Cameron takes this a step further when he uses the Pocahontas narrative from the past to (un)settle his futuristic planet. The use of the Pocahontas narrative in *Avatar* cements the universalism of his plot by bringing together the past, present, and future. The choice the characters make to fall in love makes them self-determining subjects, which further constructs them as self-determining subjects. Since the Na'vi constantly face annihilation—to return to Silva's terms the horizon of death—

they remain affectable subjects. Jake's life is not in danger because his Native body is his avatar. It is only when his white body and mind are attacked in his non-avatar form (non-Native form) is his life in danger. While Cameron's Na'vi appear to disrupt white supremacy, he only solidifies it by making some settlers good and other ones bad. Like Malick's Natives, Cameron's Natives are all good and pure characters. It is this goodness and purity that make the Natives easily corruptible and closer to death and annihilation because goodness and purity of spirit is destroyed by modernity and entrance into the capitalist marketplace. (I discuss this further in the next chapter.)

Unlike Malick's Pocahontas, Neytiri, like Cameron's other leading ladies, is a strong willed intelligent woman that Jake conquers. This makes Neytiri a larger conquest because she chooses him as he chooses her. They also get married and make their relationship legitimate but she does not necessarily choose him over her community. She disowns him when she finds out he has betrayed her and her community and only takes him back when she thinks he can help save the Na'vi from annihilation. Like Malick's *The New World*, *Avatar* justifies conquest through a love affair between a white male settler and an extraordinary Native woman. Even in the future, conquest hinges on the love and marriage between a white man and Native woman. This sense of universalism that love in the past and love in the future are always the same carries the Pocahontas narrative from the past and into the future.

The power of *Avatar* exists both in the technological advances of the film and the continued adherence to the Pocahontas narrative of colonial contact. Even in the future, on a planet far, far away, Natives cannot escape white heteropatriarchy, primitive accumulation and settler colonialism. As *Avatar* teaches us, primitive accumulation or

the beginning of the commodification of the land starts with sexuality because it is through heteropatriarchy that conquest is legitimated through universal narratives.

Miscegenation: Not Racial Freedom But a Liberal Alibi for Settler Colonialism

That is, I am interested in how, in these statements, precisely that which renders miscegenation dangerous, the productive violence of the sexual intimacy between the male European colonizer and yesterday's female 'natives,' was rewritten as the determinate of the trajectory of a historical subject toward transparency.^{cxlviii}

—Denise da Silva

Loving v. Virginia (1967) overturned anti-miscegenation laws in the United States. Even though the Civil Rights movement had fought segregation of schools in the Supreme Court with *Brown v. the Board of Education* and the right to vote (again) for Blacks with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, African Americans (and other communities of color) did not have the right to marry white people in sixteen states. In other words, it took almost two hundred years for this country to have marriage between whites and the “other” races to be legal in every state in the union.

Members of different groups of people of color could marry one another but could not marry a white person if they so wished in some states. Warren writes:

Thus, the state contends that, because its miscegenation statutes punish equally both the white and the Negro participants in an interracial marriage, these statutes, despite their reliance on racial classifications, do not constitute an invidious discrimination based upon race.^{cxlix}

Importantly this denied the right to white people to marry people of color in sixteen states at the time of the passing of this law. The Warren court saw beyond this Virginia state ruling and stated:

To deny this fundamental freedom [heterosexual marriage] on so unsupportable a basis as the racial classifications embodied in these

statutes, classifications so directly subversive to the principle of equality at the heart of the Fourteenth Amendment, is surely to deprive all the State's citizens of liberty without due process of the law.^{cl}

According to Warren, the deprivation of liberty is the denial of the right to marry. It is this ruling that gives liberalism a kick: In 1967, the United States is so liberal that people of opposite genders and of a certain age can marry people of any race they choose.

In Virginia at the time of the passing of *Loving v. Virginia*, it was also against the law for interracial sex to occur between a white person and a person of color. It is significant that Virginia was the state that held onto and defended their miscegenation marriage law because Virginia was one of the first "successful" colonies. The law even acknowledges the marriage union between Pocahontas and John Rolfe as being foundational for the beginning of the United States. The law claimed that any person who has more than one sixteenth Native blood is a person of color and it took over three hundred years to overturn a law that would have made it illegal for Pocahontas and John Rolfe to be married.

The *Loving* opinion written by Warren states: "Penalties for miscegenation arose as an incident to slavery, and have been common in Virginia since the colonial period." Punishment for interracial marriage is supported by the state because marriage is a critical component of heteropatriarchy and for maintaining settler colonialism. Interracial marriage legitimates the offspring of this union. Sex between white people and people of color does not threaten heteropatriarchy because the laws protect the rights of white men to have sex with women of color but not for men of color and white women to have sex. The trial judge in Caroline County opined:

Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, Malay and red, and he placed them on separate continents. And, but for the interference with his arrangement, there would be no cause for such marriage. The fact that he separated the races shows that he did not intend for the races to mix.^{cli}

This decision was overturned but what is not discussed is how this opinion erases the settler-colonial beginnings of the United States and their relationship to African American slavery.

The opinion goes on to argue: “Marriage is one of the ‘basic civil rights of man,’ fundamental to our very existence and survival.” Gay rights activist use this case as evidence of the constitutionality of gay marriage because the case frames marriage as a civil rights issue. Since most movements supporting gay marriage do not include anti-racist work or critiques of heteropatriarchy in marriage, using *Loving v. Virginia* as support for gay marriage appropriates the long civil rights struggle that went into bringing a successful anti-miscegenation case to the Supreme Court. So far the Supreme Court has not acknowledged gay civil rights because many courts recognize queerness as a choice whereas racialization is not a choice.

Interracial marriage is not the solution to racism nor should marriage be the most important of queer civil rights. Significant to my discussion of marriage in this chapter is the fact that marriage is carefully guarded as an important property of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy, and whiteness. Inter-marriage between settler and colonizer, white men and women of color, and queer people marks social “progress” towards the idealized “colorblind” liberal nation that attempts to erase the histories of violent conquest, African American slavery, homophobia, and violent struggles over immigrants of color settling in the New World. Marriage has been carefully guarded by heteropatriarchy as a means of

the state tempering desires and controlling citizenship and miscegenation in the industrial metropolis. Yet marriage is carefully protected and regulated by the nation to protect “whiteness as property.” White supremacy frames Black motherhood as monstrous and contributing to the “culture of poverty.” This is in opposition to the way the Native mother is represented as an individualized good mother for the nation. In the next section, I expand Cheryl Harris’ theorization of racialization and the individualization of whiteness to the Native context by further examining how property is inherited through heteropatriarchy.

Property, Heteropatriarchy, and Settler Colonialism

Indians can be part of universalism if Native bodies, culture, spirituality and land are commodified and fetishized. Not only does Indian land become the property of settlers; now settlers own the essence, the spirit of the land and people through the connection to Pocahontas. The inheritance of everything Native by settler colonialism begins with the Native princess; it continues with her marriage to a white man; and ends with her death and the inheritance of her land, money, and property to her hybrid son and husband John Rolfe.

Property is the fuel and anchor of settler colonialism. Heteropatriarchy builds hierarchical structures of U.S. colonial rule and relies on universal constructions of family and property to constitute inequalities and hierarchies that are required for the ownership of property by a few. The acquisition of Native property, the disinheritance of Native peoples, and the incorporation of Blacks as property make settler colonialism ideologically possible. The justification of the theft of Native property continually reproduces itself in property law and in popular visual culture. Critical race theorist and

legal scholar Cheryl I. Harris' article, "Whiteness As Property" offers a useful framing for this discussion of law, property and marriage. While Harris alludes to marriage and patriarchy in her work, she does not address it in this article. Yet she does discuss settler colonialism. I build on Harris' legal work here by discussing the intimate relationship between white supremacy and the law to include the roles of heteronormativity and marriage^{clii} as a means of challenging whiteness as property and the legitimacy of conquest.

Harris argues that whiteness as property relies on the seizing of property of Native Americans and constructing Black people as property through slavery. Native peoples were unable to sell their land without the permission of the U.S. nation-state, which was decided in the Supreme Court case *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831). While Native peoples may have had land, they could exercise little control over their land, which is an expression of sovereignty and self-determination. She argues:

Race and property were thus conflated by establishing a form of property contingent on race—only Blacks were subjected as slaves and treated as property. Similarly, conferring and acknowledging the property rights of whites in Native American land ratified the conquest, removal, and extermination of Native American life and culture. Only white possession and occupation of land was validated and therefore privileged as a basis for property rights. These distinct forms of exploitation each contributed in varying ways to the construction of whiteness as property.^{cliii}

Harris' shows how whiteness as property was established through white domination over Black and Native peoples. Harris links the slavery of African Americans and the land dispossession of Native Americans as giving both a property interest in whiteness and a disinterest in Native and Black racial identity.

Unfortunately, as Harris proves, whiteness as property continues even after *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was overturned. Whiteness is still protected as property by the Supreme Court even in affirmative action cases. She writes:

To assert that whites have an equivalent right to a level of review designed to protect groups and peoples subordinated by white supremacy is to seek to legitimate a usurpation. After all, race oppression has meaning in this country not because of what has been done to whites because of their racial identity, but what has been done to those who are not white in the name of protecting whiteness.^{cliv}

Whiteness as property grants the state the ability to exclude racial others through laws that protect whiteness as a protected identity formation. Any identity category other than white is not protected even though the history of white supremacy has systematically excluded people of color economically and politically. Cheryl Harris uses *Mashpee Tribe v. Town of Mashpee* to show how other group identities, especially “mixed blooded” people, demonstrate the limits of the Supreme Court’s ability to understand inclusive identities. She argues:

The Mashpee absorbed and managed, rather than rejected and suppressed, outsiders; yet the court erased their identity, assuming that, by virtue of intermingling with other races, the Mashpee’s identity as a people had been subsumed. The Mashpee were not ‘passing,’ but were legally determined to have ‘passed’—no longer to have distinct identity.^{clv}

Since the Mashpee Indians had intermarried with Blacks and whites, they did not appear phenotypically Indian. Their cultural practices, which did not reflect static Native traditionalism, were dismissed as not being “Native” because Mashpee cultural practices had changed over the course of time with the addition of new community members added to their tribe. Interestingly, for the U.S. Supreme Court, this meant that the Mashpee did not have an “Indian” identity and could not therefore obtain federal recognition as an

Indian nation. Even though the Mashpee had land and culture, their evolution as a mixed race tribe did not exclude Blackness. This made the Mashpee worldview a threat to U.S. nationalism.

Although we are presently in a moment of multiculturalism, Indian nationalisms that are truly inclusive of Black people in particular are still seen as threats to the U.S. nation-state. Since the Mashpee not only accepted Black people into their nation, but also intermarried with them and adapted their cultural traditions, this racial intermixing did not make whiteness central to their nation. Even though Indian nations are supposed to have Indian identity central to their identity as a federally recognized Indian nation, *Mashpee Tribe v. Town of Mashpee* (1978) shows that Indian racial identity must adhere to a static idea of Indianness that can only include whiteness to be a federally recognized tribe. Modern Native nations and many Native peoples have white parents. In the case of the modern Native nations, these nations are modeled after the U.S. nation-state. Interracial marriages and miscegenation between whites and Natives is expected and hoped for by the settler state to eliminate Native people altogether. As Native peoples continue to reproduce with anyone outside of their tribe, it lowers the blood quantum for the next generation. Some tribes, like the Cherokee Nation, accept descendants as members of their tribe and do not adhere to a strict blood quantum limit. Other Native Nations, such as the Navajo Nation and the Lakota Nation have a fifty percent blood quantum. Most tribes require a twenty-five percent and above blood quantum of that tribes' blood to be a recognized member in that tribe. This is a limited way to recognize tribal members and recognition acts in concert with whiteness as property because future Indians are destroyed and when Indians are lost, Indian land is lost. When Indians have

children with whites, whiteness erases the Indianness. One of the first questions Indians are asked is: “How Indian are you?” Indians are one of the few races where people ask them how much of that race they are and the response must be proven by proper documentation (such as tribal enrollment cards).^{clvi}

The laws established by the nation-state legitimate settler colonialism. These laws are made for the colonists. White supremacy and heteropatriarchy undergird the laws of the nation-state. In order for the law to find support from white supremacy and in order for heteropatriarchy to support settler colonialism, there must first be claims made on the land. Settler colonialism necessitates the meeting and subsequent annihilation of the Native population to make room for white settlement. Once again, laws, marriage, and heteropatriarchy support the land claims of settler colonialism and make conquest universal through legal statutes supporting marriage and the property rights of whites. The land must be emptied or held in trust by the settler colonial nation-state. Once the process of settlement of the land is not the main thrust of the settler state, the maintenance of white supremacy continues through liberal self-determination.

Visual representations of the disappeared Indian-princess/Native-mother and the “degenerate” Black mother both work to shore up liberal individual notions of capitalism and white supremacy by erasing the indigeneity of Pocahontas’ son and idealizing Pocahontas as the mother of the U.S. settler nation while demonizing Black motherhood. Native women provide property for settlement through the feminization of the land and the incorporation of Native women and the land into white heteropatriarchy. On the other hand, Black women reproduce a reserve army of labor. While labor is important to the settler colonial state, there is no shortage of this labor now. Control over the nations’

occupants takes precedence. One of the ways this occurs is through racial domination. Making whiteness property solidifies white heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism.

It is through this marriage that white men gain access to the land and resources of the colony. The wealth that is earned through the commodification of the land in the colony is then brought to the industrial metropolis. The Native woman is discarded so the wealth of the colony can pass to the white man from the Native woman. In order for this to be seen as a legitimate process, there needs to be love and marriage between the white man and Native woman.

The Importance of the Pocahontas Myth to the Lives of Black Peoples and African American Studies

Importantly, the story of Pocahontas and John Rolfe leaves out African Americans and the fact that Jamestown also later became a slave trading port. It does not acknowledge the role of Native mothers or Black families in the making of the U.S. nation or how African Americans were stolen away from their homelands and endured endless horrors to make it to the shores of the U.S. in bondage. Anne McClintock writes: “There are two narratives of historical time: racial progress from the native child to adult white male and racial degeneration from white fatherhood to black motherhood.”^{clvii} The formulation of the nuclear family relies on a heteronormative construction of the family to make it universal. Yet the lack of incorporation of Black women and men into the heteronormative family reveals the white supremacy inherent in the construction of the nationalist family. This heteronormative construction of the family leaves out the effects of structural inequalities of white supremacy on Native and Black families. The

“normative” construction of white families relies on the “abnormal” Black family.

Dorothy Roberts argues:

This theory was reincarnated in the 1960s in the myth of the Black matriarch, the domineering female head of the Black family. White sociologists once again held Black mothers responsible for the disintegration of the Black family and the consequent failure of Black people to achieve success in America. This thinking held that Black matriarchs damaged their families in two ways: they demoralized Black men and they transmitted a pathological lifestyle to their children, perpetuating poverty and anti-social behavior from one generation to the next.^{clviii}

Roberts goes on to criticize Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965) for supporting the ideas about Black mothers listed above.

Roberts argues that this so-called degeneracy of Black women and families should be linked to structural issues of poverty, lack of access to education, and racist representations of Black motherhood in the news media instead of blaming Black women for being bad mothers.

Deviant narratives of the Black women began in slavery with the circulation of the story of Margaret Garner in 1856 who killed her daughter when Garner and her daughter were about to be captured by slave hunters and returned to slavery. Toni Morrison’s novel *Beloved* is based on Margaret Garner’s decision to kill her daughter rather than have her grow up in slavery and beautifully tells how her murdered daughter haunts the mother. Harriet A. Jacob’s *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) explains the terrible decisions an enslaved woman had to make as a mother trying to keep her self-respect as a Black woman under the brutality of slavery. Jacobs disrupts the construction of the monstrous Black mother by discussing in intimate detail the ways slavery and white supremacy negatively affected her ability to be a good mother to her

children. I compare how representations of Native and Black women's role as mothers supports white supremacy and Native and Black women's engulfment into heteropatriarchy, settler colonialism and the loss of property rights as people.

Dorothy Roberts challenges civil rights activists to make reproductive liberty for Black women part of their civil rights platform because Black people have systematically had their sexual reproduction and I would add sexuality, criminalized and restrained under white supremacy. Roberts challenges liberal notions of reproductive rights by defining reproductive freedom as more than the ability for a woman to choose whether or not to have an abortion. She argues:

Black reproduction, on the other hand, is treated as a form of *degeneracy*. Black mothers are seen to corrupt the reproduction process at every stage. Black mothers, it is believed, transmit inferior physical traits to the product of conception through their genes. They damage their babies in the womb through their bad habits during pregnancy. Then they impart a deviant lifestyle to their children through their example. This damaging behavior on the part of Black mothers—not arrangements of power—explains the persistence of Black poverty and marginality.^{clix}

The liberal argument that Black women are responsible for the “degeneracy” of the Black family and community because of their poor performance as mothers ignores structural inequalities and the influence of negative representations.

The sexual pairing of Black women and white men is erased while visual representations of Pocahontas and John Smith and John Rolfe proliferate in the U.S. cultural imaginary. Since colonialism is anchored by genocide and capitalism is anchored by slavery in Andrea Smith's formulation of white supremacy, it logically follows that one Native woman can be the U.S. national mother to gain access to Native lands and then is promptly erased while Black motherhood is not legitimized under white

heteropatriarchy because white women are the ideal mothers of national citizens. White women are able to be acceptable partners for white men, while Black women are not. One of the main ways our heteropatriarchal society measures “social justice” is through who can marry who.

Conclusion

Frantz Fanon writes: “Man is motion toward the world and toward his like. A movement of aggression, which leads to enslavement or to conquest; a movement of love, a gift of self, the ultimate stage of what by common accord is called ethical orientation.”^{clx} Overall, I have argued that conquest is intimate and needs to appear in the form of a universal love story to erase the violence of the systematic genocide of Native peoples of this land now called the United States. *The New World*, *Avatar* and other stories about Pocahontas attempt to santize conquest as a love story when really, the U.S. nation-state steals Native lands and attempts to manage Native lives in intimate ways. The intimate relationship of the management of Natives’ sexuality through a loving sexual relationship erases the violence of this action and makes it a love story. Pocahontas’ death must be part of this love story to constitute a new white nation without Natives. Through the stories reproduced about Pocahontas, her inauguration into white heteropatriarchy is written as a colonial moment of celebration and victory, securing Natives and Native land in the racial and sexual hierarchy. The beauty, artistry, and love in Terrence Malick’s *The New World* and James Cameron’s *Avatar* stand in stark and hideous contrast to the violent realities of conquest and colonialism in the new world both in the past and in the future. Since it is told as a love story, conquest is inoculated from histories of rape, theft, and the survival of our ancestors. As Smith writes in

“Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing” through the logic of genocide, Natives are constantly disappearing and need to disappear to enable non-Natives to settle indigenous lands.

This chapter, like other chapters of my dissertation, discusses how settler colonialism justifies the theft of land and culture through heteropatriarchy by presenting heteronormative family structures as universal. Da Silva’s work has helped me map how enlightenment thinking places Natives and other people of color in the state of nature and racializes people of color as not able to be full subjects. Placing Native people in the state of nature dehumanizes them and justifies violence and murder of Native people since Native peoples do not fit into these normative family structures of heteropatriarchy. I have argued that without heteropatriarchal national creation myths, settler colonialism would not have had a foundation to build an oppressive hierarchical racial and sexual regime that justifies the genocide of Native peoples for land and the commodification of Black people as slaves. It does this through universal narratives of love and family. White supremacy and heteropatriarchy rely on these racializations of Native and Black peoples to continually affirm the U.S. as a legitimate nation state.

Pocahontas, along with all the other good and bad Indians, is perched on the horizon of death *because* of her entrance into white heteropatriarchy. Pocahontas, and Native people, must die to clear the land for universal reason and white settlement. Reason is the opposite of love. *The New World* and other Pocahontas stories employ biopolitical logics by universalizing love to justify the destruction of Native America. Rey Chow writes:

I believe Foucault’s notion of biopower [in terms of racism as an important part of biopolitical technologies] also offers an effective means

of deconstructing the measures of benevolence in the classic colonial situation, in which it is not always necessary to go to the extreme of extermination in order to accomplish the task of control and subjugation. This is the juncture at which, as is especially evident in capitalist society, the role played by culture—indeed, of cultural tolerance—must be understood to be working in tandem with biopower.”^{clxi}

The clash of two different cultures in *The New World* and *Avatar* centers around both stories’ use of a universal notion of love. Love is used discursively to perform affinity between Natives and white colonists, but re-reading this narrative of Love as a type of Oedipal complex exposes the mythology’s biopolitical imperative to destroy Natives. The rape and dispossession of Native peoples is represented instead as a narrative of love and “cultural tolerance.”

^{cxvi} Kweli, Talib and Xzbit. “Rush.” *Quality*. Rawkus Records, 2002.

^{cxvii} Fanon, Franz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967: 42.

^{cxviii} Harris, Cheryl. “Whiteness As Property.” *Harvard Law Review* Vol. 106 No. 8 June 1993: 1714.

^{cxix} McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995: 31.

^{cxx} Mojica, Monique. *Princess Pocahontas and the Blue Spots*. Toronto: Women’s Press, 1991:

^{cxxi} Da Silva, Denise Ferreira. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis, MN, 2007: xii.

^{cxxii} Williams, Shirley Anne. *Dessa Rose*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986: 20.

^{cxxiii} Gunn Allen, Paula. *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat*. New York: Harper San Francisco Press, 2003

^{cxxiv} Green, Rayna. “The Pocahontas Perplex: Images of American Indian Women in American Culture.” *The Massachusetts Review* 16 (Autumn):714.

^{cxxv} Green, Rayna. “The Pocahontas Perplex: Images of American Indian Women in American Culture.” *The Massachusetts Review* 16 (Autumn) 698-714.

^{cxxvi} Smith, Andrea. *Conquest*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005: 1.

^{cxxvii} Da Silva, Denise Ferreira. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis, MN, 2007.

^{cxxviii} Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004 and Paula Gunn Allen. *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat*. New York: Harper San Francisco Press, 2003: 12.

^{cxxix} Gunn Allen, Paula. *Pocahontas: Medicine Woman, Spy, Entrepreneur, Diplomat*. New York: Harper San Francisco Press, 2003: 12.

^{cxxx} James, Caryn. “The Terrence Malick Enigma.” *The New York Times*. November 6, 2005.

^{cxxxii} Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: 5.

^{cxxxiii} Townsend, Camilla. *Pocahontas and the Powhatan Dilemma*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: x.

^{cxxxiiii} His first film, *Badlands* (1973) star Martin Sheen and Sissy Spacek. The film is set in the 1950s and Holly (Spacek) narrates how she accompanies Kit (Sheen) on a killing spree from South Dakota to

Montana. Like all Terrence Malick films, there are lots of beautiful shots of nature and careful editing that takes Malick years to complete. In *Days of Heaven* (1978), Malick uses the early twentieth century Texas farm as a backdrop to a love triangle between Richard Gere, Brooke Adams, and Sam Shepard. Shepard is a wealthy farmer who is dying of an unspecified disease. After Gere (Bill), kills his foreman in Chicago, him and his girlfriend Adams (Abby) and her sister Manz (Linda) all run away from Chicago and travel across the country on top of a train. They end up in Texas and all work as farm laborers on Shepard's farm. Bill finds out that Shepard is dying and gets Abby to marry him so they can inherit his farm. Like *The New World*, Malick utilizes voice-overs and tells the story through Linda. *The Thin Red Line* (1998) is another historical drama set during World War II in the South Pacific. *The Tree of Life* (2011) is a meditation on the beginning of existence in the universe. It stars Brad Pitt, Sean Penn, and Jessica Chastain. The film moves from the beginning of time to the present. There is not a clear story in this film, but like all Malick films, it is breathtakingly beautiful and was nominated for many awards for cinematography, best director, and score. It won the Palm d'Or at the Cannes Film festival. In comparison to all of Malick's films, *The New World* is the weakest one by far because his other films are so amazing.

^{cxxxiv} James, Caryn. "The Terrence Malick Enigma." *The New York Times*. November 6, 2005.

^{cxxxv} Gabriel, Mike, dir. *Pocahontas*. Walt Disney. 1995.

^{cxxxvi} Freud, Sigmund. Edited by Nancy J. Chodorow. "The Sexual Aberrations." *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

^{cxxxvii} Sigmund Freud idealizes the sexuality of "pre-civilization" people in his essay on sexual deviancy. For Freud, (white) civilization^{cxxxvii} is far removed from the ideal sexuality because of the tendencies to rationalize sexual desire in modernity. The rationalization of sexuality produces hysteria especially among white women. Freud holds up "savage sexuality," a term coined by my race and sexuality class I took at the University of Oregon, as the ideal sexuality for white civilized men to return to their sexual state of nature.

It [inversion (queerness)] is remarkably widespread among many savage and primitive races, whereas the concept of degeneracy is usually restricted to states of high civilization (cf. Bloch); and, even amongst the civilized peoples of Europe, climate and race exercise the most powerful influence on the prevalence of inversion and upon the attitude adopted towards it."^{cxxxvii}

Freud is most impressed with the way "savage and primitive races" view inversion in a positive light while "high civilization" thinks of queerness as degeneracy. Freud also thinks that "primitive" sexuality is different than civilized sexuality because primitives do not try to control the sexuality instinct itself.

The most striking distinction between the erotic life of antiquity and our own no doubt lies in the fact that the ancients laid the stress upon the instinct itself, whereas we emphasize its object. The ancients glorified the instinct and were prepared on its account to honor even an inferior object; while we despise the instinctual activity in itself, and find excuses for it only in the merits of the object."^{cxxxvii}

In civilization, the instinct is to be controlled and directed toward an object. Sexual desire and action become split in civilization, which is where Freud thinks causes neurosis in the civilized man. This why Freud places such value on primitive sexuality and on the sexual object choice in his writings on sexuality. This is important in relation to thinking about how Freud's ideal sexuality for white men shifts easily from inversion (queerness) to a "normal" robust sexual appetite for women exists in the "primitive" and therefore, in the state of nature. In other words, Native peoples and white women cannot shift easily back and forth from queer to straight.

^{cxxxviii} Butler, Judith. *Undoing Gender*. New York: Routledge Press, 2004: 152-153.

^{cxxxix} McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995: 44.

^{cxl} Malick, Terrence, director and writer. *The New World*.

^{cxli} Svetkey, Benjamin. "Avatar: The New Face of Movies." *Entertainment Weekly*. January 22, 2010: 32.

^{cxlii} Svetkey, Benjamin. "Avatar: The New Face of Movies." *Entertainment Weekly*. January 22, 2010: 28.

^{cxliii} Rottenberg, Josh. "Brave Blue World." *Entertainment Weekly*. December 18, 2009: 52.

-
- cxliv Svetkey, Benjamin. "Avatar: The New Face of Movies." *Entertainment Weekly*. January 22, 2010: 31.
- cxlv Svetkey, Benjamin. "Avatar: The New Face of Movies." *Entertainment Weekly*. January 22, 2010: 31.
- cxlvi Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness As Property." *Harvard Law Review* Vol. 106 No. 8 June 1993: 1739.
- cxlvii Rottenberg, Josh. "Brave Blue World." *Entertainment Weekly*. December 18, 2009: 50.
- cxlviii Da Silva, Denise Ferreira. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis, MN, 2007:
- cxlix Warren, C.J. *Loving v. Virginia*. No. 395. June 12, 1967.
- cl Warren, C.J. *Loving v. Virginia*. No. 395. June 12, 1967.
- cli Warren, C.J. *Loving v. Virginia*. No. 395. June 12, 1967.
- clii I purposefully do not distinguish between queer and heterosexual marriage here because both serve the same purposes: to reify and legitimate the state. See Jaspir Purar's *Terrorist Assemblages*
- cliii Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness As Property." *Harvard Law Review* Vol. 106 No. 8 June 1993: 1716.
- cliv Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness As Property." *Harvard Law Review* Vol. 106 No. 8 June 1993: 1775.
- clv Harris, Cheryl. "Whiteness As Property." *Harvard Law Review* Vol. 106 No. 8 June 1993: 1765
- clvi When I entered graduate school at the University of Michigan, I was given a Rackham Merit Fellowship. Native students are required to show their tribal enrollment cards and have to prove they have, at the very least, one-quarter Native American. No other racial category for this fellowship requires blood evidence of a specific amount to claim a racial identity. These are the active ways Native identity is challenged and erased by institutions of the settler colonial state. Native peoples have to constantly prove they are a Native person.
- clvii McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995: 49.
- clviii Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997: 16.
- clix Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997: 9.
- clx Fanon, Franz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967: 41.
- clxi Chow, Rey. *The Protestant Ethnic & The Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002: 11.

Chapter 4

Billy Jacked: Native Masculinities and Self-Recognition in Modernity Passing For Dead

“Everything they want from here on out they are going to have to take.”—Billy Jack

““You see, in many ways, the ceremonies have always been changing.””—Betonie from Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony*

“Accepting the risk of self-annihilation was the only way to survive.”—Cheryl Harris

“I am dead.”—Denise Da Silva

The germination of this chapter was on a cold winter morning in 2008. I was trying to mind my own business but it is hard to go anywhere as a Native person without having to confront some offensive images of “Indians” in the public sphere. I was sitting in a hotel lobby in Ann Arbor waiting to show a Native scholar around the University of Michigan campus. I tried to avoid sitting on the couch that had a table behind it with statues of a dead/dying/drunk Indian at one end (Figure 4.1) and, at the other end, a corresponding cowboy (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.1: James Earle Fraser's "End of the Trail" Figurine at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan



Figure 4.2: The Cowboy Figurine at the Campus Inn in Ann Arbor, Michigan

After all, I wanted to make a good impression on the Native scholar and did not want him to have to confront these images before he had a cigarette. Those statues have haunted me ever since. When I found out the “Indian” statue was titled *End of the Trail*, I decided to track this statue to the beginning of its trail. These Indian and cowboy statues tell their audience that Native peoples died, failing to enter the modern age, and that cowboys (settlers) inherited what the fallen Indians could not keep. What does *The End of the Trail* statue sitting in the lobby of a midwestern hotel say to the guests of the hotel? How does representing Indian masculinity as dead and/or dying strengthen U.S. nationalism, especially when it is juxtaposed with a strong living cowboy statue? What is at the “end

of the trail” for Native men in modernity and what does this mean for Native people generally? How are the vanished and/or dying racializations of Native peoples gendered and sexualized? Why is it important to find the place of Native men in representations of Native peoples in settler colonialism? How can self-recognition in Native art and Native communities blow settler colonialism apart and constitute positive Native futurities for all peoples?

Images of Native peoples change over time but Indigenous peoples are the foil of modernity and progress. This creates problems for representations of Native peoples. Since most people “know” and “understand” Native peoples through representations of Native peoples in popular culture, these representations of Native peoples *are* Native peoples. Representations of Indians who “assimilate” (adapt to modern conditions), use modern technologies, and/or do not maintain static ideas of pre-contact are no longer considered Native peoples because they do not exist in the static past. Representations of Indigenous peoples, unlike any other racial identity, cannot change over time without killing Indians’ racial identity. This is a representational form of Native genocide. Alan Trachtenberg argues:

Annihilated as persons, subsumed as ‘Indians’ in repeated rituals of symbolic sacrifice, the indigenous population seemed in certain eyes to promise national redemption: absolution of the sins of conquest, legitimation by offering themselves as founders and guardians of [United States] nationhood.^{clxii}

As Trachtenberg discusses above, representations of Indians have changed dramatically but it is the “annihilation as persons” in repetitive modern representations that interests me here. When Indians were no longer perceived as a violent, military, land-owning, and political threat to the United States, Indian peoples became the sacrificial founders and

guardians of U.S. nationhood. Native peoples first became victims of progress and then static pre-modern ideas about Indians were used as creation narratives and symbols of the nation.

This bold move of turning genocide into a creation narrative and a symbol of freedom results in the erasure of Indian political struggles for sovereignty and self-determination. According to this formulation, Native peoples cannot be the founders of or participants in their own nations because Indians are forced to be dead citizens and martyrs for the United States. I say “dead citizens” because these representations of Indians put them in the past and not in the present or the future. Indians can only exist in the past. Native peoples were forced to become U.S. citizens with the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924. This act eroded Native sovereignty by forcing Native peoples to be citizens of the U.S. and not their own sovereign nations. This formulation also makes Native identities fixed and existent only in the past in a time before the US nation and modernity.

Since I am not Geronimo, I cannot hide from these images and I want to respond to the images, ideologies, and narratives of death of Indigenous peoples in modernity by showing how Native peoples continually dream, build, and will Native futures into modernity. Images of Natives in popular culture are how most people “know” Native peoples. As I have discussed in the earlier chapters, Sacajawea and Pocahontas are the predominant gendered and sexualized figures of conquest in film, narratives, museums, statues, and history but Native women existing in modernity are rarely seen. In this chapter, I discuss how representations of dead and vanishing Native masculinities stabilize paternalistic colonial relationships between Indian people (and therefore Indian

land and resources) and the United States by making Indian men inadequate heteropatriarchs. The queer Native man is infantilized and put in the care of white heteropatriarchy so he can be dominated by white heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism. Even if Native men could “prove” their hetero-masculinity to the heteropatriarchal settler state, they would never be considered full subjects (transparent I’s) because Native men are already facing the horizon of death through their position as affectable subjects that will be annihilated by modernity. (This is another example of why Native peoples are represented as dead citizens.) I use Denise Da Silva’s theorization of the inherent violence of modern representations of race to show how this directly applies to representations of Native peoples in modernity. Later in this chapter, I use Da Silva’s ideas to frame a discussion of how Native peoples face the horizon of life in Native theatre. Following Da Silva’s line of questioning, I argue that the representation of “soft” Native masculinities supports a queer non-threatening Native presence because queered Native men are not a threat to the heteropatriarchal nation-state while queer Native women are. In this formulation, Native men are queered to make them illegitimate marriage partners for heterosexual Native women. As I argue in the previous chapter, the Pocahontas myth requires a heterosexual Native woman to marry the white male settler. This makes settler colonialism consensual and the Native is obliterated by marriage. But if the Native woman is queer, the idea of the consensual marriage between the white male settler and Native woman falls apart. Since modern representations of the universal subject are of an individual man, as Da Silva argues, representations of Native women in popular culture set in modernity are rare.^{clxiii}

As I have discussed in previous chapters, Native women are an important part of the heteropatriarchal creation myth of the United States. According to this myth, Native women are supposed to fall in love with white men and betray their tribe. Native men have little to do with the creation narratives of the United States because, as Rayna Green and Anne McClintock have argued, Native women's bodies are conflated with the land and the sexual conquest of Native women.^{clxiv} Native men, besides being the people Native women betray, vanish out of the US creation narrative and then reappear in modern representations of the genocide of Native peoples. Under the logic of white heteropatriarchy, the idea of killing queered representations of Native men in the name of progress is less offensive than the murdering of Native women and children even though Native women and children were the intended targets in most massacres. Queering Native men makes them legitimate military targets of the heteropatriarchal nation-state while Native women and children disappear from visual representations of genocide in modernity. In other words, modern representations of Native peoples are animated through genocide, death, and engulfment by the horizon of death in order for the U.S. to progress into modernity as a settler-colonial nation-state. Otherwise, Native people would simply disappear instead of having their dead bodies dug up and scientifically tested and their clothes and precious things they were buried with put on displays in museums for children to see. This insistence on the animation of the genocide of Native people in popular culture is gendered and sexualized in the perverse ways of white supremacy and heteropatriarchy.

White supremacy justifies heteropatriarchy and heteropatriarchy justifies white supremacy through the national narratives of the family. In national creation narratives

of the U.S., Native women such as Pocahontas and Sacajawea are brought into the white heteropatriarchal family in order to annihilate Native women and their children through their association with and preference for white men over Native men and Native culture. The settler-colonial state relies on both the physical genocide of Native peoples and representational genocide in popular culture. The heterosexual family structure undergirds white supremacy and hierarchy. Native families, which are usually headed by Native women, have been targeted by a heteropatriarchal nation-state because of their lack of conformity to the heteropatriarchal ideal of a nuclear family.^{clxv} This is used as a justification for the imposition of colonial institutions on Native lands and ways of living. This colonial imposition challenges Native masculinity and the ability to perform heteropatriarchal duties such as controlling Native women, fathering children, and making a living from the land. As a result, many cultural representations of Native men are queered. Native men are queered through having Native men appear hairless with bare muscled chests yet feminine in their intimate relationship with nature. The fact that they do not have any Native family around them shows their inability to be proper heteropatriarchs. Even if part of the story of the Native man alone without his Native family is a result of white settlers killing his family, this only makes the Native man more inadequate because the healthy virile Native man cannot protect Native women and children from a competing system of white settler heteropatriarchy.^{clxvi}

Andrea Smith argues in “Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing” that one way to combat white supremacy is to disrupt the logics of heteropatriarchy and genocide. Smith argues that heteropatriarchy is the building block of white supremacy because it naturalizes

hierarchy. In order for white supremacy to maintain its hierarchical power through heteropatriarchy, the three pillars of white supremacy not only construct people of color as racially inferior to whites but also challenges the heterosexuality of people of color. The heterosexuality of people of color must be undermined to justify white supremacy.

In Smith's formulation of the three pillars of white supremacy, the logic of genocide is anchored by colonialism through the idea that Native peoples are constantly disappearing to make room for non-Native people to settle Indigenous lands. According to this logic, non-Native peoples appropriate Native culture because they believe they are the rightful inheritors of Native lands and culture.^{clxvii} Since Native women are conflated with the land, they must be owned and dominated and placed low on the racial and gender hierarchy of heteropatriarchy. Importantly, Native women reproduce indigeneity through giving birth to new Native peoples and through being represented as the guardians and holders of Native culture and the land. This makes Native women political and biological threats.

Representations of Native life and death are significant in sexualized cultural representations of Native masculinity. *The End of the Trail* statue I began this chapter with is a good example of how the death of the Native man in modernity gives life to the settler. Denise da Silva discusses the horizon of life and the horizon of death in her theorization of modern racial representations in her book *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. In her figuration, racialized subjects and the transparent and universal subjects *both* face the horizons of life and death. Her discussion of the life and death of racialized subjects is significant to the topic of Native cultural representation because in Native art forms, Native peoples, for once, face the horizon of life instead of annihilation by the horizon of

death. For Da Silva, people of color through Enlightenment thinking and scientific racism cannot be a transparent or determining subject but they can strive for justice by challenging the physical and psychological violence that is an inherent part of their lives. This violence of settler colonialism is gendered and yet Native masculinity and sexualities are rarely discussed in Native studies. As I argue throughout my dissertation, this does a great disservice to Native studies because Native people are represented as dead, dying, or disappearing through sexualized cultural images. Yet Native peoples resist these images and Da Silva's horizon of death by embodying Native bodies through Native theatre and art. When Indigenous peoples recognize moments when they face the horizon of life instead of death, this acknowledgement of life is a place where Native peoples can gather strength and hope. This is as important as finding ways colonialism has negatively affected our lives. It is time to use images and narratives of death to our advantage. To make this happen, we need to gather strength from places where we are already strong.

Glen Coulthard argues in "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada" that Native peoples need to stop asking the colonizers to be recognized as sovereign Native nations so Native nations can "benefit" from capitalist development. Instead, Indigenous peoples need to look to their traditions, land, and themselves to recognize themselves as a people and not rely on the colonial settler state to recognize them as a nation. Coulthard uses Fanon and Hegel to discuss the philosophical importance of recognition. He states:

I think that today this process will and must continue to involve some form of critical individual and collective *self*-recognition on the part of Indigenous societies, not only in an instrumental sense like Fanon seemed to have envisioned it, but with the understanding that our cultures have

much to teach the Western world about the establishment of relationships within and between peoples and the natural world that are profoundly non-imperialist. Also, the empowerment that is derived from this critically self-affirmative and self-transformative process of desubjectification must be cautiously directed *away* from the assimilative lure of the statist politics of recognition, and instead be fashioned toward our own on-the-ground practices of freedom.”^{clxviii}

This relationship between knowing ourselves as Native peoples through the land is an important means of recognition. Coulthard’s formulation of recognition relies on Native peoples knowing one another and looking towards one another for recognition instead of asking the settler colonial state for recognition. In other words, self-recognition is the path towards freedom. Identifying and recognizing queer Native people is another act of recognition that needs to be added since we are often forgotten or silenced in Native studies and Native communities.

Coulthard also discusses the effects of the internalization of racist recognition by the colonial system. He states:

In effect, Fanon revealed how, over time, colonized populations tend to internalize the derogatory images imposed on them by their colonial masters, and how as a result of this process, these images, along with the structural relations with which they are entwined, come to be recognized (or at least endured) as more or less natural.^{clxix}

Defining ourselves by the colonizer’s recognition of us as colonized people and giving the settler state the ability to define Native nations as legitimate nations is a significant aspect of colonialism that needs to be discussed in order for decolonization efforts to be effective. The decolonization of Native America begins in the mind of Native peoples. Native peoples need to look to other Native peoples, Indigenous culture, and Native relations to the land for recognition and self-esteem. Native peoples have responded to these genocidal images and narratives through acts of self-recognition and

performance of Native life in modernity. Native artists lead the way in self-recognition by reinventing Native cultural traditions and making explicit connections to Native peoples connecting to their land base. This is an important starting point. As Shari Huhndorf argues, filmic and other cultural representations of Native peoples constitute how many people come to know indigenous peoples. Like Huhndorf, it is through the visual that I wish to engage colonial narratives and images but it is Native theatre where Native peoples embody Native characters and Indigenous artists' ideas that radical self-recognition occurs for the audience, performers, and Native authors who wrote the play. The characters in Native theatre are representations of how colonialism is internalized by different indigenous subjects, which is an important discussion to have in Native communities. When the subject recognizes the internalization of colonialism, decolonization has begun. In Native theatre, the performance of the internal struggles of colonialism occurs on the stage and Native peoples get to perform Native struggles as an act of sovereignty.

The staging and performance of Native identity are important in cultural studies work being done about Indians. Alan Trachtenberg argues: "They [Indian treaties] were 'our first American plays,' inaugurating American dramatic literature in records of a still unrecognized formative experience of the nation: its encounter with the customs and law of the natives of North America."^{clxx} Considering the treaties between Native nations and the US nation-state as an "American play" questions the sovereignty of both the Native nations and the U.S. nation while dismissing the legal relevance of these treaty signings.

Scott Lyons argues:

Treaties led to dramatic changes in the Indian world: loss of land and political autonomy, assent to assimilation policies, the creation of quasi-

private property on communal lands, and much else. Natives knew it and sometimes resisted it. At treaty councils, individuals retained a right to withhold their x-marks, and many did. But most did not.^{clxxi}

Gendering Native peoples as male is a way to move indignity into modernity and then, obliteration. Trachtenberg believes the change over time from Indians as savages to Indians as noble is a result of the completion of the settlement of Native America. He writes: “Many of those who believed that immigrants posed a threat to nationality looked toward the American Indian for evidence of national distinctiveness and proof of nationality.”^{clxxii} Yet while Trachtenberg challenges the idea of the vanished Indian, he does not discuss the gendered and sexualized aspects of the vanishing Indian.

Representations of Native masculinities in U.S. cultural productions have changed a lot over the past one hundred years but the future demise of Native peoples are inherent in all these images. If the modern representation of humanity is an individual man, then it makes sense that images of actual Native men proliferate in the modern technology of photographs and film while Native women are represented more as abstract Indian princesses or as historical figures in the modern technology of film. Representations of heterosexual Native women in modernity are threats to the state because they have the ability to reproduce more Indians, while Native men, queered by modernity, do not have the ability to reproduce. Rarely in mainstream films do Native women exist as individuals invested in their communities. This liberal idea of individuality is what will ideologically engulf Native America. The idea that the individual Indian man fighting with the settler nation-state for his self-determination and freedom is liberalism at its apex and settler colonialism reified. For this chapter I analyze various forms of Native cultural representations in order to discuss the changing historical dynamics of Native

masculinities and I begin by using popular images of individual Indian men. James Earle Fraser's sculpture *End of the Trail* (1915), the photograph of the dead Sioux elder (1890), and the film *Billy Jack* (1971) show how different mediums of modern representation symbolically and actually reproduce the violence and death that awaits Native men in modernity. Symbolically it is the beginning of the end of Native peoples because Native peoples have "assimilated" or "progressed" into modernity. In other words, any Indigenous peoples who do not live in tepees, ride horses, or wear their hair long fall into the category of modernity. The fact this erasure happens through masculinity and heteropatriarchal discourse means these images need to be disputed through gendered and sexualized discourses. Since these images of death, dying, and erasure are violent, this chapter is concerned with Indian life and future in modernity.

Scott Richard Lyons argues that the idea of Indian identities in modernity is diverse, complicated, and contradictory because Indian peoples, nationalisms, and colonialism shape them. Lyons thinks that traditionalism can be used as a tool of survival in Native communities as long as the use of Native traditions is not seen as pure or as existing outside of colonialism. He writes:

Sometimes that means adopting new ways of living, thinking, and being that do not necessarily emanate from a traditional cultural source (or, for that matter, 'time immemorial'), and sometimes it means appropriating the new and changing it to feel more like the old. Sometimes change can make the old feel new again.^{clxxiii}

The use of Native traditions in new ways brings Native culture into modernity as a form of cultural sovereignty. Native peoples negotiate modernity through the constantly changing colonial contexts. This allows for life for Indians in modernity and the ability for Native peoples to exist in many different identity formations in modernity. In this

way, Indian identities can survive and flourish in modernity. When Indians are captured in a small frame of essentialist identity that Edward Curtis and others have tried to capture us in, there is only one possible way to be an Indian and that is to be held in contrast to modernity. The only way this Indian subject can enter modernity is obliteration.

Some Native writers have responded to images of dead Native men through what Coulthard would call self-recognition. William Yellow Robe, Jr.'s play *Sneaky* (2000) and Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Ceremony* (1977) are cultural productions made by Native peoples that respond to images and narratives of erasure and tragedy of Native American men in modernity. These Native cultural productions, while in dialogue with death and Native obliteration, show how Native masculinity can be re-imagined as a living force in the constantly changing political landscape of Native America. Importantly, these cultural works are not exempt from heteropatriarchal colonial influences and show how Native peoples have internalized colonialism. We need to face this in order to work to decolonize ourselves and not have heteropatriarchy be the norm. As these works show, Native peoples must work on decolonizing themselves through recognizing Native cultural survival and change within their own families, communities and their land base. I want to challenge white supremacy and encourage different methods of representing Native peoples.

***End of the Trail* and Wounded Knee 1890: The Beginning of the End for Native Men in Modernity**

A successful early twentieth century sculptor, James Earle Fraser first sculpted a small clay version of *End of the Trail* in 1894 and later produced this larger sculpture for

the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915.^{clxxiv} (See Figure 4.1.) Charles Wilkinson writes: “His [Fraser’s] brave, utterly despondent, sits on his mount, his head bowed and his shoulders slumped. His spear symbolically points down, and in sympathy with its rider, the pony’s head hangs low.”^{clxxv} Fraser portrays an Indian slumped over dead or stupid drunk on his horse. Although the Indian has a spear in his hand, he is fighting no more. This Indian is defeated. Even the horse’s head is bowed down. This man was a brave warrior before he met his end. The fact that Fraser shows the Indian going down fighting helps justify conquest because it makes conquest a fight between men and hides ongoing structures of settler colonialism. If the Indian surrendered during the war between him and the United States, this suggests that the Indian would continue in some sort of way. The Indian in Fraser’s war had to go down fighting in order to complete the annihilation of the Indian. Dying in battle is an act of bravery and the Indian would gain sympathy and respect for his role as brave soldier. Making the Indian a worthy opponent of settler colonialism makes the Indian a worthy opponent and admired as a Noble Savage.

There remains several life size and larger than life size *End of the Trail* statues located throughout the United States because the Noble Savage Indian stereotype continues to accumulate capital in the US national-imaginary. Even more of these smaller versions of these statues are mass-produced and can be found in many homes and private businesses. This statue remains a famous representation of Indian men along with other representations of dying Indian men.

The image of the dead Indian man marked a violent new era in representations of Indians in American popular culture. The historical period between Wounded Knee 1890

and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 is considered by Robert Williams, Jr. as the darkest period of Indian history.^{clxxvi} One of the main reasons for despair during this time period is passage of the General Allotment Act by Congress in 1887. Charles Wilkinson describes allotment as such:

Allotment remade Indian country once again. When Congress enacted the statute in 1887, Indian landholdings nationally totaled 140 million acres, about 8 percent of all land in what are now the lower forty-eight states. By 1934, when Congress abandoned the allotment policy, tribal land holdings had plummeted to 52 million acres, a loss of nearly 90 million acres, an area the size of Idaho and Washington combined.^{clxxvii}

Since Native peoples are land based people, the loss of almost 90 million acres of land created chaos and further dependence on the U.S. nation-state for assistance.^{clxxviii}

Allotment destroyed communities, families, and traditional Native systems of governance. This caused a great loss of Native self-determination sovereignty vis a vis the settler-nation state. The image of the dying Indian gained traction during this period because Indians were no longer perceived as a military threat or as a hindrance for settlers seeking to gain access to Indian lands and resources. Indian resources became part of the capitalist market after the resources were ripped away from Indian people. Indian people and bodies became commodified in two important ways: through the interest in Native “artifacts” and culture, which lead to the grave robbing of Indian peoples and through the minting of Indian heads on US currency.

The images of the circulation of Indians on money reify the idea of the dead Native because only dead people are on U.S. money. It also commodifies Native peoples and makes Indigenous peoples available for accumulation. Commodified Native culture through Edward Curtis photographs, Buffalo Bill shows, and clothes with feathers

and other “Indian” prints are a few ways that the idea of a timeless and natural Native culture can safely exist in modernity under the regime of settler colonialism. Unlike white figures on money, dead white presidents and Susan B. Anthony do not represent all white people like Native representations do. Since Indians are constantly disappearing in the American cultural imagination, seeing Indians literally commodified in small monetary amounts supports the idea that Indians are dead and gone. The way most people know Native peoples is through representations in popular culture. Money comes into play here because James Earle Fraser is the artist who designed the Indian head nickel and the Teddy Roosevelt statue that adorns the American Museum of Natural History in New York City that has an Indian and African man walking beside Roosevelt mounted on his horse. Like Glenna Goodacre who designed the Sacajawea dollar and made a Sacajawea statue, both Fraser and Goodacre designed Native images for the coins of the U.S. Mint and were also commissioned by private sources to make life-size statues of Native peoples. The move from images of dismembered Indian bodies on money to embodying capitalist accumulation through the reproduction of Indian people as bronze statues keeps commodified images of Native people in circulation. The Indian head nickel is like a flattened statue that circulates more than statues and the coin overtly commodifies genocide. The photographic image was another technology of visual culture employed by settler colonialism to document the violence of Indians moving into modernity.

One of the most famous representations of a Native man is the photograph of the old dead Native man who was murdered at Wounded Knee. (See Figure 4.3.)



Figure 4.3: Picture from the Massacre at Wounded Knee 1890

The photograph marks the unofficial end of the Indian wars and the movement of Indians into modernity. Trachtenberg argues:

Ethnology and entertainment kept Indians at a distance defined by ‘otherness,’ ‘their’ way of life moribund, their demise taken as proof of the triumph of ‘our’ civilization. Testimony of need for such proof lay in the incalculable number of photographic images of natives [sic] produced at the turn of the century, as if once the guns went silent after Wounded Knee, out came the camera, instrument (or weapon) of choice to confirm conquest and proclaim victory.^{clxxix}

Like the Edward Curtis photographs, this image offers the “proof” that Indians were a dying race, and these moments of death are captured in the photographs of Indians either dead from warfare or represented as “untainted” by white culture because they are wearing traditional clothing, hair styles, and archaic cultural artifacts that do not fit into modernity. In other words, the universal ideas of progress and modernity needs the idea of the prehistoric Native in order to show how progress was made through the technologies that advanced the genocide of Native peoples. It was through genocide that the settler state moved into modernity. Native peoples cannot survive these processes of modernity because Native identity and culture are static and disappear as Native people

assimilate or interact with capitalism (for example by being paid a wage or surviving modern warfare). This does not make logical sense if you consider that war is seen as a modern interaction between people who dispute claims of sovereignty and self-determination, yet for Native peoples, the “loss” of the Indian wars is seen as inevitable.

This murdered man, along with all the other victims of the massacre, is an important symbol of conquest. Most of the victims of the Wounded Knee massacre, like other massacres of Native peoples perpetrated by the U.S. nation-state, were women, children, and the elderly. Using this image to represent the Wounded Knee massacre justifies this massacre as a heteropatriarchal war between men. It is also a snapshot of the end of Indians and the U.S. nation-states’ ability to overpower Native nations and take hold of the land. In order to secure the land under the logics of heteropatriarchy, Native men must be represented as dead and Native women as willing participants and partners of white heteropatriarchy.

From this image, the disturbed snow with a pool of what looks like blood behind this dead Lakota man hints at the massacre that took place here. It also reveals the staged nature of this photograph. Since most of the victims of the Wounded Knee massacre along with other massacres of Native peoples perpetrated by the U.S. nation-state, are women, children, and the elderly. The bodies of Indian women and children were dragged out of the frame to take this picture. (Notice the disturbed snow around this Native man’s body.) Using this image to represent the Wounded Knee massacre attempts to justify this massacre as a bid for heteropatriarchy as a war between men. War is seen as a modern interaction between men who dispute claims of sovereignty and self-determination. For Native peoples, the “loss” of the Indian wars is seen as an inevitable

act of submission and defeat. The picture marks the so-called “end” of the Indian wars and the violent movement of Indians into modernity and dispossession. This murdered man, along with other victims of the massacre, symbolizes conquest and the technological dominance of settler colonialism over Native peoples and, by extension, their land.

The Wounded Knee massacre bookends the disappearance of Indians and the ability of the U.S. nation-state to overpower them and take hold of the land. The technology of the photograph and the ability of the photographer to take this picture from a dead man is a further act of violence. Alan Trachtenberg argues, “The days of warfare having passed, it was fitting that authority to speak of Indians had passed from the man with a gun to the man (decidedly a man) with a camera. Not scalps but pictures were his trophies.”^{clxxx} This photograph frames the violence of Indian men entering modernity and it is a trophy, a fetish for the settler colonial state. Both Native women and men are fetishized in this process. In this case, the fetishism of the death of Native peoples through genocide must be captured and framed as a memorial to Indians. This picture shows the vanishing of Native peoples from modernity. In psychoanalysis, the economy of the fetish involves the vanishing of a body part, usually the penis, and the movement of the eye (visual) to some other body part. For Karl Marx, the commodity fetish perverts relationships between people into relations between things and commodities.

I realize showing this photograph may further the violence done to this elder who died defending his land and resisting the imposition of settler colonialism. This photograph is a snapshot of the violence of Indian men entering modernity through the logic of genocide. In order to secure Native lands for the US nation-state under the logics

of heteropatriarchy, Native men must be represented as dead and Native women as willing participants and partners of white heteropatriarchy. Or so the story goes. I'm going to blow that fucking narrative apart as a means of Indigenous futurity through recognizing indigeniety as it enters into modernity through blood, violence and art. In other words, modernity does not mean the death of Indians; it is the future of modern love between Native peoples through self-recognition.

Heteropatriarchy and Death in *Billy Jack* (1971)

Some films about Native peoples address real issues in Native communities, but most films about Indians have other agendas. Many movies about Indians are big budget films where Indians and/or Indian lands are the background for the main story about white settlers. *True Grit* (2010) is a great example of this because while the movie is set on the Choctaw nation, the audience only sees two Indians and the story and characters have little to do with Indians except to provide an empty landscape for the white people to inhabit. The intended audience of these films is not Native peoples. But films like *Even The Rain* (2010) and documentary films by Native filmmakers such as *Noho Hewa: The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai'i* (2008) and *Kanesatake: 270 Years Of Resistance* (1993) provide hope that film is a place where colonial representations of Native peoples can be challenged. Another important problem with film representations of Native peoples is that Indians do not exist in the present moment because filming happened in the past. Also, most films about Indians are set in the past and do not confront current problems Indigenous peoples encounter in modernity.

Importantly, Native plays are political and radical. The very idea of Native people on stage performing Native characters that are written by another Native person

confronts and destroys the idea that Native peoples are dead and gone. In Chapter 2, I discuss the importance of Native theatre in the retelling of history. Within Monique Mojica's play entitled *Birdwoman and the Suffragettes: A Story of Sacajawea*, she reverses the narrative of silence of statues of Sacajawea by giving the statue a voice and having the statue speak back to the audience. Through the structure of a play, Monique Mojica counters the History of Sacagawea with an oppositional history of Sacajawea that speaks against narratives of settler colonialism while centering stories of Native women's agency and survival instead of their complicity in conquest. While these plays complicate Native women's role in conquest, Mojica critiques the role white women played in conquest through the narratives white women produced of Sacajawea's participation in the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Importantly, these plays are set and played out in the present for Native audiences, which is a place in time and space Indigenous peoples rarely occupy. In relation to this idea, the themes of Native plays are not tragic and deal with current Native political struggles with poverty, cultural traditions, and representations of Native peoples in the colonial imagination, internalized colonialism, alcoholism, heteropatriarchy, gender roles, and many other ongoing problems in Native America.

Shari Huhndorf argues:

Although the political dimensions of literature have garnered much critical attention, less notice has been paid to visual expressions in indigenous contexts. This is true despite the increasing importance of images in colonial studies more broadly and the fact that Natives are among the most commonly represented people in the world, their images circulated in museums, photographs, films, ethnographic displays, and national monuments.^{clxxxix}

Unlike many representations of Indians in film, Indians in plays are not the last Indian, nor are Native peoples solely the objects of desire for a white man or woman. In contrast, Indigenous characters in film rarely address internalized colonialism or heteropatriarchy. Nor is Native culture the vehicle for appropriation, or used to discuss political issues from a non-Native perspective.

Billy Jack (1971) directed by T.C. Frank and starring Tom Laughlin is a great example of a white “progressive” fantasy film about Indians that has little to do with the actual lives of Indians or how Indians internalize colonialism. Scott Lyons calls *Billy Jack* “the greatest cinematic Indian of all time.”^{clxxxii} In *Billy Jack*, Indian masculinity is displayed in popular culture as a non-threatening Indian warrior who fights on the side of the U.S. in imperial wars waged by the United States. Since Indian masculinity is represented as one individualist Indian and not as a nation of Indians, *Billy Jack* and the other Indians in the film are not a threat to the U.S. body politic. Instead, as noted in Jacquelyn Kilpatrick’s *Celluloid Indians: Native Americans and Film* (1999), Indian political issues of the past (not current issues such as termination, the effects of relocation projects on Native communities, etc.) were used in films of the 1970s to critique the war in Vietnam. Native participation in the Vietnam War is not addressed in these films. In other words, issues affecting Native peoples in the 1970s were not discussed in many films about Indians in the 1970s. Yet Indians still love these movies even if they are not really about them. The critics did not always feel the same way.

Critics did not like this movie. Howard Thompson, a movie reviewer of the *New York Times*, wrote: “For a picture that preaches pacifism, ‘*Billy Jack*’ seems fascinated by violence, of which it is full.”^{clxxxiii} Thompson has little praise for the film besides the

fact that it is “nicely photographed in color,” and his enjoyment of Delores Taylor’s performance as Jean Roberts. He goes on to say: “And some of the non-professional delivery of the lines in the script by Mr. Frank and Teresa Christina is incredibly awful.”^{clxxxiv} While I partially agree with Thompson, I love this film for all the reasons he hates it. This film has become important to Native communities because it contains a positive representation of Indian men. Since its release in 1971, *Billy Jack* has become a cult classic. The impact on popular culture cannot be disputed. This film has been spoofed in popular media, from television shows like *Saturday Night Live*, *The Simpsons* and *Gilmore Girls* to films such as *Yes Man* and *Major Payne*. In other words, Natives and non-Natives alike enjoy this film.

Tom Laughlin rereleased *Billy Jack* in 1973 after the original release in 1971. The film grossed \$40 million and cost less than a million to make. In real life, Laughlin is a white man. He is not a “half-breed” Indian veteran named Billy Jack who turns his back on society after bravely fighting in Vietnam. (See Figure 4.4.)



Figure 4.4: Tom Laughlin as Billy Jack

I point out his whiteness because Tom Laughlin has adopted the Billy Jack persona and lives in red face like Iron Eyes Cody.^{clxxxv} Michelle Raheja writes:

While many Native American actors were compelled to enact red face performances for Indian roles, non-Indians have played most Indian characters in Hollywood films. Cody was an anomaly because he performed as an Indian both on- and off-screen.^{clxxxvi}

Like Michelle Raheja, it is not Indian authenticity that concerns me but I do want to investigate the importance of a white man wearing red face over forty years after his performance of Billy Jack. What does Indian masculinity have to offer Tom Laughlin, a white straight man, that white masculinity fails to produce for him?

One of the ways Tom Laughlin performs red face is on his website (www.billyjack.com). On this website, he uses his Indian identity to take an oppositional stance against the U.S. government and to oppose the war in Iraq. He also discusses how movies are not attracting audiences to the theatre any longer, which makes it difficult for independent filmmakers to make movies. His website calls Billy Jack fans to political action while promoting his film, and provides him with a legitimate fight as Billy Jack takes an oppositional stance against the establishment and stands up for justice. The character Tom Laughlin plays in the film is an idealized version of Indian identity.

In the film, Billy Jack is a lovable Native patriarch who defends women and children with his gun and his kung fu skills. He tries to defend Barbara, the pregnant teenage daughter of the racist sheriff in town. The sheriff represents the establishment and he wants to destroy the Freedom school and Billy Jack's anti-establishment ways. Barbara is impregnated when she runs away to Haight-Ashbury Street. She says: "In other words, concerned father, I got balled by so many guys that I don't know if the baby is going to be white, Indian, Mexican or black."^{clxxxvii} After she says this to her father, he beats her up and leaves her unconscious with a packed bag near the lake. Billy Jack finds her and gets her medical help. Both the doctor and Billy Jack decide she should go to the Freedom School on Indian land and hide out from her father so she and her unborn child will be safe.

In the film, Billy Jack makes amends for his role in Vietnam by protecting "Indian"^{clxxxviii} lands; the wild mustangs and the freedom school run by a white lady that he loves. This film supports notions of Indians as the protectors of the earth since Billy Jack has a special connection with the environment. Billy Jack is portrayed as a Native

person who has gone back to “traditional” practices. There is little discussion of what it means to go back to traditional practices instead of assimilation into the settler nation state. These “traditional practices” in *Billy Jack* are not tribally or even nationally specific.

Martin is one of the two Native students in the school and he becomes Billy Jack’s apprentice during the film. He is a pacifist who refuses to fight even when the white bullies in town pour flour on all the non-white children’s faces, which includes his face, to whiten them. (See Figure 4.5.)



Figure 4.5: Martin getting flour dumped on his head

The other Native person in the film is a Native woman who we do not learn much about. She is one of the people that had flour spilled on her head to make her white. (See Figure 4.6.)



Figure 4.6: Native Woman Getting Flour Dumped on Her Fighting Back Against the White Man in Tom Laughlin's *Billy Jack*

(This racist townie soda jerk only serves whites at the ice cream parlor and local townspeople support his decision.) This nameless Native woman is around for important moments in the film, but she does not have a close relationship with Billy Jack even though they are both Native peoples. Billy Jack does take Martin on as an apprentice to teach him the traditional Native ways.

Bernard is the son of Mr. Stuart Posner, the richest and most powerful man in town. At the beginning of the film, Bernard's father wants him to have the first shot at killing the wild mustangs that a group of townspeople rustled to sell as dog food. Bernard is scared and refuses to kill the wild mustangs. He becomes obsessed with killing Billy Jack but realizes he is not man enough to kill him so he rapes Billy Jack's love interest Jean. There is a violent rape scene to show the savagery of white people. During the course of the film, the audience is shown how white people are the "savages" and Billy Jack is the civilized defender of justice. (After all, it was the 1970s.) After Billy Jack learns of the rape of Jean, he goes looking for Bernard. Billy Jack finds Bernard having sex with a non-white thirteen-year-old girl, which is further evidence of Bernard's inability to be a worthy white heteropatriarch. Billy Jack ends Bernard's life with a karate chop to the neck. Bernard shoots and wounds Billy Jack during this dispute.

Billy Jack is about the ability of one man to stand against the U.S. government and protect women and children from the state and pits white heteropatriarchy against Native heteropatriarchy. (See Figure 4.7.)



Figure 4.7: Billy Jack Using His Kung Fu Skills to Kick Some Cowboy Butt in Tom Laughlin's *Billy Jack*

Within this framework, queer people and queer alternatives do not get explored or acknowledged. The climax of the film happens after the law chases Billy Jack down for killing Bernard and for protecting Barbara from the state welfare system that would have forced her to go back home and live with her abusive father. During the standoff between Billy Jack and the U.S. government, Billy Jack does not allow Barbara to help him fight the government or do anything but stay low and avoid getting shot. Billy Jack is wounded from getting shot by Bernard and is greatly outnumbered, but he refuses to surrender until Jean convinces him to because she loves him. Billy Jack finally gives up after he makes an agreement with the government that the freedom school will remain

open for ten years. Although Billy Jack survives and wins his stand off with the state, Martin does not fare as well against the white vigilantes intending to lynch him.

Unfortunately, Martin is murdered so people in the white town can learn to be more tolerant of people of color. Martin falls for Barbara the pregnant white girl but does not try to have sex with her because he wants her to learn that a man can love her without having sex. Since Martin protects her and cares for her, unlike Barbara's father, he is murdered for being a kinder and gentler heteropatriarch and to prove Bernard's masculinity. The representation of Martin's murder is violent even though the audience is only shown him being chased by Bernard and the other vigilantes who want to kill him because they believe he is the father of Barbara's child. The audience never sees the actual murder of Martin, but are led to believe he is hunted like an animal and then brutally killed. Barbara finds Martin floating in a lake with a bullet in his head and bleeding into the water. (See Figure 4.8.)



Figure 4.8: Martin's Brutal Murder in *Billy Jack*

His crutch, from an earlier injury inflicted on him in the film by Bernard in the hardware store, is floating next to his dead body. The next scene shows a bloody sheet over his body being forcefully loaded into an ambulance with loud harsh sound effects of the metal stretcher straining under the weight of Martin's body. (See Figure 4.9.)



Figure 4.9: Martin's Bloody Body Being Loaded into the Ambulance in *Billy Jack*

Then the audience is told he is dead and the ambulance drives away with his body while the whole cast of the movie watches and reacts to Martin's death. Since Martin was phenotypically darker than any other speaking character in the film, his tragic and violent death highlights the racialization of his body as it is engulfed by the horizon of death. Yet Martin's gentle pacifist patriarchy is also a threat to both white heteropatriarchy and to Billy Jack's own embodiment of masculinity. Martin is destroyed in the war between men because he refuses to physically fight and defend himself. He will not even strive to be a universal subject (a transparent I) through the protection of his own self-determination and life. This makes him a danger to other universal subjects because his

refusal of transparency makes other transparent subjects less universal when the affectable subject's path is more righteous. Since he challenges both the heteropatriarchal and racial logics of transparency, Martin must be sacrificed and silenced. His path to the horizon of death is not his own but it is one that is determined by his affectability. Reading his affectability as a challenge to transparency reframes Martin's death as a choice *he* made when confronted with the violence of the settler colonial state: Martin chooses to die rather than fight back with more violence. Again, like in Chapter 1, we can see how a Native person's death can become an act of self-determination. But I do not want to overemphasize this point because Martin is willfully murdered for loving a white sheriff's daughter and it would have been difficult for him to shoot back while he was on crutches.

The system of heteropatriarchy is never challenged in *Billy Jack* because Laughlin flips the script by having white men be the rapists and thieves. The battle of heteropatriarchy is fought between men: Billy Jack and the white townspeople. Yet heteropatriarchy is violently enforced through cinematic visual and narrative representations in the film. Billy Jack is seen as the best kind of heteropatriarch since he protects the children, his lady, and the land and animals against injustice and racism. The narrative of this film does not support collective action.

Although I enjoy *Billy Jack*, the drama of this film centers on the white characters, idealizes multicultural education, and promotes the appropriation of Native culture without a Native political context or the reformation of colonial institutions, none of which has anything positive to do with Indian people. Not even the long bloody history of boarding schools is discussed or alluded to in the film despite the fact that the

film centers on education as a process and institution that will end racism. The freedom school is located on Indian lands outside of the intolerant white conservative town yet there are few Native students in the school and no Indian community members are part of its staff or administration. The Native people whose land the school uses live in the cliff dwellings and rarely interact with the freedom school. Most of the students are referred to as Indians although none of them have ties to the surrounding Indian community. Students in the freedom school refer to themselves as “rainbow children” and are proud of the diversity of the school. Ironically, even though they claim to be rainbow children not one of them identifies as queer. Nor are they openly tolerant of queer people or feminism. In other words, the freedom school does not include freedom from heteropatriarchy in its articulation of multiculturalism. A white woman, Jean, is in charge of the freedom school yet women’s liberation is not discussed. The narrative of the freedom school relies on the old colonial narrative of a white woman who goes to “help” and “educate” students of color.

The concept of reservation boundaries is briefly mentioned in the film, which points obliquely toward the issue of sovereignty for Native peoples, but there is no meaningful discussion of Indian nationalism. This is because Indian nationalism and politics are swallowed up by discourses of multiculturalism and violent displays of white supremacy. Instances of Indian-specific political issues are not acknowledged in the film. Not even the complicated position of an Indian who fights in Vietnam is directly addressed except for the generalized pain Billy Jack feels for participating.

Although we are told Billy Jack is a Native character, I am not counting him as a Native person because he is ridiculous. The other Native character, a young Native

woman, may be a hopeful promise for political recognition but we only see her in a few scenes. So the fact that Martin is martyred in the film perpetuates the idea that Indians are continually dying to make room for non-Natives to appropriate Native culture and gain authority over Native lands. Martin faces the horizon of death and is obliterated. There is no chance for self-recognition for Martin or any other Native characters in *Billy Jack* because the solution lies in reforming institutions for non-Native people literally located on Native land. This reformation of institutions comes at the expense of Native people's lives and land. In this film, social change depends on white people coming into social consciousness, appropriating Native culture, and turning their back on mainstream American culture. As Denise Da Silva argues, white subjects have an interior life that allows them to come into consciousness while people of color's exteriority forces them toward the horizon of death.

Native Self-Recognition and Land: Discourses of Life in *Sneaky*

Dominant visual and discursive narratives of the death of Native peoples have negatively impacted our society's ability to envision Indigenous peoples as political subjects. It is not my intention in this dissertation project to simply show Native survival in modernity. Native peoples have to live with images of their demise and erasure everyday. Yet, peoples have fought against the notion that the movement of Indian men into modernity must always mean the death and extinction of Native peoples. As usual, Native artists are at the forefront of this movement. For this part of my chapter, I will be using the work of playwright William Yellow Robe Jr. and Leslie Marmon Silko to discuss how these Native writers produce new adaptive images of Native masculinity that engage narratives of self-recognition, sovereignty, genocide, imperialism, futurity, land,

and Native cultural adaptation, directly challenging narratives of death and disappearance.

In William S. Yellow Robe, Jr.'s play *Sneaky* (1982) three Native brothers struggle to carry out their mother's last wishes. When the play opens, the mother has passed and Frank, the eldest son, and Eldon, the middle brother who is a successful businessman, are sorting through all of their mother's belongings. Kermit is the baby brother who is a no-good drunk. The mother told the oldest son before she died that she wanted to be buried in the traditional way. She wanted her sons to prepare her body and bury her in a quilt in a place she chose in the woods. Conflict develops when the white undertaker takes the mother's body to the funeral home without the sons' approval.

Frank's reasoning for burying his mother without the undertaker is that he does not want his mother's body to be taken from her grave and studied. This is a legitimate concern for Native peoples as the battle for the repatriation of Native bodies and cultural objects wages on with many institutions. He states: "Some scientist will come along and discover Mom's body and take it off to some college or university. Her skull sitting on a little wooden box under glass. Her bones sawed up, spine and all, like beef ribs. Then they'll put them under a microscope. Is that right? I sure the hell don't think so. And I'm not going to allow it to happen."^{clxxxix} Frank does not trust the medical and educational institutions to leave his mother's body alone if she is buried in a cemetery. The sons decide the family should take care of the body like Native families have done in the past. The brothers sneak into the funeral home and steal their mother back from the white undertaker, who represents the settler-colonial state.

Before she is buried, Frank, Eldon, and Kermit argue about self-recognition. Kermit calls Eldon an “apple” and criticizes him for not recognizing him when Eldon sees Kermit in the streets. Eldon retorts: “I only ignored you one time, Kermit! One time! And that’s because you were sitting on the steps of the Sherman Hotel. You’ve probably forgotten that...I bet you don’t even remember. You had puked all over yourself and didn’t know it. Peed your pants, your hair was greasy and matted, and you didn’t even know it....You didn’t even recognize my voice. You didn’t recognize me period! Ever since that time I told myself—I promised myself—if I ever saw you drunk like that again, I wouldn’t recognize you....It’s true, Kermit. I didn’t recognize you. And there were times I didn’t want to recognize Frank and Dad. All three of you were drunk.”^{cxc} Here, recognition takes on new meaning. It is not about the state recognizing a Native nation-state as a legitimate mirror image of itself. Instead Yellow Robe makes recognition about seeing drunkenness and a desire for Native men to escape the harsh reality of settler colonialism. The process of recognizing colonialism *in your family* rather than having the colonizer recognizing you as a Native person or a Native nation has decolonizing potential. After this, a fight breaks out between the brothers but it is stopped because Jack Kence, the white funeral director, has come looking for their mother’s body. The brothers come together to stop Kence from taking their mother. The discussion between Eldon and Kermit’s misrecognition is the beginning of this process because the alienation of colonialism is replaced, in this case, with two brothers coming to understand and ally with each other. This is not an example of Native peoples relying on the settler colonial state for recognition. They reconcile their differences through the ceremony to bury their mother. The fact that the brothers have differences between them

and trouble facing each other speaks to the complexity that Native theatre allows Native characters to have – a complexity that is rarely found in film.

Although this play does not have any Native women, the fact that the sons carry out their mother's wishes, in violation of colonial law, shows their respect for Native women. The brothers challenge the white funeral director and the commodification of their mother's death. These Native men recognize the old ways told to them by their grandparents and want to make a new way for their families. Frank states: "If we try to do it right, and do—do it right, we'll tell our kids about it. And they'll tell their kids. We can keep it going just like Grandpa and Grandma did with us."^{cxci} The self-recognition here prefigures a Native way of being that does not rely on institutions and demands a more intimate relationship with the land. The land must be protected and understood by future generations because ancestors will be buried in unmarked graves. The knowledge of where these graves are located must be passed down to future generations to carry on this tradition. Here, the dead become part of the land. In this way, Native death is reproductive and affirms Native peoples' relation with the land for future generations. Even though this play is about the death of a Native mother, *Sneaky* directly confronts the idea that Native peoples are disappearing. This play speaks to the future of Native peoples and how self-recognition is necessary for social change and internalized colonialism to be disrupted. This play complicates the role of heteropatriarchy, which leaves space for queer Native peoples. The play allows for a future for Native America and more chances for different kinds of recognition within Native communities.

Transforming Traditions in Modernity: Storytelling and Traditions in *Ceremony*

Native literature and storytelling is another important way of passing on

knowledge about the land, family history, and in the case of Leslie Marmon Silko's novel *Ceremony*, telling Indians how to survive modernity. In *Ceremony*, the main character Tayo represents a very complicated picture of Indian masculinity and how different oppressions are connected. Silko connects uranium mining on the reservation, and the Native peoples participating in the U.S. military industrial complex, to the atomic bombs dropped on Japan. Silko challenges the cultural construct of the hyper-masculinity of Indian men by showing how this masculinity emerges from colonialism. Importantly, Silko also discusses Native peoples' role in perpetuating colonialism and imperialism throughout the world by being soldiers for the U.S. government. Through the characters of Tayo, Emo, and Harley, the returning veterans of World War II, she shows how their participation in U.S. Empire around the world negatively affected the way these men viewed life and their relationship with the land. Rocky is Tayo's brother and they fight in the war together. Tayo tries to save Rocky after he is wounded but is unable to get medical help for Rocky in the jungle. Rocky loses his life and the rest of the men come back as the living dead. They drink, get into trouble, and Tayo has a severe case of combat fatigue. Tayo's soul is lost. Tayo's choice of life after WWII becomes a choice between the mental institution and going to a traditional yet alternative medicine man. In order to get better, Tayo has to go back to traditional ways and complete a ceremony with Betonie, a traditional medicine man who believes ceremonies must constantly change because the world is always changing. Tayo does not immediately trust Betonie and does not think he can be helped. It is not only the pain of WWII that Tayo has to face to get better, but also the shame he feels about having a white father. People in his community

fear Tayo because he is a “half-breed” with green hazel eyes. Silko uses his status as a half-breed to represent a powerful position that symbolizes the changes that are coming to the people.

White institutions make Tayo invisible, which leads to his illness. When Tayo is locked away in a mental institution for combat fatigue after World War II, he thinks he is invisible smoke. Silko writes: “For a long time he had been white smoke. He did not realize that until he left the hospital, because white smoke had no consciousness of itself. It faded into the white world of their bed sheets and walls; it was sucked away by the words of the doctors who tried to talk to the invisible scattered smoke.”^{cxcii} This is in direct contrast to Silko’s colorful description of the textures of the land, which provides different stories for each place of land throughout her novel. While he is in the hospital, Tayo is the walking dead with no connection to the land or his family. For him, it is a place of escape, where he can forget about who he was and what he did and what he lost in the war; it is not a place of healing. Later in the novel, Tayo tells Betonie about his stay in the hospital. Tayo says:

They sent me to this place after the war. It was white. Everything in that place was white. Except for me. I was invisible. But I wasn’t afraid there. I didn’t feel things sneaking up behind me. I didn’t cry for Rocky or Josiah. There were no voices and no dreams. Maybe I belong back in that place.^{cxciii}

Tayo’s experience of invisibility in the hospital seems an easier prospect than returning back to his family. Eventually, Tayo leaves the hospital in Los Angeles after being there an unspecified amount of time. When he comes back home, he is very ill. He vomits all day and cannot stop thinking about the war and the violence he brought home with him.

This idea of Native peoples being invisible before institutions is not a new one but Silko's solution to the problem is different. The solution for Silko is not more positive representations of Native Americans in the U.S. cultural imaginary. She wants Native peoples, Laguna Pueblos in particular, to see how Native peoples caused our own destruction and how Native peoples can stop it by practicing modified traditional ways. Tayo starts to heal when his Grandmother suggests he talk to the medicine man. The traditional one in his community does not help him much but he stops Tayo from being sick all the time. Ku'oosh, the medicine man and elder of Tayo's tribe suggests that Tayo talk to the less traditional Navajo medicine man that lives in Gallup. Tayo has a strong reaction to Betonie and the different way he approaches Tayo's sickness than the white doctors at the hospital.

He wanted to yell at the medicine man, to yell the things the white doctors had yelled at him—that he had to think of only himself, and not about the others, that he would never get well as long as he used words like 'we' and 'us.' But he had known the answer all along, even while the white doctors were telling him he could get well and he was trying to believe them: medicine didn't work that way, because the world didn't work that way. His sickness was only part of something larger, and his cure would be found only in something great and inclusive of everything.^{cxciv}

Betonie's solution to Tayo's feeling of invisibility is to perform ceremonies where Tayo becomes part of the community and the land again. In other words, his sickness was not an individual problem and the doctors were not going to be able to help him if they only focused on him as an individual.

It is here where Betonie, the Navajo, teaches Tayo how he is part of the story and talks to Tayo about the destroyers (white people) in an open way. Back home, Tayo was not allowed to discuss these things with his aunt or brother. Betonie has a different

perspective on the world and his place in it. Betonie says to Tayo: “‘People ask me why I live here,’ he said, in good English, ‘I tell them I want to keep track of the people. ‘Why over here? They ask me. ‘Because this is where Gallup keeps Indians until Ceremonial time. Then they want to show us off to the tourists.’”^{cxv} Betonie lives in a hill above where all the homeless Indians in Gallup live. Betonie does not want to only know Indians at ceremonial time because he cares about their whole lives and wants to be close to the least privileged Native peoples on his homeland. He does not choose to live in Gallup proper or in another Indian community. Betonie continues:

‘It strikes me funny,’ the medicine man said, shaking his head, ‘people wondering why I live so close to this filthy town. But see, this Hogan was here first. Built long before the white ever came. It is that town down there which is out of place. Not this old medicine man.’^{cxvi}

The fact Betonie sees the town as out of place and not himself or his house disrupts the naturalness of Gallup as a modern city. The city has not been there long in comparison with the land and Native peoples. This Indian man challenges the Indian as warrior or medicine man who bemoans modernity in a helpless way. He is not seen as the last Indian or as a tragic Indian but he provides sharp critiques of colonialism and the negative effects modernity has had on the land and Native peoples. When Tayo talks to Betonie about all that white people have taken from the Indians, Betonie responds to Tayo with this:

‘We always come back to that, don’t we? It was planned that way. For all the anger and the frustration. And for the guilt too. Indians wake up every morning of their lives to see the land, which was stolen, still there, within reach, its theft being flaunted. And the desire is strong to make things right, to take back what was stolen and to stop them from destroying what they have taken. But you see, Tayo, we have done as much fighting as we can with the destroyers and the thieves: as much as we could do and still survive.’^{cxvii}

Importantly, Betonie does not dismiss Tayo's anger and frustration but instead explains to him why Native peoples feel this way and how Native peoples internalize this guilt and loss, which makes them sick. In other words, it is settler-colonialism that is killing Tayo and other Native peoples, not individual weakness and anger. But he ends his explanation by telling Tayo that Native people have continually fought colonialism and the theft of land and life from the beginning. Despite all this loss, Native peoples have still managed to survive. There is still time to change the story and ceremonies to meet the challenges presented by colonialism.

Betonie is seen as less traditional because he thinks ceremonies should be constantly changing. For him, the witchery of the white people has dramatically altered the world and ceremonies need to change to adapt to this. Betonie states:

At one time, the ceremonies as they had been performed were enough for the way the world was then. But after the white people came, elements in this world began to shift; and it became necessary to create new ceremonies. I have made the changes in the rituals. The people mistrust this greatly, but only this growth keeps the ceremonies alive.^{cxcviii}

Silko critiques Native traditionalism and static ideas of Native culture by showing how Native characters adapt sacred traditions and how some Native peoples resist changes to Native traditions. This shows that Native peoples are not monolithic and that Native peoples are influenced by modernity. Adaptation is a sign of survival, acknowledgement, and response to current conditions. Indigenous peoples do not exist outside of modernity. Rather, they are fully agentive political subjects who adapt to changing historical conditions.

During WWII, all the Native men discuss how the white world accepted them when they had their uniform on. Tayo and Rocky were stationed in non-specified Pacific Islands and were fighting against Japan. Tayo sees his Uncle Josiah who he loves very much, in the Japanese. This makes it impossible for Tayo to shoot at the Japanese or speak disparagingly of them even though Tayo was a prisoner of war and the Japanese killed Rocky, his “brother.” Participating in the war made Native peoples, if only temporarily, an acceptable part of the U.S. nation-state. Native men could sleep with white women and that was seen as the best part of participating in the war for them when they were drinking and reminiscing about the war at the bar. They also discuss how they often had to pass as white to sleep with white women indicating that Native men’s acceptance into mainstream U.S. society was precarious and contingent. Even though the US nation state wanted Native men to participate in the military industrial complex, it is also the land and resources of Native peoples that the US desires.

Importantly Silko connects the A-bomb to the Laguna Pueblo nation through uranium mining and Native men’s participation in WWII. She discusses the environment as the most important character in her work and stresses the relationship people must have to the environment. She provides a social environmental critique as well as a spiritual environmental critique. This is different than just using Native identity to make an environmental message. Instead, she uses Native politics and a critique of colonialism to discuss the harm done to the environment. One of the most profound critiques of the environment she makes is how she reverses a capitalist ideology of owning land to discussing how Native peoples *belong to the land*. She writes:

“Look,” Betonie said, pointing east to Mount Taylor towering dark blue with the last twilight. “They [white people] only fool themselves when

they think it is theirs. The deeds and the papers don't mean anything. It is the people who belong to the mountains.²¹⁹

Silko's idea of stewardship goes beyond just using Native people as caretakers because this idea of the land owning the people challenges white ownership of land and the commodification of land. In this way, the land cannot be taken away from Native peoples because it is humans that are owned by the land. This also makes the land's ownership specific, because different groups of Native peoples belong to different places.

Although this story focuses on Tayo and the land, women play an important part in this story. Women are not always good influences in Tayo's life. But the fact that women are part of the story and have both negative and positive traits gives Silko's female characters depth. Tayo's Aunt is not a positive character because of her strange relationship with Tayo. The relationship between Tayo and Rocky is not built solely on blood because they are cousins by blood but grow up together as brothers. Tayo is raised by his aunt, Rocky's mother, because Tayo's mother is dead and his father is not around to raise him. Rocky and Tayo spend their time together as brothers but Tayo's aunt lets Tayo and Rocky know they are not equally loved by her because in private she treats Rocky better and keeps him close while excluding Tayo. No one else knows of this arrangement. Tayo's aunt is concerned with what the other people think about their family. She is ashamed of Tayo and the fact that Tayo has a white father. Tayo is not allowed to grieve his mother's death or keep a picture of her because Tayo's aunt does not want to remember the shame of her death. Silko never tells us how Tayo's mother dies but she leaves Tayo off at her sister's house before she goes away forever. Tayo loves his mother very much although they were homeless and she was a drunk. Yet it is a

loss he cannot discuss. This contributes to his illness because it becomes his individual problem and not a problem of the community. For Silko, it is a balance of the masculine and the feminine that brings harmony to the world. In order for Tayo to carry out the ceremony, a Native woman plays a pivotal role in Tayo's completing the ceremony to stop the end of the world and restore balance to the community.

During the war, he wished that it would stop raining in the jungle and Tayo blames himself for the drought they are having back home. Tayo believes he caused the drought at home because he prayed for the rain to stop in the Pacific Islands when he was trying to save the mortally wounded Rocky. He also feels guilty for going away with Rocky to fight in the war when he promised Josiah, his uncle, that he would stay home and help him raise the new cattle that he bought. Betonie tells Tayo that he must get the cattle and bring them back to the reservation to restore order to the world. These cattle are special because they are Mexican cattle that do not need as much food and water as other domesticated cattle. Josiah breeds the Mexican cattle with a bull to produce a hybrid of the two. "But Josiah said they would grow up heavy and covered with meat like Herefords, but tough too, like the Mexican cows, able to withstand hard winters and many dry years. That was his plan."^{cc} Unfortunately while Tayo is away Josiah dies of heart sickness after some white men steal his cattle. Josiah invested his life savings into purchasing the cattle and spent his time researching how to take care of cattle. When his cattle are stolen, it breaks Josiah's heart and he dies. Tayo feels guilty for breaking his promise to Josiah.

The ceremony performed by Tayo with instructions from Betonie included finding these cattle and bringing them back to the reservation. It was the second part of the ceremony Betonie had performed on Tayo. Silko writes:

The Scalp Ceremony lay to rest the Japanese souls in the green humid jungles, and it satisfied the female giant who fed on the dreams of the warriors. But there was something else now, as Betonie said: it was everything they had seen—the cities, the tall buildings, the noise and the lights, the power of their weapons and machines. They were never the same after that: they had seen what the white people had made out of the stolen land.^{cci}

In order for Tayo to get better he had to make sense out of what he had seen in Los Angeles and the war because it made him and the other Native veterans sick. Although Tayo stops having nightmares, he and the others are sickened by the theft because modernity makes them feel like they have nothing. Native men are allowed to enter modernity through their participation in the U.S. military industrial complex. But as Silko discusses, after their service is over, they are welcome as symbols and representations but not as people. Tayo searches for the cattle and discovers a rich white rancher had stolen them. “He knew then he had learned the lie by heart—the lie which they had wanted him to learn: only brown-skinned people were thieves; white people didn’t steal, because they always had the money to buy whatever they wanted.”^{ccii} It is the process of working through this ceremony that Tayo learns the truth about how the theft of land has impacted him and his community. The consequences of this reach far beyond healing himself. It begins the process of healing his community and the land.

As a representation of Native masculinity, Tayo provides a powerful alternative to the dead Indian, the dying Indian man, the environmental Indian, and the militant Native warrior typically represented in the cultural mainstream. Instead, the character of

Tayo draws on all these forms of Native masculinity, going through the historical trajectory of dead Indian (at the mental hospital) and drunk Indian (after the mental hospital), before Betonie's ceremony and his blend of traditional and radical anti-colonial political consciousness restores in Tayo a strong relationship to the land. Since Tayo is a character in a book, not available for visual representation as is the case with films, Silko's novel also requires the reader to form an image in their head of something that has been made discursively unimaginable. Imagination is needed to understand Silko's complex representation of Native masculinity.

Death is not the end of Native masculinity or the erasure of Native America's possession of the land, self-determination, and sovereignty. Alan Trachtenberg argues:

The cultural form of the campaign to remake Indians and Americans might also be considered a figurative form of ingestion of a sacrificial meal: the Indian figure as a symbolic 'host' consumed in the act and transformed into the 'godhead' of the nation.^{cciii}

In order to challenge these hegemonic representations, Native peoples need to work on self-recognition and what we have. Representations of settler-colonial domination through the image of a dead Indian man in modernity fall apart when narratives of Native survival, Native artistic expression and performance respond to these images of dead Indians. For in death, their families remember Native peoples and they carry their spirits within them. This Native man did not die without a fight and I suggest this photograph symbolizes more than the military defeat of Native America. It frames the military violence and physical threat that Native men and Native peoples represent to the settler colonial state. Not even an elder was safe from the bullets and chaos of modernity. But the spirit of the ghost dance lives on in this image. Wounded Knee lives on through the

protests at Wounded Knee eighty-three years later and in the bloodlines of the ones who survived this atrocity. There are other stories to tell about this picture. What this picture shows is the loss of Native life but that land in the photograph STILL belongs to the Rosebud nation as it always has because Native peoples continue to tend this landscape. There is a monument where this photograph was taken to remember those ancestors murdered and whose lives and bodies exist outside of the frame of this picture. As Charlene Teters argues: “We [Native peoples] have what we have because our ancestors fought, often with their lives, for what we have today.” As a form of decolonization, Native peoples need to recognize what we have along with what we lost in order to survive and fight in modernity. It is time to turn the violence on the settler-colonial state and not on our selves.

^{clxii} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xxiii-xxiv.

^{clxiii} As I argue earlier in Chapters 1 and 2, Sacajawea, the historical character, is found in the film *Night at the Museum* (2006) in this century, but she is still a historical character and not a modern representation of a Native woman. *The New World* (2005), another rendition of the Pocahontas/John Smith/John Rolfe love triangle is set in the seventeenth century. Most films that have Native woman characters of the twentieth century use Sacajawea, Pocahontas or another form of an “Indian Maiden.” See M. Elise Marubbio’s *Killing the Indian Maiden: Images of Native American Women in Film*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 2006. Courtney Hunt’s *Frozen River* (2008) is a notable exception to this pattern (but although this film attracted positive reviews and excited audiences at film festivals, it’s commercial success could never rival the revenues often made from more hegemonic portrayals).

^{clxiv} Green, Rayna. “The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture.” *Massachusetts Review*. Vol. 16, No. 4 (Autumn, 1975): 698-714 and Anne McClintock’s *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995. Both Green and McClintock argue that conquest is gendered, racialized, and sexualized by the colonizers.

^{clxv} Roderick Ferguson’s *Aberrations In Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004 argues how the canonization of sociology relied on the construction of a deviant Black sexualized subject and the “normal” white heterosexual subject. It is similar to the way Black women are racialized, gendered, and sexualized as deviant because Black men are seen as absent, criminalized and otherwise bad heteropatriarchs. Dorothy Roberts. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997. Roberts writes:

This theory was reincarnated in the 1960s in the myth of the Black matriarch, the domineering female head of the Black family. White sociologists once again held Black mothers responsible for the disintegration of the Black family and the consequent failure of Black people to achieve success in America. This thinking held that Black matriarchs damaged their families in two ways: they demoralized Black men and they transmitted a pathological lifestyle to their children, perpetuating poverty and anti-social behavior from one generation to the next.

Roberts goes on to criticize Daniel Patrick Moynihan's *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (1965) for supporting the ideas about Black mothers listed above. Roberts argues that this so-called degeneracy of Black women and families should be linked to structural issues of poverty, lack of access to education, and racist representations of Black motherhood in the news media instead of blaming the victim.

^{clxvi} In John Augustus Stone's play *Metamora* (1829), *Metamora*, loosely based on King Philip, is the chief of the Wampanoag. *Metamora* is betrayed by his own people and goes to war with the white settlers who kill his only child. At the end of the play, he kills his Indian wife rather than having her captured by the whites and then he kills himself.^{clxvi} This is not a good example of heteropatriarchy because *Metamora* cannot protect his wife, child, or himself. White heteropatriarchy wins and inherits what the failed Native patriarch leaves behind: Indian land and resources.

^{clxvii} Smith, Andrea. "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." *The Color of Violence: Incite Women of Color against Violence*, ed. INCITE Women of Color Against Violence (Boston: South End Press, 2006): 68.

^{clxviii} Coulthard, Glen S. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory*. (2007) 6: 456.

^{clxix} Coulthard, Glen S. "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada." *Contemporary Political Theory*. (2007) 6: 443.

^{clxx} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xviii.

^{clxxi} Lyons, Scott. *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010: 1.

^{clxxii} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xvix.

^{clxxiii} Lyons, Scott. *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010: 33.

^{clxxiv} Wilkinson, Charles. *Blood Struggles: The Rise of the Modern Indian Nation*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005: 52.

^{clxxv} Wilkinson, Charles. *Blood Struggles: The Rise of the Modern Indian Nation*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005: 52.

^{clxxvi} Williams, Robert A. Jr. *Like a Loaded Weapon: The Rehnquist Court, Indian Rights, and the Legal History of Racism in America*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

^{clxxvii} Wilkinson, Charles. *Blood Struggles: The Rise of the Modern Indian Nation*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005: 43.

^{clxxviii} When a land-based people have their hunting and gathering lands taken away from, they will no longer be able to be self-efficient especially when they are not allowed into the labor force.

^{clxxix} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: 170.

^{clxxx} Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: 182.

^{clxxxii} Huhndorf, Shari. *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009: 20.

^{clxxxiii} Lyons, Scott. *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010: x.

^{clxxxiv} Thompson, Howard. "Billy Jack (1971): A Misguided 'Billy Jack.' July 29, 1971. <http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9900E1DA1238EF34BC4151DFB166838A669EDE>

^{clxxxv} Thompson, Howard. "Billy Jack (1971): A Misguided 'Billy Jack.' July 29, 1971.

^{clxxxvi} Michelle Raheja provides an excellent discussion of this phenomena in the second chapter of her book *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.

-
- clxxxvi Raheja, Michelle. *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2010: 104.
- clxxxvii *Billy Jack* dir. By T.C. Frank. Screenplay by Teresa Christina and T.C. Frank. National Student Film Corporation Production presented by Warner Bros. 1971.
- clxxxviii He never specifies which Indian nation he belongs to or is protecting in the film. This film relies on a pan Indian identity.
- clxxxix Yellow Robe, William S., Jr. *Where the Pavement Ends: Five Native American Plays*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000: 136.
- cx Yellow Robe, William S., Jr. *Where the Pavement Ends: Five Native American Plays*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000: 153-154.
- cxci Yellow Robe, William S., Jr. *Where the Pavement Ends: Five Native American Plays*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000: 137.
- cxcii Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 14.
- cxci 123.
- cxciiv Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 125-126.
- cxv 117.
- cxvi 118.
- cxvii Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 127-128.
- cxviii Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 126.
- cxix Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 128.
- cc Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 80.
- cci Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 169.
- ccii Silko, Leslie Marmon. *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin Books, 1977: 191.
- cciii Trachtenberg, Alan. *Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004: xxiii.

