Plants, Animals, Land: More-than-human Relations and Gendered Survivance in Early Indigenous Women's Writing

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Table of Contents: Page:

List of Illustrations 4

Acknowledgements 5

Positionality Statement 7

Abstract 9

0.0 Introduction 12

0.1 Survivance and its Gendered Implications 22

0.2 Settler Colonialism: Ecological and Epistemological Violence 32

0.3 Methodology: Land-Based Epistemologies as Tools for Resistance 36

0.4 More-than-human Beings and Epistemological and Ontological Frameworks 49

0.5 Structure of the Thesis 54

1.0 Chapter One: 'He once grew as naturally as the wild sunflowers; he belongs just as the buffalo belonged': Sunflowers, Buffalo, and Grounded Normativity in Zitkala-Ša's Stories. 60

1.1 Introduction 61

1.2 Sunflowers and Survivance: Totemic Associations Between the Sunflower and Yankton Dakota Womanhood 72

1.3 The Three Sisters Garden, Sisterhood and Survivance: Grounded Normativity in Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* 89

1.4 'The buffalo were made for the prairie, and the prairie for the buffalo': Buffalo, Respect and Reciprocity in 'The Buffalo Woman'and 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West' (2001) 103

1.5 Conclusion 121

2.0 Chapter Two: Shapeshifting as a Strategy of Survivance in Tekahionwake's Short Stories 124

2.1 Introduction 125

2.2 Navigating the Periodical Press 131

2.3 A ‘Transcultural Phenomenon’: Wolves in Literary and Colonial Contexts 137

2.4 “Prairie wolves don’t cry like little girl babies”: Becoming Wolf and Becoming Man in ‘The Potlatch’. 145

2.5 Listening to Nature: Voice in ‘The Wolf-Brothers’ 169

2.6 Conclusion 182

3.0 Chapter Three: Women, Water and *Mana Wahine*: Feminine Power and Vulnerability to Drought in Mary Kawena Pūku’i’s *Mo’olelo* 184

3.1 Introduction 187

3.2 Narratives of Victimry and Vulnerability 196

3.3 *Kapa* Making and the Social, Cultural and Spiritual Impacts of Drought 204

3.4 *Kaona* and *Mana Wahine*: Interrogating ‘Vulnerability’ through Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Epistemologies 218

3.5 Conclusion 238

4.0 Conclusion 240

4.1 Survivance, not Happenstance 245

4.2 Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) 245

4.3 Women and Water in Contemporary Literature 249

4.4 Final Words: As They Always Will Do 256

5.0 Works Cited 258

List of Illustrations

Figure 1: 'Spirit Guide' by Soni López-Chávez 58
Figure 2: 'We Thrive' by Alanah Jewell 59
Figure 3: 'Water is Life' by Eloy Bida 79
Figure 4: 'The Three Sisters' by Eloy Bida 89
Figure 5: 'All That I Need' by Soni López-Chávez 102
Figure 6: 'It's All About Balance' by Aly McKnight 104
Figure 7: 'White Buffalo Womxn' by Aly McKnight 107
Figure 8: 'Connection is Medicine' by Aly McKnight 111
Figure 9: 'Labouring for the Ancestors, Children, Relatives, Earth and Future' by Aly McKnight 121

Figure 10: 'Being Together' by Morning Star Designs 124
Figure 11: 'Lotikwahʌ' - they are looking after the nation' by Morning Star Designs. 145

Figure 12: Untitled by Morning Star Designs 169
Figure 13: 'Being in a hurry does not slow down time (Mokokama Mokhonoana)' by Morning Star Designs 182

Figure 14: 'Resiliency' by Kawahine Creations 184
Figure 15: 'Maui' by Kawahine Creations 213
Figure 16: 'Pele and Hiiaka' by Kawahine Creations 218
Figure 17: 'Indigenous Mother' Kawahine Creations 237
Figure 18: 'We Are Still Here' by Steph Littlebird 240
Figure 19: 'No More Stolen Sisters' by Morning Star Designs 245
Figure 20: 'Blood Sisters' by Steph Littlebird 248
Figure 21: 'Water is Life' by Soni López-Chávez 255
Figure 22: 'We are the Land' by Steph Littlebird 257

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Positionality Statement

As a white British woman of Irish descent, my engagement with Indigenous women's writing and Indigenous women's knowledges stems from a place of allyship. My aim in this project is to write alongside Indigenous women, support their work, and contribute to the movement that acknowledges the legitimacy and validity of Indigenous knowledges as academic practice. This thesis aims to support Indigenous peoples in their reclamation of Indigenous sovereignty.

Initially my PhD project focused on Anglo/colonial writers Charles Kingsley and Rudyard Kipling. I soon realised that I did not want to continue to centre colonial, male subjectivities or uphold imperial rhetoric. I turned my attention to writers using literature to envisage progressive, liberated futures, but whose writing had long been overlooked, marginalised, or dismissed in academic contexts. Finding Zitkala-Ša's writing transformed my PhD project, and also changed how I view myself as a researcher.

I acknowledge my position as an 'outsider researcher' (Innes, 2009, p.443), which means that I cannot fully comprehend the oppression and traumas that Indigenous women experience. As Aileen Moreton-Robinson suggests, it is necessary to acknowledge that 'our individual experiences will differ due to intersecting oppressions produced under social, political, historical and material conditions that we share consciously or unconsciously' (2013, p.332). As an outsider researcher, I realise that there are some sacred knowledges I cannot access and accept that there will be limitations to my understanding and the work I can produce.

As a white woman living in the UK and working in Higher Education, my allyship manifests in part by supporting the legitimisation and prominence of Indigenous Studies in UK universities. Although Professor David Stirrup has established a foundational Centre for Indigenous and Settler Colonial Studies at the University of Kent, and the University of Leeds has run several events relating to Indigenous peoples and climate change, the study of Indigenous literature across the rest of the UK remains limited and piecemeal. It is necessary for Britain to acknowledge its role in the colonial history of North America and be held accountable. I believe that through the transformative qualities of literature, and

its ability to build empathy across racial, gendered and continental borders, the study of Indigenous literature in the UK is a necessary means of building allyship, and dismantling the intersecting structures of colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy that this thesis discusses.

Abstract
This thesis argues that Zitkala-Ša (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin), Tekahionwake (E. Pauline Johnson) and Mary Kawena Pūku'i mobilise literary representations of more-than-human beings – plants, animals, and the land – to express resistance to the gendered impacts of settler colonialism. Through analysing Native stories from *American Indian Stories, Legends and Other Writings* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder: Stories, Poems and The Sun Dance Opera* (2001), *Boys' World* (1910) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1949) using Indigenous knowledges, this thesis reads more-than-human beings as central to feminine expressions of what Gerald Vizenor refers to as 'survivance' (1999; 2008; 2009). Survivance is 'the union of active survival and resistance to cultural dominance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24), and the creation of 'an active sense of presence over absence' (Vizenor, 2008, p.4). Developing Vizenor's work, I argue that the union of 'survival and resistance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24) poses particular difficulties for Indigenous women in settler-colonial contexts, thus rendering Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i to express a form of survivance that is decidedly gendered. I argue that in their depictions of relationships with the more-than-human world, these writers create an active sense of Native, *female* presence that responds to and resists settler colonialism.

The need to examine survivance within a gendered framework emerges from the fact that the triangulation of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy and capitalism elicits a form of gendered and racialised violence that sought, and continues, to murder Indigenous women and eradicate Native female identity (Arvin et al., 2013; Smith, 2015; Simpson, 2017a). Whilst it is widely acknowledged that Indigenous women are subjected to colonial violence at higher rates than men (Morgensen, 2012; Arvin et al., 2013; A. Smith, 2015), the way this impacts the ability of Indigenous women to unite 'survival and resistance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24) in life as in literature is limited (E. Baker, 2005). I argue that making links between gendered, colonial violence and gendered survivance is necessary because, as Leanne Betasamosake Simpson explains: '[t]he gendered nature of colonialism and settler colonialism means heteropatriarchy has to be critically considered in every project we're currently collectively and individually engaged in' (2017a, p.68). This thesis therefore demonstrates that, because settler colonialism and land dispossession are gendered

(Simpson, 2017a, p.67), it is necessary to explore the ways in which the resistance to these structures of oppression is also gendered. Contrary to dominant approaches that Maile Arvin et al. (2013) and Simpson (2017a) suggest isolate Native land rights from Indigenous women's rights, this thesis turns to literature by Indigenous women writers in order to highlight how the rights of land and Indigenous women are intricately interconnected in colonial resistance.

This thesis explores three different forms of Native story from three different places: blood memory from South Dakota, periodical writing from Canada, and *mo'olelo* from Hawai'i. The thesis is structured according to these texts, their place of publication, and corresponding land and place-based epistemologies that are deployed to create survivance narratives. Chapter one reads Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* as 'blood memories' (Allen, 1999; Portillo, 2017) rather than autobiography to reveal how Zitkala-Ša uses more-than-human elements to express female survivance in contradistinction to the assimilationist policies of the United States. The chapter draws upon Yankton Dakota cosmologies and the significance of the sunflower in these blood memories to reveal how Zitkala-Ša expresses resistance to colonial boarding school practices and land acquisition. It then illustrates how Zitkala-Ša uses buffalo to represent the continuance of female, land-based knowledges in *Dreams and Thunder*. In chapter two, I explore how First Nation writer Tekahionwake uses zoomorphism to critique heteropatriarchy and forms of colonial masculinity predicated upon domination of the environment. I read her representation of zoomorphism as a way of reclaiming a form of Indigenous masculinity. I then analyse her depiction of interspecies communication as a way of expressing the political utility of more-than-human voices in settler-colonial spaces. Chapter three provides the first literary analysis of Pūku'i's Hawaiian stories, or *mo'olelo.* It examines how Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* convey how Indigenous, female vulnerability to hydrological drought emerges due to social, cultural and spiritual roles within Native Hawaiian traditions, and the gendered expectations that women must forego their basic needs for the benefit of others. I argue that Pūku'i uses *kaona*, or metaphor, to represent how Indigenous women are central to the reparation of the environment despite their vulnerability to drought. Through foregrounding the ways Pūku'i represents the co-existence of gendered vulnerability and

Indigenous, female leadership, I critique the use of the term ‘vulnerability’ as a neo-colonial concept. I suggest that ‘vulnerability’ has been co-opted to prevent Indigenous women and Pacific Islanders from leading responses to drought and to obscure the role of colonialism in creating this gendered vulnerability. I make the case that Pūku’i’s depiction of Indigenous women’s relationships with the environment thus challenge a neo-colonial conception of ‘vulnerability’.

In examining the relationships between Indigenous peoples and the environment, this thesis does not seek to reproduce discourses surrounding the colonial invention of the ‘ecological Indian’ or ‘noble savage’ that romanticise and appropriate Indigenous relations with nature (Krech, 1999; Harkin & Lewis, 2007; Ranco, 2007; Smithers, 2015). Rather, this thesis considers how three women writers, who experienced settler colonialism in different ways at different historical moments, all articulate their resistance to settler colonialism through more-than-human relations that are irreducibly specific to time and place. As Shari Huhndorf and Cheryl Suzack explain, ‘[a]lthough Indigenous women do not share a single culture, they do have a common colonial history’ (2010, p.3), and thus are united in their efforts to create a sense of Native female presence under colonial, capitalist and heteropatriarchal systems that seek to eradicate Indigenous women. By bringing these diverse Indigenous storytelling forms and epistemologies together, this thesis reveals that more-than-human beings are central to creating aesthetics of survivance that foreground Indigenous women’s voices, and reject discourses of settler colonialism across state lines and continents.

0.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates how Zitkala-Ša (Gertrude Simmons Bonnin), Tekahionwake (E. Pauline Johnson) and Mary Kawena Pūku'i express resistance to the gendered logics of settler colonialism through depictions of human relationships with plants, animals, and the land.[1] In particular, I explore how these Indigenous writers resist assimilationist policies, heteropatriarchy, and colonial conceptions of vulnerability across North America and Hawai'i through deploying land-based knowledges in their writing. Through an analysis of Native stories from Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories, Legends and Other Writings* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder: Stories, Poems and The Sun Dance Opera* (2001), Tekahionwake's contributions to *Boys' World* (1910) and Pūku'i's *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955), I consider the integral role of the environment in feminine practices of what Gerald Vizenor coins 'survivance' (1999; 2008; 2009). In its simplest form, survivance is 'the union of active survival and resistance to cultural dominance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24), and 'an active sense of presence, the continuance of Native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name' (Vizenor, 1994, p.vii). I argue that, because settler colonialism is a 'gendered process' (Arvin et al., 2013, p.9) predicated on the exploitation, subjugation and murder of Indigenous women, Indigenous women face greater challenges than Indigenous men in concurrently surviving and resisting settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy and capitalism. Survivance, therefore, must be examined within a gendered framework to reveal how Indigenous women create an active sense of Native, *female* presence in a way that responds to the colonial, heteropatriarchal and capitalist systems that make possible their attempted erasure. I argue that these gendered expressions of survivance draw upon women's relationships with the other beings also subjected to colonial, capitalist, and patriarchal violence: plants, animals, and land. Considering that Indigenous lands and Indigenous women are 'essentially tied to one another' (Watts, 2013, p.31) in their experience of settler-colonial violence, I argue that they are also 'tied to one another' in expressing survivance. Across three chapters, I

[1] Whilst many scholars refer to Zitkala-Ša and Tekahionwake by their Anglo names, (Johnson & Wilson, 1988; Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000; Jones & Ferris, 2017) this thesis will use their Lakota and Mohawk names for which these writers expressed a preference.

demonstrate how representations of relationships with land, plants and animals enable Indigenous women to assert Native, female presence within colonial spaces and to express resistance to the gendered impacts of settler colonialism.

This thesis uses the term 'Indigenous' to refer to peoples whose livelihoods are based upon interdependent and reciprocal relationships with land. Using the term to encompass the relationality of peoples with land emerges from the fact that the connection between the term 'Indigenous' and land is etymologically grounded, as both the Latin *indigena* and French *indigène* mean 'sprung from the land' (Sithole, 2020, p.22). Whilst in the colonial imagination, land designates the materiality of the earth, for many Native peoples, land encompasses animals, plants, waterways, and rocks with whom they have a spiritual connection (Deloria Jr, 1999; Anderson, 2000; Coulthard, 2014; L. Simpson, 2017a; Williams, 2018, 2019). As foundational Indigenous Studies scholar Vine Deloria Jr. explains: '[l]and, for traditional peoples, includes the other forms of life that share places with us' (1999, p.258). For Indigenous women in particular, land has a particular significance: 'Aboriginal women do not see the land as a wild material resource that needs to be developed, possessed or controlled; rather, the land is a relative with whom we have a special relationship' (Anderson, 2000, p.180). This 'connection to the land can provide a connection to a sense of the female' (Anderson, 2000, p.183). It is these relationships between Indigenous women, plants, animals and land, and their ability to engender a form of female survivance, that this thesis explores.

Defining 'Indigenous' in terms of relationality with land marks a reconsideration of the term and foregrounds the powerful, political agencies and self-determinism of Native peoples instead of positioning Native peoples as subordinate to settlers. In common usage, the term 'Indigenous' is 'politicized as a powerful signifier of oppositional identity' (L.T. Smith, 2021, p.39) that operates within colonial dynamics. This means that the term 'Indigenous' is typically used to designate the racial, social and economic position of a person within colonial structures, and thus in terms of their relationship with the coloniser (Pratt, 2020; Merlan, 2009). This binarisation of identities is unproductive when considering how many people who consider themselves to be Indigenous, including Zitkala-

Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i, have parents of both Indigenous and Euro-American descent. Moreover, as Mary Louise Pratt explains, the term 'Indigenous' is used to denote 'who were "here (or there) first"' (2020, p.399). Similarly, Audra Simpson states: '"Indigenous" is embedded conceptually in a geographic alterity and a radical past as the Other in the history of the West' (2014, p.15). This oppositional conception of the term implicates groups of people within a linear temporal frame that only comes into existence with the arrival of settlers. It thus erases the 'complex, nonlinear constructions of time, space and place' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.231) that are central to Indigenous lifeways. Defining Indigeneity in relation to colonisers is also problematic in that 'it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different' (L.T. Smith, 2021, p.39). As the works of Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i show, imperialism and settler colonialism elicit various kinds of violence across North America and the Pacific. Referring to these writers as 'Indigenous' based on their relationships with land, however, does not 'collectivize' (L.T. Smith, 2021, p.39) them in their experiences *of* imperialism, but instead collectivises their relationships with land, plants, and animals that engender resistance *to* imperialism.

Referring to writers as 'Indigenous' based on their relationships with land extrapolates the term from the colonial dynamic in which it typically functions, and thus removes these writers from a subordinate position. Once liberated from this marginalised state, relationships with land are no longer viewed as "inferior", "primitive", or "childlike", as is the case when Indigeneity is positioned as oppositional to colonial modernity. Instead, reciprocal relationships with land are understood to be generative, sovereign and normative in their own terms. More than this, however, defining 'Indigeneity' through relationships with land delineates a sense of relationality that operates outside of the linear temporalities of colonialism, and accounts for the nonlinear, spatialised relationships upon which many Native lifeways are predicated. The effects of this are that Indigenous peoples, such as Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i are connected, not in a historically or geographically bound sense, but in the ways that their relationships with land, plants and animals implicate them in a 'mode of communication and interaction' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.35) that takes place across time and space.

I analyse each text at the levels of both form and content to explore how late-nineteenth and twentieth-century Indigenous literary production continues or modifies Native traditions to function as anti-imperialist expression. At the level of form, I extrapolate *American Indian Stories* (1921) from the individualist, Western parameters of autobiography in which it is typically considered (Stanley, 1994; Bernardin, 1997; Velikova, 2000). Instead, I analyse *American Indian Stories* as 'blood memory' (Momaday, 1968; Allen, 1999, 2002; Portillo, 2017). First introduced by N. Scott Momaday to express how ancestral memories pass through generations in the blood, the environmental qualities of this concept have since been developed by Chadwick Allen. Allen argues: 'blood memory makes explicit the central role that land plays in both the specific project of defining Indigenous minority personal, familial, and communal identities (blood) and in the larger project of reclaiming and reimagining Indigenous minority histories (memory)' (2002, p.16). In drawing upon Allen's ecological understanding of blood memory, the first chapter also develops the work of Annette Angela Portillo (2017), who analyses *American Indian Stories* as blood memory but does not consider the environmental aspects. Through an analysis of sunflowers and buffalo, I develop Zitkala-Ša scholarship by foregrounding the role of land-based epistemologies in expressing female resistance to residential boarding school policies, the 1887 General Allotment act, and assimilationist policies that occurred in nineteenth-century South Dakota.

In chapter two, I consider how Tekahionwake practices survivance by ensuring the continuance of Native stories within white, colonial and patriarchal spaces. Considerations of Tekahionwake's work prioritise her poetry (Johnston, 1997; Collett, 2001) and stage performances (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000; Gray & Thomas, 2003; Jones & Ferris, 2017). This thesis, however, considers Tekahionwake in her role as a writer for the children's Christian periodical *Boys' World* (1910). Whilst scholars have criticised Tekahionwake for reinforcing stereotypes of the 'noble savage' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000; Goertz, 2015) I reveal how Tekahionwake's appeal to white, settler, Christian audiences ensures the longevity of Native stories within spaces that seek to eliminate Indigenous knowledges. Situating my analysis within the context of the nineteenth-century periodical press, I convey how Tekahionwake's navigation of an industry hostile towards Indigenous women

is itself an act of gendered survivance. I analyse 'The Potlatch' and 'The Wolf-Brothers', both published in *Boys' World* in 1910, to argue that Tekahionwake ensures the continuance of Native stories by adapting the tropes of shapeshifting and interspecies communication, as featured in First Nation storytelling traditions. I demonstrate how, in 'The Potlatch', Tekahionwake depicts a metaphorical form of human-wolf transformation to contest colonial conceptions of masculinity that rely upon separation from, and subordination of, the Canadian landscape. I make the case that Tekahionwake expresses the continuing existence of Indigenous masculinities that embrace relationships with nature through metaphorical shapeshifting. By critiquing heteropatriarchy in this way, Tekahionwake challenges the structures of colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy that work to eradicate Indigenous femininities and masculinities. I then show how Tekahionwake continues a key element of First Nation (hi)stories, wherein animals have voices, and humans and animals can communicate with one another. I demonstrate how Tekahionwake represents the voices of wolves and communication between humans and wolves within nineteenth-century Canada to create an active sense of Native presence in colonial spaces, and ensure the continuance of Native storytelling.

Chapter three provides the first literary analysis of Pūku'i's fictional works, or *mo'olelo*. The term '*mo'olelo'* is formed of two words, '*mo'o'*, 'a succession [or] series' (Pūku'i & Elbert, 1986, pp.253-4) and '*'olelo',* which refers to 'language, speech, word, utterance' (Pūku'i & Elbert, 1986, p.284), and is therefore used to refer to oral and written stories (Ho'omanawanui, 2004, p.86). In literal terms, *mo'olelo* means 'a succession of talk' (Pūku'i and Elbert, 1986, p.254), which encompasses the fact that these stories are expressions of knowledge passed down by ancestors (Ho'omanawanui, 2004; Silva, 2007). *Mo'olelo* are one form of Hawaiian intellectual production that was 'constant throughout the nineteenth century and was used as a form of resistance to the influences of Westernization' (J. Hopkins, 2019, p.231), yet *mo'olelo* as a literary and cultural form have received limited attention (J. Hopkins, 2019). This is despite the fact that 'Kanaka Maoli [Native Hawaiians] have always been, and continue to be, empowered by our mo'olelo' (Ho'omanawanui, 2004, p.90) and that Hawaiian literature is 'important and worthy of being shared and perpetuated' (Ho'omanawanui, 2004, p.90). Pūku'i played a pivotal role

in the preservation and sharing of Hawaiian *mo'olelo* and culture more broadly, however, her *mo'olelo* and the knowledges they contain have long been overlooked. The thesis begins to remedy this oversight of Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* by analysing 'The Pounded Water of Kekela'. This *mo'olelo* was initially told to Pūku'i 'by an old man of Kona' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.66) before being published in the magazine *Paradise of the Pacific*[2] in 1933, and then compiled in *Pīkoi and Other Legends of the Island of Hawai'i* by Pūku'i and Caroline Curtis in 1949.[3] I consider how Hawaiian goddesses and mortal women and their relationship with the environment are central to expressing feminine power, or *mana wahine*, within the context of drought. I demonstrate how the navigation and combatting of environmental disaster is conceptualised through *kaona*, or metaphor, relating to the female body. In doing so, I argue that Pūku'i's representations of powerful women contest neo-colonial constructions of 'vulnerability', wherein Indigenous women are deemed incapable of leading or managing climate change strategies due to their socio-economic position that renders them vulnerable.

By bringing together blood memory, periodical writing and *mo'olelo* under the term 'Native story', I explore the role of storytelling in the practice of Native, female survivance. Native stories are expressions of creation, of ways of knowing, and of ways of being. As Gregory Cajete asserts: '[s]tories are integral to traditional Indigenous epistemologies' (2017, p.114) that, as this thesis will show, are informed by the land. Cutcha Risling Baldy explains that Native literatures emerge from oral traditions that 'exist for time immemorial and provide ways to live with and be responsible to the earth' (2015, p.2). Native stories also emphasise the central role and power of Indigenous women as cultural bearers and life-givers, as they 'reinforce the value of Native women in their societies' (Anderson, 2000, p.132). For Maria Campbell, Indigenous storytelling plays a central role in 'preserving traditional knowledge and in promoting a positive image of [Indigenous] womanhood' (quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.133). Within Hawaiian culture, women are trusted with the responsibility to 'maintain cultural stories that contained vast knowledge systems they

[2] *Paradise of the Pacific* was launched in 1888 changed its name to *Honolulu Press* in 1966.
[3] This is the first edition of what is now published as *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955).

shared via storytelling (Ha'i Mo'olelo). These stories (mo'olelo) provided the people with a strong sense of cultural identity and love for the land while preserving ancestral knowledge' (de Silva & Hunter, 2021, p.1935). Under the intersection of settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy, however, the land-based knowledges, and celebration of powerful, Indigenous femininity within Native stories pose a challenge to land acquisition. For this reason, dominant, settler cultures have attempted to disrupt traditional storytelling practices and delegitimise Indigenous stories, as 'colonialism relies on the continued erasure and silencing of Indigenous epistemologies and knowledges to prevent challenges to settler colonial claims to land and history' (Baldy, 2015, p.4).[4] This erasure and silencing takes the form of infantilisation (Cajete, 2017), delegitimization and mythologisation (Baldy, 2015) that together devalue the social, cultural, spiritual and political roles of Indigenous women and their land-based knowledges.[5] Attacks on Indigenous storytelling are thus attacks on Indigenous peoples, specifically Indigenous women, their roles within society, and their relationships with land.

Within these contexts that seek to eliminate Indigenous peoples, land-based knowledges and female authority, the continuance of Native stories becomes an act of survivance (Vizenor, 1994, p.vii; E. Baker, 2005; Baldy, 2015). Whilst Aman Sium and Eric Ritskes state that '[f]or many communities under siege by the triangular threats of (settler) colonialism, patriarchy and capitalist-modernity, storytelling becomes a site and tool for survival' (2013, p.v), I argue that Indigenous people are 'writing to do *more* than survive' (emphasis added, E. Baker, 2005, p.113). Storytelling becomes a way to establish a sense of Native presence within dominant cultures; to resist erasure of epistemologies and land-based knowledges, and to celebrate Indigenous femininities. Stories that counter colonial histories 'are powerful forms of resistance' (L.T. Smith, 2021, p.35), and work 'against the

[4] Leslie Marmon Silko writes of the power of Native stories in *Ceremony* (1977): '[t]heir evil is mighty but it can't stand up to our stories. So they try to destroy the stories let the stories be confused or forgotten. They would like that. They would be happy. Because we would be defenceless then' (1977, p.2).

[5] Baldy also explains that the dismissal and mythologisation of Indigenous knowledges relating to women and the land thus function as 'an effective way to claim the land by claiming the "true," and "rightful" stories of the land and re-writing the history to support "manifest destiny" and the dehumanization of Indigenous peoples' (2015, p.6).

colonial epistemic frame to subvert and recreate possibilities and spaces for resistance' (Sium & Ritskes, 2013, p. III). Simpson describes the act of storytelling as 'a decolonizing process' (2016, p.19) that has the power to 'recall, envision, and create modes of resurgence' (2016, p.19). For Indigenous women in particular, however, Native stories are 'anchors of resistance' (Anderson, 2000, p.131), as 'respect afforded to Native women in many traditional stories provides the foundation for strong Native female identity' (Anderson, 2000, p.132). It is the combination of survival, resistance and decolonisation that leads Baker to state that Native stories by women 'bear witness and give presence to our "survivance" which Vizenor declares is a state in which we are moving beyond our basic survival in the face of overwhelming cultural genocide to create spaces of synthesis and renewal' (2005, p.111). Considering blood memories, periodical writings and *mo'olelo* as continuations of traditional, oral, Indigenous storytelling practices stems from the ways that Indigenous people must navigate the intersecting structures of settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy. As Baker explains: 'as the medium for telling our stories changes somewhat over time, so too does the form, shaping and telling of our stories reflect the differences of the spaces we now occupy' (2005, p.112). Therefore, this thesis explores how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i adapt Indigenous storytelling traditions through these forms to resist the colonial, capitalist and patriarchal structures that work to commodify land, eradicate land-based knowledges, and divest Indigenous women of their significant social, cultural and political roles.

My choice of texts speaks to the material conditions of nineteenth-century Indigenous literary production. Due to the fact that the publication of literature operates within the triangulation of colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy, it is complicit in the amplification of white, male Anglophone voices and the marginalisation of Indigenous, black, and non-Anglophone peoples. These contexts thus limit access to published works by Indigenous writers in the nineteenth- and early-twentieth century. It must therefore be acknowledged that accessibility of *American Indian Stories* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), *Boys' World* extracts (1910) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955) is reliant on the fact that Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i emulate whiteness to some extent through their mixed-race heritage, and that on a denotational level, their

narratives conform to the values of colonialism. This is indicative of the fact that 'Native women are forming spaces for us to reclaim our power, spaces that are safer for Native women to occupy in the world today' (E. Baker, 2005, p.112). Whilst there are superficial moments that depict the rejection of Yankton Dakota traditions, peaceful co-existence of gold miners and Indigenous peoples in Canada, and conformity to Christian missionary practices in Hawai'i, this thesis takes into consideration the contexts in which these writers published. It understands that these writers must have appeared to conform to the values of settler colonialism to have their work circulated and establish a space for Indigenous women, but attends to the subtle moments of resistance that allow these writers to express Native female survivance within white, male-dominated, colonial spaces.

In writing Native stories in the dominant colonial language, Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i ensure longevity for Native stories in a world where Indigenous peoples have and continue to experience culturicide on a global scale. This culturicide has taken many forms, including the widespread assimilationist policies in North America, the banning of the Hawaiian language in 1896, and the ongoing loss of Indigenous languages that are coded with Indigenous knowledges (Okamura & Kai, 2020; Khawaja, 2021). Despite writing in the language of the coloniser rather than their own languages, Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i are still able to engage in a decolonial practice. Scholars from the fields of Indigenous studies (Moreton-Robinson, 2000; E. Baker, 2005) and postcolonial studies (Brouillette, 2007; Bhattacharya, 2018) agree that writing in English does not limit the decolonising potential of a text. Baidik Bhattacharya suggests that writing in English still enables writers to challenge dominant narratives of colonial history and hegemonic ideologies: '[a]nglophone texts invent ways of entering into and extending colonial histories, of engaging with the larger narrative of uneven history and unequal civilisations' (2018, p.14). He continues: '[a]nglophone writing finds the most productive site to negotiate with the vestiges of colonial history' (2018, p.15). For Bhattacharya, writing in English is an interventional strategy that enables Indigenous peoples to situate themselves within historical narratives from which they are typically erased. In a similar vein, Aileen Moreton-Robinson comments on the existence of Indigenous women's life writing and the white nature of anglophone publishing contexts, stating that:

> although white editing or scribing may influence the writing of the text, it does not erase the subtext, which is informed by the knowledge and experience of Indigenous women [...] The gaze of Indigenous women on themselves is inscribed into the text through their self-presentation. (2000, p.2)

Whilst the widespread use of the English language is indicative of British imperialism, the integration of Indigenous women into the dominant markets of anglophone writing are not proof of Indigenous submission into dominant cultures. Moreton-Robinson assures that '[l]earning to speak English and mimicking the customs of the coloniser does not fundamentally transform subjectivities that have been socialised within Indigenous social domains' (2000, p.89). Even if writing in English, Indigenous women can never be subsumed into whiteness because their unique subjectivities have been shaped by their experiences as Indigenous women under colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy. Moreton-Robinson writes: 'Indigenous women's experiences are grounded in a different history from that which is celebrated and known in white domains [...] Indigenous women use experience as a criterion for accumulating and producing subjugated knowledges which reflect their world view' (2000, p.3). Although writing in English does hinder the *expression* of Indigenous knowledges, Indigenous women's anglophone writing is still *shaped by* land and place-based knowledges.[6] Therefore, I suggest that through transplanting Native stories into English, Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i are still engaged in the decolonial practice of survivance. Writing in English allows them to facilitate the 'continuance of stories' (1999, p.vii) as Vizenor suggests, and also enables them to present to white, settler audiences their own subjectivities that are informed by land-based knowledges. Asserting Indigenous, female subjectivities and representing themselves contests the colonial invention of the 'Indian' (Vizenor, 2009, p.18) that is based upon stereotype and misrepresentation. Writing in English is therefore a way to write back to the dominant culture, continue Native stories, and assert a sense of Native, female presence that is grounded in authentic subjectivity rather than colonial stereotype.

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[6] Noenoe Silva explains that it is through the acquisition of English and learning to write that the *maka'ainana*, or 'commoners' in Hawai'i acquired control of the print media (2004, p.16).

This thesis begins by outlining how I interpret Vizenor's theory of survivance. I then explain how this thesis develops the theory by approaching it as a practice that has the potential to be gendered. I describe how settler colonialism and its intersections with capitalism and heteropatriarchy specifically target Indigenous women and thus inform the ways that women must survive and resist these forms of dominance. The following section then outlines the way that settler colonialism facilitates ecocide and epistemicide, and the ways that women and the land are connected in their subjection to colonial violence. After establishing the historical and theoretical contexts in which I analyse these texts, I present my methodological approach. I explain what place-based or land-based knowledges are and how they resist settler colonialism and create a decolonial practice. Continuing the ecological angle, the subsequent section provides a detailed description of the term 'more-than-human' that I use throughout the thesis. I then outline the structure of the thesis.

0.1 Survivance and its Gendered Implications

This thesis will illustrate how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i use representations of plants, land and animals to express a feminine form of survivance in, and through, their writing. Before I demonstrate how I will develop the study of survivance, however, it is necessary to explain what this term means within Indigenous studies. In its simplest form, Vizenor defines 'survivance' as 'the union of active survival and resistance to cultural dominance' (2009, p.24). It is this central element of Vizenor's work that has led 'survivance' to be widely understood as a portmanteau of 'survival' and 'resistance' (Gere, 2004; Breinig, 2008; Schneider, 2017; Clark & Hinzo, 2019).[7] As Vizenor explains, 'survivance' is related to survival, however, he argues that the term 'survival' is insufficient to encapsulate the strength and resilience of Indigenous peoples under colonialism. Ernest

[7] Christophe Premat attributes academic engagement with the term 'survivance' to Jacques Derrida rather than Vizenor. He defines it as 'associated with the idea of loss', and 'a notion of remembrance of beloved people' (2019, p.75). This definition produces a form of victim rhetoric that Vizenor's idea of survivance rejects. Although Derrida used the term 'survivance' in one of his last seminars, and in *Negotiations: Interventions and Interviews,* his usage was not until 2000 and 2002 respectively, after the publication of Vizenor's *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (1999).

Stromberg points out that 'survival' 'conjures images of a stark minimalist clinging at the edge of existence' (2006, p.1). This conception of survival that implies a continuance based on chance or near-miss is incongruous with the efforts of Native populations who have survived settler colonialism and are continually engaged in surviving settler colonialism whilst practicing their customs, rituals, traditions and lifeways. For this reason, Vizenor's work is committed to 'injecting into the old word red colouring and teasing connotations' (Kroeber, 2008, p.28).[8] Vizenor explains that 'survivance' is still related to 'survival', but takes on the suffix 'ance' which means 'quality of action' and 'state of condition' (2008, p.2), so that 'survivance, then, is the action, condition, quality, and sentiments of the verb *survive,* "to remain alive or in existence", to outlive, to persevere' (Vizenor, 2008, p.22). In this sense, 'survivance' is an ongoing practice, one that began with Indigenous storytellers that Vizenor defines as the 'early oral storiers' (Vizenor, 2009, p.1) and has continued well into the Native American Literary Renaissance of the twentieth and twenty-first century.[9]

Despite Kenneth Lincoln acknowledging that Native American women writers have been writing 'prolifically' (1985, p.xi), gendered approaches to interpreting survivance are limited. The only exploration of female survivance and storytelling is provided by Emerance Baker, who demonstrates how storytelling offers Native women a way to create a space for loving their 'Indianness' (2005, p.112). Baker argues that writing about Native women's bodies is central to creating a sense of presence given that 'vanishing Indian' narratives have material implications for Indigenous women (2005, p.112).[10] This is not, however,

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[8] The Oxford English Dictionary outlines that 'survivance' originates from an early-modern French word for 'survival'.

[9] According to Kenneth Lincoln, this Native American Literary Renaissance began with the publication of Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* (1968), which marked the start of a period of increased Indigenous literary outputs by writers including Leslie Marmon Silko, Simon J Ortiz, Louise Erdrich and Paula Gunn Allen (1985, p.61).

[10] As many testimonies of Indigenous families and the Final Report into Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) show, Indigenous women and girls are at a higher risk of experiencing violence than other groups. The Report states: 'Indigenous women and girls are 12 times more likely to be murdered or missing than any other women in Canada, and 16 times more likely than Caucasian women' and 'that Indigenous women and girls now make up 24% of female homicide victims' (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p.55). Rebecca Macklin also notes that: 'official statistics state that one in three Native women will be raped over their lifetime'

linked to Vizenor's notion that natural reason or the more-than-human world are central to the practice of survivance. Valerie Wieskamp and Cortney Smith do consider the gendered aspects of settler colonialism in terms of how survivance is expressed by survivors of sexual violence (2020), however, this does not consider the role of literature.[11] In terms of reading literature through aesthetics of survivance, scholars tend to focus on writers of the Native American Literary Renaissance, which includes Vizenor himself, alongside Momaday, Leslie Marmon Silko, Louise Erdrich and Maurice Kenny. Vizenor's fiction has been interpreted through his own theory of survivance (Higgins, 2016; Stratton, 2019; Schaak, 2020). Erdrich's *Tracks* (1988), *The Round House* (2012), *LaRose* (2016) are also often read through the lens of survivance (Madsen, 2011; Carden 2018; Mei, 2018), as well as Silko's *Ceremony* (1977) (Higgins, 2016) and *Storyteller* (1981) (Yi, 2016). Analysing survivance in relation to the renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s means its study is currently grounded in a particular historical moment that Alan R. Velie and Robert Lee determine as 'a widespread economic and cultural rebirth' (2013, p.3) for Native Americans. This refers to the (slight) increase in tribal governance and the establishment of economic ventures including the creation of multi-billion-dollar casino gaming industries that have led tribes to become economically prosperous (Velie & Lee, 2013, p.4). Moreover, studies of survivance are often focused on North America, given Vizenor's status as a member of the White Earth Reservation. Only recently have scholars began to examine survivance within the context of the Pacific Islands (Reyes, 2018; Huang & Rapongan, 2021), and the study of survivance literature from the Pacific is even more piecemeal (Huang & Rapongan, 2021).

Exploring the ways in which Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i engage in a decidedly female practice of survivance extends the study of survivance beyond the

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however, she explains that 'the actual figures are likely higher, as many women will not report the crime' (2020, p.2). Both the Report, Macklin (2020) and other scholars (A. Smith, 2005; Deer, 2009; L.T. Smith, 2021) show that the violence perpetrated against Indigenous women and girls is enabled by the structures of settler colonialism.

[11] Other existing scholarship examines survivance in terms of residential boarding school testimonies (Kuokkanen, 2003; Eigenbrod, 2012; Markland, 2018, Montgomery & Colwell, 2019), activism (Francis IV & Munson, 2017; Parkhurst, 2017; Clark & Hinzo, 2019) and language (Davis, 2017; Cranmer et al., 2018).

twentieth and twenty-first century and into a historical moment prior to this 'rebirth' (Velie & Lee, 2013, p.3). Studying the ways these writers unite survival and resistance and create a sense of Native, female presence during a time when colonial policies attempted to erase Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women, addresses the gaps between the 'early oral storiers' (Vizenor, 2009, p.1) and the writers of the Native American Literary Renaissance. As Baker asserts: '[t]he power to tell our stories and to share them so widely is not new to Native women. We have been telling stories for generations' (2005, p.112). Artistic production does not exist in a vacuum – thus, the study of Indigenous literature and survivance should not be limited to the Native American Literary Renaissance, but should acknowledge the literary predecessors who made widespread Indigenous literary production possible. Vizenor even notes that Zitkala-Ša was one of the 'warriors of survivance between the civil war and the first world war', whose 'narratives of survivance have inspired many generations of Natives' (2009, p.83).[12] Yet, he pays no attention to the ways Zitkala-Ša's status as a woman impacted her narratives of survivance in relation to her contemporaries Ely Samuel Parker, Charles Eastman and Luther Standing Bear. Moreover, the ability to both survive and resist colonialism is not limited to those who identify as Native American. Pacific Islanders have also endured and resisted settler colonialism, culturicide, and Christianisation, and have therefore demonstrated survivance. Thus, whilst the concept of survivance was borne from a scholar from North America, survivance is enacted in other settler states, including Hawai'i. This thesis brings together Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i to highlight how Indigenous women across settler states are connected across time and space in their practice of survivance, and develops the study of survivance beyond North America.

Whilst Vizenor admits that theories of survivance are 'elusive' and 'obscure' (2009, p.85), Kimberley Blaeser suggests that this purposeful sense of indeterminacy 'requires the audience to eke out the meaning' (1996, p.165). I therefore understand survivance to be

[12] D.K. Meisenheimer Jr also acknowledges Zitkala-Ša's influence on Native Literary Renaissance writers: 'a hundred years later, the strategies she initiated continue to animate the works of Native American women writers such as Linda Hogan, Paula Gunn Allen, and Leslie Marmon Silko' (1997, p.109).

the creation of an active sense of Native presence over absence (2009, p.4), the rejection of dominance and victimry (2009, p.4), and the continuance of Native stories (2009, p.85). The need to create an 'active presence' (Vizenor, 2009, p.88) emerges from the reality that settler colonialism has for centuries attempted to eradicate Native peoples from the land and from colonial narratives of American history. As Blaeser explains: 'those who control the land, have controlled the story (or his-story) of the land and its people' (1994, p.38). These ongoing forms of elimination lead Vizenor to conceptualise survivance as the creation of a 'sense of presence over absence, deracination, oblivion' (2008, p.4), and 'a sense of narrative resistance to absence, literary tragedy, nihility, and victimry' (Vizenor, 2008, p.1). Creating a sense of presence can be done through, but is not limited to, mockery and irony, metaphor, and tricksterism (Vizenor, 2008).

My thesis both draws on, and departs from, the three aspects of survivance outlined by Vizenor, as I suggest that the ability to create a 'sense of presence' (2009, p.1) and reject cultural dominance poses a larger challenge to Indigenous women than to Indigenous men. It is these three features of survivance – an active sense of presence, rejection of victimry, and the continuance of Native stories - that inform my exploration of how survivance is created in stories in *American Indian Stories* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), *Boys' World* (1910) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955). My argument, that representations of plants, animals and land are used to express female resistance to settler colonialism, and create a sense of Native, female presence, emerges from the contention that settler colonialism is a 'gendered process' (Arvin et al., 2013, p.9). Due to the way that settler colonialism intersects with - and upholds - capitalism and patriarchy, it disproportionately affects the way that Indigenous women are legislatively and physically attacked under these structures. As Andrea Smith explains: 'issues of colonial, racial and gendered oppression cannot be separated' (2015, p.11). As a social structure, patriarchy operates under the pretence that men are the superior gender who should assume the dominant position within society, politics, and within domestic contexts. This meant that upon arrival to North America and the Pacific Islands, the social systems upon which Western 'civilisation' were based were threatened by matrilineal clan systems and societies in which Indigenous women played a central role. Smith explains:

> Indian societies for the most part were not male dominated. Women served as spiritual, political, and military leaders, and many societies were matrilineal. Although there existed a division of labor between women and men, women's labor and men's labor were accorded similar status. (2015, p.16)

These types of labour that Smith describes included agricultural production, food harvesting, food preparation, and parenting, but many Native women were also competent at trapping and hunting (Anderson, 2000, p.59). The value that was afforded to these roles granted women authority over the distribution of food and resources within the community, so much so that 'Indigenous cultures often framed womanhood as a sacred identity, an identity that existed within a complex system of relations in societies that were based on complementarity and balance' (Anderson, 2000, p.59). Moreover, although Native American nations did not own property in a capitalist sense, many Native American groups viewed women as having authority over lodgings such as tipis, furnishings, and land (Anderson, 2000, pp.59-62). The Iroquois (the nation of which Tekahionwake was part) even stated in their Great Law that '[w]omen shall be considered the progenitors of the Nation. They shall own the land and soil' (Anderson, 2000, p.62). In traditional Hawaiian culture, women were similarly 'seen as powerful autonomous beings and were points of access to rank, land and political power' (Kauanui, 2008, p.283). Alongside their many roles, the relationship between Indigenous women and land therefore allowed them to occupy integral social, political, cultural and economic roles in many traditional Indigenous societies of North America.

The political, cultural and social roles that Indigenous women play(ed) within these societies posed a challenge to the heteropatriarchal structures inherent within settler colonialism. Smith explains that: 'Native women as bearers of a counter-imperial order pose a supreme threat to the imperial order' (2015, p.15). This is because the supposed success of settler colonialism was based on the view that men had dominion over both land and women, a view that was directly opposed by the traditional Indigenous lifeways that revered women and the natural environment. Simpson elaborates on the way that

Indigenous women pose a challenge to colonial, capitalist and heteropatriarchal systems, explaining that Indigenous women and two-spirit peoples[13]:

> represent alternative Indigenous political systems that refuse to replicate capitalism, heteropatriarchy and whiteness. They are the embodied representation in the eyes of the colonizer of the land, reproduction, Indigenous governance, and political systems. They reproduce and amplify Indigeneity, and so it is these bodies that must be eradicated. (2017a, p.55)

Simpson reveals that settlers perceived Indigenous women to represent various forms of resistance to the intersecting structures of capitalism and heteropatriarchy that made colonialism possible. Due to their social, and political roles and status as stewards of the environment, colonisers perceived Indigenous women to be an obstacle to the acquisition of land, and so made them the targets of colonial violence. Thus, in order to disrupt and transform these societies that thrived on female authority and valued women's work, colonisers wanted to subjugate Indigenous women and dispel Native female identity through strategies of oppression tied to dominant systems of power (Anderson, 2000; Weaver, 2009; Smith, 2015; Estes, 2019).

The triangulation of colonialism, heteropatriarchy and capitalism meant that attacks on Indigenous women operated on several levels. Indigenous women were the victims of systematic killings, as Smith notes that former US president Andrew Jackson 'recommended that troops systematically kill Indian women after massacres in order to complete the extermination' (2015, p.48). The murder of Indigenous women was so widespread that Gunn Allen describes North America's colonial history as a form of 'gynocide' (1992, p.36), a term coined by Mary Daly (1973) to describe the systemic violence committed by men against women and girls. Gunn Allen makes the case that there was a 'gynocidal motive' (1992, p.36) behind the genocide of Native Americans. Those who were not murdered were still subject to horrific sexual violence, with many forced into prostitution (A. Smith, 2015).

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[13] 'Two-spirit' is a neologism that was first used at the Third Annual Intertribal Native American/First Nations Gay And Lesbian Conference in 1990. 'Two-Spirit' is a translation of the Ojibwe term *niizh manidoowag* which describes third or fourth gender people in First Nations, Métis, Inuit, American Indian, and Alaskan Native cultures who do not subscribe to the colonial male/female binary. Across Native American nations, there are many culturally-specific terms for two-spirit peoples including *wíŋtke* (Lakota) and *nádleehí* (Diné).

Beyond physical and sexual violence, new legislation altered the economic landscape. The introduction of capitalist economies dispossessed women of their right to own land and property as government acts such as the Indian Act granted land rights to men. Kim Anderson explains: '[c]olonization further robbed Native women of their traditional economic relationship to land and property' (2000, p.62) as legislation divested women of their authority and economic independence and attributed to Indigenous men a power that led family units to become patriarchal in nature. These colonial policies also impacted relationships between Indigenous women and land, as not only was the environment transformed into goods and materials for capitalist accumulation, but Indigenous women were removed from their agricultural roles and restricted to the home. Anderson explains: '[t]he shift from subsistence to production-for-exchange economies marginalized Native women from economic participation and the authority that went with it' (2000, p.62). The allocation of land to individual owners transformed the land from a being of ancestral, cultural and spiritual significance to a commodity.

Attacks on Native womanhood were also introduced in the form of legislation that sought to gatekeep Indian status and thus erode Native female identity. In the USA, the Dawes General Allotment Act of 1887, which Katherine Ellinghaus describes as 'the federal legislation that provided the statutory framework for the assimilation period' (2017, p.xi) permitted the US government to break up 270 million acres of Indigenous land and sell to white settlers (Estes, 2017, p.28). Under the capitalist and patriarchal systems of the USA, the Dawes Act essentially facilitated the removal of land from the stewardship of Indigenous women, and placed land under the ownership of men. From 1887 to 1891, the Dawes Act overtly excluded Indigenous, married women from being allocated tribal land, and thus attributed their non-Indigenous husbands more right to land than Indigenous women themselves (Berger, 1997, p.16). Contrarily, years after the Dawes Act was passed, Congress declared that Indigenous women who married white men would cease to have tribal affiliation and would thus become American citizens. The Dawes Act, therefore, placed a strain upon Native, female identity and relationship with the land.

This commodification of land through the Dawes Act, whilst a capitalist venture, also sought to 'disintegrate collective Native identities and communal land practices'

(Estes, 2017, p.119), and function as an assimilationist policy. The Dawes Act regulation stated that only members of Indigenous tribes could receive an allotment of land, however, as Zitkala-Ša's 'The Widespread Enigma Concerning Blue-Star Woman' shows, the Dawes Act facilitated the denial and delegitimisation of tribal affiliations. Due to the fact that, for Indigenous peoples, tribal affiliation was gained through ancestry and parental heritage, there was limited documentation available to authenticate Indigenous identity. The process to secure land thus compromised Native identity, as Indigeneity was subject to scrunity by government workers. The decision as to who was deemed 'Indian' was made by Office of Indian Affairs agents who, as Ellinghaus explains, 'were given no firm instructions on how to decide who was or was not an Indian' (2017, p.xvi). Although instruction from the government would have largely been anti-Indigenous, personal bias towards who could be considered 'Indigenous' was informed by colonial discourses relating to skin tone, facial features and dress instead of parental heritage (Malcolmson, 2000, p.10). Native women therefore had to compromise their own Native womanhood by performing 'Indianness' in a way that was palatable to white, government officials. Thus, the Dawes Act placed a strain upon and to some extent eroded Native womanhood.

Similar legislation was established in Canada during the nineteenth century. Like the Dawes Act, the federal Indian Act of 1876 removed many First Nation women of their Indian status, stating that any Indigenous woman who married non-status men were no longer to be registered as part of the First Nation and thus could no longer be considered Indian. Any children born in this marriage would not be considered Native, but white. Conversely, any non-Native woman who married a Native man would acquire Native status, as would their children (Simon & Clark, 2013, p.106). This legislation led the act to define 'Indian' as 'a male Indian, the wife of a male Indian, or the child of a male Indian' (Day, 2018, p.175), which rendered 'Indian' to shift from a form of tribal belonging to a status which Indigenous women were either granted or denied depending upon their relationships with men. Native female identity and Native women's social and political roles were diminished further through the Indian Act as matrilineal systems were replaced with patrilineal systems as a way to 'undermine the role women played in the governance structure of the nation' (Simon & Clark, 2013, p.105). Lynn Gehl summarises that the Indian Act 'stripped women

of their rights socially, politically and economically and made them dependent people' (2000, p.64). As well as attacking adult women, the Indian Act made residential schooling systems compulsory for Indigenous children aged 7-16, at which many children experienced physical, emotional sexual abuse (Bombay et al., 2014).[14] Residential school policies attempted to socialise Native children into colonial, patriarchal gender roles that continuously devalued women's labour and eroded 'knowledge and skills related to particular ecosystems, seasonal change and knowledge' (Whyte, 2016, p.6). Although many Indigenous nations did not, and do not, subscribe to the colonial gender binary, the material effects of colonial patriarchal systems meant that those who settlers deemed feminine were at an increased risk of violence. The Indian Act reveals that as well as trying to physically eliminate Native women from the North American landscape, Native female identity and Indigenous conceptions of womanhood were also under attack.

This violent history shows that the ability to concurrently survive and resist settler colonialism proves a more arduous task for Indigenous women due to the implementation of patriarchal, capitalist and colonial structures that are predicated on the annihilation of Native women and Native female identity. Existing under these systems of domination, creating a sense of a Native, female presence becomes a task that potentially puts Indigenous women at risk of being met with violent consequences. Due to these gendered logics of settler colonialism, then, the creation of a 'sense of presence' (Vizenor, 2008, p.4) must prove to be more difficult and somewhat riskier for Indigenous women than it is for Indigenous men. Notwithstanding the fact that Indigenous men also suffered horrific violence at the hands of colonisers, it must be noted that Native men did not have to endure the same rates of sexual violence or be stripped of their tribal identity and political

[14] Even during the writing of this thesis, the remains of 215 Indigenous children were recovered at the Kamloops Residential School in British Columbia, Canada on 28th May, 2021. This sparked searches of residential schools across Canada including the Marieval Indian Residential School, where it was reported that 600 bodies were found, and the former St. Eugene's Mission School. As of September 2021, more than 1,000 bodies of Indigenous children have been uncovered. Vi Waln, writing for Indigenous news site Indian Country Today, reported that the bodies of nine children located at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School were returned to the Sicangu Lakota tribe, and received a formal burial ceremony. Russell Eagle Bear of the Black Pipe Tribal Council stated: '[n]ow they're home with the relatives' (2021).

autonomy in the same way as Indigenous women. As the Indian Act demonstrates, even official legislation sought to attribute land rights to Native men and preserve male lineage. D. Marie Ralstin-Lewis even makes the case that, 'disruptions of Native cultures subsequently increased the power of Native men at the expense of the women' (2005, pp.73-4). Therefore, whilst Native men endured colonial violence, they benefitted from the patriarchal underpinnings of settler-colonial society that negatively impacted women.

It is these gendered components of settler colonialism that inform my approach to survivance in the writing of Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i. I argue that the ability to unite 'active survival and resistance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24) within the triangulation of colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy presents unique challenges to Indigenous women that should be accounted for in their practice of survivance. As Maile Arvin et al. assert: 'we [Indigenous women] have been an invisible presence in the center, hidden by the gendered logics of settler colonialism for over 500 years' (2013, p.14). This thesis builds on current approaches to survivance that do not consider how the lives and resilience of Indigenous women are shaped by heteropatriarchy and capitalism as well as settler colonialism. As Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez state, '[a] lack of attention to how such systems of domination work often means that Indigenous women's interests and concerns are concealed and erased within and outside their communities' (2016, p.4). I argue that this concealment and erasure of Indigenous women's experiences of settler colonialism has occurred within the study of literary survivance that at present considers survivance a homogenous practice across men, women, and two-spirit peoples. Across three chapters, I reveal how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i are engaged within a practice of survivance that responds to the systemic conditions that limit their autonomy and agency and attempt to eradicate their land-based knowledges. By analysing their representations of plants, animals, and land, I show how their 'union of active survival and resistance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24) to settler colonialism is grounded in rekindling, continuing and protecting their relationships with the more-than-human world, and continuing Native storytelling traditions within colonial spaces.

0.2 Settler Colonialism: Ecological and Epistemological Violence

This thesis argues that land is central to the female practice of survivance because Indigenous women and land were – and are - united in their subjection to colonial violence. Vanessa Watts explains how settler-colonial violence targets the 'two essential' categories of Indigenous lifeways – 'the feminine and the land' (2013, p.20). Sandra Laronde also draws a parallel between women and land, asserting '[h]ow women are treated is how the earth is treated' (quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.189). This connection between women and land is not purely abstract but is indicative of the material conditions that produced settler-colonial violence. Smith explains that '[t]he connection between the colonization of Native peoples' bodies – particularly Native women's bodies – and Native lands is simply not metaphorical […] there is a connection between patriarchy's disregard for nature, women and Indigenous peoples' (2015, p.35). Both Native women and land were constructed as objects as a means of facilitating subjugation, as Smith explains: '[t]he project of colonial sexual violence establishes the ideology that Native bodies are inherently violable—and by extension, that Native lands are also inherently violable' (2015, p.13). Linked to the land, Indigenous women became objects of colonial desire, or property to be exploited. Watts explains the connected nature of land and gender-based violence in the colonial mindset: '[i]f you belong to a structure where land and the feminine are not only less-than, but knowingly irresponsible, violations against her would seem warranted' (2013, p.26). Targeting women and land, and intertwining them within colonial discourse offered a gendered strategy of land dispossession. Watts explains: '[t]he feminine and land is fundamental to our extensions as people […] So, in an attempt to conquer such people, where would you start? Our land and our women' (2013, p.31). Therefore, the triangulation of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy and capitalism render both women and land as objects to be used and exploited in the accumulation of wealth. Settler colonialism, and its intersection with capitalism and patriarchy, thus inscribes a particular form of violence that is predicated on the elimination of Indigenous women and the exploitation of land. Native stories included in *American Indian Stories* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), *Boys' World* (1910) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955) each represent, and seek to resist, these strategies of settler colonialism that

disrupt relationships with the land. Intertwined in their experiences of settler colonialism, I argue that Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake, Pūku'i and land are also intertwined in their resistance.

This focus on land is the main way in which settler colonialism differs from other forms of colonialism. Rather than gaining control of, and exporting, natural resources to acquire capital for imperial centres, settler colonialism involves the occupation of territory. Thus, to 'settle' on the land, and to monopolise the use of natural resources, land is stolen from the Native populations and/or Native populations eradicated. Settler-colonial strategies of dispossession therefore have genocidal implications, as the acquisition of territory relies on the obliteration of Native populations. As Patrick Wolfe suggests: 'contests for land can be— indeed, often are—contests for life' (2006, p.387). Genocide has been a central focus of Native American women's writing, including in Silko's "Lullaby" (1981), *Ceremony* (1977) and *Almanac of the Dead* (1991), Erdrich's *Tracks* (1988), and Linda Hogan's *Mean Spirit* (1990) and *Solar Storms* (1994). The way that these writers depict resistance to genocide has led Gunn Allen to describe Native American women's writing as 'a major part of Indian resistance to cultural and spiritual genocide' (1992, p.42). This thesis, however, draws attention to ecological and epistemological violence and demonstrates how early Indigenous women's writing is part of resistance to ecocide, epistemicide, and gendered violence.

The notion that the success of settler colonialism relies on the theft of land from the Native populations is what leads scholars including Wolfe (1999, 2006), J.K. Kauanui (2016), Glen Coulthard (2014) and Kyle Whyte (2018a) to conceptualise settler colonialism as predicated on ongoing forms of land dispossession. Whilst economic gains are the initial driving force, it is the acquisition of land that facilitates this accumulation of wealth for the colonisers. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang explain that: '[l]and is what is most valuable, contested, required […] settlers make Indigenous land their new home and source of capital' (2012, p.5). For Euro-American settlers, land, plants, animals and minerals were, and still are, perceived in material terms and are conceptualised as objects that can be sold, extracted, and commodified to accumulate capital. As Jason Moore explains: 'the whole of nature had to be put to work – in a radically alienating and dynamic way – for capitalism to

survive' (2016, p.102).[15] This occurs through processes such as deforestation, logging, extraction and mining, and the fur trade, processes that precede the building of urban and commercial areas and the transformation of ancestral land into private properties. These processes pose a contrast to Indigenous worldviews wherein land has epistemological, ontological and cosmological significance. Treating land in this way leads Whyte to state that 'settler colonial domination is ecological violence and environmental injustice' (2018a, p.134). The acquisition, transformation, exploitation, and destruction of the land are central to settler colonialism and are why I foreground the significance of land in stories from *American Indian Stories* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), *Boys' World* (1910) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955).

Through divesting Indigenous peoples of their land, gaining control of and commodifying natural resources, settler colonialism also enacts ontological and epistemological violence. This is due to the way that these practices fracture relationships between Indigenous peoples and place, and thus elide land-based epistemologies that inform lifeways, practices, rituals, customs and beliefs. Strategies of land dispossession occurred throughout the nineteenth century, as the United States of America, Canada and Hawai'i passed legislation that permitted the removal of Indigenous peoples from their land or removed their right to the land. In 1876, First Nation reservations were subdivided and sold through Canada's Indian Act, an act that was still in place during Tekahionwake's time of writing. In South Dakota in 1887, the Dawes Severalty Act or General Allotment Act broke up tribal lands into plots that were then allocated to individuals, events of which are depicted in Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories*. Both settler states introduced residential schooling systems that sought to physically remove Indigenous children from their ancestral homelands and eradicate land-based lifeways. Hawaiian scholar and activist Haunani-Kay Trask articulates the widespread physical, cultural and epistemological

[15] Moore defines this concept is as 'Cheap Nature', wherein nature is forced to 'work for free or very low-cost' within the capitalist system (2016, p.11). Moore explains that: '[t]he condition of the rise of capitalism, in other words, was the creation of Cheap Nature. But Cheap is not free. Cheap here is understood as work/energy and biophysical utility produced with minimal labor-power, and directly implicated in commodity production and exchange' (J. Moore, 2016, p.99).

impacts of settler-colonial violence that occurred in nineteenth-century Hawai'i, stating that: 'our world collapsed from the violence of contact: disease, mass death, and land dispossession; evangelical Christianity; plantation capitalism; cultural destruction including language banning; and, finally, American military invasion in 1893 and forced annexation in 1898' (1996, p.906). It was, therefore, attacks on Native, female sovereignty and epistemological violence that transformed the land from a spiritual, familial being into a commodity for exchange, that facilitated the annexation of Hawai'i into the USA. Settlers were made wealthy through vast sugar plantations and were able to purchase land (Gonschor and Beamer, 2014, pp.58-60), both of which interfered with the Hawaiian view that the land was extension of the gods, as depicted in Pūku'i's writing. As Sumner La Croix explains, conflicts over land are what underpinned political conflict in Hawai'i: '[l]and has played a central role throughout Hawaiʻi's political history because which person had what types of land rights has always been critical to establishment of a political order and to its restoration or reformulation after disruptive events' (2019, p.3). It was the passing of the McKinley tariff in 1890, which increased import taxes on foreign sugar to the USA, that fuelled the economic uncertainty in Hawai'i and ultimately led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (2019, p.15). Taking the throne during a time of economic uncertainty, Queen Liliʻuokalani made it clear that she wished 'to reduce the influence of foreigners in Hawaiʻi' (La Croix, 2019, p.15). This alliance with the Native population and intent to disenfranchise settlers led settlers to stage a coup d'état with one sole purpose: enabling Hawai'i to be annexed into the USA.

As well as physically disrupting the relationship between Indigenous peoples and land through displacement, the commodification, exploitation, and destruction of land compromised the role of land in the formation of spiritual, epistemological and ontological frameworks. Whyte explains the link between ecological violence and epistemological violence: 'the actual environmental changes themselves hasten the undermining of qualities of relationships—such as loss of knowledge and Indigenous legal/juridical systems coupled with the loss of landscapes from which those knowledge and legal/juridical systems came' (2018a, p.136). Leanne Betasamosake Simpson makes a similar case, that the removal of Indigenous peoples from land:

> make it easier for the state to acquire and maintain sovereignty over land because this not only removes physical resistance to dispossession, it also erases the political orders and relationships housed within Indigenous bodies that attach our bodies to our land. (2017a, p.56)

It is this coupling of ecological violence with the forced removal of Indigenous peoples that leads settler colonialism to facilitate 'epistemic, ontological, [and] cosmological violence' (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p.5) and allows settlers to steal from Native peoples the beings that inform their lifeways, beliefs, ceremonies and practices. Through settler colonialism, these practices are eliminated with the goal of assimilating Native peoples into Euro-American culture and halting resistance to strategies of land dispossession.

Similar to how Wolfe (1999, 2006), Kauanui (2016), Coulthard (2014), Glen Coulthard and Leanne Simpson (2016) and Whyte (2018a; 2018b) suggest that the theft and destruction of land is central to the success of settler colonialism, I argue that representations of relationships with land are central to resisting the dominance of settler colonialism and creating a sense of Native female presence. Coulthard outlines how across Indigenous groups, anti-colonialism and anti-capitalism is inspired by land:

> the theory and practice of Indigenous anti-colonialism, including Indigenous anti-capitalism, is best understood as a struggle primarily inspired by and oriented around *the question of land* – a struggle not only *for* land in a material sense, but also deeply *informed* by what the land *as system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitive terms. (original emphasis, 2014, p.28)

Coulthard explains that, for Indigenous peoples, the reclamation of land is not limited to the materiality of land possession but is centrally tied to the rekindling of spiritual and reciprocal relationships with the land, or reassertion of land-based epistemologies. Simpson also foregrounds this notion in her consideration of resurgence, stating that: 'resurgence must be concerned with the reattachment of our minds, bodies and spirits to networks of relationships' (2017a, p.58), networks which refer to human and more-than-human relations. Examining how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i depict a sense of Native female presence through (re)connection with plants, animals and the land, I illustrate how relationships with land are needed to maintain Native identities when those identities and relationships with the natural world are threatened.

0.3 Methodology: Land-Based Epistemologies as Tools for Resistance

In structuring the thesis according to place, I attend to the specific epistemological and ontological positions from which Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i write. Place refers to the way that land functions as 'an ontological framework for understanding relationships' (Coulthard, 2010, p.79) for Indigenous groups as well as to the materiality of geographical location. Deloria Jr. explains how place, or land, is generative in terms of epistemologies and ontologies: 'American Indians hold their lands – places – as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind' (2003, p.61). For First Nation groups, 'place includes land and waters, plants and animals, and the spiritual world', and relationships with these beings 'create a fluid and collective ethical framework' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.33-4) that informs knowledges and practices. The Mohawk nation, of which Tekahionwake was part, organises their societies into three clans or kinship networks: Turtle, Wolf and Bear (A. Simpson, 2014, p.19). Native Hawaiians also access knowledge through the land, a concept known as *aloha 'aina. Aloha 'aina* is an 'active devotion' to land that requires '[l]earning to thrive in harmony with this landscape, to steward and learn from the forests and waterways, and to enact love for others' (Porter & Cristobal, 2018, p.199). Given that settler colonialism elicited violence against these writers and their homelands in different ways, it is necessary to consider how specific land-based knowledges are mobilised to respond to specific moments of gendered settler-colonial violence. As Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez explain: '[a]lthough scholars have done an important job in conceptualizing Indigenous knowledge, they have paid less attention to how knowledge is specific to place and differs according to gender, age, sexuality, livelihoods, and experiences of colonization' (2016, p.9). This thesis works to remedy this generalisation of Indigenous knowledges. I ground my analysis of *American Indian Stories* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), *Boys' World* stories (1913) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955) in the place-based knowledges from the Great Sioux Reservation, the Pacific Northwest and Hawai'i Island respectively. I consider the ways women's specific relationships with land generate particular knowledges unique to women,

and enable women to resist assimilationist policies in South Dakota, gold-mining practices in Canada, and environmental change in Hawai'i.

Possessing a knowledge of place-based epistemologies, and understanding how these are expressed in Indigenous literature, is central to avoiding the reproduction of colonial stereotypes such as the 'noble savage' or 'ecological Indian' (Krech, 1999; Harkin and Lewis, 2007; Ranco, 2007; Smithers, 2015). The 'noble savage' is a colonial invention or myth attributed to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (Ellingson, 2001, p.1) that emerged from first encounters between colonists and Indigenous peoples during the fifteenth century (Smithers, 2015, p.83). It represented the 'idealized European vision of the inhabitants of the New World' (Redford, 1991, p.1), who were 'natural conservationist[s] […] attuned to the earth's rhythm' (Smithers, 2015, p.83). This myth was taken up by writers including James Fenmore Cooper and Henry David Thoreau, and it was through theirs and later literatures that the successive stereotype, the 'ecological Indian' (Smithers, 2015, p.87) was born. These stereotypes romanticise Indigenous relationships with the natural world as a way of constructing Indigenous peoples as at odds with the increasingly industrial, modern and thus 'civilised' New World. Gregory Smithers explains that:

> Racial stereotypes about 'noble savages' and ecological Indians possessing an emotional connection to the land while lacking any understanding of Western-style property rights were deeply embedded in European and Euroamerican culture by the latter half of the nineteenth century. (2015, p.88)

These stereotypes are not restricted to the past, but are still in circulation today (TallBear, 2000, p.1). Most notable is Shepard Krech's controversial, or 'anti-Indian' (TallBear, 2000, p.1) research. Although he attempts to interrogate these stereotypes, Krech fabricates ideas surrounding the wastefulness and exploitative nature of some traditional practices (1999).

In grounding my analysis within the specific land-based epistemologies of the Yankton Dakota, Haudenosaunee, and Kanaka Maoli, I do not analyse stories in *American Indian Stories* (1921), *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), *Boys' World* (1910) and *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others* (1955) within the colonial frameworks of thought that have fostered the image of the 'ecological Indian'. Instead, I analyse these texts through the land-based frameworks of thought from which Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i write.

Drawing on Indigenous knowledges in this way ensures that the texts are understood on their own terms, rather than through colonial assumptions. Moreover, the study of survivance is central to the rejection of the myth of the 'ecological Indian', as Vizenor explains: 'the simulation of the *Indian* is the absence of real Natives [...] [t]ruly, Natives are the storiers of an imagic presence, and *indians* are the actual absence' (original emphasis, 1994, p.vii). This is to say that the more stereotypes surrounding Indigenous peoples and their lifeways are perpetuated, the more the actual lives of Native peoples are considered absent – the antithesis of survivance. Therefore, understanding how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i create a sense of presence in colonial spaces works to eliminate 'Indian' stereotypes.

This thesis demonstrates how specific land-based epistemologies relating to plants and animals in these texts allow Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i to engage in decolonial practice through their writing. This is due to the way that each framework of knowledge borne from the land is fundamental to stories, ceremonies and practices that guide Indigenous peoples in their creation of political systems, nationhood, and, as I argue, even in their colonial resistance. Coulthard explains the political power of place-based thought in colonial contexts: '[p]lace is a way of knowing, experiencing, and relating with the world – and these ways of knowing often guide forms of resistance to power relations that threaten to erase or destroy our senses of place' (2010, p.79). This is to say that, as well as informing lifeways prior to colonialism, land-based knowledges continue to guide Indigenous peoples even as settler-colonial, capitalist and patriarchal structures attempt to fracture Indigenous relationships with land. Grounding my analysis in the specific place-based epistemologies in these texts is necessary given that these stories are triangulated within the systems of settler colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy, which are indeed 'power relations' (Coulthard, 2010, p.79) that threaten to destroy a sense of place. This thesis therefore reveals how relationships with land, plants and animals are central to resisting these power structures and asserting a sense of Native female presence within these spaces.

Whilst each chapter situates its analysis within specific place-based frameworks of thought, this thesis makes connections between Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i in

their engagements with a decolonial practice that focuses particularly upon relationships with land. As Shari Huhndorf and Cheryl Suzack explain, '[a]lthough Indigenous women do not share a single culture, they do have a common colonial history' (2010, p.3), and their common colonial history is based upon the eradication of land-based practices. Moreton-Robinson makes a similar case that attends to the ways Indigenous women globally have endured various forms of violence:

> All Indigenous women share the common experience of living in a society that depreciates us. An Indigenous woman's standpoint is shaped by the following themes. They include an inalienable connection to land; a legacy of dispossession, racism and sexism; resisting and replacing disparaging images of ourselves with self-defined images. (2000, p.xvi)

These shared experiences of racism, sexism and land dispossession are visible across my chosen primary texts. Although Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i depict settler colonialism in different forms, they all represent settler colonialism as a structure that attempts to engender fractures between Indigenous peoples and the land; either through forced removal from land (Zitkala-Ša), extraction (Tekahionwake) or strained relationships with land under the conditions of drought (Pūku'i).

To unite these writers in their relationships with, and struggle for, land under the oppressive structures of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy, this thesis draws upon and develops Coulthard's concept of 'grounded normativity' (2014, p.28).[16] Coulthard explains that 'grounded normativity' (2014, p.28) encompasses the 'modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and non-human others over time' (2014, p.28). Although Indigenous peoples have 'always known [that] way

[16] This concept of place-based epistemologies has also been conceptualised as 'Place-Thought' by Watts, who explains that 'Place-Thought is the non-distinctive space where place and thought were never separated because they never could or can be separated. Place-Thought is based upon the premise that land is alive and thinking and that humans and non-humans derive agency through the extensions of these thoughts' (2013, p.21). This concept is grounded in Ojibwe and Haudenosaunee epistemologies. Due to the fact that Tekahionwake is part of the Mohawk tribe and thus part of the Haudenosaunee, this thesis will read Tekahionwake's work in relation to Place-Thought. Due to the cultural specificity, however, applying Place-Thought to all the writers would be too generalising.

of life comes from the place or land' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.34), Coulthard coined the term to encapsulate the Dene Nation's self-determination movement that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. As part of this movement, place-based knowledges informed their critique of capitalist-imperialism (Coulthard, 2014, p.84). Since then, however, 'grounded normativity' (2014, p.28) has been used to account for the various Indigenous relationships with land that constitute Indigenous thought and ways of being, and thus unites Indigenous peoples as a form of decolonial practice.[17] Coulthard and Simpson explain: '[o]ur relationship to the land itself generates the processes, practices, and knowledges that inform our political systems, and through which we practice solidarity' (2016, p.254). Therefore, in uniting Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i through the representation of grounded normativity in their writing, this thesis reads these writers a partaking in a decolonial act of solidarity.

In reading Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i as united in their deployment of grounded normativity through their writing, I consider these writers to be implicated in a form of collective resistance. This form of resistance is not limited to a particular space or temporal moment but delineates a form of interconnectedness across temporal and geographical lines. The collective nature of grounded normativity means that it can be viewed as a 'series of complex, interconnected cycling processes that make up a nonlinear, overlapping emergent and responsive network of relationships of deep reciprocity, intimate and global interconnection and interdependence, that spirals across time and space' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.36). This nonlinearity that Simpson writes of refers to the fact that many Indigenous temporalities do not conform to Euro-American chronologies or ways of ordering time. As Margaret Kovach explains: 'Indigenous epistemology is fluid, nonlinear and relational' (2015, p.53). This is to say that the past, present and future are not necessarily distinct; knowledge is gained from the land and the ancestors, which is then used in the present moment to ensure the survival of future generations. Therefore,

[17] Uniting these writers through their grounded normativities does not seek to homogenise Indigenous peoples, but to implicate place-based epistemologies within a knowledge system that impedes Western institutions from attempting to 'shrink' or 'contain' tribal knowledge systems (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.34).

expressing female survivance through land-based epistemologies simultaneously connects Indigenous women in a form of resistance across time, because as Leanne Simpson et al. explain: 'Indigenous women and Two-Spirit LGBTQI people have been involved in resistance, dissent, mobilization and resurgence since the very beginnings of colonial occupation' (2012, p.1). Moreover, because these writers represent human relationships with land, plants, and animals to resist settler colonialism across South Dakota, Canada and Hawai'i, their expressions of survivance are connected across space. Through uniting these writers in their creation of Native, female presence through more-than-human relations, I make visible collective forms of colonial resistance across both state- and species lines.

This thesis will explore how this Native female survivance, which is implicated in broader resistance movements across space and time, is mobilised to respond to specific moments in the context of nineteenth-century high imperialism. Colonists had been stealing Indigenous lands and murdering and displacing Indigenous peoples for centuries, however, the nineteenth century saw colonisers inflict a form of violence to both land and peoples that was driven by the Industrial Revolution, and involved the extraction of gold, diamonds, and other metals and minerals. These extractive practices meant the land and beings that informed Indigenous knowledges were being physically destroyed. Therefore, whilst Native American literary scholarship tends to focus on writers of the Native American Literary Renaissance, including Silko (Barnett and Thorson, 2001; Lockhart 2020; Devi 2020), Erdrich (Lysik, 2017; Martínez-Falquina, 2020; Poks, 2020), Linda Hogan (Huebert, 2020; Castor, 2021), and Tommy Orange, (Carnes, 2019; Lopez, 2020) this thesis explores how earlier, nineteenth-century Indigenous writers contribute to collective literary resistance.

Considering how grounded normativities operate in the constructions of survivance develops the hitherto limited critical engagements with the term (Simpson, 2017a; Pegues, 2019; Zellars, 2020) and addresses some of its criticisms (Sexton, 2014; Pexa, 2015; Burkhart, 2019). The limited engagement with this concept may stem from the fact that Coulthard's term remains under-theorised, even within his own works. In his foundational *Red Skin, White Masks* (2014), grounded normativity is first introduced as a 'practice' (2014, p.28) that combines land-based customs and decolonial thought. Yet, its existence

as a practice seems obscured by its successive use as a referential term *for* the place-based practices that informed the Dene nation's critique of capitalist imperialism: '[t]he ethical framework provided by these place-based practices and associated forms of knowledge is what I call "grounded normativity"' (Coulthard, 2014, p.95). Therefore, whilst 'grounded normativity' (Coulthard, 2014, p.95) becomes a useful term through which to unite Indigenous peoples in their land-based practices, it also appears to be more of an abstraction than a practice. Christopher Pexa makes a similar observation: 'Coulthard's notion of an indigenous "grounded normativity," […] lurks as more of a structural possibility in Coulthard's analysis than being an articulated set of theories and practices' (2015, p.131). Similarly, Coulthard and Simpson's successive article (2016) introduces grounded normativity in what essentially functions as a conclusion, wherein the term is introduced in response to David Roediger's keynote paper on solidarity. In this context, it encapsulates the same ethical frameworks that are aforementioned in *Red Skin, White Masks,* but again is not deployed as a theory. Brian Burkhart also considers grounded normativity to be under-developed as a theory: '[Coulthard and Simpson] have all the pieces of a more complete theory of grounded normativity but have not put them together to articulate the deeper nature of grounded normativity' (2019, p.40). More serious critiques are made by Jared Sexton (2014) who argues that grounded normativity has an anti-immigrant and anti-black sentiment in the way that it privileges organic, Indigenous relationships with land and thus marginalises the relationships with land that immigrants may form. Coulthard has since responded to this claim in an interview with Karl Gardner and Devin Clancy. He states, 'I would like to think of ground, literally, as the grounds of solidarity between struggles' (2017) and unites Indigenous peoples and black people in their struggles against colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy. As Jodi Byrd explains, 'U.S. modernity was created through the genocide of Indigenous peoples and the seizure of Indigenous lands, and U.S. modernity was created through chattel slavery' (2019, p.209), which demonstrates how the USA was founded upon violence against both Indigenous peoples and black people. As the beginning of this thesis outlined, however, I consider Indigeneity to refer to those who have reciprocal relationships with the land, and therefore do not define Indigeneity in exclusionary racial terms.

In this thesis, then, I address the complexities of this term by demonstrating how grounded normativity functions as an anti-imperial practice within Indigenous literary production. I use grounded normativity as a denotational term to encapsulate Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's representation of land-based practices. As well as this, however, I show how the intimate connections with land, plants, and animals allows these writers to express survivance, resisting the colonial, capitalist and patriarchal structures that facilitated land dispossession in the USA, Canada and Hawai'i during the nineteenth century. Using land-based knowledges to express survivance in literature allows grounded normativity to be considered not only a 'structural possibility' (Pexa, 2015, p.131) but also a practice.

My exploration grounded normativity in women's writing begins to remedy the inattention to Indigenous women's land-based knowledges. Nathalie Kermoal and Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez note that 'less attention has been devoted to exploring Indigenous women's knowledge' (2016, p.9), and Zoe Todd makes a similar case, that 'women's knowledge of the environment and their role in household economies remain understudied, and their voices are typically muted' (2016, p.192). Due to women's cultural, social, spiritual, and agricultural roles, Indigenous women possess specific knowledges relating to the environment. Moreover, as many creation stories tell of the arrival of female deities, including White Buffalo Calf Woman (Yankton Dakota), Sky Woman (Haudenosaunee) and Pele (Kanaka Maoli), Indigenous women are viewed as carriers of valued knowledges relating to the land. Anderson explains that for this reason, Indigenous women have a special relationship with plants, animals, land, water, sun, moon and sky (2000, p.180). Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez explain how female relationships with more-than-human beings produce nuanced forms of knowledge: '[m]en and women often make use of different spaces and resources and, for this reason, they are knowers as well as keepers of specific knowledge' (2016, p.9). This means that, for Indigenous women, knowledges may emerge from their roles in agricultural production, as is depicted in *American Indian Stories,* or the use of plants in textile production as depicted in *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others,* amongst other social responsibilities. These knowledges, however, have and continue to be shaped by the systems of colonialism,

capitalism and patriarchy: 'Indigenous women's ways of knowing are shaped by their livelihoods and shared experiences of racism, colonialism, and by their experiences as leaders, mothers, sisters, and grandmothers' (Kermoal & Altamirano-Jiménez, 2016, p.9). Grounded normativities, and the way they inform the creation of presence, therefore, are deployed in literature in ways specific to Indigenous women and their experiences as women enduring systemic violence. Addressing the power and political utility of Indigenous women's land-based knowledges is crucial to address this inattention to Indigenous women's knowledges, and the gendered potential of survivance. As Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez suggest: '[t]o ignore the specific ways in which Indigenous women know is to undermine them as active producers of knowledge that participate in complex socio-environmental community processes' (2016, p.9). Therefore, understanding gendered relationships with the environment offers a nuanced way of examining grounded normativity and its role in the practice and expression of survivance through writing.

Bringing together Indigenous women writers through their use of land-based knowledges and survivance strategies seeks to rectify the ongoing gendered division and hierarchisation of Indigenous concerns. Issues relating to land dispossession and land repatriation are often perceived as implicated within a political realm of masculine thought or 'men's business' (Anderson, 2009, p.99). Conversely, the colonial violence elicited against Indigenous women is seen as a uniquely female problem and is considered to have less urgency than land repatriation (Simpson, 2017a). Arvin et al. state that there exists a false binary made up of 'Native issues' and 'women's issues' (2013, p.15), wherein the latter is seen as secondary and can be dealt with once decolonisation has been achieved. Bonita Lawrence and Kim Anderson make a similar observation, conceptualising Indigenous concerns as separated into 'sovereignty issues' and 'community issues' (2005, p.1), wherein 'sovereignty issues' (2005, p.1) are led predominantly by men in government realms and 'community issues' (2005, p.1) are solved by the informal – and largely unrecognised – leadership of Indigenous women. Simpson explains that these binaries are in place because '[m]en working on land and political issues are positioned as theorists and leaders. Women working on child welfare issues or gender violence are marginalized

and then dismissed and ignored as Indigenous feminists and community organizers' (2017a, p.70). The consequences of this gendered division are that:

> This serves only to divide us by separating and then positioning sexual and gender violence as *less* important to physical dispossession. It also serves to replicate the heteropatriarchal targeting of women and 2SQ [2 spirit queer] bodies in particular, and in stark contrast to Indigenous knowledge systems. (original emphasis, L. Simpson, 2017a, p.71)

The process of gendering political and social issues is a direct result of colonialism, because whilst gender roles were/are present across many Native communities, these gender roles were considered to be equally as valuable and did not exist in a hierarchy (Weaver, 2009, p.1554). This privileging of land repatriation over the welfare of Indigenous women indicates how heteropatriarchy has infiltrated even Indigenous studies to remove women's experiences and concerns from the political systems of which they are part and relegate them as secondary concerns.

I analyse survivance through a framework that is attentive to the gendered and ecological violence of settler colonialism. In doing so, I interrogate the heteropatriarchal nature of current approaches that consider issues of land sovereignty and women's rights as distinct issues. As Arvin et al. suggest, the heteropatriarchal nature of settler colonialism works to invisiblize, if not erase, the presence of Indigenous women, so much so that current feminist thought and Indigenous Studies scholarship inadvertently continue this invisiblization (2013, p.14). Simpson makes a similar case, stating that '[g]ender has been marginalized in resurgence scholarship in particular and in Indigenous scholarship in general' (2017a, p.67). To remedy this, both Arvin et al. (2013) and Simpson (2017a) state it is necessary to interrogate the ways that heteropatriarchy informs decolonial approaches. Arvin et al. assert that there is a need to '[unmask] the forces that have hidden Indigenous women' and that 'Indigenous studies must centrally address theories of heteropatriarchy; and gender and women's studies must centrally address theories of settler colonialism and indigeneity' (2013, p.14). Similarly, Simpson states that 'because dispossession is gendered, settler colonialism is gendered, and our resurgence therefore must critically interrogate the hierarchies of heteropatriarchy in all its forms in order to stop replicating it' (2017a, p.67). The heteropatriarchal nature of scholarship that privileges the topic of land sovereignty

over the welfare of Indigenous women ignores the fact that the two issues are intertwined, and thus are symbiotic in practices of survivance also. As Watts suggests, 'the feminine is intrinsically tied to the notion of sovereignty and how humans interact with non-human creatures in the formation of governance' (2013, p.27). Moreover, that the study of survivance does not yet acknowledge the disparities in the way men and women survive and resist settler colonialism is indicative of how heteropatriarchy is still present even within Indigenous studies. The ability to unite survival and resistance is viewed at present to be a gender-neutral process that invisiblizes the additional lengths Indigenous women must go to in order to survive. In my analysis of survivance I consider together the concerns of gender, Indigeneity and land to remedy the fracture that exists between these areas of study. What this thesis illustrates through literary analysis is that the commodification of land and the gendered logics of settler colonialism are not separate but are intertwined both in their subjugation and resistance to colonial rule. By suggesting that Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i are engaged in a gendered practice of survivance that unites the experiences of Indigenous women and environmental concerns, this thesis is part of the project to dismantle heteropatriarchy through removing gendered concerns from the margins and asserting them as central to discussions of land sovereignty.

Creating and using decolonising methodologies is essential given that research itself is: 'inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism' (L.T. Smith, 2021, p.34). This is particularly relevant when considering the relationships between humans and land, as Kim TallBear states: '[t]he academy is integral to the colonial state that manages indigenous lives and nonhuman relations, too often to our collective detriment' (2017, p.181). Research is embedded within, and constitutive of, colonial practices and imperial discourse, which makes asserting Indigenous knowledges as legitimate modes of thought a challenge to the ideas and practices that typically underpin research. As Smith explains:

> it is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *indigenous peoples* together, in the same breath, without having an analysis of imperialism, without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices. (2021, p.35)

Across various fields, research upholds and continues ideas inherent within imperialism, including hierarchical dualisms such as coloniser/colonised, human/animal and

nature/culture; the privileging of empiricism grounded in materialism rather than the spiritual or metaphysical; and the notion that the ideas peddled by the West[18] are objective, unbiased, and are therefore authentic and valid forms of knowledge. All of these elements position colonial powers as the creators and providers of knowledge, and reduce Indigenous peoples to subjects of study. As Dennis McPherson and Douglas Rabb state, Native Americans have been 'studied to death' (2014, p.11), a sombre metaphor that at once encapsulates the way that the West renders Native people as subjects, either of academic research, or colonial violence. The consequences of positioning Indigenous peoples as the subjects of research are multifarious. As a subject, one is studied and observed, and therefore one's voices, beliefs, and epistemologies are interpreted through the biases and assumptions of the observer, and transformed into a discourse that is palatable to Western audiences. Whilst this may be done unintentionally, the misrepresentation or alteration of Indigenous knowledges and voices continues the silencing of Indigenous voices or appropriation of Indigenous culture. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains: 'the collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples is collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, back to those who have been colonized' (L.T. Smith, 2021, p.34). In my use of decolonising methodologies, and in my exploration of Native stories, I do not seek to write solely *about* Indigenous peoples. I also do not wish to render Indigenous peoples as passive subjects, or as James McKay and David Stirrup

[18] I use the term 'West' to designate European colonial powers and their descendants in North America and the Pacific. I do not use this term as a geographical marker, but a marker of material wealth, colonial power, and shared knowledge frameworks predicated upon what Watts outlines as 'an epistemological-ontological divide' (2013, p.24). I opt for the term 'West' over the newer term 'Global North' that encompasses Western Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, and parts of Asia including Japan and Singapore, based upon shared socio-political and economic status. Martin Müller explains that the Global North and its counterpart, the Global South are more than 'mere geographical descriptors' (2018, p.735) and 'signify primarily a political and epistemological project' (2018, p.735), similar to my conceptualisation of the 'West'. The term 'Global North', however, is homogenising and does not account for the oppression of Indigenous peoples within these states and continents. For example, although Indigenous peoples live in North America, they do not benefit from the economic status of the USA and Canada or their roles in global capitalism.

suggest, '[place] too much emphasis on Indigenous peoples as ongoing *victims* of encounter rather than agents of change and exchange' (2013, p.4). Nor do I aim to speak *for* Indigenous peoples. Rather, I aim to speak *with* Indigenous peoples, writing alongside Indigenous women in their fight to reclaim their land and sovereignty. I draw upon Yankton Dakota, First Nations and Native Hawaiian knowledges outlined by Indigenous, female scholars including Ella Deloria (1998) (Yankton Dakota) Winona LaDuke (2005; 2015) (Ojibwe), Anderson (2000; 2009; 2010; 2011) (First Nation Cree and Métis), Watts (2013; 2020) (Mohawk and Ojibwe Bear Clan), Haunani-Kay Trask (1991; 1999) (Kanaka Maoli), Noenoe Silva (2004; 2007) (Kanaka Maoli), J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (2008; 2016; 2018) (Kanaka Maoli), and Kuʻualoha Hoʻomanawanui (2004; 2010) (Kanaka Maoli), as well as Robin Wall Kimmerer (2013; 2014) (Potawatomi) and Simpson (2016; 2017a) (Nishnaabeg). These women are 'an active sense of presence' (Vizenor, 1994, p.vii) that lead the analysis, shaping the arguments and analytical frameworks in which I approach the texts.

0.4 More-than-human Beings and Epistemological and Ontological Frameworks

In this thesis, I use the term 'more-than-human' to refer to plants, animals, and the land: essentially, all living beings on this earth who are not human but are animate in the Yankton Dakota, First Nation and Hawaiian contexts in which I write. John Cianchi (2015), M. J. Barrett et al (2017) and Scott Jukes and Ya Reeves (2020) attribute the invention of the term 'more-than-human' to cultural-ecologist and geo-philosopher David Abram in his monograph entitled *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-than-Human World* (1996). In this work, described as 'rare and original' (Jay Griffiths, quoted in Abram, 2017, p.2), and a 'landmark' (McKibben quoted in Abram, 2017, p.2) of ecological study, Abram presents what is considered to be an original argument within Western thought: 'we are human only in contact, and conviviality, with what is not human' (1996, p.ix). Scholars (Barrett et al. 2017; Jukes & Reeves, 2020) find Abram's exploration of 'sensuous engagement and 'embodied reciprocity' (Jukes & Reeves, 2020, p.1299) with nature to be a new and compelling way of retheorising the place of humans in the modern world. I, however, find it incongruous with Indigenous Studies to consider the phrase 'more-than-human' to be anything other than an encapsulation of the pre-existing

relational ontologies that have underpinned many Indigenous lifeways for millennia. Therefore, when I use the term 'more-than-human', I am not referring to the work of Abram. Instead, I employ this term as an English language encapsulation of the relational ontologies that constitute many Indigenous modes of thought wherein animals, plants, water, and land are attributed the same animacy and agency as human beings.

For many Indigenous groups, '[t]o be animate goes beyond being alive or acting, it is to be full of thought, desire, contemplation and will' (Watts, 2013, p.23). As TallBear explains, however, Dakota and other Indigenous conceptions of animacy 'confound the Western animacy hierarchy' (2017, p.180). Whilst in Western thought, animacy and agency are reserved for human beings, and only in some cases extend to animals (Duncan, 2006; D'Silva and Turner, 2012; Blattner, 2019), in Indigenous conceptions, insects, minerals, elements, and natural phenomena such as the weather possess animacy and agency.[19] As

[19] It must be noted that the understanding of plants, animals, and elements as possessing agency or animacy is often conceptualised as 'animism' by Western ethnographers and anthropologists (Tylor, 1871, 1920; Bird-David, 1999; Ingold, 2006; Harvey, 2005, 2017). Graham Harvey explains that '[a]nimists are people who recognise that the world is full of persons, only some of whom are human, and that life is always lived in relationship with others' (2005, p.xi). Whilst on a denotational level, Harvey's definition of animism seems to summarise the notion of more-than-human beings and more-than-human worlds, within Indigenous Studies, animism is not a concept that Indigenous peoples use to describe or identify themselves. Rather, animism is a 'pejorative' (Wilkinson, 2017, p.292) deployed by Western thinkers to denote the supposed superiority and advanced nature of organised, monotheistic religions and demarcate European civilisation from the Indigenous Other. Attributed to Edward Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871), animism was conceived as part of primitivising and evolutionary discourses that seek to pose Indigenous peoples as "primitive" against the "modern" and "civilised" European subject. This was particularly prevalent during the nineteenth century when Zitkala-Ša and Tekahionwake were writing, and resistance to such discourse can be seen across their works. Tylor writes that animism is: 'the belief in the animation of all nature, rising at its highest pitch to personification. This, no occasional or hypothetical action of the mind, is inextricably bound up with that primitive mental state where man recognizes in every detail of his world the operation of personal life and will' (1920, p.285). Deloria Jr. offers a direct response to the evolutionary trajectory in which animism is implicated, stating that: '[a]nthropologists, summarising what they find in the Indian tradition, always call us animists, and that view is accepted by a great many people in the field of religion. We are put in a cultural evolutionary framework, and then we are supposed to move from animism to some great abstract conception of one god' (1999, p.224). Animism, therefore, indicates a place on an evolutionary scale which is perceived as being behind Western monotheistic religions.

Warren Cariou explains: '[t]he idea of the world around us as inherently vibrant and alive is essentially a starting point for most Indigenous ontologies' (2018, p.340). It is these various Indigenous ontologies that I intend to encapsulate through the term 'more-than-human'. For the Yankton Dakota, for example, 'water is animated and has agency; it streams as liquid, forms clouds as gas, and even moves the earth as solid ice – because it is alive and gives life' (Estes, 2019, p.9). For the Potawatomi, animacy is 'applied to all that lives: sturgeon, mayflies, blueberries, boulders, and rivers' (Kimmerer, 2014, p.21). As Kimmerer explains, life 'pulses through all things, through pines and nuthatches and mushrooms' (2017, p.131). The Haudenosaunee also believe that the 'land is alive and thinking' (Watts, 2013, p.21) and therefore has animacy. Native Hawaiian thought shares this sentiment, as *aloha 'āina* is a term used to account for 'the belief that the land or '*āina* is alive' (McGregor, 2007, p.312). Therefore, across Indigenous thought, and particularly in North America, plants, animals, water and land are considered living beings, and it is these beliefs that I endeavour to encapsulate through my use of the term 'more-than-human'. Throughout this thesis, 'more-than-human' will be used to refer to representations of entities including sunflowers, mulberry bark (*kapa*), buffalo, wolves and dogs, as these constitute some of the more-than-human representations through which Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i contest assimilationist policies, extractive gold mining practices, and Western, anthropocentric conceptualisations of family.

My choice to use 'more-than-human' is also important for expressing the central aims of the thesis: to remove human beings from centralised positions of power within Western, academic thought, and complicate the nature/culture, human/animal divide that underpins Western epistemologies. The notion of a 'more-than-human world' situates animals, insects, plants, water, land, rocks and minerals as beings with whom humans cohabit this earth, not as distinct categories from which humans are separated. This is to

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Cajete also addresses the derogatory nature of animism, stating: '"animism" perpetuates a modern prejudice, disdain and a projection of inferiority toward the worldview of Indigenous people' (2004, p.50). For this reason, this thesis will not engage with the term, or draw upon the works of scholars who view Indigenous beliefs as less evolved that monotheism. It will, however, consider how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i navigate and respond to the anti-Indigenous discourse that was circulating during their lifetimes.

say that the 'more-than-human world' encapsulates the web of relations in which all beings, including humans, are incorporated and entangled (Deloria Jr., 1999; TallBear, 2011; Haraway, 2013). Using the term 'more-than-human' follows the likes of Indigenous scholars Brittani Orona (2021), Todd (2018), Kimmerer (2013) and also Donna Haraway (2013) who, despite being non-Native, has incorporated this term into her work.

This notion of interconnectedness, whilst differing in terminology across Indigenous nations, is encapsulated by Deloria Jr. in his iteration of the proverb: '[w]e are all relatives' (1999, p.34). The phrase encompasses the relationship between humans and the beings with whom we coexist: that humans are not only interconnected with the natural environment but are related and kin. Whilst this phrase emerges specifically out of the Lakota/Dakota concept of *Mitakuye Oyasin* (we are all related), this notion of kinship reverberates across Indigenous thought. Cajete makes the case that '*Mitakuye Oyasin* (we are all related) is a Lakota phrase that captures an essence of tribal education because it reflects the understanding that our lives are truly and profoundly connected to other people and the physical world' (2005, p.70). This human connection with the more-than-human world is conceptualised through different terms across different Indigenous nations. For the Nishnaabeg, the concept of *Kina Gchi Nishnaabeg-ogamig* refers to the idea that 'the nation is a hub of Nishnaabeg networks [...] it is a web of connections to each other, to the plant nations, the animal nations, the rivers and lakes, the cosmos, and our neighbouring Indigenous nations' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.16). Similar to how Simpson conceptualises these relations in terms of nation, Watts, speaking of Haudenosaunee beliefs, explains that:

> habitats and ecosystems are better understood as societies from an Indigenous point of view; meaning that they have ethical structures, inter-species treaties and agreements, and further their ability to interpret, understand and implement. Non-human beings are active members of society. Not only are they active, they also directly influence how humans organize themselves into that society. (2013, p.23)

Manu Aluli Meyer also suggests that Hawaiian spirituality is 'a deeply embodied notion of the connectedness of things, gods, people, and land' (2006, p.22). Using 'more-than-human' encompasses the web of relations that exist in tribal knowledges across North America and Hawai'i, and foregrounds the active role of nature in the shaping of human

lives and behaviours. By deploying this term, I complicate the notion of an anthropocentric world, and implicate humans within an ecological system that thrives in its reciprocity between beings. This notion in itself poses a challenge to the human exceptionalism, wherein humans are considered the only agentic and autonomous beings in a world where they are separate from nature (Kimmerer, 2014; Menon & Karthik, 2017; Waldau, 2020).

I opt for 'more-than-human' over 'the nonhuman' or 'nonhuman beings' because although these terms are used by foundational Indigenous Studies scholars including TallBear (2011) and Watts (2013), 'nonhuman' still positions humans as the standard against which all living beings are measured. The term 'nonhuman' groups diverse species of animals, plants, trees and insects together and subsequently enters them into a dichotomy that only exists alongside 'human'. This categorisation continues to render 'nonhumans' as inferior to the human counterpart against which they are defined, and as TallBear notes, the 'human/animal split engenders a lot of violence' (2011), violence that is depicted by Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i in their writing. Most significantly, the fracture between humans and animals, plants, insects and elements that this language engenders fails to situate humans within the web of relations in which humans coexist alongside animals, plants, trees, insects, and elements. As Deloria Jr. explains: '[h]uman beings are not above nature or above the rest of the world. Human beings are incomplete without the rest of the world' (1999, p.226). 'More-than-human' as a term rectifies this disjuncture that Western scholarly knowledge has instilled between humans and the beings with whom we cohabit, as it implicates humanity within the web of relations that it has for centuries attempted to remove itself from. Attending to the language choices through which to refer to the animals, plants and elements with whom we share the planet is important given how language can either challenge or reproduce the beliefs and ideologies surrounding the more-than-human world that are inherent within Western thought. As TallBear points out: 'like our methodological choices, language choices are ethical choices and are key in this project of constituting more democratic relations and worlds' (2011). Whilst TallBear herself uses 'nonhuman' in her writing, she acknowledges that: 'the rhetoric of human/nonhuman may be an inadequate construction for capturing relations between beings and across cultures, be those Aboriginal, national, or disciplinary

cultures' (2011). Therefore, to challenge the binarisation of humans and animals, plants, trees, insects, and natural phenomenon, and to consider colonial resistance as a multi-species process, this thesis will use 'more-than-human' to refer to a web of relations in which humans, alongside nature, are implicated.

0.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into three chapters according to location and place-based knowledges. The first chapter analyses Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* (1921) within the context of forced child removal into residential boarding schools, and analyses *Dreams and Thunder* (2001) in terms of grounded normativity related to reciprocity with the buffalo and land. My argument, that survivance can be expressed through literary representations of animals, plants and land, allows Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* to be read in a new way that foregrounds the environmental concerns relating to settler colonialism in North America. Thus far, the more-than-human representations that grow, change and express resistance in *American Indian Stories* have been overlooked due to the tendency to read these stories within the confines of autobiography (Stanley, 1994; Bernardin, 1997; Velikova, 2000). The consideration of *American Indian Stories* as an autobiography enforces the work of Zitkala-Ša, an Indigenous woman, to be read through a framework that is associated with white, male, individualist expression. Arnold Krupat suggests that autobiography is a 'European invention' (1985, p.29), and Portillo explains that autobiography is a 'genre that historically represented male self-expression' (2017, p.102) and is 'typically characterized as egocentric and individual' (2017, p.4). Interpreting *American Indian Stories* as an autobiography therefore imposes anthropocentric, culturally inappropriate and gendered lenses that focus on Zitkala-Ša's literary articulation of selfhood and voice, and forces the text into an individualist critique that is not reflective of Yankton Dakota, communal or tribal approaches to identity. Whilst these approaches may intend to, as Sandra Kumamoto Stanley suggests, 'show how her life is transcribed within the cultural life of her people' (1994, p.64), anthropocentric and individualist analyses of the text fail to consider the more-than-human elements that are in fact central to Dakota

epistemologies and cultural life. Therefore, approaching *American Indian Stories* as an autobiography privileges the human individual and overlooks the role of ecological elements such as the sunflowers that are central to Yankton Dakota concepts of identity. Portillo explains, '[t]his emphasis on an isolated subject transforming or coming of age counters the Native American notion of interdependence that locates identity within the family, clan or tribal affiliation' (2017, p.5). For this reason, I align my analysis with Portillo, who surmises that 'life stories by Native American women cannot be confined by generic definitions of autobiography that are grounded in an individual privileged subjectivity' (2017, p.3). The thesis thus extrapolates *American Indian Stories* from the entrapment of the Western form in which it has continually been analysed, and instead considers Zitkala-Ša's work as a particular kind of Native story: a 'blood memory' (Portillo, 2017, p.2).

I analyse Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* (1921) as a 'blood memory', rather than an autobiography of which it is typically considered (Stanley, 1994; Bernardin, 1997).[20] 'Blood memory' is a term first used by Momaday in his novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968) to account for how ancestral memories are carried through generations in the blood, and has since been used to refer to life stories including Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins's *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (1883) (Portillo, 2017) and Silko's *Sacred Water* (1993) and *Turquoise Ledge* (2010) (Allen, 1999; Portillo, 2017).[21] Approaching *American*

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[20] 'Blood memory' is also used by Leilani Holmes to explain the passing of knowledge within Hawaiian genealogies. Holmes explains that '[k]knowledge also passes through the generations; thus, Hawaiians are united with the *kupuna* [ancestors/elders] of generations past. I call this knowledge blood memory' (2000, p.46).

[21] The term 'blood memory' has received criticism since Momaday's introduction of the term. Arnold Krupat makes the case that the term is 'absurdly racist' based on the fact that 'there is no gene for perception, no such thing as memory in the blood' (1989, p.13). This suspicion of the term arises from the fact that 'blood memory' could be seen to emerge from the same metaphor that fuelled essentialist, federal practices that measure(d) Native identity through 'blood quantum'. Paul Spruhan explains that 'for federal recognition as an "Indian" and for membership in a tribal nation, a person generally must possess a threshold amount of Indian "blood" expressed as one-half, one-quarter, or some other fractional amount. In this context, blood is a metaphor for ancestry' (2006, p.1). Allen explains that because of the metaphorical language surrounding blood quantum, using the term blood memory 'has become an argument over who in contemporary America may assume the authority to speak "truthfully" and "authentically" about American Indian perception and identity' (1999, p.95). Despite this, he claims that '[t]he trope's provocative juxtaposition

Indian Stories as a blood memory instead of autobiography allows Zitkala-Ša's traumatic account of residential boarding school systems to be placed within a framework of collective resistance rather than the individualist framework that autobiography engenders. More than this, however, I read *American Indian Stories* as a collection of blood memories to foreground the role of the more-than-human world in expressions of collective trauma and survivance. As Portillo explains, blood memories and Indigenous women's life stories 'are intricately tied to land and bodies' (2017, p.2). Building on the recent work of Portillo (2017) and developing Zitkala-Ša scholarship that is anthropocentric, I demonstrate how Zitkala-Ša's representations of sunflowers and bison contribute to the expression of collective, female resistance.

Considering *American Indian Stories* as a collection of blood memories functions as a decolonising methodology in which to analyse Zitkala-Ša's works. It allows the text to be read within the context of Yankton Dakota epistemologies that are inclusive of human and more-than-human relationships. Whilst Portillo understands blood memories as 'a way to reimagine Native American identity based on ancestral memory rather than the colonial assumption of a purity of blood and lineage' (2017, p.2), I consider *American Indian Stories* as a collection of blood memories to reveal the impact of the more-than-human world on Zitkala-Ša's anti-imperial expression. Portillo does make the case that '[Indigenous] women's life stories are intricately tied to land' (2017, p.2), and that the idea of blood memory accounts for 'place-based and land-based readings' (2017, p.3) that have the potential to 'underscore the relationship of Indigenous people to their homelands and interdependence with all living beings' (2017, p.3). Through emphasising the significance of more-than-human beings in these blood memories, I explore how Zitkala-Ša uses these

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of blood and memory transforms that taxonomy of delegitimization through genetic mixing into an authenticating genealogy of stories and storytelling' (1999, p.94). Allen uses 'blood memory' as an inclusive term that blurs racial identity and narrative and does not subscribe to the notion that blood or lineage can be used to gatekeep identity politics. As Portillo explains, 'the concept of "blood memory" should not be seen as the genocidal language used to define and exterminate indigenous people through the use of government-imposed definitions of blood quantum, but rather an identity based on ancestral memories and stories' (2017, p.14). It is this conceptualisation of blood memory as a collective and literary form that this thesis draws upon.

elements to reject ideas of victimry, and instead uses land and animals to express the continuance of female, Native presence in the United States.

The second chapter provides the first sustained analysis of Tekahionwake's Native stories 'The Potlatch' and 'The Wolf-Brothers', both of which were published in the periodical *Boys' World* in 1910 before being republished in her short story collection, *The Shagganappi* (1913). I illustrate how Tekahionwake demonstrates survivance by continuing key elements of oral Native stories: shapeshifting and communication across species boundaries. I read Tekahionwake's use of zoomorphism as an adaptation of the shapeshifting that appears in many Indigenous stories including that of Coyote, Iktomi, and Wenabozho. I illustrate how Tekahionwake adapts the trope of shapeshifting to respond to nineteenth- and twentieth-century concerns relating to settler conceptions of masculinity, and to the violence elicited against the land of the Pacific Northwest under colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy. In the first section, I explore how Tekahionwake invokes a form of metaphorical shapeshifting in 'The Potlatch' to contest hegemonic notions of masculinity, and instead represent Indigenous masculinities that nurture relationships with more-than-human beings. In the second section, I demonstrate how Tekahionwake continues the interspecies communication that is present in First Nation stories into the nineteenth century, wherein the gold rush was predicated on the silencing and commodification of the more-than-human world. Through an analysis of 'The Wolf Brothers', I show how survivance is practiced by both humans and wolves who together survive and resist colonial violence through a form of interspecies communication, and highlight how the themes of shapeshifting and interspecies communication are continued within settler-colonial spaces.

The third chapter provides the first literary analysis of Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* from *Hawai'i Island Legends: Pīkoi, Pele and Others,* written in collaboration with Curtis. The fact that scholars have thus far overlooked Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* is symptomatic of a broader issue, namely that Hawaiian literature 'has not prospered as much as our other culture arts' (Ho'omanawanui, 2004, p.87). As McDougall explains, however, *mo'olelo* are central to the preservation of traditional knowledges and the fostering of colonial resistance:

> recording and publishing moʻolelo that carried messages of mana wahine, aloha ʻāina (love for the land and Hawaiian national patriotism), and hoʻoulu (replenishing and increasing growth) was not only a strong form of anticolonial resistance but also an effort to reinvigorate the Hawaiian people and the land after such prolific loss (2016, p.31).

Building on McDougall's work, I consider how Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* continues to express feminine power, or *mana wahine*, specifically in relation to leading responses to drought. I examine how Pūku'i uses *kaona,* or metaphor, to represent the reparation of the environment after drought in terms of the female body. In doing so, I convey how *mo'olelo* recorded in the twentieth century has the power to foster resistance to neo-colonial conceptions of 'vulnerability' that limit Indigenous women's roles in climate change mitigation strategies. I show how Pūku'i's intertwining of women and land creates a sense of Native, female presence that rejects narratives of vulnerability and victimry.

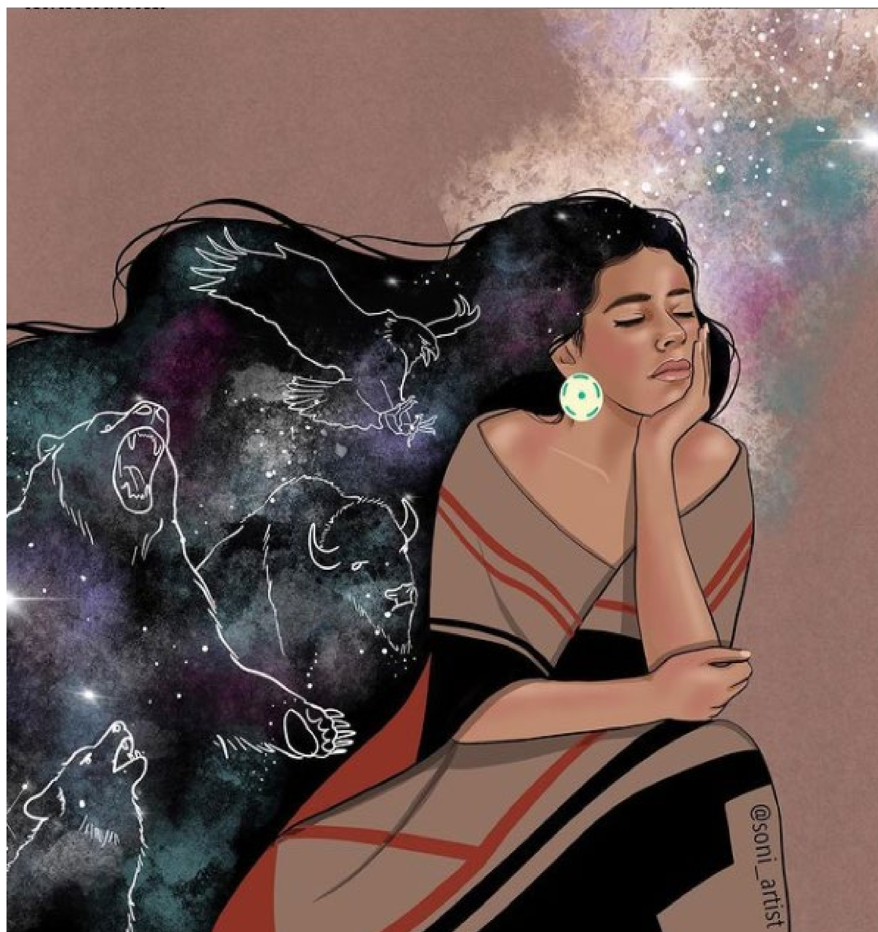

Figure 1: 'Spirit Guide' by Soni López-Chávez
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Chapter One

1.0 'He once grew as naturally as the wild sunflowers; he belongs just as the buffalo belonged': Sunflowers, Buffalo, and Grounded Normativities in Zitkala-Ša's Stories.

Figure 2: 'We Thrive' by Morning Star Designs
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1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that Native American (Yankton Dakota) writer and activist Zitkala-Ša[22] expresses feminine forms of survivance through literary representations of sunflowers and buffalos. By incorporating into *American Indian Stories* (1921) and *Dreams and Thunder* (2001) these 'two beloved symbols of the Lakota' (Standing Bear, 2006, p.49), Zitkala-Ša deploys land-based knowledges, or grounded normativity associated with women. I argue that grounded normativity emerges from specific female relationships with the land that inform sisterhood, female solidarity, and reciprocity with the more-than-human world. Through an analysis of the sunflowers in *American Indian Stories* (1921), and the buffalos in *Dreams and Thunder* (2001), I illustrate how Zitkala-Ša conveys 'the union of active survival and resistance' (Vizenor, 2009, p.24) by Indigenous women. I show how this survival and resistance exist in response to settler-colonial attacks on both women and land, specifically the forced removal of girls from their land into residential boarding school, the 1887 General Allotment act, and the mass destruction of the buffalo. I make the case that Zitkala-Ša utilises these gendered and cultural symbols in her writing to create a sense of Native presence that is specifically female and reject victimry within narratives that are otherwise read only in terms of trauma and assimilation.

Born on the Yankton Great Sioux Reservation in South Dakota on 22nd February 1876, Zitkala-Ša's life was shaped by colonial policies that attacked Indigenous womanhood and led to what Kim Anderson refers to as the colonisation of Native womanhood (2000, p.55).[23] Anderson writes of Native American womanhood in a broad sense, stating: 'our

[22] Also known as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Zitkala-Ša changed her name after her marriage to Captain Talefase Bonnin. Due to the fact that her stories were published using her Lakota name, and because this thesis supports Native American cultures within colonial spaces, I continue to use the name that she chose for herself, Zitkala-Ša, rather than her Anglicised name. Similarly, her name will not be abbreviated to 'Ša' as Lakota names do not conform to the Anglicised structure of First name-Surname.

[23] Zitkala-Ša's mother Tate Iyóhiwin, which translates to 'Every Wind', named her daughter Gertrude Simmons, giving her the last name of her second husband. It is thought that Zitkala-Ša's father was a European man named Felker who abandoned Tate Iyóhiwin shortly before Zitkala-Ša's birth (Fisher, 1979, p.231). The name 'Zitkala-Ša', which means 'Red Bird' was the name she chose for herself in 1901, and it is under this name that she published her major literary works, including *American Indian Stories* and *Old Indian Legends* (1901).

cultures promoted womanhood as a sacred identity' that 'existed within a complex system of relations' (2000, p.57). For the Dakota specifically, idealised womanhood is embodied by White Buffalo Calf Woman who brought to the Dakota ways in which to engage with the land (Powers, 1986, p.50; Posthumus, 2016, p.286). Dakota womanhood was thus based upon bravery, generosity, fortitude, and wisdom (Modaff, 2019, p.343) as well as sexual autonomy and the sacred nature of motherhood (Deloria, 1998, p.67). These characteristics meant that Dakota women had highly valued social, agricultural, economic and political roles (Hämäläinen, 2019, p.202-3). Colonial policies attempted to erode Dakota femininity and womanhood by fracturing their reciprocal relationships with the land, culture, and extended family.

Zitkala-Ša experienced these attacks first-hand. At the age of eight, missionaries removed her from her mother and her land and coerced her to attend White's Manual Institute in Indiana (Fisher, 1979, p.232). Like the vast number of residential boarding schools across the U.S and Canada, White's Manual Institute aimed to assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-American society and socialise Indigenous girls into performing Euro-American womanhood. Upon arriving at the schools, the cutting of girls' hair signalled the removal of Native femininity, and is a trauma Zitkala-Ša depicts in *American Indian Stories*.[24] Whereas White Buffalo Calf Woman taught young Dakota girls to embrace the naked body (Powers, 1986, p.49), at these schools, 'girls were taught the female body was a locus for shame' (Anderson, 2000, p.92). The vilification of the female body was accentuated during puberty, as unlike traditional Dakota ceremonies that considered menstruation 'a sign of the incredible power of the feminine' (Anderson, 2000, p.76), residential schools associated menstruation with shame.[25] The Dakota celebrated the transition into womanhood with the Buffalo Ceremony, as the White Buffalo Calf Woman embraced her Native, female sexuality (Powers, 1986, p.49). Residential schools, however, understood puberty to signal the need for further 'regimentation of female

[24] Anderson explains that as a result of this, long hair is now viewed as 'an assertion of reclaimed Native identity' (2000, p.148).

[25] For the Lakota, this ceremony is known as the *Isnati Awicalowanpi,* which means 'they sing over her (first) menses' (Powers, 1980, p.50).

sexuality' (Anderson, 2000, p.147). All of these attacks on Native womanhood ultimately involved divesting women of their bodily, spiritual power.

It is Zitkala-Ša's experiences of leaving the Reservation, of boarding school trauma, and of isolation upon returning to the Reservation that informed her early writing. 'Impressions of an Indian Childhood,' 'The School Days of an Indian Girl,' and 'An Indian Teacher Among Indians' were published from January to March in *The Atlantic Monthly* in 1901 and later collected and published as *American Indian Stories* in 1921. Whilst scholars read her works as autobiographical essays (Fisher, 1979; Susag, 1993; Wardlow, 2018; Brockbank, 2020), I analyse these Native stories as blood memories alongside her posthumously published works, *Dreams and Thunder*, to explore how Zitkala-Ša resists the colonisation of Dakota womanhood. As outlined in the introduction, the concept of 'blood memory' encapsulates the fact that Indigenous peoples 'carry the memories of our ancestors in our being' (Anderson, 2000, p.25), specifically through the blood. In terms of literary form, then, blood memory accounts for the fact that many experiences depicted are *collective* rather than individual. It is for this reason that Indigenous women's testimonies 'do not fit the usual strict chronological narrative of autobiography' (Moreton-Robinson, 2000, p.1), as they are ultimately, 'the product of collaborative lives' (Moreton-Robinson, 2000, p.1). By 'collaborative' (2000, p.1), Aileen Moreton-Robinson refers to the ways women shape and are shaped by each other:

> In these life writings experience is fundamentally social and relational, not something ascribed separately within the individual. Indigenous women's life writings are based on the collective memories of inter-generational relationships between predominantly Indigenous women, extended families and communities. [...] these relationships are underpinned by connections with one's country and spirit world […] In this sense the life writings of Indigenous women are an extension of Indigenous relationality in that they express the self as part of others and others as part of the self within and across generations. (2000, pp.1-2)

It is precisely these social, relational, and collaborative elements of *American Indian Stories* that have been overlooked in scholarship that reads the text as an autobiography (Stanley, 1994; Bernardin, 1997; Velikova, 2000). By approaching *American Indian Stories* as a blood memory, I thus remove her stories from the individualist framework of autobiography, and instead take into account the ways interpersonal, female relationships constitute

Indigenous, female subjectivities. In so doing, I attend to the collective experiences of the Native women who endure and survive settler-colonial violence throughout Zitkala-Ša's narratives.

In approaching *American Indian Stories* as a blood memory, I build on Moreton-Robinson's decolonial methodology by considering extended families and collaborative lives as a multispecies phenomenon. I argue that Moreton-Robinson's conception of 'life writing' (2000, p.1) does not acknowledge the ways that 'extended families' and 'communities' (2000, p.1) are made up of more-than-human beings as well as humans. Although she mentions the significance of 'one's country and spirit world' (2000, p.2), these terms do not fully encapsulate the ways that Indigenous relationality is tied to the specificities of place. This refers to relationships with plants, animals, insects, and water that inform grounded normativity. As outlined in the introduction, Glen Coulthard explains that grounded normativity is a way of viewing the land as a '*system of reciprocal relations and obligations'* (original emphasis, 2014, p.28) that can 'teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world' (2014, p.28). For many Indigenous peoples, relationality is not limited to understanding one's place within an extended family or tribe, but includes one's place and responsibility within an interconnected ecological system. Of course, the term 'grounded normativity' (2014) emerged fairly recently, however, the ontological frameworks that it encapsulates precede Coulthard's terminology and are thus present in other scholarly works written from various epistemological contexts.[26] In this sense, fully accounting for the relational aspects of Indigenous writing includes considering

[26] Meyer encapsulates the concept of grounded normativity from a Hawaiian perspective: '[l]and/ocean shapes my thinking, my way of being, and my priorities of what is of value […] Land as an epistemological cornerstone to our ways of rethinking is all about relating in ways that are sustaining, nourishing, receptive, wise' (2013, p.136-7). Watts's conceptualisation of 'Place-Thought' precedes Coulthard's 'grounded normativity' and is 'based upon the premise that land is alive and thinking and that humans and non-humans derive agency through the extensions of these thoughts' (2013, p.21). Place-Thought is, however, grounded in Haudenosaunee and Ojibwe cosmologies, and is thus not appropriate framework in which to analyse Zitkala-Ša's land-based knowledges associated with Dakota cosmologies.

how people exist *in relation to* the more-than-human world.[27] Even my use of the term 'more-than-human world' is a lexical choice that attempts to express the idea that humans are implicated within an interconnected ecological system. It is this aim to analyse *American Indian Stories* in light of its more-than-human networks that also leads me to consider it as a 'blood memory'. As outlined in the Introduction, blood memories emphasise 'the central role that land plays in both the specific project of defining Indigenous minority personal, familial, and communal identities' (Allen, 2002, p.16). Like Moreton Robinson, I make the case that the radical qualities of Indigenous women's writing lie in their depiction of collective, interpersonal relationships, however, by considering *American Indian Stories* as a blood memory, I account for the ways that sunflowers contribute to the construction of familial and communal identities, and thus to the formation of the self as relational within more-than-human networks. Through foregrounding the ways in which female solidarity and Dakota womanhood are produced in conjunction with the more-than-human world, I assert the role of grounded normativity in the expression of female, Dakota, survivance.

The first section of this chapter focuses on how Zitkala-Ša expresses a form of female survivance by creating 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.14) between the sunflower, Dakota womanhood and femininity within *American Indian Stories*. I argue that Zitkala-Ša draws upon Dakota naming traditions to enact Dakota connections between the sunflower and Dakota womanhood that are strong, resilient, and creative. Whereas most scholars analyse the protagonist (Burt, 2010; Terrance, 2011) or the relationship between the protagonist and her mother (Susag, 1993; Stanley, 1994; Heflin, 2000; Kunce, 2006) I analyse the characterisation of the protagonist's cousin, Warca-Ziwin, who is largely ignored by scholars. I make the case that it is through Warca-Ziwin, whose name translates to 'Sunflower', that Zitkala-Ša is able to make associations between resilient, Dakota womanhood and the sunflower. I then go on to suggest that Zitkala-Ša then deploys the sunflower motif during moments when Native female identity is under attack by colonial,

[27] D.K. Meisenheimer Jr does consider the significance of Zitkala-Ša's representations of the landscape of the Great Sioux Reservation, however, Meisenheimer reads this in relation to regional writing rather than Indigenous epistemologies (1997).

residential schooling policies and the 1887 General Allotment act. It is when there are attempts to socialise Indigenous women into performing Euro-American femininity that Zitkala-Ša uses the sunflower motif to convey how an inherent, Dakota womanhood is still present.

I argue that the foregrounding of an enduring, Dakota womanhood through the sunflower enacts a form of female survivance. As Vizenor explains, one key element of survivance is creating a 'sense of Native presence' (2009, p.5) and 'narrative resistance to absence […] and victimry' (2009, p.1). This definition of survivance, however, obfuscates the experiences of Indigenous women who are not only targeted as Indigenous peoples, but are also targeted *as women.* As Damien Lee explains: '[a]ll Indigenous individuals face colonialism in their own way, but Indigenous women's connection to place is being attacked in particularly pronounced ways' (2012, p.13). It is this reality that leads Lee to state that Indigenous women experience colonialism 'as (at least) a double oppression' (2012, p.14). These intersecting structures therefore create for Indigenous women unique and complex challenges in creating a sense of Native presence. Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez explain that Indigenous women, their experiences and knowledges, are rendered invisible, and 'this invisibility is not an accident but is rather an expression of the power relations that flow into the social, political, and historical structures that shape Indigenous women's lives and the challenges they confront' (2016, p.12). In revealing the ways Zitkala-Ša establishes a sense of Native, female presence within *American Indian Stories*, I make visible the unique experiences of Indigenous women in expressing survivance within colonialist, capitalist and patriarchal contexts. In analysing the more-than-human elements of the blood memories that are aligned with Indigenous female resistance, I remove *American Indian Stories* from its consideration as narrative of individual victimhood and instead read it as a narrative of collective, female resistance.

The second section builds upon the first to show how grounded normativity associated with the Three Sisters and Four Sisters agricultural methods – or the grouping of corn, beans, squash and sunflowers - inform interpersonal, female relationships. Rather than consider the protagonist in isolation, I examine the moments of collective, female experience to demonstrate how the Three Sisters and Four Sisters agricultural methods

provide a framework through which Indigenous women can together express survivance in relation to colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. The third section continues to explore how the more-than-human world provides a model for human ways of being. I provide one of the first analyses of the posthumously published *Dreams and Thunder* to demonstrate how the buffalos' reciprocal relationship with the land models sustainable lifeways for people, and how this reciprocity exemplifies non-hierarchical relationships with other beings. I consider how Zitkala-Ša draws upon the cosmologies associated with the White Buffalo Calf Woman in her representation of women and buffalo relationships to foreground the specific land-based knowledges that Indigenous women possess.

In attending to relationships between Indigenous women, plants and buffalo, I build upon Coulthard's theorisation of the ways grounded normativity informs settler-colonial resistance. Coulthard defines grounded normativity as 'modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time' (2014, p.28). I interpret Coulthard's statement as an attempt to encapsulate the ways various relationships with the land – including animals, plants, lakes, rivers, and the sun – create ontological frameworks by which Indigenous peoples live. These frameworks, although diverse across Indigenous cultures, are connected in their emphasis of relationality, reciprocity and empathy with the more-than-human world. The values that emerge from these knowledges do not only instruct modes of engagement with the more-than-human world, however, but shape human relationships on interpersonal, social, and national levels. It is therefore through grounded normativity that Indigenous nations establish responsibilities and obligations towards the land and towards each other. My development of Coulthard's term lies in the fact that in both *American Indian Stories* and *Dreams and Thunder*, Zitkala-Ša presents land-based knowledges that specifically structure female relationality towards other women and the land. At present, there is limited scholarship that acknowledges the existence of Indigenous knowledges unique to women (Moreton-Robinson, 2011; 2013; Kermoal & Altamirano-Jiménez, 2016). Nathalie Kermoal and Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez outline the ways that Indigenous women's

responsibilities and obligations produce specific knowledges that differ from knowledges held by men:

> Gender differentiation and specialization means that the Indigenous knowledge and skills held by women often differed from those held by men; this affects patterns of access, use, and control of land and resources and results in different perceptions of landscapes and priorities […] although men often have privileged access to resources, women have specific knowledge of resources that allows for the survival of the household […] However, Indigenous women's knowledge expands beyond the activities done by women and involves a system of inquiry that reveals Indigenous processes of observing and understanding and the protocols for being and participating in the world. (2016, p.10) [28]

Kermoal and Altamirano-Jiménez acknowledge that there exists a 'system of inquiry' (2016, p.10) unique to Indigenous women that informs their engagements with, relationality to, and even perceptions of, the more-than-human world. I argue that in a similar way, Zitkala-Ša incorporates the sunflower and buffalo into her narratives to express grounded normativity, or land-based ontological frameworks, which emerge specifically from female relationships with the more-than-human world. I make the case that these land-based knowledges specifically structure female, interpersonal relationships, and obligations to society and to the land. These ethical ontological frameworks give Indigenous women the power to survive and resist settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy.

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[28] Moreton-Robinson makes a similar case: '[a]s keepers of the family, Indigenous women are the bearers of subjugated knowledges' (2000, p.20). Across her works, Moreton-Robinson theorises what she refers to as 'Indigenous women's standpoint theory' (2013, p.331). Indigenous women's standpoint theory acknowledges that the reproduction of knowledge by Indigenous women is always informed by their relationships to land, and is thus 'a site of constant struggle against normative dominant patriarchal conceptual frameworks' (2013, p.331). She explains that Indigenous women's standpoint theory 'generates its problematics through Indigenous women's knowledges and experiences acknowledging that intersecting oppressions will situate us in different power relations and affect our different individual experiences under social, political, historical and material conditions that we share either consciously or unconsciously' (2013, p.340). As a white woman, I do not use Indigenous women's standpoint theory as a methodology in my work. This is because I cannot utilise a theory that champions the nuances and complexities of Indigenous women's knowledge production under colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy whilst I myself do not have these experiences. Although I may write from a feminist and female standpoint, it is necessary to acknowledge that there are limitations to my identification of the ways colonialism impacts Indigenous women.

Before beginning my analysis of *American Indian Stories* and *Dreams and Thunder*, it is worth pausing here to explain the Lakota/Dakota tradition known as the Sun Dance, which demonstrates the centrality of the buffalo and sunflower to Dakota grounded normativity.[29] Luther Standing Bear explains that the Sun Dance 'was the greatest of all ceremonies with the Lakotas, for upon its precepts their society was established' (2006, p.220). These 'precepts' (Standing Bear, 2006, p.220) can be related to Coulthard's concept of grounded normativity, as the land generates ethical frameworks by which society lives. As Standing Bear explains, the Sun Dance celebrates the 'laws and ethics upon which the Lakota people founded their society' (2006, p.220), reinforcing the ethical frameworks that structure Lakota life. Standing Bear explains the role of the sunflower and the buffalo in this ceremony as follows:

> Some symbols, for instance, the sunflower and buffalo, carried the long story of the coming, by vision, of the Sun Dance to the Lakota people so long ago that the time is no longer known [...] The Sun Dancers wore sunflowers made of rawhide and painted yellow. The buffalo also was a prominent symbol in the Sun Dance. (2006, p.48)

Here, Standing Bear outlines how the sunflower and buffalo were, and continue to be, central to the structuring of the Great Plains societies and the creation of ethical engagements with the more-than-human world. Considering the context of the Sun Dance reveals how the sunflower and the buffalo have real and symbolic significances in relation to the ways they inform Lakota and Dakota ontologies and epistemologies. The intertwining of the sunflower and the buffalo through the painting of sunflowers on rawhide is representative of the intertwining of these two more-than-human beings. Standing Bear explains that 'the buffalo loved the simple and odorless sunflower just as did the Lakota. These great beasts wandered through the sunflower fields, wallowing their heads among them' (2006, p.49). Deloria Jr. notes that he considers the relationship between buffalos

[29] Estes explains that although the Oceti Sakowin is made up of different tribes, many of them share the creation story that they descended from the Pte Oyate (Buffalo Nation) (2019, p.70), and come together for the Sun Dance (2019, p.71). Estes writes: '[w]hat they have in common, however, is their collective significance in defining both a historical experience within a specific geography, and the moral universe of how ones relates to others and to land' (2019, p.70). Like Estes, then, I draw upon the works of both Lakota, Dakota and Nakota scholars who share this view.

and sunflowers to be 'critically important for understanding the plant and animal relationship' (1999, p.37). He explains that the relationship between the sunflower and buffalo was based on reciprocity and led to renewal: '[t]here is no question that this kind of behaviour enabled the sunflower seeds to be scattered over a much greater distance than they would otherwise be able to reach' (1999, p.37). Alison Jones and Te Kawehau Hoskins also write of this relationship with a different emphasis, stating that: 'sunflowers "engage in purposeful action" by using buffalo as a transport mechanism for their seeds' (2016, p.79). Through these actions, these more-than-human beings become agents of renewal and reciprocity, and I suggest that these meanings are present in Zitkala-Ša's work.

The origins of the Sun Dance also represent how Indigenous women are cultural bearers who are central to the establishment of Lakota and Dakota societies and to the formation of Indigenous lifeways more broadly. The Sun Dance celebrates the historical event in which White Buffalo Calf Woman, who Nick Estes describes as 'the most significant historical figure in Oceti Sakowin [Sioux] history' (2019, p.83), brought the laws and customs to the Buffalo Nations. Estes explains that White Buffalo Calf Woman 'established not only the basis of customary and ceremonial laws of humans, but also how humans would exist in correct relations to the Pte Oyate [the Buffalo Nation] and the nonhuman world' (2019, p.83). White Buffalo Calf Woman was integral to the creation of grounded normativity and relationships with the more-than-human world.

The importance of Dakota womanhood that permeates *American Indian Stories* echoes the sentiment of the Sun Dance, in which Indigenous womanhood is celebrated. Standing Bear explains that White Buffalo Calf Woman tells the men to 'get some branches of the cherry tree and tie them into a long bundle for a cross-piece of the pole, this bundle to symbolize womanhood which the Great Mystery has given to man' (2006, p.168). Indigenous womanhood and its associated knowledges are here considered a gift, and the foundations upon which Yankton Dakota societies are built. It is for this reason that the Sun Dance functions a 'powerful affirmation[s] of our womanhood' (Anderson, 2000, p.37). Through an analysis of the sunflower and buffalo, I show how Zitkala-Ša continues this notion of female-centred grounded normativity within her writing, and demonstrates how

female relationships with the more-than-human world are central for the ongoing welfare of Indigenous tribes.

Zitkala-Ša was aware of the grounded normativity that stems from the Sun Dance, and this is evidenced by the fact that she collaborated with music teacher William F. Hanson to create *The Sun Dance Opera*. The act of composing this opera is in itself an act of survivance, given that the traditional Sun Dance was banned by the U.S. federal government on 10th April 1883 (Holler, 1995, p.110) in an attempt to eradicate Indigenous cultures.[30] Clyde Holler explains the impact of the ban on the Dakota, stating: 'the ban took away much of the community's spiritual strength and removed a major source of the resilience necessary to weather change' (1995, p.136). The continuance of this tradition was therefore integral to the welfare of the practicing tribes. Zitkala-Ša's formal training in music at the Boston Music Conservatory meant that she was able to ensure the survival of the traditional ceremony, transporting it into a form that was palatable to Euro-American audiences: an opera. *The Sun Dance Opera* tells of a love-triangle, a conflict that is 'overlaid on the Sun Dance ritual' and is told through an aria that 'parallels Sun Dance traditions' (Hafen, 1998, p.106). Lakota scholar Clarissa Castaneda asserts that *The Sun Dance Opera* archives 'seminal steps in the procession of Native survivance' through its 'symbolic reclaiming of Native land in a narrative context' (2020, p.122). Like Castaneda, I explore the symbolic elements of Zitkala-Ša's work and consider how her writing is also evidence of her practice of Native survivance.

By grounding my analysis of Zitkala-Ša's sunflowers and buffalos within the context of Lakota and Dakota cosmologies associated with Indigenous womanhood, I trace how Zitkala-Ša uses these more-than-human beings to create a sense of Native, female presence. I show how, in drawing upon these motifs to respond to attacks on Native, female identity, Zitkala-Ša intertwines Indigenous women and the more-than-human world in their experiences of settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. In doing so, I illustrate how Zitkala-Ša's practice of survivance is inherently tied to her experiences as an Indigenous woman, and to her relationships with the more-than-human world.

[30] The ban was lifted in Zitkala-Ša's lifetime, in 1934.

1.2 Sunflowers and Survivance: Totemic Associations Between the Sunflower and Dakota Womanhood

In this section, I argue that Zitkala-Ša expresses a form of gendered survivance by creating 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.2) between Dakota women and the sunflower throughout *American Indian Stories* (1921). In anthropological terms, totemism[31] refers to 'spiritual kinship and even identification with an animal' (Waegner, 2016, p.106), however, within the study of survivance, 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.1) take on a new meaning that is grounded in Native literary aesthetics. Within Native literary tradition 'the totem is a Native metaphor, a literary connection with creation' (Vizenor, 2000, p.123). In his 'deliberately ambiguous style' (Blaeser, 1996, pp.164-5) of writing, Vizenor does not provide a definitive definition of 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.2). In my own interpretation, I understand 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.2) in terms of Native metaphors that draw upon relationships with more-than-human beings, particularly those associated with cosmologies. Therefore, although the Dakota did not, and do not, practice totemism, reading the sunflower as totemic implicates Zitkala-Ša's writing as engaged in Native literary aesthetics. It speaks to the way she uses Native metaphor to allude to Sun Dance traditions, specifically related to the establishment of Dakota womanhood, as a way

[31] During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, white, male Western scholars, notably, J. G. Frazer (1887), Edward Tylor (1899), Andrew Lang (1905), and Sigmund Freud (1933) began to consider the subject of totemism. They all define totemism in a similar way, wherein the reverence of an animal informs the foundation of social structures. In these writings, they consider totemism to be a primitive form of religious practice and thus produce anti-Indigenous discourse. For Tylor and Freud, totemism is a phase of human development (Tylor, 1899, p.139; Freud, 2012, p.3) that cultures pass through as part of evolution. Similarly, Lang considers totemism to be the 'earliest extant form of human society' (1905, p.4). They thus consider totemic cultures to be less evolutionarily advanced than monotheistic, religious cultures. The anti-Indigenous sentiment is overt throughout this body of scholarship, as Frazer, Lang and Tylor describe totemism as being practiced by 'savages' (1887, p.xii; 1905; p.5; 1889, p.139), with Lang describing totemism as 'barbaric animal-worship' (1889, p.148). Freud considers totemism to be evidence of the 'lack' (2012, p.2) of religious and social institutions for Indigenous peoples and makes the case totemic cultures are 'in various stages of decay and disintegration' (2012, p.4). Freud's writings largely focus on totemism as an inferior way of structuring sexual and familial relations, and he thus presents his work as addressing the 'problem of totemism' (2012, p.3).

to galvanise female relationships with the more-than-human world, and represent the continued existence of Dakota womanhood in settler-colonial spaces. Survivance can be expressed through 'totemic unions of animals, birds, humans, and others' (Vizenor, 2009, p.14) as these unions and associations are one way to 'overturn the monotheistic separation of humans and animals' (Vizenor, 2009, p.10) that emerged with the arrival of missionaries and the spread of Christianity in South Dakota. Moreover, given that her works were read by Indigenous peoples and settlers alike, the creation of totemic associations through the sunflower allows Zitkala-Ša to at once speak to the cultural significance of the sunflower for the Dakota, and 'tease' (Vizenor, 2009, p.4) her settler audience who may have had an interest in Victorian floriography, the language of flowers.

By reading the sunflower representations as a series of symbols that appear throughout an overarching narrative, I am attentive to a Lakota storytelling tradition. Julian Rice explains the sequential nature of symbols within Lakota narratives:

> Selecting a central symbol in a given story can be an effective means of intensifying a merely episodic narrative into a concentrated source of eidetic vision. A Lakota story recovers much of its vitality when it is recognized as a compressed symbolic sequence. (1987, p.442).

In the context of Lakota narratives, sequences of symbols are central to the creation of meaning. Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes explain that the Lakota 'live in a world of symbols and images where the spiritual and the commonplace are one. […] To us they are a part of nature, part of ourselves – the earth, sun, the wind and the rain, stones, trees, animals' (1994, p.108). This is established in Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* too, as symbols represent the spiritual relationships between humans and the more-than-human world.

Despite suggesting that a 'totemic union' (Vizenor, 2009, p.14) can occur between 'animals, birds, humans and others' (2009, p.14), the 'others' that I characterise as plants, land, rocks, and inorganic processes such as wind, have yet to feature as the subject of Vizenor's analysis. Reading the totemic associations of the sunflower as part of Zitkala-Ša's practice of survivance also develops the work of Ruth Heflin (2000), the only other scholar to address the significance of the sunflower in *American Indian Stories*. Heflin writes that Zitkala-Ša engages with the sunflower as 'a symbol for the reverent and steadfast Sioux' (2000, p.129) and of 'promise of sustenance and endurance' (2000, p.111). Heflin also links

the sunflower to the Sun Dance, suggesting that Zitkala-Ša engages in 'the same sort of symbolic representation' (2000, p.123) as the men who wear leather sunflowers while dancing. Heflin, however, reads the sunflower within the context of a victimhood narrative, suggesting that 'when the sunflowers wither and disappear from the plains in "Blue-Star Woman", not only have the life-giving ways of the Sioux been extinguished, in Zitkala-Ša's view, but the Sioux are on the verge of disappearing, spiritually, culturally, and physically' (2000, p.123). In reading the sunflower in terms of disappearance, Heflin implicates *American Indian Stories* within the discourse of the 'vanishing Indian', another colonial stereotype that perpetuates the idea that 'American Indian people not only vanish but also become conveniently responsible for their own sad, yet seemingly inevitable demise' (Tatonetti, 2004, p.279). In this sense, the 'vanishing Indian' is the antithesis of survivance and is incongruent with the idea of storytelling as an act of resistance. As Emerance Baker suggests, Indigenous women's stories:

> focus less on how we are continually disappeared from our own cultural imaginary, and more on the ways that we are giving witness to generations of ongoing cultural "survivance" in spite of the cultural genocide that surrounds us and marks us as "Indian"'. (2005, p.111)

Considering that Vizenor defines Zitkala-Ša as one of the first 'warriors of survivance' (2000, p.83), it seems reductive to read Zitkala-Ša's representations of sunflowers as evidence of culturicide within a narrative that recent scholarship suggests represents resistance (Carpenter, 2004; Holford Diana, 2008; Wardlow, 2018). By providing the first sustained analysis of the sunflower in Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories*, this section develops the work of both Vizenor and Heflin, illustrating how the union of humans and the more-than-human world is central to the creation of a narrative that resists the erasure of Dakota womanhood, and instead foregrounds Native, female presence.

American Indian Stories begins with the section 'Impressions of an Indian Childhood', a series of short stories including 'My Mother' and 'The Beadwork', which were initially published in *Atlantic Monthly* in January, 1900 (Carpenter, 2004, p.1). These stories depict the protagonist, who is widely believed to be Zitkala-Ša herself, as 'a wild little girl of seven' (2003, p.69). In the opening story, 'My Mother', Zitkala-Ša depicts the developing awareness of the colonial violence that her family and ancestors endured, learning of

settlers whom her mother refers to as 'the paleface' (2003, p.69). A predominantly female society is established, as her mother explains that her 'father too has been buried in a hill nearer the rising sun' (2003, p.69), and that her 'uncle died also, leaving a widow and an orphan daughter, your cousin, Warca-Ziwin' (2003, p.70).[32] The 'too' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69) emphasises that this is in addition to the large scale of deceased family members, which is representative of the colonial reality wherein European contact brought diseases including smallpox, measles, and influenza (Hacker and Haines, 2005, p.19).[33] I use Vizenor's claim that early oral storytellers created 'a sense of presence in the face of disease, deracination, and genocide' (2009, p.2) to reveal how Zitkala-Ša establishes a predominantly Native female presence in response to mass extermination of her people. By explaining that it is mainly women who have survived the recent spread of disease whilst '[m]any others were ailing' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69), Zitkala-Ša foregrounds the ways that these women have been able to survive yet another attack on Indigenous peoples. This is not to suggest that these women were physiologically superior to the men who died, but rather this suggests how these women were able to adapt to the changing fabric of the *tiyospaye*. It is these remaining women - her mother, auntie and cousin - who shape Zitkala-Ša's formative years across the stories 'My Mother', 'The Beadwork', 'The Coffee-Making', 'The Dead Man's Plum Bush', 'The Ground Squirrel' and 'The Big Red Apples'. Indeed, the decline in the male Yankton Dakota population allows Zitkala-Ša to construct the Great Sioux Reservation as a female space, and thus instate a resistant, Native, female presence.

In the opening chapter of *American Indian Stories,* 'My Mother', Zitkala-Ša plants the metaphorical sunflower seed, aligning the sunflower with expressions of Dakota femininity that advocate growth, womanhood, strength, independence and discipline. Zitkala-Ša does this through the naming and characterisation of Warca-Ziwin. Dakota

[32] Whilst scholars (Stanley, 1994; Bernardin, 1997; Velikova, 2000) read *American Indian Stories* as autobiographical, this small detail of the father's burial indicates that this piece is to some extent a work of fiction. This is because Zitkala-Ša's father is believed to be named 'Felker', a settler who 'deserted the family before his daughter's birth' (Fisher, 1979, p.231).

[33]It must be noted, however, that according to the data recorded, the population of Native Americans stabilised during the late nineteenth-century (Hacker and Haines, 2005, p.19).

nomenclature identifies birth order and gender,[34] and individuals then acquire different names during their youth, and again during adulthood (Myran, 2014, p.58). These names are based on associations with the more-than-human world. As Nicolette Knudson, Jody Snow and Clifford Canku explain, the Dakota naming tradition 'connects the newly named with the past, the future, nature and the spirit world. The newly named is given either a name from an ancestor or a name based on his or her characteristics' (2011, p.4). Upon introducing Warca-Ziwin, Zitkala-Ša provides the English translation in brackets - '(Sunflower)' (2003, p.69). For a Yankton Dakota audience or an audience with an understanding of Great Plains cultures, the character Warca-Ziwin is therefore presented as possessing qualities associated with the sunflower plant. Lakota chief Standing Bear (whose niece was named Warcaziwin[35]) explains the significance of the sunflower within Lakota culture:

> The sunflower, which grew in great abundance on the plains before they were upturned by the white man's plow, was the symbol of the sun and for this reason was used a great deal in ceremonial decoration. The Lakotas adored this flower for its golden beauty, remindful of the sun, and because its face was at all times of the day turned toward the sun. (2006, p.48)

Heflin develops this further, explaining that '[s]ymbolically, the sunflower and the sun it represents on earth have multiple meanings, from the fertility provided by Wi, the sun spirit, to the promise of continuity as the sun returns each morning' (2000, p.114). Within the context of Lakota culture, then, the sunflower is representative of renewal, reliability, and continuity, qualities that are typically associated with women.[36] The etymology of the Dakota language also reveals the connection between women and the sunflower, as the word for 'woman' in Dakota is *win* (Mala, 2003, p.26). Therefore, the word *warca-ziwin* is literally made up of the word for 'woman'. Moreover, as almost all species of sunflower are

[34] These names are Winona, Hapan, Hapistinna, Wanske, and Wihake or Wehake, for first, second, third, fourth, and fifth born daughter, and Caske, Hepan, Hepi, Catan, and Hake, for first, second, third, fourth, and fifth born son (Myran, 2014, p.59).
[35] Warcaziwin was also known as May Montoya Jones, and assisted Standing Bear in his publications, including *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933).
[36] Alanah Jewell, who has kindly provided artwork for this chapter, explains that for her, the sunflower 'encapsulates growth, resilience and beauty' (2021).

Native to North America, the sunflower becomes representative of Native female identity in particular.

The onomastic significance of Warca-Ziwin suggests that there are particular qualities that both the sunflower and character possess, and thus establishes the totemic association of the sunflower with Dakota women and Native female identity. Importantly, Warca-Ziwin is one of the few names that Zitkala-Ša translates for her English-speaking audience; even the Anglophone translation of her own name (Red Bird) (Rappaport, 2013, p.1) is not provided.[37] In relation to survivance in particular, however, Vizenor explains that: 'Native identities are created in names' (2000, p.163). I use this notion to make the case that Zitkala-Ša uses the Dakota naming tradition to express survivance, illustrating how the sunflower plays a role in the creation of Native, female identities.

Throughout 'Impressions of an Indian Childhood', Zitkala-Ša uses the character Warca-Ziwin to establish the sunflower as representative of strong, resilient Dakota womanhood. Zitkala-Ša characterises Warca-Ziwin as embodying the maturity, strength and independence associated with idealised Dakota womanhood. She is a 'grown-up' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69), able to perform tasks that allow her to care and provide for her mother following the death of her male relatives. Zitkala-Ša explains:

> Warca-Ziwin (Sunflower), who was then seventeen, always went to the river alone for water for her mother. Their wigwam was not far from ours; and I saw her daily going to and from the river. I admired my cousin greatly. (2003, p.69)

[37] Names play a significant role in the formation of Native female identity in Zitkala-Ša's own lived experience. Formerly Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, she chose the name Zitkala-Ša (Red Bird) for herself during adulthood. Writing to her fiancé, Carlos Montezuma, Zitkala-Ša explained: 'I have a half-brother whose name is Simmons. Once my father scolded my brother; and my mother took such offense from it – that eventually it resulted in a parting – so as I grew I was called by my brother's name Simmons. I bore it a long time till my brother's wife – angry with me because I insisted upon getting an education – said I had deserted home and I might give up my brother's name "Simmons" too. Well, you can guess how queer I felt – away from my own people – homeless – penniless – and even without a name! Then I chose to make a name for myself – and I guess I have made "Zitkala-Ša" known' (June, 1901). Sandra Kumamoto Stanley writes that changing her name was her way of 'claiming the right to resist predetermined linguistic and social categories of identity' (1994, p.66).

Warca-Ziwin represents independence, as she goes to the river 'alone' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69); selflessness and care, as she does this task 'for her mother' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69); and reliability, as she carries out this task 'daily' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69). By depicting Warca-Ziwin as moving 'to and from the river' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.69), however, Zitkala-Ša associates the sunflower with another symbol of Native, female strength: water. In an interview with Anderson, Maria Campbell states that she considers rivers to form 'a strong feminine image' (2000, p.184), and Sylvia Maracle also explains that water is 'the strongest force on earth' (quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.185). Warca-Ziwin's associations with water thus depict her physical strength through her ability to carry water, but also alludes to her female, spiritual strength.

Zitkala-Ša conveys that part of Warca-Ziwin's womanhood is characterised by her relationships with the water: she 'always' (2003, p.69) goes alone, and goes to the river 'daily' (2003, p.69). More than depicting the practicalities of living on the Great Sioux Reservation, Zitkala-Ša represents Warca-Ziwin as engaged in a relationship with the river, which Zitkala-Ša states is the Missouri (2003, p.68).[38] Estes explains that the Dakota and Lakota (or Oceti Sakowin) consider the Missouri, or Mni Sose, to be a 'relative' (2019, p.15). In the same way that the sunflower needs water to grow, Warca-Ziwin needs water to inform her Indigenous, female identity. Through Warca-Ziwin, Native, female womanhood engages in respectful relationships with the water. In her own interpretation of the sunflower, Alanah Jewell explains that the sunflower:

> is supported by other forms of creation [...] The connection between the sunflower and other living beings represent[s] how, in Creation, we are all in a relationship with one another, and have a responsibility to acknowledge and honour these relationships everyday. (2021)

This sentiment is also encapsulated in Zitkala-Ša's representation of Warca-Ziwin and Dakota womanhood, as Warca-Ziwin embodies how Native, female identity is also predicated upon nourishing relationships with the more-than-human world.[39]

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[38] Although the Dawes Act led the Great Sioux Reservation to be broken up and sold by 1900, it was still intact during Zitkala-Ša's early childhood.

[39] It must also be noted that Zitkala-Ša also introduces the mother through her associations with water. Again, writing of the Missouri, Zitkala-Ša writes: 'morning, noon and night, my mother came to draw water from the muddy stream for our household use' (2003, p.68).

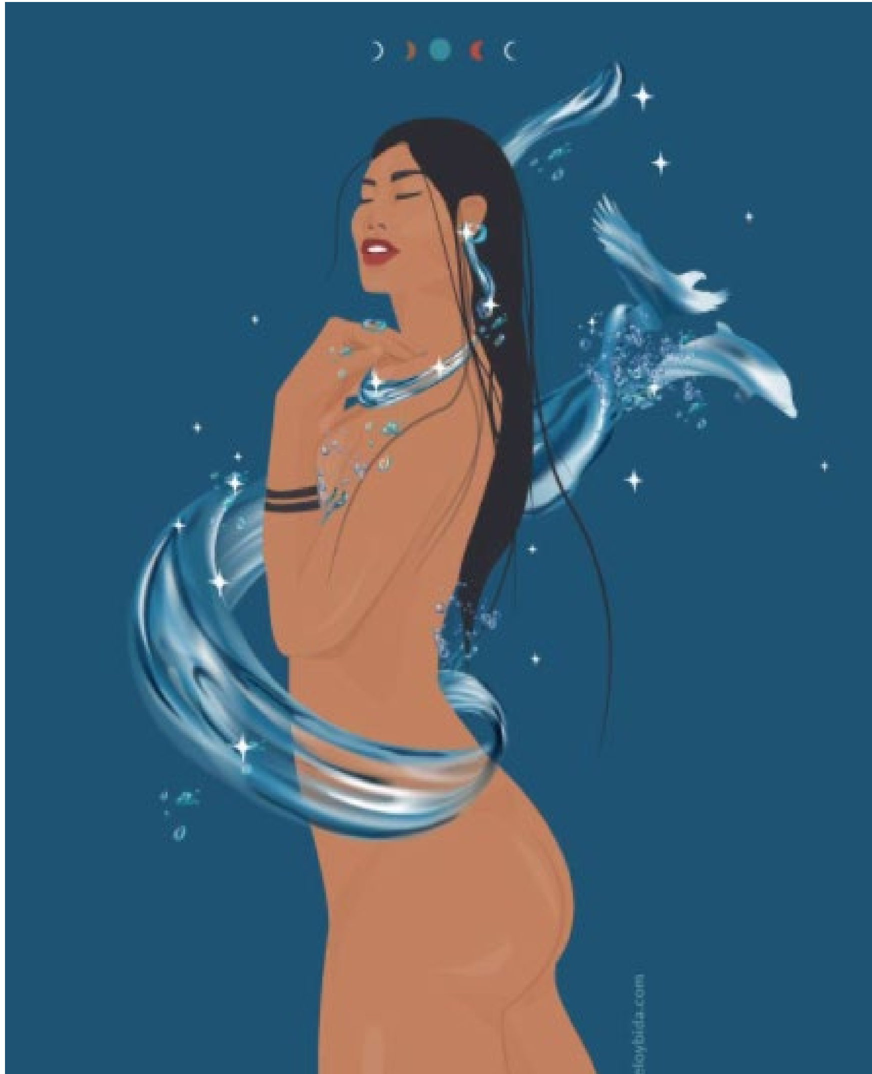

Figure 3: ‘Water is Life’ by Eloy Bida
Permission to use image kindly granted by Eloy Bida

The water imagery also infers a sense of fluidity needed to survive and resist settler colonialism. Maracle explains that Native women ‘have the power of water – that sort of every day going against something that ultimately changes the shape of the thing’ (quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.186). Anderson echoes a similar sentiment, that through nourishing their relationships with water, women ‘learn that they are adaptable, and that they are able to direct and withstand long processes of change’ (2000, p.185). By introducing two central women through imagery of the Mni Sose, Zitkala-Ša alludes to a kind of strength that, as Maracle and Anderson explain, is able to withstand change.[39] Unlike the Native men whose resistance to colonisation culminated in a battle against the 7th Cavalry Regiment in the Battle of Little Bighorn, women’s acts of resistance are not a spectacle. Similar to how the power of water lies in its ability to go ‘against something’ ‘everyday’ (Maracle, quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.186), the strength of Native women stems from their ability to consistently resist colonisation daily.

Zitkala-Ša depicts Warca-Ziwin as a marker of Dakota womanhood aligned with strength, creativity and skilfulness. The protagonist associates the commencement of activities that inform Dakota femininity, including fetching water and beadwork, with Warca-Ziwin's physicality. In the opening story, Zitkala-Ša writes: '[w]hen I am as tall as my cousin, Warca-Ziwin, you shall not have to come for water. I shall do it for you' (2003, p.69). Similarly, in 'The Beadwork', Zitkala-Ša writes: 'my mother said, I should not do much alone in quills until I am as tall as my cousin Warca-Ziwin' (2003, p.75). In both cases, Warca-Ziwin embodies fully realised Dakota womanhood that the protagonist wishes to emulate. As well as Warca-Ziwin's associations with water, her link with quills and beadwork also contribute to a sense of Indigenous womanhood, as sewing is a practice that Anderson explains as 'a vital part of our communities and part of a feminine identity' (2000, p.143). Representing Warca-Ziwin as experienced with sewing not only foregrounds her female, Dakota identity, but also emphasises her resistance to the colonisation of Native womanhood. Sewing was a specifically female skill that residential boarding schools attempted to eradicate (Anderson, 2000, p.143). Within a residential boarding school narrative, then, Warca-Ziwin is a radical, female figure who preserves female traditions that settler-colonial institutions try to dissipate. Warca-Ziwin's creative prowess therefore encapsulates Native, female resistance to colonisation. Writing of Native womanhood, Anderson outlines how '[t]he need for creative expression as a means of healing and identity recovery is crucial in many Native women's lives' (2000, p.142). Of sewing specifically, Anderson states '[t]he resistance comes when they begin to do it anyway, and for many this is the beginning of a journey of discovery about their Native womanhood' (2000, p.142). Warca-Ziwin is thus not only representative of Dakota, female identity, but a form of Native female identity that resists cultural erasure. Due to the onomastic significance, Zitkala-Ša associated the sunflower with these qualities of Native, female resistance.

Upon establishing the connection between Indigenous womanhood and the sunflower through Warca-Ziwin in 'Impressions of an Indian Childhood', Zitkala-Ša shifts to invoking 'totemic' (Vizenor, 2009, p.14) representations of the sunflower in subsequent stories. These include the chapter 'A Trip Westward', from 'An Indian Teacher Among Indians', originally published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in March, 1900, and 'The Widespread

Enigma Concerning Blue-Star Woman' published in the complete collection of her stories in 1921. In 'A Trip Westward' Zitkala-Ša deploys the sunflower motif to assure the continuance of Dakota womanhood at a moment when Native, female identity begins to be questioned. This story depicts the protagonist's return to the Reservation since taking up employment at a residential boarding school against her mother's wishes. As it is the first time her mother sees her as an adult woman, the protagonist worries about how her mother will perceive her: '[c]onstantly I wondered what my mother would say upon seeing her little daughter grown tall' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107). Using the phrase 'grown tall' (2003, p.107), Zitkala-Ša returns to the repeated childhood notion that associated Warca-Ziwin and her height with the realisation of Dakota womanhood predicated on independence, competency, selflessness and creativity. Stating that she 'constantly wondered' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107) about her mother's reception upon seeing her 'grown tall' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107), the protagonist conveys anxiety and uncertainty surrounding whether her mother will view her as an Dakota woman, or a woman influenced by the 'paleface' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107) society and the colonial institutions of which she is now part. As Laidley Wardlow explains:

> not only did the Indian Education Program seek out young Native girls in order to remove them from their mothers and the root of their culture, it also altered the girls' future roles as leaders to serve its own agenda. In other words, knowing that the young girls would grow up to be leaders and teachers of culture and tradition within their communities, the Indian Education Program created boarding schools to assimilate the young girls to white culture. (2018, p.145)

It is at this moment when the protagonist begins to doubt the survival of her Native, female identity that allusions to Dakota womanhood shift from the character of Warca-Ziwin to representations of her namesake, the sunflower. Zitkala-Ša reinforces the connection between being 'tall' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107), Native womanhood and the sunflower through sentence structure, as immediately after using the phrase 'grown tall' (2003, p.107) Zitkala-Ša deploys the sunflower motif. She writes: '[c]rossing a ravine thicketed with low shrubs and plum bushes, we approached a large yellow acre of wild sunflowers' (2003, p.107). The sunflower is a marker of the feminine space of the Reservation, as the road 'bordered by wild sunflowers' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.88) was the last thing the protagonist saw of it upon departure and the 'large yellow acre of wild sunflowers' (Zitkala-

Ša, 2003, p.107) is one of the first things she sees upon her return. Zitkala-Ša thus uses the sunflower as a form of 'Native metaphor' (Vizenor, 2000, p.123) to represent the continual existence of Dakota womanhood. Whilst white, Euro-American readers may understand the protagonist's doubt to be evidence of assimilation into settler culture, the Native metaphor of the sunflower indicates that Native, female identity is able to survive and resist assimilationist policies. Here, the more-than-human world is central to creating a sense of Native presence that is specifically female.

The sunflowers also surround sites of Native, female resistance to assimilation. In 'A Trip Westward', the protagonist witnesses the changes to the Reservation and to her mother's way of living. Whilst during the protagonist's absence the mother has begun assimilation into Euro-American culture, adding a 'cottage' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.106) alongside her 'wigwam' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.70), the inclusion of the sunflower totem[40] or Native metaphor allows Zitkala-Ša to imply to Indigenous readers that, although under strain, Native female identity continues to resist erasure. I build upon Wardlow's statement that Zitkala-Ša presents the mother as the 'ultimate symbol of Native womanhood' (2018, p.143) to suggest that it is the mother's associations with the more-than-human world that ultimately represent Native womanhood. Zitkala-Ša describes how the protagonist approaches 'a large yellow acre of wild sunflowers. Just beyond this nature's garden we drew near to my mother's cottage' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107). In setting the cottage amongst an 'acre of wild sunflowers' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.106), Zitkala-Ša implies Native womanhood remains intact despite the transition to Western ways of living. This is reinforced in Zitkala-Ša's description of the cottage: '[t]he sod roof was trying to boast of tiny sunflowers' (2003, p.108). Depicting these sunflowers as 'trying' and 'tiny' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108) marks a shift from the earlier descriptions that associate her cousin Warca-Ziwin with growth, strength, competency and maturity. This image of sunflowers managing to escape the confines of the cottage does, however, function as a Native metaphor for the mother's

[40] In this context, the term 'totem' refers to what Vizenor conceptualises as 'a Native metaphor', wherein the metaphor is able to connect literature with nature (Vizenor, 2000, p.123). Therefore, the sunflower totem in this narrative is not a sacred object that is worshipped by a tribe or band, but is an image that encapsulates the relationship between Native femininity and the more-than-human world.

survival of and resistance to the structures of settler colonialism and patriarchy that attack Dakota womanhood. Here, Zitkala-Ša uses the Euro-American, material structure of the mother's 'cottage' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107) as a metaphor for the economic and political structures of colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy that sought to socialise women into Euro-American conceptions of domesticity. Although the sunflowers might be 'tiny', the fact that they are still 'trying to boast' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108) and break through the European structure of the 'sod roof' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108) represents the way that the protagonist's mother resists socialisation into Euro-American notions of femininity. Despite the structures in place, Native femininity continues to grow. Attempting to account for how the sunflowers had grown from the rooftop, Zitkala-Ša's protagonist deduces that the sunflower seeds 'had probably been planted by the constant wind' (2003, p.108). Zitkala-Ša explains the sunflowers' ability to grow within unlikely spaces as evidence of the continued importance and resilience of Native, female identity under systems that seek to eliminate Indigenous femininity. These sunflowers embody the central element of Vizenor's theory of survivance: they depict the union of survival and resistance in their ability to grow in this new space.

Zitkala-Ša depicts another more-than-human being, the wind, as instrumental in continuance of the sunflowers to demonstrate how the continuance of Native, female identity is presented as a natural phenomenon, or as Vizenor proposes, 'natural reason' (2009, p.99). Vizenor explains that: '[n]atural reason is a Native tease of the seasons, the myths and metaphors of human and animal connections to the environment' (2000, p.183). As it has been documented that wind is effective in sowing sunflower seeds (Pike, 2017, p.69), Zitkala-Ša's suggestion that the sunflowers have grown through the assistance of the 'constant wind' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108) is evidence of natural reason as it demonstrates a 'tease of the seasons' (Vizenor, 2000, p.183). As Standing Bear explains, for the Lakota, the wind 'was considered a friendly force and a carrier of messages' and had 'good intentions' (2006, p.49). Within the context of this blood memory, then, Zitkala-Ša depicts the wind as a force aligned with the continuance of Dakota womanhood. Describing the wind as 'constant' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108) conveys the unrelenting ways in which Native women resist assimilation into normative Euro-American femininities. It also

serves as a reminder of the protagonist's childhood on the Great Sioux Reservation, when she was 'as free as the wind that blew my hair' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.68). Upon returning to her mother's home, this connection between the wind and Native girlhood is made overt, as she states that: '[a] strong hot wind seemed determined to blow my hat off, and return me to the olden days when I roamed bareheaded over the hills' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107). The wind is also depicted as an active force that attempts to take the colonial headwear from the protagonist and thus 'return' her to her authentic, Dakota, 'bareheaded' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107) femininity. It is this same wind that plants the sunflower seeds that represents Dakota womanhood (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108). Susag analyses the presence of the wind as a form of maternal and feminine power, stating that Zitkala-Ša's mother's name, *Tate I Yohin Win,* which means 'reaches for the wind', characterises the wind as a 'feminine' and 'powerful Lakota force' (1993, p.11). She writes: '[i]n Zitkala-Sa's recollection and recording of this image, she acknowledges her mother's personification of this most powerful force, and she affirms the continuity between the Wind, her mother, and herself' (1993, p.11). Heflin also describes the wind as an 'intricate symbol' (2000, p.129) for 'her mother's influences and the presence of Sioux culture' (2000, p.129). Within these contexts, then, the wind is also a powerful force of Dakota womanhood that is instrumental in ensuring the continuance of Native female identity embodied by the sunflower seeds. These metaphors are indicative of a feminine form of survivance, because beyond representing human connections to the environment, they specifically illustrate female relationships with the more-than-human world.

By depicting the mother and her cottage as engulfed by sunflowers, Zitkala-Ša constructs a site of Native, female resistance to assimilation and thus the survival of Dakota womanhood. Building on Wardlow's suggestion that the mother is the 'ultimate example of what it means to be a Native woman' (2018, p.147), I contend that it is the mother's position within the more-than-human world that emphasises her Native, female identity. The protagonist acknowledges her mother's resistance, explaining: 'mother had never gone to school, and though she meant always to give up her own customs for such of the white man's ways as pleased her, she made only compromises' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108). That her mother makes 'only compromises' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108) indicates resistance

to full assimilation into 'the white man's ways' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108), and a wish to maintain a sense of Native identity within her home. Whilst her mother resides primarily in a cottage, she still uses a tepee, and makes coffee and bread the same way she did as when the protagonist was a child (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.108). Her mother resists Christianisation, as she states that she had been 'praying steadfastly to the Great Spirit' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.109) and that it is 'Taku Iyotan Wasaka, to which I pray' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.109). The adjective 'steadfastly' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.109) - like the 'constant wind' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.107) - denotes the mother's unwavering commitment to Native identity and a refusal to be influenced by the missionaries who appear in the preceding chapters. Anderson acknowledges the rejection of the church in her research, stating '[m]any Native female individuals develop a personal resistance to the church, both because of the way that they perceive it has governed their communities and because of the way it has violated their personal well-being as Aboriginal women' (2000, p.46). Through repeating images of the sunflower and the mother, Zitkala-Ša engenders a sense of Native female presence even within spaces that are being oppressed by colonial systems. In using the cottage as both the site of mother's resistance and the growth of the sunflowers, Zitkala-Ša entangles Indigenous women and sunflowers in a symbiotic relationship that evidences female survivance.

Zitkala-Ša continues to incorporate the sunflower totem in her later blood memory, 'The Widespread Enigma Concerning Blue-Star Woman', to illustrate how across the tribal nation, there is collective, female resistance to the erasure of female, Dakota identity. This narrative extends its focus beyond the aforementioned protagonist, her mother, and Warca-Ziwin, and represents the experience of another woman, Blue-Star Woman. Continuing the themes of assimilation, culturicide and ecocide, this story depicts the implementation of the 1887 General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Act. The Dawes Act 'sought to assimilate Indians into the American mainstream by dividing collectively controlled reservations into individually owned allotments of land' (Greenwald, 2017, p.91). The 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.14) between the sunflower and Dakota femininity continue into this narrative to show the collective experience of Dakota women under settler colonialism, and create a sense of Native, female presence under

legislation that attempted to fracture relationships between Indigenous women and the land.

Zitkala-Ša continues to use sunflowers as the setting against which Native female identity is explored and contested. The story opens: '[i]t was summer on the western plains. Fields of golden sunflowers, facing eastward, greeted the rising sun' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143). Here, the association between women and sunflowers is grounded in ecological understanding. The flowers 'face eastward' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143), which indicates that they are mature flowers, as fully grown sunflowers permanently face east - only young sunflowers are heliotropic and thus follow the sun. The connection between sunflowers and mature Dakota womanhood is echoed in Blue-Star Woman's reflection that she was 'no longer a young woman, being in her fifty-third year' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143). It is whilst looking out at these sunflowers that Blue-Star woman begins to question her identity as Dakota woman in the wake of the Dawes Act:

> "Who am I?" had become the obsessing riddle of her life. She was no longer a young woman, being in her fifty-third year. In the eyes of the white man's law, it was required of her to give proof of membership to the Sioux tribe. The unwritten law of heart prompted her naturally to say, "I am a being. I am Blue-Star Woman. A piece of earth is my birthright". (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143)

Here, the 'white man's law' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143) is a reference to the Dawes Act, which requires her to provide proof of her Dakota identity to be able to 'apply for her share of tribal land' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.142). It is this new legislation that leads Blue-Star Woman's identity as an Dakota woman to be questioned by both the state and by herself. She is told directly that she has 'failed to establish the facts of [her] identity' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.147) as a woman of the Dakota nation, which leads her to doubt her own identity through the direct speech, '"Who am I?"' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.142). This passage shows the disparity that exists between Native concepts of identity and the way the U.S. government legitimises identity, the tension of which is depicted through the juxtaposition of 'the white man's law' and 'the unwritten law of heart' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143). For Blue-Star Woman, her identity as a Native woman is represented as something connatural: she feels it in her 'heart'; it prompts her to 'naturally say', and she considers it as central to her 'being' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143). Her conceptualisation of Dakota identity, which 'had passed unrecorded in books'

(Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143), is at odds with the U.S government's notion of Native identity, which considers 'proof of her membership to the Sioux [Yankton Dakota] tribe' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143) as something administrative or legislative. Zitkala-Ša explains that: 'a lack of written records of a roving people, placed a formidable barrier between her and her heritage' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.144). Here, her Yankton Dakota heritage and identity can only be legitimised through government documentation and not through her ancestral relationship to the land. The presence of 'fields of golden sunflowers' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.143) in this moment metaphorically reconnects Blue-Star Woman with the land, and thus expresses resistance to the Dawes Act that worked to physically remove Indigenous peoples from their territories.

The sunflowers appear again in this narrative in a way that returns to the importance of onomastics in 'My Mother', as the sunflowers gain agency at the moment that Blue-Star Woman begins to question the link between naming and Dakota identity. In contrast to the beginning of the narrative, where Warca-Ziwin's name is central to her identity as an Dakota woman, for Blue-Star Woman, '[i]t gained her nothing, however, to pronounce her name to the government official to whom she applied for her share of tribal land' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.142). Within the context of the late-nineteenth century, traditional Indigenous names were rendered insufficient evidence for tribal affiliation, as the U.S. government were unable to trace ancestry and heritage through individual names alone. Zitkala-Ša depicts the culturicide of Yankton Dakota culture through narrating how traditional names, and their centrality to Dakota identity, are denied legitimacy by the U.S. government:

> Blue-Star woman was her individual name. For untold ages the Indian race had not used family names. A new-born child was given a brand-new name. Blue-Star Woman was proud to write her name for which she would not be required to substitute another's upon her marriage, as is the custom of civilized peoples. "The times are changed now", she muttered under her breath. "My individual name seems to mean nothing." Looking out into space, she saw the nodding sunflowers, and they acquiesced with her. Their drying leaves reminded her of the approach of autumn. (2003, p.145)

The transition from being 'proud' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.145) to write her name, to stating that her name now means 'nothing' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.145) shows how U.S. administration perpetuated the devaluation of Dakota traditions and identity through the Dawes Act. The

patriarchal nature of assimilation is felt here, as Dakota traditions ensured that a woman's name, and thus her identity, remained intact, unlike the patrilineal Christian traditions that required women to take their husband's surname. Again, it is at a moment when Native female identity is under attack that the sunflowers contribute to a sense of Native, female presence. They become explicitly agentive, by 'nodding' to 'acquiesce' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.145). This moment demonstrates survivance, as Zitkala-Ša depicts what Vizenor refers to as 'territorial reciprocity' (2000, p.183); Blue Star-Woman speaks, and the sunflowers respond. By representing the sunflowers as complicit with Blue-Star Woman's statement that her name now means 'nothing' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.145) in terms of her Dakota identity, the sunflowers are not denying her status as an Indigenous woman. Rather, the sunflowers' presence and support at this point in the narrative signals that her innate, connatural, sense of Dakota identity prevails even though Blue-Star Woman cannot prove her tribal membership through documentation. At the point wherein Blue-Star Woman's identity cannot be proved in a way that is sufficient to the government, the sunflowers offer reassurance that her Indigenous, female identity is still intact within the context of Dakota lifeways.

Within an overarching narrative that depicts the enforcement of assimilation strategies, culturicide and epistemicide, the sunflowers appear at key moments when Native, female identity is under threat. By creating 'totemic associations' (Vizenor, 2009, p.14) between the sunflower and resilient Dakota womanhood in settler-colonial spaces, Zitkala-Ša is able to express a form of survivance that directly attends to the experiences of Indigenous women specifically, and their connection to the more-than-human world. Building on Susag's statement that these stories 'reveal a powerful ethnic and feminine voice' and work to 'overcome forces that would suppress the feminine Indian voice' (1993, p.4), I argue that within these narratives of trauma, deculturation and colonialism, the inclusion of the sunflower motif offers Zitkala-Ša a way to create a sense of Native, female presence and actuality 'over absence, nihility, and victimry' (Vizenor, 2009, p.85). It is through converging land, memory and identity, which Allen considers central elements of blood memories (2002), that Zitkala-Ša conveys how collective, female resistance is intertwined with relationships with the more-than-human world.

1.3 The Three Sisters Garden, Sisterhood and Survivance: Grounded Normativity in Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* (1921)

Figure 3: 'The Three Sisters' by Eloy Bida

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In this section, I explore how Zitkala-Ša deploys grounded normativity in *American Indian Stories* to demonstrate how Dakota grounded normativity can specifically inform female, interpersonal relationships, and female relationships with the more-than-human world. In particular, I suggest that the representation of corn, squash and sunflowers in *American Indian Stories* alludes to the Three Sisters and Four Sisters practices[41] that shape Indigenous, female, interpersonal relationships and generate a form of female solidarity. Coulthard explains that grounded normativity refers to an 'ethical framework provided by the place-based practices and associated forms of knowledge' (2014, p.95) and that it is from these practices and knowledges that Indigenous resistance emerges. I build upon Coulthard's theory to argue that the Three Sisters and Four Sisters practices are a form of grounded normativity that specifically inform Native sisterhood and foster a collective, *female* resistance to colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy. Many scholars (Stanley, 1994; Bernardin, 1997; Velikova, 2000) approach *American Indian Stories* through an individualist lens and focus on the protagonist's own assimilation into Euro-American culture. I argue, however, that together, the female characters in *American Indian Stories,* including the mother, aunt and cousin, play an integral role in constructing the Great Sioux Reservation as a place where female solidarity is central to resisting settler colonialism. As Natalie Harkin explains, blood memory is 'a process which identifies a relationship to individual and collective heritage and to one's family and ancestors, written through landscape and the body' (2014, p.6). Through examining how Zitkala-Ša depicts collective, female experiences through references to the Three Sisters and Four Sisters practices, I convey how these blood memories inscribe collective, female survivance through the land.

In *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Re-naming and Reclaiming* (2005) Winona LaDuke includes an epigraph related to the Three Sisters method:

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[41] Knowledge of this agricultural practice is noted specifically in Haudenosaunee culture (LaDuke, 2005, p.153; Watts, 2013, p.26), and Potawatomi culture (Kimmerer, 2013, p.128). My claim that the Dakota, and thus Zitkala-Ša, would have been aware of the Three Sisters garden emerges from the widespread acknowledgement of this agricultural practice. Kimmerer states that: 'from Mexico to Montana, women have mounded up the earth and laid these three seeds in the ground, all in the same foot of soil' (2013, p.129). Therefore, whilst *American Indian Stories* is aimed at a Euro-American audience, I argue that Zitkala-Ša speaks to a widespread Native audience in the allegorisation of this practice.

> In the late spring we plant the corn and beans and squash. They're not just plants – we call them the Three Sisters. We plant them together, three kinds of seed in one hole. They want to be together with each other, just as we Indians want to be together with each other. So long as the Three Sisters are with us we know we will never starve. (quoted in LaDuke, 2005, p.153)

The 'Fourth Sister' is an extension of the Three Sisters practice and sees the addition of the sunflower to this method. The inclusion of the sunflower is widely attributed to Buffalo Bird Woman, or Waheenee, who was considered to be an 'expert gardener of the Hidatsa tribe' (Wilson, 1981, p.xi) of North Dakota. Buffalo Bird Woman was born several decades before Zitkala-Ša, in 1839, and her techniques had passed into wider usage by the time Zitkala-Ša was born. The first documented use of the sunflower alongside the corn, beans and squash is in the transcription of Buffalo Bird Woman's interview with anthropologist Gilbert Wilson. She states, 'Hidatsa women raise corn, beans, sunflower seed, and good squashes to eat' (Wilson, 1981, p.107). She explains that they 'planted sunflowers only around the edges of a field' (Wilson, 1987, p.16). The introduction of the sunflower prevents birds from eating the corn, as they eat the sunflower seeds and move on, leaving the corn untouched.[42]

The Three Sisters and Four Sisters land-based practices operate as examples of grounded normativity, an ethical framework that 'teaches us how to live our lives in relation to other people and nonhuman life forms in a profoundly nonauthoritarian, nondominating, nonexploitive manner' (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016, p.254). These 'reciprocal relations and obligations' (Coulthard, 2014, p.123) to the land and to other people are most overt in the various Native stories that accompany the Three Sisters practice, as the corn, beans and squash are personified as Native women upon whom the tribal nation relies for growth and

[42] The grouping of sunflowers and corn is also depicted in Silko's *Gardens in the Dunes* (1999). Silko depicts 'terraces where sweet black corn, muskmelons, and speckled beans used to grow', and the future potential of the dune gardens can be detected in the 'wild gourds, sunflowers, and datura [that] seeded themselves wherever they found moisture' (1999, p.49). The appearance of the Fourth Sister in Native American legends is limited. In the children's story, *Sunflower's Promise: A Zuni Legend* (1996), Gloria Dominic tells the story of a young woman named Sunflower who promises to marry the man who can save her sisters, the beans and corn, from being eaten by animals. Again, this story represents the sunflower as a protector of the other sisters.

sustenance. In these various stories, the women support and protect each other, and it is by working together that they are all able to prosper. As Robin Wall Kimmerer explains, whilst there are many versions of the Three Sisters story, each of which demonstrates grounded normativity specific to each tribe, one element remains consistent: 'they all share the understanding of these plants as women, sisters' (2013, p.130). Vanessa Watts explains, however, that the Three Sisters are more than a story, and directly inform human relationships with other people and the more-than-human world. Writing from a Haudenosaunee perspective, Watts states:

> Haudenosaunee systems, peoples, territories, etc. are affected by this relationship between the Three Sisters. It is more than a lesson, a teaching, or even an historical account. Their conscious and knowing agreement directly extends to our philosophies, thoughts and actions as Haudenosaunee peoples. (2013, p.26)

Watts uses the Three Sisters as an example of 'Place-Thought', where land directly informs thought, knowledge, and agency. I understand Place-Thought to be a form of grounded normativity specific to Haudenosaunee culture, as it conveys how relationships with the more-than-human world structure social and political life. Although Zitkala-Ša was not Haudenosaunee, her knowledge of the practice will have stemmed from the fact that 'corn, beans and squash demarcated Dakota territory' (Estes, 2019, p.71). Similar to how Watts explains that the Three Sisters extends into human thought and action, I suggest that in *American Indian Stories,* Zitkala-Ša alludes to the Three Sisters and Four Sisters methods to show how they inform female, interpersonal relationships and relationships with the more-than-human world that foster colonial resistance.

I develop Coulthard's theory of grounded normativity by making the case that the conspicuous feminisation of these practices results in a gendered form of grounded normativity that specifically structures interpersonal relationships between Indigenous women. I suggest the Three and Four Sister methods create ethical frameworks that advocate the idea that women should embrace their differences and individual strengths in order to care for, protect, and nurture each other. Therefore, whilst Coulthard and Simpson state that 'relationship to the land itself generates the processes, practices, and knowledges that inform our political systems, and through which *we practice solidarity*' (original emphasis, 2016, p.254), I argue that the Three Sisters and Four Sisters demonstrate

a relationship that advocates for Native, *female* solidarity in particular. I identify how these frameworks that structure interpersonal, female relationships are visible in *American Indian Stories* and illustrate how they structure a form of colonial and heteropatriarchal resistance that is specifically female.

Zitkala-Ša maps the qualities of the Four Sisters - the corn, beans, squash and sunflower - onto the aunt, the mother, the protagonist, and Warca-Ziwin. They are the four 'sisters', who, 'in the busy autumn days' 'gathered an abundance supply of corn', 'dried the corn', and then 'sliced great pumpkins into thin rings; and then doubled and linked these together into long chains' (2003, p.82). In describing these agricultural methods, Zitkala-Ša implies that the women practice the Three Sisters garden. This corresponds to Kimmerer's explanation that: '[b]y late summer […] ears of corn angle out from the stalk […] and pumpkins swell at your feet' (2013, p.132). In alluding to the ubiquitous Three Sisters agricultural practice, Zitkala-Ša informs her Native audience that these moments consolidate female reciprocities.

Zitkala-Ša intertwines the Three and Four Sisters legends in 'The Ground Squirrel', aligning the harvesting of the First Sister, the corn, with a description of the first sister in this narrative, her aunt.[43] Zitkala-Ša writes:

> In the busy autumn days my cousin Warca-Ziwin's mother came to our wigwam to help my mother preserve foods for our winter use. I was very fond of my aunt, because she was not so quiet as my mother. Though she was older, she was more jovial and less reserved. (2003, p.81)

Explaining that her aunt was 'older' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.81) than the protagonist's mother, Zitkala-Ša implies that in this family, her aunt is literally the 'first sister'. By depicting the aunt's generous, caring and protecting nature, Zitkala-Ša constructs the aunt as possessing other qualities associated with the 'first born' (Kimmerer, 2013, p.130) sister, the corn. Paralleling LaDuke's account, that 'as long as the Three Sisters are with us we know we will never starve' (2005, p.135), Zitkala-Ša represents how female solidarity and collaboration

[43] The corn was also significant to the Dakota through its association with the White Buffalo Calf Woman. In his retelling of the story, Estes writes: '[c]orn kernels fell from her udders into the water, making the connection between humans, plants, animals, the earth, and water' (2019, p.83). Relationships with corn therefore inform relationships with the more-than-human world.

is central to the sustenance of the tribe. The protagonist describes the aunt's role in caring for her younger sister, explaining that her aunt 'came to our wigwam to help my mother preserve foods for our winter use' (2003, p.81). Whilst the repetition of the pronoun 'our' reveals the selfless nature of the aunt, as it implies that she is helping harvest food that she herself will not consume. Again, this is evident in the protagonist's description of her mother 'busy broiling a wild duck that my aunt had that morning brought over' (2003, p.80). Demonstrating the aunt's caring and protecting nature of her younger sister is central to the characterisation of the first sister, the corn, as Kimmerer states: 'corn is the first born […] Making a strong stem is its highest priority at first. It needs to be there for its younger sister' (2013, p.130). In the same way that corn is 'there' (Kimmerer, 2013, p.130) for its younger sister, so too is the protagonist's aunt depicted as being 'there' (Kimmerer, 2013, p.130) for her younger sister, the protagonist's mother. This embodiment of the Three Sisters relationship that is based upon protection and nurturance is an example of a female form of grounded normativity, as Simpson explains: 'the individual values we animate in those lives in turn create intimate relationships with our family and all aspects of creation, which in turn create a fluid and ethical framework in which we practice' (2017a, p.33). Zitkala-Ša thus illustrates how the ethics of care and protection that are animated through the Three Sisters plants inform the interpersonal relationships between women on the Great Sioux Reservation.

The notion that the First Sister creates a safe environment in which her younger sisters can flourish is reflected in the moment of female intimacy in 'The Ground Squirrel'. Zitkala-Ša conveys how the protagonist and her mother feel assured in the presence of the aunt:

> It was during my aunt's visit with us that my mother forgot her accustomed quietness, often laughing heartily at some of my aunt's witty remarks. I loved my aunt threefold: for her hearty laughter, for the cheerfulness she caused my mother, and most of all the times she dried my tears and held me in her lap, when my mother had reproved me. (2003, p.81)

Here, Zitkala-Ša allegorises the dynamic of the Three Sisters to express how this agricultural practice informs Indigenous lifeways predicated upon sisterhood. This offers a direct contrast to the first time Zitkala-Ša describes the mother's melancholy, stating that 'she

was sad and silent, at which times her full arched lips were compressed into hard and bitter lines, and shadows fell under her black eyes' (2013, p.68). The laughter and cheer that is experienced when around the first sister is indicative of a sense of safety that emerges in exclusively female spaces. It is the aunt's confident and good-humoured nature that fosters this welcoming environment in which the other women can relax and thrive. The fact that her aunt is 'more jovial and less reserved' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.81) than the mother is representative of the way the first sister encourages the women around her to be their authentic selves without fear of judgement. This again corresponds with Kimmerer's account that 'the firstborn girl […] creates the template for everyone else to follow. That's the corn sister' (2013, p.132). Therefore, Zitkala-Ša's representations of female, interpersonal relationships indicate how the ethical frameworks that inform land-based practices also inform social relations.

For both Deloria Jr., Vizenor and Guy Gibbon, laughter in Indigenous spaces in central to survival. Deloria Jr. explains:

> Humor, all Indians will agree, is the cement by which the coming Indian movement is held together. When a people can laugh at themselves and laugh at others and hold all aspects of life together without letting anybody drive them to extremes, then it seems to me that that people can survive. (1969, p.53)

For Deloria Jr., the power of humour and laughter lies in its ability to create a collective experience. Vizenor makes a similar case, that 'what's comic is communal' (1995, p.80). Zitkala-Ša's representations of laughter occur in exclusively female groups and thus depict a collective, female experience. Zitkala-Ša depicts the young protagonist 'laughing with glee' (2003, p.69) with her mother, and laughing with the older women of the tribe: 'the old women made funny remarks, and laughed so heartily that I could not help joining them' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.72).[44] As an adult, the protagonist and her mother 'laugh away' (2003, p.108) her mother's misconception that she is in a relationship with the white driver who

[44] It must be noted that there is one account that suggests laughter was perceived to be an indicator of a woman's immodesty in Lakota and Dakota cultures. R. J. DeMallie explains that 'laughter on a woman's part was immodest and associated with sexual promiscuity' (1983, p.239). However, I find DeMallie's work as a whole to be inaccurate and incongruent with the works of Dakota scholars Vine Deloria Jr, Ella Deloria, and Lame Deer, and thus I am unconvinced of its academic integrity.

brought her back to the Reservation. Therefore, to be able to enjoy 'hearty laughter' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.81) together reveals that the sisters share a space that is free of judgement and social expectations. In *American Indian Stories*, laughter is experienced in exclusively Indigenous, female spaces that are free of colonial and patriarchal hierarchies that seek to oppress women. It is because of the grounded normativity that structures interpersonal, female relationships that the collective act of laughter and rejection of colonial hierarchies can be experienced.

Zitkala-Ša's representations of female laughter are also central to the creation of female survivance. In his exploration of survivance, which is in part based upon the creation of Native presence, Vizenor suggests that the colonial construction of the 'indian' enables the 'absence of Native presence' (2009, p.18). He explains that the notion of the 'indian' is a key example of Mikhail Bakhtin's 'pathetic seriousness' (2000, p.55) that has the potential to be undone through laughter. Bakhtin writes of the subversive nature of laughter: '[l]aughter remained outside official falsifications, which were coated with a layer of pathetic seriousness' (1981, p.271). Bringing Bakhtin's ideas into dialogue with survivance, Vizenor explains that the 'simulation of the Indian is an occidental case of "pathetic seriousness," the course of tragic victimry' (2000, p.55). In this case, the presence of laughter in Native stories has the power to disrupt the colonial assertions surrounding Indigenous peoples. More than this, however, the depiction of collective, female laughter within a residential boarding school narrative depicts survivance, as residential school survivors reported that they would get 'strapped' (quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.152) for laughing. Zitkala-Ša's representations of Indigenous women's laughter thus creates a rejection of the patriarchal logics of settler colonialism that specifically attack women.[45] The

[45] Writing in the context of Hawaiian culture, Brandy Nālani McDougall explains how laughter undermines colonial dominance: '[t]he corporeal experiences of humor and wonder, laughter and chills, goosebumps, and so on are involuntary and unpredictable to a certain degree and are therefore effectively outside colonial control. In this way they can also foster social and political critiques that suspend and transform beliefs in colonial reality while asserting the potential for an ancestral reality' (2016, p.32). She then goes onto state that: '[l]aughter, especially laughter that is shared with our kūpuna, our ancestors, from whom we have been painfully disconnected through American colonialism, can reaffirm our cultural identity and, in turn, hold within it a weapon of empowerment, an adamant refusal to be conquered in body, 'āina, and spirit' (2016, p.33).

ethical frameworks grounded in place enable the women to laugh collectively and therefore subvert the hierarchies inherent within settler colonialism and patriarchy.

Read within the context of Yankton Dakota culture, female laughter indicates a form of survival that is also specifically female. Gibbon explains the association between laughter with survival in a Dakota context, stating: 'the Sioux must have always bonded and revitalized, exorcized and healed, and survived through laughter' (2008, p.203). He states that Dakota writers 'have used humour in a positive manner to negotiate the Euro-American history of genocide, removal and oppression' (2008, p.202). Gibbon thus explains how within the Lakota and Dakota literary tradition, laughter functions as a radical way to minimise the power of settler colonialism. For Vizenor, silence 'is unnatural' (1995, p.77), but 'humor is natural, and it's healing. And it also brings people together. They trust each other more. […] laughter and humor are healing' (1995, p.80).[46] Using these arguments to read Zitkala-Ša's representations of female laughter, it becomes possible to see how the mother transitions from being 'silent' (2013, p.68) and possessing a 'quietness' (2013, p.81) that Vizenor considers to be 'unnatural' (1995, p.77), to 'laughing heartily' (2013, p.81) due to the presence of the first sister. Similarly, the young protagonist grows in confidence due to the presence of the older women. Although the protagonist at first describes how she 'sat close to my mother, and did not leave her side' and 'ate my supper in quiet' (Zitkala-Ša, 2013, p.72), she eventually 'laughed so heartily' (Zitkala-Ša, 2013, p.72) with them. These moments of collective, female laughter that appear throughout a narrative of trauma, displacement and attempted assimilation, are thus in keeping with Dakota literary traditions that use laughter to 'negotiate' (Gibbon, 2008, p.202) American imperialism. Zitkala-Ša uses laughter to undermine the intersecting power structures of colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy that within this narrative specifically oppress women, thereby challenging the notion that Indigenous women are mere victims of these systems. Through female laughter, Zitkala-Ša offers a rejection of victimry that is specifically female, and thus depicts a form of Native, female, survivance.

[46] Lakota Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes also explain that for the Lakota laughter 'is something very sacred, especially for us Indians. For people who are as poor as us, who have lost everything, who had to endure so much death and sadness, laughter is a precious gift' (1972, p.237).

Zitkala-Ša also invokes the Three Sisters and Four Sisters gardens through the inclusion of physical descriptions of her aunt, her mother and cousin. As the previous section shows, Warca-Ziwin is the sunflower or Fourth Sister. In relation to the aunt, however, Zitkala-Ša states that the aunt was 'slender and remarkably erect' and 'had a peculiar swing in her gait, caused by a long stride rarely natural to so slight a figure' (2013, p.81). Zitkala-Ša uses the language associated with the first sister, the corn, which Kimmerer describes as the 'firstborn girl' who is 'tall and direct, upright and efficient' (2013, p.132). In keeping with the way Jan Johnsen explains that 'First Sister' (corn) and 'Fourth Sister' (Sunflower) share physical features in that they are both 'tall' and 'slender' (2016), Zitkala-Ša describes the aunt, or 'Warca-Ziwin's mother' (2003, p.81) as similar in physique to Warca-Ziwin. This contrasts with her own mother, who she explains at the start of the narrative 'was only of medium height' (2003, p.68). The comparison between sisters continues, as Zitkala-Ša writes that: '[w]hile my mother's hair was heavy and black, my aunt had unusually thin locks' (2003, p.81). This physical difference between the mother and the aunt is also evocative of descriptions of corn, which Kimmerer explains has roots that are 'fine and fibrous' and 'look like a string mop head' (2013, p.133). Stating that the aunt or first sister was taller, with thinner hair, and 'more jovial and less reserved' (2003, p.81) than her own mother, Zitkala-Ša embraces the notion that differences between sisters is central to a thriving community. Kimmerer explains that: '[i]ndividuality is cherished and nurtured, because, in order for the whole to flourish, each of us has to be strong in who we are and carry our gifts with conviction' (2013, p.132). As Kimmerer demonstrates, the Three Sisters stories and associated practice embrace individuality and difference, explaining that: '[b]eing among the sisters provides a visible manifestation of what a community can become when its members understand and share their gifts' (2013, p.132). Zitkala-Ša maps the characteristics associated with the Four Sisters onto her characters to make visible a female community that celebrates difference, and show that it is through the various qualities of individuals that a resilient community is created.

In 'The Ground Squirrel', Zitkala-Ša allegorises the Four Sisters legends to represent the importance of Native female solidarity and the consequences of abandoning grounded normativity. Through this allegory, Zitkala-Ša foreshadows the protagonist's forced

removal to a residential boarding school that occurs in the following chapter, 'The Big Red Apples', and alludes to her own regret in leaving the sisterhood. In this blood memory, Zitkala-Ša draws upon the feminisation of corn in the Three Sisters legend, as the corn represents the young girls on the Reservation. The corn is feminised and infantilised, as the protagonist views the corn as 'dolls', and explains how she 'braided their soft fine silk for hair, and gave them blankets' (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.82). The braids and blankets that the protagonist makes for the corn dolls are material indicators of Native identity. In the successive chapter, 'The Big Red Apples', a blanket is a source of comfort on the journey to the residential schools. The protagonist explains how she was '[w]rapped in my heavy blanket', 'buried my face in the folds of my blanket', and that her 'playmates' were 'also wearing their best thick blankets' (2003, p.86). The braiding of the corn hair is a symbol of Native femininity that is lost upon arriving at the school, as 'The Cutting of my Long Hair' depicts the traumatic scene in which they 'gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit' (2003, p.91). The feminisation of the corn allows Zitkala-Ša to reflect on her own experiences as an Indigenous girl removed from the female networks that the proceeding stories depict. In the following blood memory that depicts the protagonist's removal, she states that 'the missionaries had inquired about [Judéwin's] little sister' (2003, p.84), and that the protagonist asks specifically about girls: 'Mother, ask them if little girls may have all the red apples they want' (2003, p.85). By coding the corn as female, Zitkala-Ša refers again to the Three Sisters legends that personifies the corn as Native women, but also sets up the allegory to depict the disturbance of female solidarity on the Great Sioux Reservation.

In feminising the corn, Zitkala-Ša allegorises interpersonal, female relationships on the Reservation. By explaining that the protagonist is 'left to watch the corn, that nothing should disturb it' (2003, p.82), Zitkala-Ša represents the protagonist as a protector of the corn, and through the allegory, as a protector of other women. Through the protagonist's interaction with the corn, however, Zitkala-Ša conveys how the protagonist fails to maintain female solidarity. The removal of the girls by missionaries is represented by the squirrel, who Zitkala-Ša introduces as 'a little stranger with a black-and-yellow-striped coat that used to come to the drying corn' (2003, p.82). By referring to the squirrel as a

‘stranger’ (2003, p.82) rather than kin, Zitkala-Ša associates the creature with the missionaries who arrived on the Reservation, echoing the language later used to depict the protagonist ‘in the hands of strangers’ (2003, p.86). The initial interest that the protagonist feels towards the missionaries and her mother’s reluctance is echoed in her interest in the squirrel, as she states that ‘I wanted very much to catch him and rub his pretty fur back, but my mother said he would be so frightened if I caught him that he would bite my fingers’ (2003, p.83). The protagonist’s intrigue, coupled with the mother’s warning of pain parallels the following blood memory, as the mother tells the protagonist that ‘their words are sweet, my child, but their deeds are bitter’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2013, p.84). The determination of the missionaries and eventual removal of the girls is captured in the representation of the squirrel, as Zitkala-Ša states he ‘was so fearless of me that he came to one corner of the canvas and carried away as much of the sweet corn as he could hold’ (2003, p.82). In the same way that the protagonist is in ‘in the hands of strangers’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.86) when she travels to the residential school, the corn is ‘carried away’ by the squirrel ‘stranger’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.82). The growth of the missionaries and increasing number of children taken to the residential schools is depicted in this moment also: ‘[e]very morning he came for more corn. Some evenings I have seen him creeping about our grounds’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.83). The accumulative removal of children from the Yankton Dakota nation is documented by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose who explain that ‘[t]housands of Native children and youth would follow that first group [of seventy-six] from Dakota over the next forty years’ (2016, p.2). Across the USA and Canada, 100,000 Indigenous children were forced to attend these schools (A. Smith, 2015, p.25). The verb ‘creeping’ denotes a suspicious and conspicuous presence, and the use of the pronoun ‘our’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2003, p.83) shows how the squirrel, or missionaries, are not part of this shared land. In gendering the squirrel through masculine pronouns, Zitkala-Ša represents how the removal of Indigenous girls to the residential schools is an inherently patriarchal act that sought to erase Native femininities. Andrea Smith outlines the patriarchal nature of these institutions, stating: ‘[t]he primary role of this education for Indian girls was to inculcate patriarchal norms into Native communities so that women would lose their place of leadership in Native communities’ (2015, p.26). The patriarchal nature of this forced

removal is a direct attack on the grounded normativity associated with the Three Sisters and Four Sisters that celebrates the central role of women within the tribal nation.

Through this allegorisation of the Three Sisters and Four Sisters practices, Zitkala-Ša depicts what happens when one sister is removed from a group of reciprocal and sustaining relationships. As her aunt, mother, and Warca-Ziwin are the corn, beans and sunflower, the protagonist's departure to the boarding school removes her from this network of female solidarity. In Johnsen's version of the Four Sisters story, she explains how the crops protect each other from the 'robbers who may come' (2016). Within the context of Johnsen's story, the 'robbers' (2016) refer to birds who eat the crops. In this narrative, however, the 'robber' (Johnsen, 2016) is the squirrel who eats the corn, and thus represents the missionaries who steal the girls. Stating that she 'was as content as he to keep the corn between us' (2003, p.82), Zitkala-Ša represents the protagonist's – and perhaps her own - complicity with the squirrel and the missionaries that results in her and other children leaving the Reservation and destabilising the female solidarity of the sisterhood. In forsaking her other Three Sisters, she thus becomes a bird who poses a threat to the growth of the female networks. Again, naming plays a significant role in this narrative as the name 'Zitkala-Ša' taken as an adult, translates to 'Red Bird'. By depicting the protagonist as responsible for the removal of the corn, Zitkala-Ša allegorises her own role in the removal of girls from the Reservation: Zitkala-Ša represents herself as the 'Red Bird' who is responsible for the destabilisation of the Native, female solidarity.

Figure 4: ‘All That I Need’ by Soni López-Chávez
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1.4 'The buffalo were made for the prairie, and the prairie for the buffalo': Buffalo, Respect and Reciprocity in 'The Buffalo Woman' and 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West' (2001).

Figure 5: 'It's All About Balance' by Aly McKnight.
Permission to use image kindly granted by artist Aly Mcknight

This section argues that Zitkala-Ša's representations of buffaloes in two stories from *Dreams and Thunder,* 'The Buffalo Woman' and 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West', evoke the grounded normativity established by White Buffalo Calf Woman.[47] As Estes explains, it is through the White Buffalo Calf Woman that humans entered into treaties and relations with the buffalo, and it is from the buffalo that Dakota land-based practices and ethical frameworks emerge (2019, p.203). Used as food as well as 'skins for tipis, fur for robes, and virtually all materials for the tools and objects necessary for everyday living' (Lawrence, 1993, p.21), the buffalo were, and continue to be, an integral part of culture, agriculture, domesticity and economics. Beyond these uses, however, the buffalo embody ethical and reciprocal modes of engagement with the more-than-human world that inform Lakota grounded normativity, as encapsulated in LaDuke's antimetabolic statement: '[t]he buffalo were made for the prairie, and the prairie for the buffalo' (2015, p.153). Kimmerer provides an account of how this ecological reciprocity functions:

> It seems counterintuitive, but when a herd of buffalo grazes down a sward of fresh grass, it actually grows faster in response. […] It's even been discovered that there is an enzyme in the saliva of grazing buffalo that actually stimulates grass growth. […] Grass gives to buffalo, and the buffalo gives to grass. The system is well balanced, but only if the herd uses the grass respectfully. […] Thus they obey the rule of not taking more than half, of not overgrazing. Why shouldn't it also be true for people […]? (2013, p.164)

Kimmerer outlines the place of the buffalo within the ecosystem of the Great Plains, explaining how their actions within this ecosystem is sustainable, productive and beneficial for the more-than-human beings with whom the buffalo co-exist.[48] This in turn typifies forms of grounded normativity that Coulthard refers to as '*a system of reciprocal obligations'* (original emphasis, 2014, p.123), and serves as a model for Dakota behaviours and lifeways.

[47] Unlike *American Indian Stories*, parts of which were published in *Atlantic Monthly* for a predominantly white audience, these two stories were likely written during her role as editor for *American Indian Magazine* (Hafen, 2001, p.3), and intended for an Indigenous audience.

[48] The Great Plains span across South Dakota and North Dakota as well as Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico.

'The Buffalo Woman' and 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West' reveal a form of grounded normativity that emerges from specifically female land-based knowledges and relationships with the buffalo. They foreground the role of Indigenous women's knowledges in establishing modes of ethical engagement with land that enable female resistance to settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchal structures. In both stories, a woman ensures that the tribe engages with the buffalo in respectful and sustainable ways. Zitkala-Ša's representations of Native, female interaction with the buffalo in these stories allude to the Dakota grounded normativity established by the White Buffalo Calf Woman, or Pte San Win, a sacred deity (Hafen, 2001, p.7).[49] White Buffalo Calf Woman encapsulates the kinship between Indigenous women and the buffalo, as the Great Spirit, or *Wakan-Tanka*, transformed a buffalo into a woman so she could bring to the Dakota the Sacred Pipe (Brown, 2012, p.13). It is through the Sacred Pipe that 'all ceremonies and rituals are empowered' (Lawrence, 1993, p.22), and thus grounded normativity is created.[50] Lakota healer Black Elk explains how White Buffalo Cow Woman informed Dakota relations with the more-than-human world as 'from that time, we have been related with the Four-leggeds and all that moves. *Tatanka*, the buffalo, is the closest four-legged relative that we have, and they live as people, as we do' (quoted in Brown, 2012, p.93). It is through White Buffalo Calf Woman that the buffalo are considered relatives (quoted in Brown, 2012, p.142).

The grounded normativity established by White Buffalo Calf Woman is celebrated during ceremonies such as the Sun Dance. Black Elk explains that whilst holding the Sacred Pipe, the following is said:

[49] White Buffalo Calf Woman is also referred to as White Buffalo Cow Woman and the White Buffalo Maiden.

[50] One of the Seven Rites brought by White Buffalo Calf Woman refers to the creation of a sweat lodge, which is held 'in a dome-shaped structure made of saplings and covered with hide or tarps that symbolizes the shape of the universe and/or the womb of a pregnant woman' (Powers, Garret and Martin, 2005, p.5296), which thus reinforces the connection between women and the creation of life in Dakota lifeways.

> We know that we are related and are one with all things of the heavens and earth, and we know that all the things that move are a people as we [...] You have taught us our relationship with all these things and beings, and for this we give thanks, now and always. May we be continually aware of the relationship which exists between the four-leggeds, the two leggeds, and the wingeds. (quoted in Brown, 2012, p.80)

Black Elk’s statement encapsulates the grounded normativity that Simpson describes as a ‘responsive network of relationships of deep reciprocity, intimate and global interconnection and interdependence, that spirals across time and space’ (2017a, p.36). The teachings of White Buffalo Calf Woman foreground the connection between the Dakota, the land and the spiritual world, as the Dakota are implicated within a system of ‘all things of the heavens and earth’ that will be ‘continually’ practiced ‘now and always’ (quoted in Brown, 2012, p.80). As Daniel Modaff explains, when White Buffalo Calf Woman brought the Sacred Pipe to the Dakota, she also brought ‘instructions for the women’ (2019, p.342) to continue her teachings. Thus, Dakota grounded normativity emerges out of relationships between women and the land that is taught and shared amongst the tribe. I argue that it is this female-centred grounded normativity that Zitkala-Ša re-asserts in her stories ‘The Buffalo Woman’ and ‘When the Buffalo Herd Went West’.

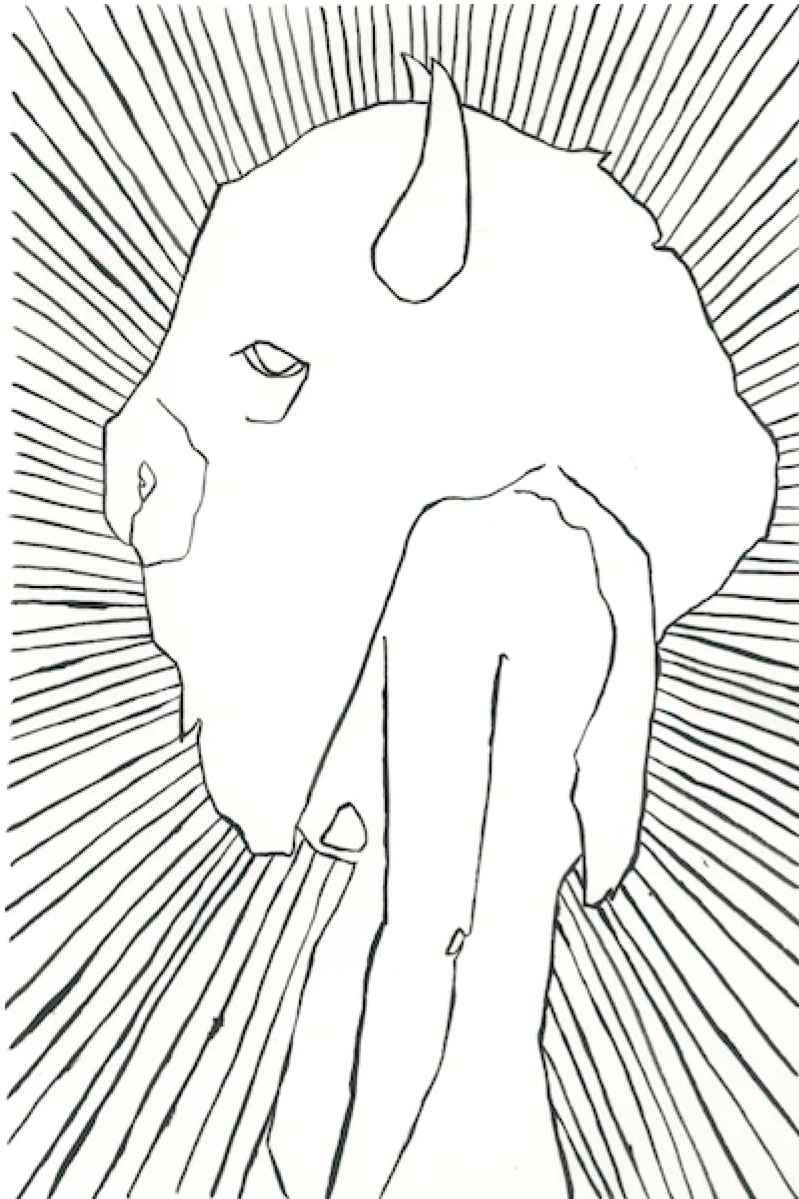

Figure 6: 'White Buffalo Womxn' by Aly McKnight

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In 'The Buffalo Woman', Zitkala-Ša foregrounds the relationship between Dakota women and buffalo to convey how Indigenous women possess specific knowledges relating to the more-than-human world. Zitkala-Ša begins the narrative by alluding to the transformation of White Buffalo Calf Woman. She depicts a man, Wearing Plume, attempting to hunt a buffalo 'upon the next hill ahead' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8) and always out of reach, leaving no tracks behind. After chasing the buffalo from midday until sunset, he comes across 'a fine tepee' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8) in which there is 'a very fine woman dwelling alone' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8). The elusive buffalo's transition into a 'beautiful woman' (2001, p.8) is repeated four times, thus enacting 'the belief that all sacred things come in fours' (Powers, Garret and Martin, 2005, p.5297).[51] In drawing upon this Lakota storytelling tradition, Zitkala-Ša deploys a form of Native tease that is considered to be an aesthetic of literary survivance. As Vizenor suggests, survivance is 'Native tease of the seasons, the myths and metaphors of human and animal connections to the environment' (2000, p.183). Through this repeated transition from buffalo to woman, Zitkala-Ša teases the story of the White Buffalo Calf Woman who was transformed from a buffalo into a woman, altering the ending to omit the bringing of the Sacred Pipe. By portraying the buffalo and the woman as always in sight, yet elusive, Zitkala-Ša 'teases' Wearing Plume and the reader. However, the 'human and animal connections to the environment' (Vizenor, 2000, p.183) here are specifically gendered. The shapeshifting from buffalo to woman depicts a form of female connection to the environment that Wearing Plume cannot comprehend, as he considers it 'a great mystery' (2001, p.8). This notion that the buffalo and women share a specific relationality is supported by Joseph Epes Brown who states: 'association of the bison with the feminine creative powers of the Earth clarifies the associations of the bison with the ideal virtues of chastity, fecundity, industry, and hospitality which are valued in Oglala [Lakota] women' (1997, p.15). It is this female

[51] Amy Klemm Verbos, Joe S. Gladstone, and Deanna M. Kennedy explain: '[f]our is the most powerful number for Lakota people; exemplified by the medicine wheel, a circular representation of creation, intersected by four lines that represent the four directions' (2010, p.7).

relationality with the more-than-human world that Zitkala-Ša uses to challenge colonial and patriarchal discourses.

Zitkala-Ša foregrounds the relations between Dakota women and the more-than-human world to disrupt the binarisation of humans and animals that underpins modes of Western thought. By representing the woman as able to shift between buffalo and human bodily forms, Zitkala-Ša portrays fluidity between human and animal. This fluidity reveals the intimacy of human and more-than-human relations, because as Watts suggests, human-animal relations are articulated through material transformation (2020, p.117). The woman's ability to move between physical forms encapsulates the Dakota grounded normativity brought by White Buffalo Calf Woman: *Mitakuye Oyasin. Mitakuye Oyasin* translates to 'we are all related,' 'all my relatives' or 'all my relations' (Modaff, 2019, p.346), however, Modaff explains that 'the translation of "we are all related" best captures the spirit of the concept as it draws attention to the collective ("we") instead of the individual ("my")' (2019, p.347). Posthumus explains that with the laws established by White Buffalo Calf Woman, 'the land, the animals, and the people became one - fixed in a single harmonious system symbolized by the circle' (2016, p.286). Zitkala-Ša's shapeshifting 'buffalo woman' (2001, p.9) is thus evidence of Dakota grounded normativity, as her ability to be both woman and buffalo represents the way that humans and more-than-humans are 'one' (Posthumus, 2016, p.286). This poses a direct challenge to the Western thought that considers animality as antithetical to humanity:

> This human– animal binary is, like the formulation of Man, solidified through Western Enlightenment conceptions of humanity and animality, and is frequently in direct opposition to other conceptions of ordering life that manifest through, for instance, Indigenous ways of knowing. (Gillespie, 2020, p.251).

In representing not only 'Indigenous ways of knowing' (Gillespie, 2020, p.251) but also Indigenous ways of *being* with and in the more-than-human world, Zitkala-Ša re-asserts Dakota grounded normativity: *Mitakuye Oyasin.* As Holler explains: '[f]luidity and transparency of perceptions in the phenomenal world disallows absolute lines to be drawn between the worlds of animals, humans and spirits' (2000, p.197). Through this disavowal of colonial binaries, Zitkala-Ša rejects the Western, dominant modes of thinking that sought

to demarcate humans from the more-than-human world and justify environmental exploitation.

Zitkala-Ša uses the intimate connection between the buffalo and the woman to allegorise the ways that Indigenous women and the land were intertwined in their subjection to settler-colonial violence, and in their colonial resistance. As Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose suggest: '[t]he association of Indigenous women and colonized land legitimated perceptions of both women and land as objects of colonization' (1994, p.10). This means that, for Indigenous peoples, settler colonialism attacked two 'sacred elements' (Watts, 2013, p.25) of Indigenous lifeways: land and women. Zitkala-Ša represents this joint attack on land and women in her story. The buffalo, and thus the woman, become the objects of Wearing Plume's hunt, as he states, 'I indeed wish for the loin sinews of this bull' (2001, p.7), and for 'four days he followed the buffalo and slept beside the woman's teepee' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8-9). Both the bodily transformation and sentence structure intertwine woman and buffalo - the man needs to follow the buffalo in order to access the woman. However, unlike the colonialist view that equated animality with inferiority, Zitkala-Ša portrays the connection between the woman and the buffalo as positive, as '[f]or many Indigenous peoples, being aligned with the animal world was a position that was treated with respect and honour' (Watts, 2013, p.25). The connection of the woman with the land, which manifests as human-animal transformation, offers the woman and the buffalo a form of enhanced mobility and co-existence that allows them to 'tease' (Vizenor, 2000, p.183) and outwit the man, who in this story represents patriarchal control. The woman and the buffalo continually evade the man who 'could not get within arrow shot' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8), 'could not find the tracks' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8), and for whom 'all traces of them [woman and buffalo] had vanished' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.8). Rather than the intertwining of women and the land indicating susceptibility to dominance, Zitkala-Ša uses the intimate connection between the woman and the buffalo to generate a form of agency predicated upon co-existence. Watt's 'Place-Thought' parallels Coulthard's theory of grounded normativity, and is useful here because it 'is based upon the premise that land is alive and thinking and that humans and non-humans derive agency through the extensions of these thoughts' (2013, p.21). In alluding to the White Buffalo Calf Woman through

transformation, Zitkala-Ša demonstrates how the grounded normativity that informs Dakota women's knowledges create a sense of Indigenous, female agency and enhanced mobility. It is this Native, female agency and kinship with the land that enables female resistance to settler colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism.

Figure 7: 'Connection is Medicine' by Aly McKnight

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‘When the Buffalo Herd Went West’ also allegorises the mass hunting of the buffalo by settlers and conveys how this attack on the land was part of colonialist, white supremacist and patriarchal systems. During the nineteenth century, settlers slaughtered thousands of buffalo as part of the attacks on Indigenous populations, as LaDuke explains:

> During the 1800s, buffalo killing was part of military policy, and land grabbing was part of America. […] buffalo hunters killed the buffalo and thereby destroyed the major food source for Native people of the prairie – and then set upon their land. (2015, p.154-5)

This slaughter, however, was more than an assault on the material forms of sustenance but also an attack on grounded normativity. Simpson explains that settler colonialism has ‘strangulated’ and tried to ‘eliminate’ grounded normativity so that ‘it does not impede land acquisition, settlement, and resource extraction’ (2017a, p.37). Estes is of the opinion that ‘[t]he US military understood this vital connection to place and other-than-humans in the 1860s when it annihilated the remaining 10 to 15 million buffalos in less than two decades’ (2019, p.9). By killing the buffalo and colonising Indigenous women, colonisers attempted to eradicate the source of Lakota, Cree and Blackfoot knowledges and thus compromise the continuance of these knowledges. Whilst Zitkala-Ša was born after the extermination of the buffalo, her writing encapsulates how the loss of the buffalo impacts future generations.

In keeping with the repetitive structure of Lakota stories, Zitkala-Ša depicts a man in a repeated pursuit of buffalo, who I read as a synecdochal reference to the white settlers who slaughtered the buffalo. His whiteness is established through repeated association with a white pony: he is described as riding ‘the white pony in hot pursuit’ (2001, p.14) of the buffalo, and later ‘on his fleet white pony, chasing another buffalo!’ (2001, p.15). Whiteness enables the man to move with ease across the Plains, and whiteness enables the man to hunt the buffalo, and he states ‘[e]veryday I will come chasing the buffalo’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.15). These pursuits end in the killing of the buffalo, as the buffalo ‘fell dead’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.14), and ‘[a]gain he killed it’ (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.15). This engagement with the buffalo goes against White Buffalo Calf Woman’s teachings, as LaDuke explains:

> When you kill a buffalo, there is a Lakota ceremony, the buffalo kill ceremony. In that ceremony, the individual offers prayers and talks to the spirit of the buffalo. Then, and only then, will the buffalo surrender itself. That is when you can kill the buffalo. (2015, p.148)[52]

Zitkala-Ša depicts the man's killing of the buffalo as lacking in the spiritual element that is necessary to maintain respectful relationships with the buffalo. This forms part of the allegory, as LaDuke laments that the ceremony 'was not done for the 50 million buffalo decimated by U.S agriculture and buffalo hunters' (2015, p.148). More than this, however, Zitkala-Ša's representation of the buffalo hunting shows that the man does not use the buffalo in sustainable ways. Rather than use the whole of the buffalo as is custom, the man 'tossed the tripe away' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.14) on both occasions. This is indicative of the ways settlers treated the buffalo, as Estes explains 'white hunters [...] left buffalo carcasses to rot on the plains' (2019, p.78). By allegorising this buffalo slaughter, the next part of the narrative that sees the woman overthrow the man and return the buffalo to the prairies visualises a form of female survivance that occurs through relationships with the more-than-human world, and through the re-establishment of grounded normativity.

Zitkala-Ša parodies settler-colonial rhetoric that insisted on the superiority of white men, as the man is described as self-assured and full of 'empty words' (2001, p.14):

> He talked loud and fast all the while. He boasted of his prowess as a hunter and his unsurpassed skill with the knife. He claimed that he could carve a buffalo in the twinkling of an eye. He told of his wonderful generosity, how he always gave the choiciest meats to the sick and hungry. (2001, p.14)

The repetition of the pronoun 'he' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.14) at the beginning of each sentence emphasises the imposition of patriarchal systems onto the Great Plains. The 'prowess' and 'unsurpassed skill' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.14) mirrors narratives of white supremacy, in which white settlers perceive(d) themselves to be superior to black and Indigenous peoples.[53] This

[52] Simpson also makes the case that hunting is about gaining consent from a more-than-human being. She writes: 'before I begin hunting, I am asking for that being's consent or permission to harvest it. If a physical deer appears, I have their consent. If no animal presents itself to me, I do not' (2017a, p.232).

[53] It is important to note that white supremacy is not limited to the belief that white people are superior to black people, Indigenous people and people of colour. Simpson explains that white supremacy is 'a foundational dispossession force because it is a direct attack on Indigenous bodies as political orders, thought, agency, self-determination, and freedom

is reinforced as in the depiction of the hunter's own thoughts: 'I am the greatest hunter in the world. I am the most generous man in the world. I always give away the choiciest pieces' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.15). In using dialogue, Zitkala-Ša shifts to 'I am' (2001, p.15) to show how colonial discourse seeks to reaffirm the perceived superiority of white settlers. The use of superlatives the 'greatest' and 'most generous' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.15) also indicate that the hunter's sense of self is predicated upon comparison with others. This is particularly relevant given that he thinks he is the most generous man 'in the world' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.15) as it shows that his comparison operates on a global level, like the colonial project.

In her use of verbs, however, Zitkala-Ša undermines the legitimacy of this white supremacy, as he 'boasted', 'claimed' and 'told' (2001, p.14) the woman of these skills, yet demonstrates no evidence of this supposed superiority. The man considers himself to be generous; he believes himself a benevolent figure who can elevate the living conditions of others. This parodies the colonial concepts of 'the white man's burden', or 'manifest destiny', wherein colonisers believed they had a moral obligation to 'civilise' Indigenous peoples.[54] Yet, as Zitkala-Ša shows, the man is not generous, and does not help the woman, as 'there was nothing left for her' (2001, p.14) of the buffalo meat. When he does decide to share some of his hunt, he 'tossed the tripe away, as if throwing to a dog' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.14). Through synecdoche, Zitkala-Ša shows how the colonial conception that settlers and missionaries were 'civilising' and 'ameliorating' the lives of Indigenous peoples functions as a euphemism for treating Indigenous peoples, as the story suggests, like animals. Within the settler mindset, animals were considered inferior to white humans, and particularly white men. The falsity of white supremacy is revealed by the woman who confronts the man and seeks to 'destroy him' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.16): 'you are the most unkind man in the world. You are a man of empty words. You boast of giving choice meat to the sick and poor, but instead you keep the best portion, only giving away the tripe' (2001, p.15). The shift in dialogue from 'I am' to 'you are' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.15) signal a

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(2017a, p.69). It is for this reason that the USA is considered a white supremacist state, as its existence is predicated on the dispossession of Indigenous lands and bodies (See also: Estes, 2019).

[54] The term 'the white man's burden' emerges from Rudyard Kipling's poem of the same name, published in 1899. In this poem, Kipling writes of the colonisation of the Philippines.

direct challenge to white authority, and centres an Indigenous, female voice over the dominance of the white man's voice. Through this direct confrontation between the Indigenous woman and the man, Zitkala-Ša imagines a future where Indigenous women dispel notions of white supremacy. After threatening the man with the sacred drum, a material reference to Indigenous power, the man surrenders his territory and access to the buffalo, which the woman then acquires. Through allegorising the buffalo massacre, Zitkala-Ša also allegorises a decolonial future whereby Indigenous women and the land are no longer oppressed by white supremacy, and where Indigenous women are able to restore respectful relationships between people and the land.

In the same way that White Buffalo Calf Woman brings buffalo and associated ontologies to the Dakota, both of Zitkala-Ša's stories depict women who grant access to the buffalo. In 'The Buffalo Woman', Zitkala-Ša writes that woman had 'an abundance of food and the hunter ate until he was satisfied' (2001, p.8) and that she 'served his hunger' (2001, p.8). When the man marries the woman and they return to his tribe, she is depicted as central to the welfare of the tribe: '[w]henever they wanted meat, this woman went out on the prairie and called the buffalo near the village, so that they had meat and robes aplenty' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.9). The woman's ability to call the buffalo is representative of the fact that 'there were some women who were buffalo callers' (Spotted Eagle, quoted in LaDuke, 2015, p.162). The relationship between the woman and the buffalo provides the tribe with clothing as well as food, and is representative of the domestic and cultural ways that the buffalo inform Dakota life.

Similarly, in 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West', it is through 'an Indian woman' (2001, p.13) that the buffalo return to the Great Plains, and as Tasha Hubbard suggests: 'stories like the buffalo being lost and coming back to the people through the strength and power of women re-inscribe the interconnectivity between women, buffalo and the land' (2016, p.124).[55] In this story, a Native woman acquires a magical 'bladder' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.16) from the white man. From the bladder the sound of 'hoof beats and the rumbling of trampling herds' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.16) and the 'bellowing of buffalo' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001,

[55] Other stories with this theme include Ella Deloria's 'The Buffalo People' (1993) and Beverly Hungry Wolf's 'The Woman Who Brought Back the Buffalo' (1980).

p.16) can be heard. The woman is told that if she opens the neck of the bladder 'a little way' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.17), then a 'buffalo will come out' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.17) and she 'will always have plenty of meat' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.17). The bladder continues to provide the woman and her husband with buffalo, as the narrator explains 'they had meat and skins in plenty. Never in their whole lives had they tasted such savoury meat' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.18). The bladder embodies the connection between traditional, female, land-based knowledges and the buffalo as it is 'beautifully embroidered in the most wonderful designs with brightly coloured quills' (2001, p.16). The embroidery is a material representation of Indigenous women's knowledges, as it was White Buffalo Calf Woman who taught Dakota women quillwork before the arrival of missionaries and their attempt to replace quillwork with quilting (Mello, 2004, p.38). For this reason, women's crafting skills are said to 'emanate from' the buffalo (Brown, 1997, p.xii), and Posthumus makes the case that it is through 'the guidance and example of the bison' that women become 'gifted creators and producers of beautiful crafts' (2016, p.286). In both of these stories, Zitkala-Ša represents the continuation of grounded normativity as specifically associated with women, as the White Buffalo Calf Woman explained to women that 'it was the work of their hands and the fruit of their wombs which kept the tribe alive' (Lame Deer, 1994, p.268). Zitkala-Ša represents women as central to the continuance of Dakota lifeways and the buffalo herds, as the buffalo sustains tribes in terms of food, shelter, clothing and tools, and sustainable engagement with the buffalo ensures their survival. As LaDuke explains, 'if there is no buffalo, life as we know it will cease to exist' (2015, p.162). Zitkala-Ša thus reasserts the sacred role of women in maintaining ethical and reciprocal engagements with the more-than-human world, and resists the colonial policies that attempted to divest Indigenous women of their political, social and economic roles.

In both stories, Zitkala-Ša foregrounds the role of women in protecting respectful and sustainable engagements with the buffalo, and continues the grounded normativity established by the White Buffalo Calf Woman. In 'The Buffalo Woman', the respect and reciprocity needed to ensure the continuance of the buffalo is demonstrated through a 'command' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.9) that the Buffalo Woman gives the tribe:

> that no one should ever mention the name of Tagu, who was the grandfather king of the buffaloes. This aged one was sacred to all his

> kind, and once a tribe of people should mention his name no more buffaloes would travel in their country. (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.9)

Buffalo Woman's command outlines that the relationship between the people and the buffalo is based upon respect. Respect, as Modaff explains, 'can be considered a manifestation of *mitakuye oyasin*, and a necessary precursor to the successful performance of the Lakota values' (2019, p.347). If people no longer respect the buffalo, then the buffalo cease to provide sustenance for the tribe. Similarly, in 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West', Zitkala-Ša advocates for the privileging of the community over the individual as upon acquiring the endless supply of buffalo, the woman '[shares] the game with their people' (2001, p.18). This is indicative of Dakota grounded normativity, as the 'Lakota value system is a natural extension of *mitakuye oyasin*, creating a set of expectations for behavior that privileges the other parts of creation over self, community before individual' (Modaff, 2019, p.348). Part of these expectations include being generous, 'because doing so ensured the mutual existence and persistence of all of creation' (Modaff, 2019, p.352). The access to 'plenty' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.18) is also based upon respectful engagements with the buffalo, as the couple are not to take more than their fair share, and are thus to release no more than one buffalo each day. By sustaining grounded normativity, the women ensure that the tribes preserve their respectful and sustainable engagements with the buffalo that contrast the values of colonialism that are 'so intensely about consumption' (Simpson, 2017a, p.35).

Both of Zitkala-Ša's stories serve as warning to both Indigenous and settler audiences as they show how the land responds when people no longer practice reciprocal and respectful relationships with the buffalo. In 'The Buffalo Woman', one member of the tribe goes against the buffalo woman's orders. He speaks of Tagu by name, and refers to him as 'the old rascal' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.9), which signals a lack of respect to the 'venerable one' or the 'grandfather of the buffalos' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.9). In Great Plains cultures, speaking of the more-than-human world in this manner is considered a form of disrespect, as 'everything that comes from our mouth we consider sacred' because 'we have the power to create or to destroy with even our own words' (Modaff, 2019, p.348). Through this dialogue, Zitkala-Ša depicts the deterioration of respectful interaction with the land. This man also exhibits greed, as he wishes to kill Tagu even though the tribe has already killed 'a great number of buffalos' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.9). This man goes against

Dakota practices as he does not talk to the spirit of the buffalo, and Tagu does not 'surrender' (LaDuke, 2015, p.148) himself to the man. Instead, Zitkala-Ša writes of how 'the one hairless old bull escaped' (2001, p.9). In refusing to engage with the buffalo with respect, the man abandons grounded normativity, as LaDuke states that '[t]o kill incorrectly, many would say, affects and disrupts all life' (LaDuke, 2015, p.148). Zitkala-Ša represents this disruption: 'the buffalo woman struck her tepee and gathered all her clothing' (2001, p.9); and 'all the streams that the buffalo woman crossed instantly became dry' (2001, p.10). The drying up of the streams signals the reversal of the buffalo's reciprocity with the rest of the ecosystem of the Great Plains. In an interview, Oglala Lakota Katela Herakasapa explains that buffalo 'can bring back streams when they run – [in] certain places they will bring the water back' (mihoaida, 2010). Here, however, Zitkala-Ša demonstrates how the life that the buffalo nurtures cannot be sustained unless people respect the buffalo. The connection between the woman, the buffalo and the water represent the relationality between the different more-than-humans on the Great Plains, and indicates that because they are all connected, changes to relationships with one being will inform their relationships in the more-than-human world.

In 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West', Zitkala-Ša conveys how Dakota grounded normativity is compromised through excessive consumption and unsustainable engagements with the buffalo. This greed is represented by the trickster Iktomi, the 'mischief maker of camps' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.18).[56] Iktomi disregards the knowledges of the Indigenous woman, as '[i]n spite of her pleas not to touch the sacred bag, he strode roughly by her; he pushed her aside' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.18). In disregarding the knowledge of the woman, who knows to only release one buffalo a day, Iktomi disrupts established practices of sustainable consumption. Zitkala-Ša writes:

> In his haste to untie the neck of the bladder, his clumsy fingers dropped the pouch to the ground! It fell wide open. Instantly a great herd of buffalo stampeded! A herd so great that it was impossible to number them. (2001, p.18-9)

[56] Iktomi features throughout Zitkala-Ša's *Old Indian Legends* (1901) as well as Ella Deloria's *Dakota Texts* (1932). Iktomi is also known by the names Ikto, Unktome and Unktomi.

In releasing the herd of buffalo, Iktomi foregoes the ethical modes of engagement with the more-than-human world that Dakota lifeways are based upon. This disturbs the respectful relationships that the people had with the buffalo, and the animals exhibit a 'mad fury, bellowing shrilly and roaring with a voice of thunder' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.19), so much so that the 'earth shook' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.19). The phrase the 'earth shook' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.19) has two meanings here. In a literal sense, the 'earth' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.19) refers to the land from which place-based knowledge emerges. Using the dynamic verb to state that it 'shook' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.19) reflects the land's agency as well as the presence of the buffalo, and how it the land responds, perhaps in anger or anxiousness, to Iktomi's actions. However, the 'earth' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.20) also implicates Iktomi and the people within an interconnected global system. In stating that the 'earth shook' (Zitkala-Ša, 2001, p.19), Zitkala-Ša demonstrates that this abandonment of grounded normativity not only affects Iktomi, but has planetary implications. It indicates the relationality between an individual and the rest of the world, in that increased consumption for Iktomi thus results in reduced access to resources for others. Zitkala-Ša conveys how this excessive consumption of the buffalo is ultimately damaging for the people of the Great Plains, as the story ends with the buffalo killing the Iktomi and others: '[t]hey trampled upon Iktomi, the woman, and the tent. This, they say, is when the buffalo herd went west' (2001, p.19).

In both 'The Buffalo Woman' and 'When the Buffalo Herd Went West', Zitkala-Ša demonstrates that trivialising or ignoring Indigenous women's knowledges leads to the abandonment of grounded normativity. Zitkala-Ša therefore emphasises the centrality of Indigenous women's knowledges in continuing grounded normativity and ensuring the continuance of Indigenous lifeways. Although Simpson states that Indigenous intelligence systems, or grounded normativity, 'hold the potential, the theory as practice, for making ethical, sustainable Indigenous worlds' (2017a, p.38), Zitkala-Ša demonstrates that Indigenous women's knowledges play a specific role that is integral to creating and sustaining Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Whilst Anderson states that '[s]tories like that of the White Buffalo Calf Woman […] offer ways to resist the vision offered by religions where the law-giver is always male and the female is subservient' (2000, p.132), Zitkala-Ša's adaptations of the White Buffalo Calf Woman story resists more than the

patriarchal logics of enforced Christianity. Zitkala-Ša's stories show that the preservation of Indigenous women's knowledge resists the intersecting structures of colonialism, capitalism, patriarchy, which seek to subdue women and the land.

1.5 Conclusion

Figure 8: 'Labouring for the Ancestors, Children, Relatives, Earth and Future' by Aly McKnight

Permission kindly granted by artist Aly McKnight

By analysing *American Indian Stories* as a blood memory rather than an autobiography, this chapter considers the narrative through a new lens that is attentive to Dakota ways of knowing and ways of being. Instead of reading the narrative only in terms of the protagonist's experience, bringing the lives of the other women to the forefront of the analysis reveals how Zitkala-Ša tells of a collective, female experience of colonial oppression and colonial resistance. By telling the stories of the protagonist, along with her mother, cousin, aunt, and Blue-Star Woman, Zitkala-Ša gives readers a glimpse into the lives of several Indigenous women, attempting to address the fact that 'Indigenous women are largely absent from early historical narratives' (Estes, 2019, p.83). In depicting women engaged in traditional domestic practices such as agriculture, food and water preparation and quillwork, Zitkala-Ša conveys how survivance is not limited to momentous acts of physical violence against the coloniser. Instead, Zitkala-Ša conveys that for Indigenous women, continuing to practice and celebrate traditionally female tasks are central to resisting settler colonialism and maintaining the Native femininities that the state attempts to eradicate. Analysing *American Indian Stories* in terms of collective, female action also transforms the narrative from one of victimry to one of survivance. Considering Zitkala-Ša's work in terms of survivance aligns her writing with her political activism, which Estes describes as 'unrelenting advocacy for American Indian political renewal and self-determination' (2019, p.215), including her work for the Society of American Indians.[57]

By analysing relationships with the more-than-human world in both stories, the notion of collective resistance becomes inclusive of plants and animals. Survivance, in this case, is not only practiced by humans, but is a multi-species process in which women draw upon their relationships with the more-than-human world in order to resist the erasure of Native womanhood. In re-asserting the power of female relationships with the more-than-human world, and the knowledges that these relationships engender, Zitkala-Ša's stories re-claim the spiritual power of Indigenous women. Tracing how sunflowers, corn, beans, squash and buffalo appear across Zitkala-Ša's works reveals allusions to Native (hi)stories such as that of White Buffalo Calf Woman, whose teachings are represented as still present

[57] Estes explains that the Society for American Indians championed 'opposition to the US occupation, invasion, and the colonization of Turtle Island' (2019, p.209).

within settler-colonial spaces. Alluding to White Buffalo Calf Woman not only rejects the dominance of white, settler culture, but also rejects the patriarchal structures aligned with settler colonialism, as it reinstates the integral role of women in creating and sustaining society. Due to the fact that Zitkala-Ša alludes to the practices and laws established by White Buffalo Calf Woman throughout her works, she demonstrates how female-centred grounded normativity continues to exist across time and space, and it is through the continuance of grounded normativity that female resistance to settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy is achieved.

Chapter Two

2.0 Shapeshifting as a Strategy of Survivance in Tekahionwake's Short Stories

Figure 10: 'Being Together' by Alanah Jewell of Morning Star Designs

Permission to use image kindly granted by Alanah Jewell

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how Mohawk (Haudenosaunee) writer, Tekahionwake,[58] demonstrates survivance by adapting and thus continuing two key features of Native stories: human-animal transformation, or shapeshifting, and interspecies communication between humans and animals. I argue that in two periodical publications, 'The Potlatch' and 'The Wolf-Brothers' (1910, 1913), Tekahionwake reimagines the trope of shapeshifting to ensure the continuance of traditional knowledge within a publishing industry dominated by patriarchal and anti-Indigenous systems. Where Native stories tend to narrativise physical transformations from human to animal, exemplified by figures including Iktomi (Lakota), Wenabozho (Ojibwe, Métis) and Sedna (Inuit), Tekahionwake's short stories represent transformation through metaphorical zoomorphism.[59] In these narratives, initially published in the Christian periodical *Boys' World* (1910) before being re-published in short story collection *The Shagganappi* (1913), human characters imitate wolf behaviours to survive and resist settler colonialism in Canada, which is known to many Indigenous nations as Turtle Island.[60] By adapting these tropes of Native stories for new written forms, I argue that Tekahionwake demonstrates what Gerald Vizenor refers to as 'Native survivance': 'an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however pertinent' (Vizenor,

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[58] Tekahionwake is more commonly known by her Anglo name, E. Pauline Johnson. Although Tekahionwake published under E. Pauline Johnson, Ernest Thompson Seton states in the prologue to *The Shagganappi* that she stated: 'Never let anyone call me a white woman [...] Oh, why have your people forced on me the name Pauline Johnson? Was not my Indian name good enough? Do you think you help us by bidding us forget our blood? [...] I am Indian. My pen and my life I devote to the memory of my people. Forget that I was Pauline Johnson, but remember always that I was Tekahionwake, the Mohawk' (2018, p.589). I use the name Tekahionwake in respect to her wishes, and to emphasise the Indigenous perspective from which she writes.

[59] The term 'Anishinaabe' is used to refer to the Three Fires Confederacy, made up of the Ojibwe, Potawatomi and Odawa.

[60] The name Turtle Island emerges from the creation story wherein Sky Woman landed on the back of a turtle. Watts explains: '[i]n the Haudenosaunee origin story, Sky Woman becomes curious and falls through a hole in the sky and she is safely brought down to earth by different birds who land her on the back of a turtle. With the help of other animals, they are able to create territory, and the beginning of humankind' (2013, p.25).

1997 p.1). I draw upon the exclusionary publishing contexts of periodicals and the literary contexts of werewolf novels to demonstrate how Tekahionwake ensured the continuance of Native stories in an industry that discriminated against Indigenous women writers. I also develop Vizenor's theory of survivance to argue that Tekahionwake's expression of survivance is dependent upon preserving the human and more-than-human relations that form the basis of Native stories, and using these relationships to demonstrate how humans and animals can co-resist capitalist extraction and the erasure of Indigenous masculinities.

The transition from shapeshifting in oral stories to physical transformation and metaphorical transformation within written Native stories positions Tekahionwake's writing as an act of survivance at the level of form as well as content.[61] In re-writing oral stories into a written form, Tekahionwake preserves the acts of shapeshifting and interspecies communication within colonial spaces that work to eradicate Indigenous knowledges. By adapting the forms of Native stories whilst conserving Indigenous knowledges, Tekahionwake herself is engaged in the practice of survivance through her writing. Whilst more recent scholarship (Redmond, 2016; Francis IV and Munson, 2017; Olivier, 2018) conceptualises survivance as a portmanteau of 'survival' and 'resistance', for Vizenor, survivance is also 'an active sense of presence, the continuance of Native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry' (1999, p.vii). A reminder here of Vizenor's definition of survivance reveals its complex and multifaceted components - as well as surviving and resisting assimilation into dominant, Western culture, acts of survivance can consist of continuing Native stories that ultimately reject notions of victimhood. In transporting stories of shapeshifting and interspecies communication into the written form, then,

[61] Strong-Boag and Gerson also note how Tekahionwake continues the Native tradition in her writing through form. Writing of *Legends of Vancouver*, they explain that her parenthetical comments 'remind the reader of the original source. The result is a highly sophisticated double-voicing, which shifts between features of oral and literary discourse' (2000, p.175). Christine Marshall makes a similar observation, stating that: 'it is clear that [Johnson's] handling of the legends includes contextual elements now considered essential to an oral storytelling [which include] her detailed descriptions of her relationship with the storyteller, of the occasion of the storytelling, [and] of the language and gestures used' (1997, p.166).

Tekahionwake is engaged in survivance, preserving elements of Native stories whilst rejecting the notion that Indigenous peoples – and the more-than-human world – are helpless victims of colonial extraction.

Preserving Native stories and facilitating their existence within the Canadian periodical press (which privileges Anglophone literature, Christianity, and Canadian nationalism) is an act of survivance because the survival of Native stories ensures the longevity of traditional Indigenous knowledges. Aman Sium and Eric Ritskes explain the role of Native stories in embodying traditional knowledges: '[s]tories in Indigenous epistemologies are disruptive, sustaining, knowledge producing, and theory-in-action' (2013, p.II). Native stories teach and maintain epistemologies, ontologies and lifeways, and challenge the 'universal' status of Western epistemologies. Native stories are particularly important for the acknowledgment and expression of epistemologies relating to plants, animals and land, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains: 'Indigenous storywork activates our own lores/laws and practices of the land in a way that honours ancestral connections to the living world' (2021, p.19). Sium and Ritskes make a similar case, stating that Indigenous stories restore 'relationships rooted in land […] Land is not simply the backdrop against which stories are told; it's the premise of why and how we tell them and the promise of reclamation' (2013, p.II). Storytelling is therefore a medium through which grounded normativity, or place-based decolonial thought and practice (Coulthard, 2014, p.27), is shared and protected. Native stories thus reinforce the ways in which the land, and by extension, more-than-human beings, are intertwined, and exist within a relationship based upon reciprocity.

By transforming Native stories into a written medium, Tekahionwake establishes several First Nation epistemologies as existing within settler-colonial spaces in nineteenth-century Turtle Island. In her depictions of metaphorical shapeshifting and interspecies communication within a narrative of goldmining and capitalist extraction – practices that sought to commodify and silence the land - Tekahionwake uses storytelling to resist colonial and ecological violence. As Sium and Ritskes suggest: '[i]n the face of colonial extermination, the articulation of Indigenous stories, epistemologies, and cultural groundings, are inherently resistant and threatening […] stories become mediums for

Indigenous peoples to both analogize colonial violence and resist it in real ways' (2013, p.V). In transporting the more-than-human elements of Native stories into a written medium, Tekahionwake ensures the survival of Native stories, whilst engaging in a practice of survivance that is committed to resisting the ecological and material impacts of settler colonialism. Through storytelling, Tekahionwake imagines a space wherein Indigenous epistemologies continue to thrive within colonial spaces.

Due to the US and Canadian governments enforcing and supporting the genocide, displacement, and fragmentation of Indigenous communities, the communal storytelling tradition was weakened and imperilled, and continues to be in decline. It is only as recently as 2015 that the ongoing systemic violence has been openly and officially recognised by the Canadian government in the form of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.[62] This Commission sought to investigate the institutionalised violence inflicted on Native people in the Canadian Indian residential schooling system, and admits in the Final Report that: '[Native] families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next' (2015, p.1).[63] This is an admission of epistemicide as well as genocide, as Native stories are, first and foremost, a means of communicating cultural values in an intergenerational setting, and this tradition was severely compromised due to the colonial schooling system.[64] Within the context of nineteenth-century settler colonialism, then, transposing oral Native stories into a written form is evidence of survivance. It ensures the presence and 'continuance of Native stories'

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[62] The Truth and Reconciliation Report states: 'For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide" [...] the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. [...] [t]he Canadian government pursued this policy of cultural genocide because it wished to divest itself of its legal and financial obligations to Aboriginal people and gain control over their land and resources' (2015, pp.1-3).

[63] The full report is available to the public and can be accessed at the official Truth and Reconciliation website: http://www.trc.ca/.

[64] Residential schooling systems in Canada inform Tekahionwake's writing and feature in the stories 'The Shagganappi', 'As it was in the Beginning' and 'Little Wolf-Willow'.

(Vizenor, 1999, p.vii) within settler colonial spaces that have been affected by capitalist-imperialist practices. For this reason, this chapter examines representations of human-animal transformation as manifestations of survivance within the contexts of what Sium and Ritskes refer to as 'triangular threats' (2013, p.V). I analyse how Tekahionwake uses the shapeshifting trope to respond to and resist settler colonialism and the commercial, industrialising and extractivist practices associated with the Hudson Bay Trading Company, railway construction, and goldmining on Indigenous lands.

Analysing representations of more-than-human beings within Native stories is crucial given the role that animals play in expressing survivance. In *Fugitive Poses,* Vizenor dedicates a chapter to 'Literary Animals', explaining that 'totemic traces of nature are redoubled in metaphors and the creation of animal characters' and that 'metaphorical bears, wolves, mongrels, totemic cranes, and other creatures, are traces of Native transmotion and survivance' (2000, p.133). In the same way that the marginalisation and erasure of Indigenous cultures was coupled with the destruction and exploitation of the environment, the resistance to these practices manifests in the foregrounding of the agency and animacy of the more-than-human world. The role of shapeshifting in survivance is noted by Vizenor who explains that Native storytellers 'have secured a singular humane practice of the cultural tease [...] and the transformation of animals in stories' (2009, p.2; 1999, p.63). It is these qualities of agency, animacy and shapeshifting that this chapter explores, particularly relating to how representations of the more-than-human world resist Western discourses that construct nature as mute, inanimate, without agency, and as commodity: something that has value only in the context of a global-capitalist system. As Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin state in their examination of nature under capitalism, 'the earth, now rendered fully exploitable for its resources, was seen – in a flagrant distortion of the available empirical evidence – to be inanimate and inert' (2015, p.226). In examining the ways Tekahionwake reanimates the more-than-human world by reviving key principles of Native stories, this chapter explores how survivance is not only a human concern, but an ecological one.

Shapeshifting, companionships with, and communication between, human and wolf feature frequently across folklore from First Nation, Inuit, and Métis tribes, and are a

component of the orature that Tekahionwake preserves in her written stories. Tekahionwake's written works look beyond her own Haudenosaunee culture and depict experiences of the Lillooet and Chinook tribes of British Columbia. This chapter responds to her effort to depict shared experiences of Indigeneity across Turtle Island and considers these texts in relation to Native stories more broadly. Interspecies communication and shapeshifting remain unexamined across Tekahionwake's writing as a whole, as approaches to her works tend to remain anthropocentric, examining her bicultural awareness and performance fluidity (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000; Collett, 2001; Jones & Ferris, 2017), 'Indian' identity (Monture, 2002; Piatote, 2011) and readings of her as a New Woman writer (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000). This inattention to human-animal relationships in Tekahionwake's writing is unusual given the recurrence of wolves and lupine imagery across Indigenous and global literatures.[65] Addressing this animal-shaped gap reveals how Tekahionwake's resistance to industrialisation and extraction is reliant upon representations of human-animal relationships and co-resistance. To extend the study of Tekahionwake's short stories, I will analyse two short stories from the periodical, *Boys' World*, 'The Potlatch' and 'The Wolf-Brothers'. I draw upon Indigenous knowledges outlined by Robert Innes and Kim Anderson (2015), Brendan Hokowhitu (2015) and Bob Antone (2015), to explore how Tekahionwake depicts human-animal transformations and interspecies communication in ways that resist the Western view that the human/animal boundary is fixed, and that the more-than-human world is mute. In so doing, I demonstrate how elements of oral tradition are able to survive the transition from oral to written form, and yet resist Western notions that render the more-than-human world as separate from the human world.

This chapter comprises five parts. The first addresses the ways in which patriarchal and colonial systems shaped Tekahionwake's writing, particularly with regard to the

[65] Vizenor examines the significance of dogs in Native stories by Owens, Louise Erdrich and Gordon Henry Jr., and in novels by Jack London and Marshall Saunders (2000, pp.128-143). See also: Robisch, S.K. (2009). *Wolves and the wolf myth in American literature*. University of Nevada Press; Alfero, T., 2019. *The wolf connection: What wolves can teach us about being human*. Atria/Enliven Books.

periodical press and the restrictions this placed on the construction of an authentic Native voice. The second section outlines how Tekahionwake aligns herself with both Native storytelling traditions and Euro-Canadian literary production through her representation of wolves and human-wolf transformation. Then, in the third section, I explore how Tekahionwake attempts to dismantle the heteropatriarchal impacts of gender through zoomorphism. I show how, through evoking the shapeshifting trope, Tekahionwake critiques colonial masculinities that are based upon dominance over the more-than-human world, and reimagines a form of decolonised, Indigenous masculinity. The fourth section explores how Tekahionwake continues an element of oral, Native stories by constructing a narrative in which humans communicate across species boundaries in 'The Wolf-Brothers'. I explore how Tekahionwake represents the voices of the wolves and depicts interspecies communication between human and more-than-human relations within the context of the nineteenth-century gold-rush. Tekahionwake represents to Western audiences the importance of interspecies communication within an interconnected world, and thereby complicates Western conceptions of voice. Combining these ideas in the fifth and final part of the chapter, I conclude that Tekahionwake's representations of shapeshifting through metaphor and voice are part of a gendered practice of survivance.

2.2 Navigating the Periodical Press

Born to a Mohawk chief and an upper-class English woman in 1861, Tekahionwake attempted to embrace the cultures of both her parents: to be an Haudenosaunee woman with an acknowledged and respected power and autonomy, whilst emulating the European - and therefore dominant - feminine ideal that was subject to patriarchal domination (Goeman, 2013, p.41). The contexts in which Tekahionwake published are important for situating her work as an act of survivance. I reveal the extent to which Tekahionwake had to strive to overcome colonial and patriarchal obstacles that hindered women, particularly Indigenous women, from publishing their writing. Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson nod to the androcentric nature of publishing during the late-nineteenth century, stating that readers were 'bluntly reminded that despite the increasing visibility of women writers, men remained the critical power-brokers in the literary world' (2000, p.62). The social

fabric of nineteenth-century Canada that limited women's ability to be independent wage earners was embedded in the patriarchal nature of the publishing industry. Strong-Boag and Gerson explain:

> Most Canadian poets active during Johnson's lifetime had to subsidize the production of their books, a situation that was usually more difficult for women than for men, whose position as wage-earners and legally sanctioned trustees (and beneficiaries) of family resources gave them better access to funds. (2000, p.137)

The reality of this subsidising culture is evidenced by the 'unconventional publishing enterprise' (Quirk, 2004, p.204) through which Tekahionwake's work was eventually brought to reading audiences. For most of her career, Tekahionwake was unable to secure a book publisher despite her travels across Canada, the US and England (Quirk, 2004, p.201). The publication of Tekahionwake's first book, *Legends of Vancouver* (1911), emerged due to her ill-health and the generosity of her friends.[66] Dying of breast cancer, Tekahionwake was unable to work and thus unable to afford treatment. In an act of support, friend and Vancouver journalist Isabel MacLean brought together Tekahionwake's friends and colleagues, including Lionel Makovski and Bernard McEvoy from the *Daily Province* newspaper, the son of the former Prime Minister, lawyer C.H. Tupper, alongside Vancouver Women's Press Club and the Women's Canadian Club, to establish the 'Pauline Johnson Trust' (Quirk, 2009, p.211). This trust sourced the funds needed to publish what came to be known as *Legends of Vancouver,* initially produced with the imprint 'Privately Published' (Quirk, 2009, p.211). Tekahionwake's difficulties in publishing are explained by Strong-Boag and Gerson, who state that '[u]nder these circumstances, Johnson's desire to earn her living as a poet was not realistic' (2000, p.137). This was considered to be 'the common situation for poets across the English-speaking world' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.137), as Tekahionwake reported that she 'earned no more than five hundred dollars for her poetry' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.137) throughout her lifetime. Sabine Milz also addresses the pitfalls of the publishing industry, explaining that: '[t]he exploitative

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[66]Linda Quirk explains that the Trust 'mobilized to publish and distribute numerous editions and reprints of *Legends of Vancouver* between December 1911 and March 1913 in order to provide for the needs of their ailing friend, and they did so without the resources of a publishing house' (2009, p.205). Publishing the text in various forms, the Trust sold approximately 20,000 copies in one year.

nature of imperial copyright law was a major cause of the exodus of many Canadian writers and the poor state of Canada's publishing industry' (2004, p.129). Although unable to earn a living wage through writing alone, Strong-Boag and Gerson explain that 'Johnson's publishing career is fairly typical of Canadian writers of her era, especially women, who sought to survive by their pens' (2000, p.137). This gendered form of 'survival', as Strong-Boag and Gerson suggest, relied upon working as a contributor to periodicals, including *Boy's World, Mother's Magazine, The Canadian Magazine, Daily Province Magazine* and *Vancouver Province Magazine.*

Despite finding success as a periodical writer and becoming 'one of the most widely-read Aboriginal writers in the US' (Milz, 2004, p.136), Tekahionwake's status as an Indigenous woman impacted the publishing opportunities she was offered. Due to the fact that 'Aboriginal print publishing was nonexistent at the time Johnson [Tekahionwake] wrote' (Milz, 2004, p.139), and 'material dissatisfactions of Native peoples were represented in the press in quite different ways' (Leighton, 1998, p.143), mainstream periodicals did not support Indigenous writers in their literary pursuits. Anti-Indigenous rhetoric particularly targeted women, as the beginning of the twentieth century saw the 'increasing commercialization of the image of the Indian princess' (Gerson, 1998, p.93). Carole Gerson explains that Tekahionwake's image 'was so tainted by the category of Indian princess that no self-respecting mid-century man of letters would likely take her seriously' (1998, p.93). Gerson's speculation is proved true: a survivor of both racism and sexism, Tekahionwake was dismissed as a 'squaw' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.79) by the son of the editor of Manitoba's *Minnedosa Tribune*, and omitted from R. E. Watter's *Centennial Anthology* in favour of being written about in an article 'The Passionate Princess' (Gerson, 1998, p.93). The fact Tekahionwake had aimed to 'make her way as a New Woman in North America and Britain' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.59) may have also contributed to her 'Indian Princess' image. First used by Sarah Grand in her 1894 essay 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question' (Ledger, 1997, p.9), the New Woman was an international phenomenon associated with emerging feminisms and female independence. 'The New Woman', Strong-Boag and Gerson explain, 'signalled modernity in her espousal of many causes, including better education, paid work, egalitarian marriage, and health and dress reform' (2000,

p.60). The New Woman movement was not particularly well-received, however, and its criticism was also characterised by anti-Indigenous rhetoric: '[l]ike their sisters among the Aboriginal peoples of the Empire, [New Women] were castigated as a throwback to a matriarchal stage of human development' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.60). Angus McLaren also explains how New Women were 'were commonly compared by their denigrators in academic circles to Jews, blacks, and Native American Indians' (1997, p.32). Tekahionwake thus had to navigate a publishing industry and national culture 'usually characterized as less than encouraging to women, [and] to First Nations Canadians' (Gerson, 1998, p.90).

Under the intersecting systems of heteropatriarchy, colonialism and capitalism, Tekahionwake was required to perform her identity as an Indigenous woman in a way that was palatable to the Euro-Canadian editors and audiences of periodicals to be a successful Native, female writer.[67] Milz explains that Tekahionwake's correspondence with magazines and newspapers 'makes it clear that not only audiences and reviewers but also editors in her day had specific, stereotyped expectations of "Native life" and "Canada," which they expected of her as conditions for being considered for publication' (2004, p.137). Tekahionwake's correspondence with Elizabeth Ansley, the editor of *Boys' World,* a Christian weekly with a readership of 300,000 young boys (Jacobson, 2004, p.27), makes

[67] This performative racial transition was most obvious in her performances, which took place in Canada, London, and the US. In them, she 'pivoted between her identity as a Mohawk author and a position as a New Woman' (Swenson, 2018, p.70) by changing her outfit behind a Hudson's Bay blanket to ensure that the transition from Mohawk to upper-class white woman was 'invisible' (Neigh, 2018, p.38). This element of her performance, alongside the 'vacillations' (Stafford, 2016, p.160) or 'contradictory message[s]' (Swenson, 2018, p.69) within her work, led her persona as a writer and performer to be considered 'complex and contradictory' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.180). Although Tekahionwake and her stage persona have consistently been analysed in terms of her racial status, it must be noted that Tekahionwake herself did not subscribe to the notion that race was a defining factor of female identity. In her 1892 article 'A Strong Race Opinion on the Indian Girl in Modern Fiction' she writes, 'it matters little to what race an author's heroine belongs, if he makes her character distinct, unique and natural' (2002, p.177). This article was initially published in *Toronto Sunday Globe* and is preserved by Mills Memorial Library at McMaster University (Keller, 2015, p.116).

clear the ideological standpoint from which Tekahionwake was required to write.[68] Strong-Boag and Gerson explain that Ansley 'found Canadian nationalism not only acceptable but desirable, the promotion of patriotism per se being one of her goals' (2000, p.167). Ansley advised Tekahionwake that:

> What we are in need of is good Canadian stories. We have experienced considerable difficulty in procuring Canadian stories with the real patriotic ring - stories where the loyalty does not seem forced. We have many Canadian subscribers, and we wish to give them of our best, and what will appeal to the best in them, and the love of country is part of every boy whether of Canada or the United States. (quoted in Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.167)

This correspondence reveals that, whilst Tekahionwake wrote *about* First Nations peoples, she did not write first and foremost *for* First Nations peoples, as she had to 'appeal' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.167) to a young, settler audience. For *Boys' World*, in which 'The Wolf-Brothers' and 'The Potlatch' were initially published, she had to cater for an audience 'presumed to be pre-adolescent American boys in need of literary entertainment that inculcates education about wholesome masculinity, Canada, and Indians' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.167). As well as advocating for nationalism and Euro-Canadian notions of masculinity, *Boys' World* was considered a Christian periodical and was published by the Cook Publishing Company, known as 'a printer of evangelical Protestant devotional literature' (Cantwell, 2017, p.1). Therefore, when granted publishing opportunities, Tekahionwake was required to contribute to the socialisation of young men as masculine, patriotic and Protestant subjects of empire through her writing.

[68] Ansley was also the editor of *Mother's Magazine*, in which Tekahionwake published other short stories including 'Mothers of a Great Red Race' (1908), 'Winter Indoor Life of the Indian Mother and Child' (1908), 'The Legend of the Two Sisters' (1909) and 'Catharine of the "Crow's Nest"' (1910). *Mother's Magazine* was launched in 1833 by the Maternal Association of Utica, and contributors 'facilitated a character education initiative to ensure that both mother and child would be dutiful and thoughtful Christian citizens' (Schertz, 2009, p.310). The periodical was designed for 'the burgeoning middle class in industrial America' (Schertz, 2009, 314) and like *Boys' World*, was written for a predominantly Christian audience. It peddled what Matthew Schertz defines as a 'Calvinist maternal ideology' (2009, p.310). Alice LaVonne Browne Ruoff explains that *Mother's Magazine* had a circulation of 600,000 at Tekahionwake's time of writing (1992, p.252).

Although given a platform upon which to be 'the first Aboriginal woman to write in English about Aboriginal issues' (Milz, 2004, p.127), Tekahionwake's short stories were required to foreground forms of masculinity bound up in whiteness and Canadian nationalism.[69] As Strong-Boag and Gerson explain, '[b]ecause of the significance of *Boys' World* as a market, sons appear in her fiction more frequently [than daughters]' (2000, p.88). Even when catering for her male audience, however, Tekahionwake continued to align herself with the New Woman movement, incorporating strong and skilled women into her narratives: '[i]n stories written for *Boys' World* between 1906 and 1911, women are no longer the central characters, yet they remain pivotal in civilizing their sons and inspiring them to higher levels of accomplishment' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.92).[70] Strong-Boag and Gerson reveal one way in which Tekahionwake created a sense of strong, Native, female presence even within a medium that sought to centre the experiences and education of white, male settlers.

Tekahionwake managed to incorporate strategies of resistance that worked to advocate for First Nation rights. Writing of 'The Potlatch', Strong-Boag and Gerson assert that:

[69] In his analysis of whiteness, Richard Dyer makes the case that 'White power none the less reproduces itself regardless of intention, power differences and goodwill, and overwhelmingly because it is not seen as whiteness, but as normal' (1997, p.10). It is through being positioned as 'normal' that it gains its perception as a universal way of being. In relation to men in particular, Dyer explains that in the colonial imagination: 'whites - and men – are where they are socially by virtue of biological, that is, bodily superiority' (1997, p.147).

[70] Strong-Boag and Gerson note that 'Lads in 'The Shagganappi,' 'Hoolool of the Totem Poles,' 'The Broken String,' and 'The Shadow Trail' (1907) adore their mothers. These in turn gently exercise a moral, nearly spiritual, authority which elevates their offspring. Legends of Vancouver similarly credits mothers with critical influence' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, pp.92-93).

> In addition to directly addressing imperial relations within many stories, Johnson used the *Boys' World* as an opportunity to endorse several First Nations' cultural practices which were highly controversial, while deftly avoiding explicit reference to the current political context. By creating direct identification between her boy protagonists and her youthful readers, both of whom embody the possibility of a more tolerant and inclusive future, she presents both the white dog feast of the Onondaga and the potlatch of the Squamish as not only normal within the social and religious practices of the Indian nations, but also meriting the respect of non-Native readers peering in from the outside. [71] (2000, p.168)

Strong-Boag and Gerson acknowledge Tekahionwake's diplomacy in appealing to Euro-Canadian settler culture whilst advocating for the preservation of First Nation traditions. I argue that this feat, which has led scholars to categorise Tekahionwake's writing as 'ambivalent and self-contradicting' (Milz, 2004, p.127) and 'complex and contradictory' (Strong-Boag & Gerson, 2000, p.180), is central to the continuance of Native stories. In writing for white, Protestant, Euro-Canadian audiences, Tekahionwake establishes herself as a writer within white, Christian spaces, and preserves the traditions of shapeshifting and interspecies communication.

2.3 A 'Transcultural Phenomenon': Wolves in Literary and Colonial Contexts

Tekahionwake's wolves combine First Nation creation stories and shapeshifting narratives with the ongoing nineteenth and twentieth-century interest in werewolf literature. Writing of wolves, environmentalist and Chickasaw Nation's Writer in Residence Linda Hogan outlines: '[f]rom our mythologies, beliefs and stories, we've learned to admire or to hate the same beautiful animals' (2020, p.73). Whilst for many Indigenous nations, the wolf is considered 'a sacred animal' (Hogan, 2020, p.72), for Euro-Canadians, wolves were typically considered monstrous creatures. As Chantal Bourgault Du Coudray explains: '[a]t the beginning of the nineteenth century, the werewolf was an image associated primarily with the oral traditions of folklore and the early-modern witchcraft trials' (2002, p.1),

[71] Writing of Tekahionwake's poetry in particular, Leighton states that 'her poetry was strategically positioned within the conventions of this conflated notion of Native identity in order to underscore Native experiences of land-rights infringements and assimilation policies constructed by the government' (1998, p.148).

however, the image of the werewolf soon pervaded novels and short stories. After Irish writer Charles Maturin's representation of a werewolf in *The Albigenses* (1824), human-wolf hybrid characters and representations of lycanthropy appeared across North American and European literature, with the werewolf becoming 'a vivid icon of gothic monstrosity' (Bourgault Du Coudray, 2002, p.2).[72] In Francophone cultures, including within Canada, the *loup-garou* or *rougarou*, which translates to 'wolf-man' (Bakker, 1997, p.69), appeared in *fin de siècle* and early twentieth-century tales by Louis-Honoré Frechette, Honore Beaugrand, Wenceslas Eugene Dick, and Pamphile Le May (Ransom, 2015, p.251). Werewolves were also the central focus of several nineteenth-century British novels, including James Sutherland Menzies gothic horror *Hugues, the Wer-Wolf* (1838), as well as G. W. M. Reynolds's *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf* (1847), Thomas Miller's *The British Wolf-Hunters: A Tale of England in the Olden Time* (1859), Sabine Baring-Gould's *The Book of Were-wolves* (1865), and Clemence Housman's *The Were-wolf*, which was first published in girls' magazine *Atalanta* in 1890 before being re-published as a novel in 1896. Across nineteenth-century Europe, wolves continued to appear in German, Dutch and Flemish folktales including 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf', 'Little Red Riding Hood', 'The Three Little Pigs' and 'The Wolf and Seven Young Kids' (de Blécourt, 2007), and werewolf stories extended to Eastern Europe too, including the Estonian island Saaremaa (Metsvahi, 2018, p.24). Sustained literary and cultural interest in wolves continued into the early twentieth century. By drawing upon a 'transcultural phenomenon' (Gutenberg, 2007, p.149), Tekahionwake writes within the parameters of Euro-American literary production whilst continuing the Native story trope of shapeshifting.

[72] This is in light of more amiable stories depicting human-wolf relationships, such as the story of Romulus and Remus within Roman mythology, in which two abandoned twins are suckled by a female wolf or 'she-wolf', and Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Books* (1894) in which the orphan, Mowgli, is raised by a wolf pack. Hunt states that, '[a]mong Turco-Mongolian peoples in the Caucasus and Central Asia, there are numerous legends of ancestors being nourished or suckled by wolves, a theme that has a significant meaning in connection with local culture' (2008, p.323). Alfero explains that in Turkic-Mongolian folklore, 'wolves are creatures of changeable nature with transformative powers' (2019, p.216).

Literary wolves also offered Tekahionwake a way to express commonality across diverse First Nations.[73] As well as having personal significance to Tekahionwake as her clan animal (Seton, 2018, p.588), wolves as shapeshifting figures feature throughout Indigenous creation stories across Turtle Island.[74] Hogan explains that '[n]umerous stories exist about how the wolf helped and taught First Peoples (2020, p.73). The Kwakwakw'wakw bands of Vancouver Island (First Nation) believe that their ancestors became human by removing wolf 'masks' (Wallner, 1998, p.32). In Inuit tribes, the wolf is understood to be a manifestation of 'Amarok', a figure who helped a vulnerable boy to defeat three bears. Métis tribes also have stories of the 'Rugaru', an adaptation of the French *Rougarou,* brought to the continent by fur traders and trappers (Ransom, 2015, p.251). Of the Ojibwe creation story, the Director of White Earth Nation, Mike Swan, recounts: 'When the Creator/we call him Gitchie Manitou/he put man on this earth/he walked/and he was lonely/and/as he walked/it was/the Ma'iingan [wolf]/that walked with him/kept him company' (quoted in Cerulli, 2016, p.248).[75] In written form, Ojibwe writer Bamewawagezhikaquay (Jane Johnston Schoolcraft) also depicted human-wolf companionship and transformation in 'The Forsaken Brother', a transformation that Sarah

[73] In the Americas more broadly, human-wolf hybrids feature in the creation stories of the Quileute tribe of Washington state (Tallent, 2011, p.247) (stories exploited in Stephanie Meyer's *Twilight* series, 2005-2008). In the Navajo nation there exists 'evil creatures' (L. Baker, 2019, p.12) known as Skinwalkers, who wear wolf and coyote skins, and can shape-shift into various forms (L. Baker, 2019, p.12). For the Indigenous Mexican tribe the Huichol, their creation stories depict them as half-human, half-wolf (Alfero, 2019, p.213).

[74] In Haudenosaunee nations, animals inform group identity, and incorporate 'animal helpers' (George-Kanentiio, 2006, p.40) for whom clan members have an appreciation. Douglas George-Kanentiio explains that '[c]hildren are instructed to be sensitive to the needs of the clan animal to which they belong and to make sure such creatures are as healthy and vigorous as they are' (2006, p.40). For Wolf Clan members in particular, George-Kanentiio writes that they would 'be less inclined to see the wolf as removed from himself and would learn all he could about the habits of the animal, perhaps even incorporating some elements of the wolf into his own personal life' (2006, p.40). The significance of the wolf in Tekahionwake's life is demonstrated by her works as several feature the wolf, including the poem 'Wolverine' as well as stories 'Little Wolf-Willow', 'The Potlatch' and 'The Wolf-Brothers'.

[75] Formatting here reflects how the interview was transcribed in Cerulli, T. (2016). Ma'iingan Is Our Brother. In D. Carbaugh (ed.), *The Handbook of Communication in Cross-cultural Perspective*, (pp.247-26). Routledge.

Olivier argues is 'presented as a liminal state that characters enter to survive and to maintain ontological presence' (2018, p.106).[76] Across Native stories, the wolf is a life-giving and/or human companion, and therefore should be honoured in both physical and spiritual realms.[77] Tekahionwake's depictions of wolves and human-wolf transformations make visible tropes of Native stories across several Indigenous nations, whilst catering to her target audience of *Boys' World*.[78]

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[76] More recent representations of wolves in Indigenous literatures include Thomas Peacock's *The Wolf's Trail: An Ojibwe Story, Told by Wolves* (2020), and Linda Hogan's reflective short story, 'The Wolves' (2020).

[77] The wolf features as shamanic helper, life-giving figure or human companion in various global contexts. Hunt states that, '[a]mong Turco-Mongolian peoples in the Caucasus and Central Asia, there are numerous legends of ancestors being nourished or suckled by wolves, a theme that has a significant meaning in connection with local culture' (2008, p.323). Alfero too explains that in Turkic-Mongolian folklore, 'wolves are creatures of changeable nature with transformative powers' (2019, p.216). The wolf features in Chinese folklore as the Wu people believed they were descended from wolves (Alfero, 2019, p.217). Similar to other creation stories wherein humans are suckled by wolves, ancient Chinese hero A-sen-a was born a she-wolf, and Kunmo is thought to have been raised by a she-wolf in the desert. Wolf transformation also occurs in the Shamanic practices of the Nani or Goldi cultures in China. In Norse folklore, the First Wolves are created by Odin and became his companions. In Russia, wolf folktales fall into two categories that have either 'happy, often humorous, endings and those that end tragically as packs of famished wolves ferociously attack and devour human beings' (Schach, 1983, pp.67-68). For a further exploration of the wolf in global contexts, see: Alfero, T. (2019). *The wolf connection: What wolves can teach us about being human*. Enliven Books/Atria Books.

[78] The concept of shapeshifting is typically explored in relation to trickster figures, trickster discourse, and trickster aesthetics. Although trickster figures appear across several cultures, including Iktomi and Coyote First Person in Native American folklore, Anansi, Brer Rabbit and Eshu in African and Caribbean folklore, shapeshifting is a quality that exists across these cultural boundaries. As Emily Zobel Marshall surmises, Indigenous tricksters 'can shape-shift, transcend gender boundaries and remove their body parts, and above all, they are the breakers of taboos and social norms' (2019, p.1). Tricksters are '[o]ften described as amoral, tricksters are destructive, violent and will do anything to ensure their survival' (Marshall, 2019, p.1). See also: Payne, D.G. (2017). Border crossings: Animals, tricksters and shape-shifters in modern Native American fiction. In W. Woodward & S. McHugh (eds.), *Indigenous Creatures, Native Knowledges, and the Arts* (pp.185-204). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham; Carstens, D. (2017). Tricksters, animals, new materialities, and Indigenous wisdoms. In W. Woodward & S. McHugh (eds.), *Indigenous Creatures, Native Knowledges, and the Arts* (pp.93-115). Palgrave Macmillan; Marshall, E.Z. (2019). *American trickster: Trauma, tradition and Brer Rabbit*. Rowman & Littlefield International.

The werewolf's global presence is not, however, indicative of a universal or shared literary heritage. Rather, werewolves function as literary devices to tackle social, cultural, and most significantly, colonial anxieties. Hannah Priest makes the case that the widespread popularity of werewolf stories is largely due to European, colonial cultures (2018, p.3). Writing of Canada in particular, Amy Ransom also explains that 'the French-Canadian werewolf developed in a completely new setting: that of colonizing a new world, including interacting with what Old World discourses termed "savage" peoples and their lore about the territory now being explored and inhabited by European newcomers' (2018, p.251). Attitudes towards werewolves transpired to enforce links between wolves and the colonisation of Turtle Island. David Hunt makes the case that wolves in the European imagination informed relationships between Euro-Canadians and lupine populations of North America, 'an unfortunate result of which can perhaps be seen in the attempt to exterminate the wolf in the USA by the descendants of European immigrants. (2008, p.321). Hogan explains that '[f]or many, the word *wolf* carries a dark and heavy meaning. Four letters have made them into something other than what they are and how they resonate inside the minds of many humans' (original emphasis, 2020, p.72). Settlers would dig traps, hunt wolves with hounds and mastiffs, experiment with various bullets (Coleman, 2004, p.52), and poison the carcasses of other animals in anticipation of wolves (Hogan, 1995, p.68). Literary representations thus engendered very real and material implications for settlers and the more-than-human beings of Turtle Island.

Colonial discourses drew – and continue to draw - parallels between Indigenous peoples and wolves. Both were viewed as obstacles to the full acquisition of the land and to the success of the colonising project. Michelle Nicole Boyer explains that, in the colonial imagination, wolves and Indigenous peoples were 'linked together because both were seen as the largest threats to colonisers, and it became hard to separate the two' (2017, p.66). This threat manifested as anti-Indigenous vitriol, as Jason Coleman explains: 'from the colonists' perspective, Indians sang, talked, prayed, fought and traveled like wolves' (2008, p.43). Settlers also perceived Indigenous populations to live like wolves: 'Indigenous people in North America were, for example, compared to wolves because they purportedly lived in forests and their relations were unmediated by legal property statutes' (Struthers

Montford & Taylor, 2020, p.3). Kelly Struthers Montford and Chloe Taylor state that colonisers saw Native peoples and wolves as resistant to the workings of capitalism, and so constructed them as antithesis to Western notions of modernity and ownership.[79] Settlers could legally own land and cattle, but this conception of ownership was undermined by the wolves who would 'trespass' on land to kill cattle. Coleman even states that one of the reasons for culling wolf populations was to 'knit local ecosystems into global capitalist markets' (2008, p.71), a feat that was not possible if wolf populations continued to grow. These parallels formed part of a rhetoric that dehumanised Indigenous populations by constructing them as 'ecological invasions' (Calverley, 2018, p.36).[80] David Calverley states that: '[b]y comparing First Nations to wolves, the commission made the First Nations subhuman and closer to animals' (2018, p.36). Within these contexts, animality was perceived to be synonymous with inferiority and "primitive" modes of behaviour – both of which are challenged by Tekahionwake in her stories.

More than a representational strategy, the drawing of parallels between humans and wolves had material consequences. Rev. Solomon Stoddard wrote that Indigenous peoples 'act like wolves and are to be dealt withal like wolves' (1703, p.269-70). Dehumanising rhetoric is also noted by Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert, who state that: 'the killing of an Indian was seen to be no more grievous than the killing of any other form of "vermin"' (2000, p.151). Comments such as these reveal how human-animal parallels generated genocidal actions, as efforts to colonise Turtle Island coupled the eradication of Indigenous peoples with the culling of wolves. This racist and speciesist discourse was not confined to informal discourse but was also written into legislative documentation; Ontario's Game Laws 'drew a parallel' (Calverley, 2018, p.35) between First Nations groups

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[79] Indigenous peoples also expressed resistance to individual land ownership. It was incongruous with Indigenous lifeways, as they did not view the land as a commodity to be owned, and even when land ownership was implemented, communal ownership was privileged over individual ownership of land (Calverley, 2018, p.xviii).

[80] The wolf-human comparison also worked two ways, however, as Dinesh Joseph Wadiwel explains, 'the colonial project came armed with a strong set of epistemic effects which produced overt resonances between processes of racialization and the construction of the non-human animal' (2020, p.xviii), meaning that the wolf was associated with Indigenous peoples as much as Indigenous peoples were associated with the wolf.

and wolves based on their hunting practices. Boyer explains that: 'colonisers attempted to make wolves and American Indians vanish, whether by their own choosing or through more violent methods' (2017, p.66). In their subjection to settler-colonial violence, the 'wolf and American Indians were, at times, synonymous because of the way they were being forced from their lands' (Boyer, 2017, p.66). This parallel treatment of First Nations peoples and wolves is also present in Ojibwe thought, as White Earth Nation director explains that 'we always believed what happens to the Ma'iingan [wolf] is going to happen to us the same way what happens to us is going to happen to Ma'iingan' (quoted in Cerulli, 2016, p.248). The relationships between Indigenous nations and wolf totems thus took on new meanings shaped by settler-colonial violence.

The literary, colonial and capitalist contexts that produced racist and speciesist discourses render the wolf a meaningful figure through which to express survivance and challenge anti-Indigenous discourses that cast the human-wolf connection as inherently uncivilised. Through the wolf, Tekahionwake writes back to colonial discourse at the level of metaphor. Like Indigenous populations, wolves have survived environmental change and extermination alongside the emergence of capitalist-modernity upon Turtle Island. As Coleman writes, wolves are:

> One of the world's most adaptable species, they thrived in an amazing range of climates and ecosystems. Individual wolves were resilient, and so were wolf populations, which could lose as many as a third of their numbers each year and survive. (2008, p.6)

The wolf's adaptability, strength and resilience, coupled with its status as kin in many Indigenous epistemologies, contribute to a symbolic significance that repudiates the notion of victimry. As well as writing stories about wolves to continue key elements of Native stories, Tekahionwake presents the wolf as an embodiment of survivance that represents not only survival of, and resistance to, settler colonialism and capitalist-modernity, but the rejection of victimhood.[81] Alluding to the enduring strength and resilience of wolves and Indigenous people in her stories, Tekahionwake subverts colonial rhetoric that associates

[81] The wolf is also taken as representative of an ecologically-sound, pre-colonial existence. As Coleman explains, wolves and Indigenous peoples coexisted for thousands of years up until the 1500s when 'a rowdy assembly of people calling themselves the English managed to destroy all the wolves residing in their island nation' (2008, p.8).

both wolves and Native peoples with 'wickedness, rapaciousness and danger' (Hunt, 2008, p.321). She instead presents animality as a positive trait that creates reciprocal relationships with the more-than-human world. As Hogan suggests: '[f]or us, the word [wolf] means cooperation, a natural connection with the lives of the forest, communication, and loyalty to others. A pack of wolves also bespeaks the health of water, trees, and survival for other animals' (2020, p.72).[82] Representing shapeshifting enables Tekahionwake to maintain her mainstream platform, appeal to white, male settlers, and write of Indigenous rights and Native story tropes within the literary market. Writing within these contexts, Tekahionwake uses the wolf as a point of entry to critique concerns regarding heteropatriarchy, colonialism, capitalism, and Indigeneity within a white, settler, literary space.

[82] Hogan explains how wolves aid the survival of other species: '[b]y keeping elk and other animals on the move, they also kept safe trees and willows that were not grazed or eaten, kept them safe for the future, for spring songbirds in the willows, for the beavers and the numerous plants and animals that survive only because of that wolf presence' (2020, p.74).

2.4 “Prairie wolves don’t cry like little girl babies”: Becoming Wolf and Becoming Man in ‘The Potlatch’.

Figure 11: ‘Lotikwahʌ’ - they are looking after the nation’ by Morning Star Designs. Permission to use image kindly granted by Haudenosaunee artist Alanah Jewell of Morning Star Designs.

This section argues that Tekahionwake uses zoomorphic transformation to critique colonial forms of masculinity that are predicated upon the rejection of femininity, and separation from, and dominance over, the more-than-human world. In 'The Potlatch', Tekahionwake uses a boy's zoomorphic transformation into a wolf as a metaphor for his transition into manhood: that when Ta-la-pus becomes a wolf, he also becomes a man.[83] By aligning the wolf with Indigenous masculinity, Tekahionwake draws upon European werewolf narratives that '[reflect] corresponding associations between masculinity and the mind' (Bourgault Du Coudray, 2002, p.9). Instead of using human-wolf transformation to depict Euro-American conceptions of masculinity based upon aggression, dominance and independence (Cate, 2015, p.64), however, I argue that Tekahionwake uses shapeshifting to represent a decolonised form of Indigenous masculinity, and advocate for a return to an Indigenous form of manhood grounded in kinship with the more-than-human world. By writing a story that depicts the transition from boyhood to manhood to appeal to her young audience of *Boys' World,* Tekahionwake infiltrates an inherently heteropatriarchal,

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[83] This notion of 'Becoming' is first explored in the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. In *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia,* Deleuze and Guattari discuss the notion of 'becoming-animal', stating that: 'You become animal only molecularly. You do not become a barking molar dog, but by barking, if it is done with enough feeling, with enough necessity and composition, you emit a molecular dog' (1987, p.263). For Deleuze and Guattari, the process of 'becoming-animal' is material in nature, and rejects the notion of a demarcation between human and animal lives. Despite this, however, this conception of 'becoming-animal' lacks the elements of spirituality and reciprocity that underpin Haundeosaunee and Kwakwakw'wakw relationships with the more-than-human world. As Vanessa Watts articulates, however, this conceptualisation of becoming animal is therefore informed by individualist, Western modes of philosophical thought. It is for this reason that Watts states: 'Desire for Deleuze is a meta-force of the world that is accessible to humans, animals. This desire is made realized through lines of flight and events [...] Thus, the only limit to a human becoming any sort of animal would be determined by the human's ability to emit – the type of animal in and of itself is of no consequence. Rather, limitations of movement into becoming-said-animal are arrested by human capability' (2020, p.118). In order to attend to the Haudenosaunee and Kwakwakw'wakw relationships with the more-than-human world that are clan based and grounded within spiritual relations, this chapter will not use Deleuze and Guattari's theory of becoming, and will instead turn to Indigenous scholars including Watts and Robin Kimmerer in order to be attentive to Haudenosaunee and Kwakwakw'wakw epistemologies relating to the more-than-human world.

Protestant space. She then critiques its core values, and fosters the continuance of Native stories, First Nation ceremonies, and Indigenous masculinities. In illustrating how Tekahionwake's periodical writing critiques heteropatriarchy, I situate Tekahionwake as a forerunner of emerging global efforts to decolonise masculinity (Tengan, 2008; Innes & Anderson, 2015; Morgensen, 2015; Cannon, 2019; Mfecane, 2020). This in turn begins to remedy the 'lack of theoretical and applied scholarly work about Indigenous men and masculinities' (Innes & Anderson, 2015, p.4) by revealing how Tekahionwake foregrounds the centrality of the more-than-human world in restoring Indigenous masculinities in settler-colonial spaces.

I analyse Tekahionwake's critique of heteropatriarchy as an act of gendered survivance due to the ways in which colonial masculinity negatively impacts women, queer and two-spirit peoples as well as men. In *Indigenous Men and Masculinities,* Innes and Anderson explain how the negative impacts of colonial masculinity that emerge from heteropatriarchy do not only affect men:

> the performance of Indigenous masculinities has been profoundly impacted by colonization and the imposition of a white supremacist heteronormative patriarchy that has left a lasting and negative legacy for Indigenous women, children, Elders, men, and their communities as a whole. (2015, p.4)

As Innes and Anderson explain, the oppression of Indigenous masculinity by the intersecting structures of colonialism and heteropatriarchy enacts violence against whole communities, including women. Brendan Hokowhitu makes a similar case, that 'the men produced through ideologically dominant forms of masculinity are very real and have very real consequences for women' (2015, p.87). These 'real consequences' (Hokowhitu, 2015, p.87) are visible in the ways that heteropatriarchal influences over Indigenous masculinity transformed Indigenous social structures to emulate that of the Euro-American, heteropaternalist family unit: '[k]ey to the inculcation of heteropatriarchy within Indigenous masculinities was the reconfiguring of the relational social stratification to mirror the bourgeois European family' (Hokowhitu, 2015, p.88).[84] By attempting to

[84] Martin Cannon also makes the case that: '[h]eteropatriarchy informed the process of establishing the category "Indian" and erasing nation-based understandings of gender, sexuality, identity, and ancestry' (2019, p.15).

dismantle extended family systems, and instead institute patriarchal concepts of the family, the adoption of colonial masculinity within Indigenous spaces relegated Indigenous women as subordinate to their husbands.[85] It is for this reason that Leanne Betasamosake Simpson explains that, due to the gendered nature of colonialism, we must 'critically examine and act in ways that do not just deconstruct but destroy the power of heteropatriarchy while building the alternative' (2017a, p.149). Through an analysis of 'The Potlatch', I demonstrate how Tekahionwake attempts to undermine the hegemonic nature of heteropatriarchy, and presents 'the alternative' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.149) that is an Indigenous form of masculinity that celebrates the feminine and more-than-human kinship.

Turning to representations of the more-than-human world to critique heteropatriarchy enables Tekahionwake to write back to the ways that the colonisation of Indigenous masculinity transformed relationships with both women the land. Although Scott Morgensen makes the case that 'colonial masculinity arose in the Americas from within relations between Europeans and Indigenous peoples' (2015, p.39), I argue that colonial masculinity emerged from the transformation of power relations between men, women, and most significantly, the land. Kim Anderson et al. explain that before colonisation, Indigenous male identity 'did not involve having power over others – human, animal, or environment' (2012, p.271). The notion that women and land were together victims of heteropatriarchy is supported by Innes and Anderson who state that ultimately, the impact of heteropatriarchy 'suffered by both [men and women] is tied to the colonization and acquisition of Indigenous lands' (2015, p.11). This impact can be traced through the Indian Act of 1876, enforced during Tekahionwake's lifetime, which functioned as a 'site where settler colonialism effectively operates through heteropatriarchy' (Arvin et al., 2013, p.22). The Indian Act enabled patrilineality to supersede the matrilineal nature of

[85] Of extended family systems, Anderson writes: 'people lived in extended family groups that allowed them to harvest and share resources, and their societies were organized around these extended families and clans. Late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial policies were introduced to encourage removal from the land and the dismantling of land-based societies by introducing individualism, private land ownership, and male-dominant nuclear families' (2011, p.29).

many First Nation tribes, stripping Indigenous women of their Native status, and taking land from tribes and allocating it to individual men (Arvin et al., 2013, p.15; Flanagan et al., 2010, p.32).[86] This alteration of the Indigenous family unit ultimately turned both Indigenous women and Indigenous land into property to be owned by men (Hokowhitu, 2015, p.87), or to be considered 'appendages of men' (Cannon, 2019, p.15). Through an analysis of 'The Potlatch', I show how Tekahionwake uses zoomorphism to reimagine a decolonised form of Indigenous masculinity that is liberatory for men, women, and the more-than-human world.

The title of this story, 'The Potlatch', is taken from Chinook jargon, a pidgin language that emerged through trade in the Pacific Northwest (Fee & Nason, 2016, p.217). 'Potlatch' refers to a ceremony sacred to many First Nation, Métis and Inuit tribes within the Pacific North West, specifically the Tlinglit, Haida, and Kwakwakw'wakw, Salish and Chinook (Beck, 2013, p.1).[87] These ceremonies involved singing, dancing, storytelling and feasting to celebrate births, puberty, marriage and to honour the dead (Beck, 2013, p.1) and were considered to be one of the 'ancient Coast Salish rites of passage affirming masculinity' (Osmond, 2016, p.11). In 1884, the Canadian federal government amended the Indian Act to issue a ban on potlatches, stating that:

> Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the "Potlatch" or in the Indian dance known as the "Tamanawas" is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six nor less than two months. (quoted in Venne & Hinge, 1981, p.93)

Potlatches were banned up until as recently as 1951, as government officials perceived them to be 'a scene of moral disorder rather than a system for sharing wealth, settling disputes, and regulating family and intertribal relationships' (Fee & Nason, 2016, p.217). This means that during Tekahionwake's time of writing, and during the publication of 'The

[86] The lasting impacts of heteropatriarchy are visible in recent history. Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill report that in 1980, when First Nation activists attempted to overturn the legislation in the Indian Act, 'many who identified as First Nations men were intensely hostile to these changes' (2013, p.22).

[87] Although different tribes initially had their own names for these ceremonies, including Klanax (Salish), Xu'ix (Tlinglit) and P!Esa (Kwakiutl), the Chinook word for 'giving', *patshatl*, became widespread and eventually became known at the 'potlatch' (Beck, 2016, p.1).

Potlatch' on 1st October 1910, potlatches were illegal, making this story a controversial one, particularly within a Christian periodical.[88] Similar to how Zitkala-Ša resisted the ban of the Sun Dance ceremony by writing *The Sun Dance Opera*, Tekahionwake also turns to literary aesthetics of survivance to resist the erasure of potlatch ceremonies, and present to a white, Protestant audience the validity of this ceremony. In this story, Tekahionwake depicts a young Native boy named Ta-la-pus who lives on Vancouver Island but dreams of attending a potlatch on the mainland with his father and brothers. When he is finally able to travel to Vancouver, he impresses his father and the Squamish chief with a performance in which he embodies his namesake, the prairie wolf (coyote), and earns his name.

In 'The Potlatch', Tekahionwake intertwines three of the protagonist's aspirations: to attend a potlatch on the mainland, live up to his name (which means prairie wolf) (2018, p.734), and become a man. Tekahionwake initially does this by constructing mainland Vancouver as a site of fraternity that Ta-la-pus needs to reach in order to be perceived as a man: 'all his little life had been spent in wishing and longing to set his small, moccasined feet on that vast mainland' (2018, p.733). Mainland Vancouver is constructed as an exclusively male location where male bonding takes place: it was 'the vast mainland that the old men talked of, and the young men visited year in year out' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.734). Ta-la-pus's male family members are part of the group that travels to the mainland, as 'he had two very big brothers who always accompanied their father' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.734). The masculine and fraternal nature of Vancouver is further emphasised by the fact that his mother and sisters have never travelled there.[89]

By constructing British Columbia as a masculine space, Tekahionwake speaks to the cultural discourse emerging during the nineteenth century, in which British Columbia

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[88] Carole Gerson notes that in July 1910, a few months before 'The Potlatch' was published in *Boys' World,* the *Saturday Magazine*, in which Tekahionwake published, 'published a series of eyewitness articles about the great potlatch recently held at the Quamichan reserve near Duncan, on Vancouver Island', the setting of 'The Potlatch' (2013, p.63).

[89] The exclusion of women from fraternal communities in Canada is documented by Carolyn Podruchny, who explains that 'women were excluded from most fraternal associations for various reasons [...] as fraternal associations were frequently associated with men's trade and business' (1998, p.6). The exclusion of women is significant in relation to constructing the masculine space of British Columbia, as Podruchny argues that: 'the absence of women was important to the process of forging masculinity' (1998, p.5).

became a space of male dominance over the environment, and which in turn allowed new forms of colonial masculinity to unfold. Environmentally destructive and exploitative practices such as hunting, fur trapping, logging and gold mining, all of which took place on the mainland, offered men of various classes ways to define their masculinity. Writing of British Columbia, Maureen Reed states that '[m]asculine identities, in part, have been built on the notion that forestry jobs, from logging to manufacturing, require hard, dangerous, physical work' (2003, p.380). Manual labourers such as loggers produced a form of working-class masculinity that valued the subordination of the Canadian landscape through strenuous physical labour. As Reed points out: '''wilderness'' and ''nature'' is the ''work site'' for loggers, where both material and emotional well-being are exacted and where masculine identities are formed and reinforced' (2003, p.386). For the middle-classes, hunting was a colonial leisure sport that, as Matthew Whittle explains, was 'an exercise of power that epitomizes the assumed dominance of imperial nations over colonial and post-colonial environments' (2016, p.2). As well as being 'linked historically to the ideology of domination, patriarchy and colonialism' (Kalof & Fitzgerald, 2003, p.113), hunting was incorporated into the formation of a middle-class, colonial masculinity.[90] For the middle classes, '[h]unting for big game in British Columbia marked its practitioners as masculine and bourgeois' (Loo, 2001, p.298). Similarly, upper working-class fur traders, 'constructed their own particular type of masculinity, combining bourgeois ideals of respectability with their rugged and wondrous fur trade experiences' (Podruchny, 1998, p.9). For settlers of all classes, engagements with the Canadian landscape informed the emergence of settler-colonial, masculine identities.

Having visited the West coast many times in her life and living in Vancouver at the time of writing 'The Potlatch', Tekahionwake's knowledge of the masculine nature of the British Columbia is present across her periodical writing. Logging appears in 'Jack O' Lantern' (1909) (*Boys' World*) and in a tale of the North Pacific Coast, 'Hoolool of the Totem Pole' (1911) (*Mother's Magazine*). Hudson Bay fur trappers appear in the poem 'Wolverine'

[90] Wamsley and Kossuth also make the case that within colonial Canada, there were 'competitive tests of masculinity celebrated by the bachelor subcultures of the fur trade, military garrisons, loggers, and colonial farmers' (2000, p.406).

(1893), and story 'As It Was in the Beginning' (1899), both published in *Saturday Night*, as well as in the stories: 'A Red Girl's Reasoning' (1893) (*Dominion Illustrated*) and 'A Squamish Legend of Napoleon' (1912) (*Mother's Magazine*). Gold mining also features in other *Boys' World* stories 'Maurice of His Majesty's Mails' (1906), 'The King's Coin' (1909) and 'The Wolf-Brothers' (1910). In 'Wolverine' the mainland is similarly constructed as an exclusively male space, as the narrator describes that 'only reds an' 'Hudson's' men was all the folk I seen' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.53). Across her periodical writings, Tekahionwake constructs the mainland as a space governed by the intertwined logics of settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy, and which engenders various modes of colonial masculinities reliant upon domination of the more-than-human world. This heteropatriarchal nature of the settler state is encapsulated in comments made by fellow Mohawk, Audra Simpson, as she writes of the US and Canada: '[t]he state I seek to name has a character, it has a male character, it is more than likely white […] and definitely heteropatriarchal' (2016, p.3). Or, putting it more bluntly: 'the state is a man' (A. Simpson, 2016, p.2). By associating British Columbia with masculine pursuits and conceiving of it as an exclusively male space in her periodical writing, Tekahionwake constructs British Columbia as a 'man' (A. Simpson, 2016, p.2), and as a location in which masculinity can be attained.

Tekahionwake constructs Vancouver as a masculine space from which Ta-la-pus is excluded, as he is perceived as feminine, and somewhat infantile, by his father and brothers. The narrator explains: 'never yet had he been taken across the wide, blue Straits, for he was only eleven years old' (2018, p.734). That he was 'only' (2018, p.734) eleven years old emphasises that his boyhood renders him unworthy of travelling to the mainland for the potlatch. As well as his age, however, his exclusion is also based upon his inability to perform an activity associated with masculinity: fishing. Tekahionwake explains that his brothers 'were good fishermen and could help in the salmon catch and bring good chicamin (money) home to buy supplies for the winter' (2018, p.734), and his father and brothers would go out 'sockeye salmon fishing' together (2018, p.735). The mention of salmon fishing specifically is notable, as 'salmon fishing is a defining characteristic in the community at large but especially central to men's traditional cultural roles and relationships' (Vinyeta et al., 2016, p.6). Ta-la-pus's exclusion from fishing trips implies his

inability to perform a masculine role within the family, as partaking in hunting practices signalled a transition into manhood. Anderson et al. explain:

> Many of the Elders talked about how disempowering it was to be pushed out of hunting and fishing […] the distinct protocols and practices related to men's resource procurement allowed for identity development based in the sacredness of "providing" responsibilities. Formal and informal rites of passage for boys were often connected to their ability to contribute in this way. A boy's first catch or large game kill would be celebrated, an act of independence would be tested, or graduated skills would be recognized. [91] (2012, p.271)

As well as being excluded from the potlatch, Ta-la-pus is also excluded from reaching a rite of passage through fishing. As Anderson et al. suggest, to be 'pushed out of' fishing is a 'disempowering' (2012, p.271) act with regards to the inculcation of traditional Indigenous masculinity. That an inability to fish can lead to one's masculinity to be questioned is epitomised in a quotation featured in Kari Norgaard et al.'s article by a mother from the Karuk tribe in California: '[i]f fishing and hunting and providing for your family is what makes you a man, then if you are not able fulfil those things, how do you prove that? How do you show that?' (2018, p.99). Ta-la-pus's exclusion also has a transcultural significance, as even white, Euro-Canadian audiences of the time would understand the significance of fishing within settler cultures: 'motivations for fishing may also be associated with an ideology of masculinity that is more apparent in young men attempting to establish their status in society' (Young et al., 2016, p.120). Moreover, because his father and brothers' fishing is associated with making 'chicamin' or 'money' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.734), this speaks to the discourses surrounding settlers and their quest to accumulate capital through nature.

Ta-la-pus's exclusion from masculine groups leads him to be considered feminine by his male family members. Speaking of the potlatch, his mother states, 'I shall stay at home, until the babies are older. Yes, you and the boys go' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735). Ta-la-pus's brothers understand this to mean that Ta-la-pus will remain on Vancouver Island. Excluding Ta-la-pus from the category of 'boys' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735) emasculates

[91] Kari Norgaard, Ron Reed and J. M. Bacon include a quote from a Karuk father and fisherman in their article: 'It's an important role in being a man in the tribe . . . you know . . . you fish for your family, you fish for the people . . . And there's fish days, and the ones who owned those fish days were responsible for feeding the community' (2018, p.98).

him in a way that shows that the brothers cannot comprehend a form of masculinity that is different to their own, colonised forms of masculinity. His brothers suggest that 'while we are away, our little brother, Ta-la-pus, will care for you and the babies' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735), thus implying that Ta-la-pus is more suited to performing a feminine, caring role instead (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.737). Considering childcare to be a 'feminine' role in this context is due to the fact that, by the end of the nineteenth century, traditional First Nation childrearing practices had been replaced by Euro-American notions of parenting. Unlike traditional First Nation childrearing practices which involved the extended family, the patriarchal family units now rendered childcaring to be an exclusively female role.[92] Excluded from the trip to the potlatch, Ta-la-pus is depicted as taking on a feminine role in a family that is heteropaternal. The authority of the father as a chief in the village is mirrored in the family unit, as Tekahionwake writes, '[h]e was ruler in his own lodge, and allowed no interference from anyone' (2018, p.736), and the father states his authority in the assertion: 'there is no change to my word when it is spoken' (2018, p.737). Within the context of the colonial nuclear family, taking on a childcare role reinforces the idea that Ta-la-pus is not perceived to perform colonial masculinity, but exhibits behaviours that are considered feminine in the colonial view.

The feminisation of Ta-la-pus is emphasised further as they also assume that Ta-la-pus will 'carry water and bring all the wood for your warmth' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.736). This image of Ta-la-pus carrying water is a Native metaphor, as the act of carrying water, physically and metaphorically, is an exclusively female role that embodies women's roles as child bearers. Josephine Mandamin, the founder of the Indigenous activist group *Mother Earth Water Walkers*, explains the significance of water in an interview with environmental network *Indigenous Rising*: '[a]s women, we are carriers of the water. We carry life for the people. So when we carry that water, we are telling people that we will go any lengths for

[92] Caring for children was also seen to be a responsibility of the wider community. Anderson explains: 'the raising of children is not the responsibility of women alone […] childcare was traditionally understood to be the responsibility of the community, which included men, women and elders' (2011, p.205).

the water' (2014).[93] By suggesting that Ta-la-pus will 'carry' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.736) the water, the brother alludes to Ta-la-pus's engagement in a practice associated with Indigenous women from North American tribes. Instead of attending the potlatch associated with men's ceremonies, Tekahionwake instead associates Ta-la-pus with women's ceremonies through water: '[w]e use the sacred water in our Purification Lodge, in ceremonies of healing, rites of passage, naming ceremonies and especially in women's ceremonies' (McGregor, 2009, p.37).[94] Suggesting that Ta-la-pus manages the wood also positions him as performing a female role, as harvesting of cedar bark was a significant act for Haida and Salish women:

> In the Haida world, the women and their helpers go out and pray… not a prayer so much as a thanksgiving. You thank the tree [cedar] for its bark and you explain to it what you're doing, because if you truly respect something, you don't take it without asking permission. (Wilson, quoted in Zahn et al., 2018, p.322)

In caring for water and wood, Ta-la-pus's gender is represented an antithetical to the settler-colonial masculinity of the mainland, wherein water was considered to be an 'instrument of development' (J.R. Wagner, 2008, p.30) and a symbol of economy (J.R. Wagner, 2008, p.24). John R. Wagner explains that under settler colonialism, 'water was declared the property of the Crown' (2008, p.30), and was considered a commodity used for purposes including irrigation and the advancement of agricultural systems instead of a sacred being. Alexandra Campbell and Michael Paye even suggest that water was transformed into 'a conduit for the accumulation of both capital and territory' (2020, p.106). Tekahionwake reinforces Ta-la-pus's feminisation as she states: 'being the youngest boy of the family, he had but little companionship with any [people] at home except his

[93] Deborah McGregor explains that the aim of The Mother Earth Water Walk (MEWW) 'was to raise awareness of the sacred connection between people, especially women, and the waters […] The ideology behind the MEWWS remains distinct from the dominant political discourse, even within the Indigenous arena. The MEWW relied on a different epistemic foundation and were not motivated by a political agenda, but sought to re-establish reciprocal relationships with the waters' (2015, p.74).

[94] Beyond the Coast Salish tribes and Ojibwe, Kim Anderson et al. explain that: 'in many Aboriginal cultures, women are considered the holders of "water knowledge" and assume a primary role in the protection of water resources' (2013, p.11).

mother and little sisters' (2018, p.742).[95] This conveys how Ta-la-pus finds it difficult to bond with men as he exists in predominantly feminine spaces. I suggest, therefore, that within the context of First Nation relations with the more-than-human world, Ta-la-pus is coded as a queer or two-spirit character who complicates the male/female binary and colonial conceptions of masculinity/femininity. For *Boys' World* readership, however, Ta-la-pus is presented as oppositional to colonial conceptions of masculinity and is thus rendered feminine. In associating Ta-la-pus with these feminine qualities, Tekahionwake teases her white readership with a hint to colonial rhetoric. Hokowhitu outlines how: '[c]olonial discourses often aligned Indigenous masculinity with feminine traits. In comparison to an all-knowing and reasoned European masculinity, Indigenous masculinity, sexuality, and reason was described as passionate, determined by the senses, irrational, intuitive, provocative, and whimsical' (Hokowitu, 2015, p.85), qualities which were considered to be feminine by settlers.

The effects of heteropatriarchy are visible as Ta-la-pus is taunted by his brother for his non-conformity to a form of masculinity that is now associated with colonial values. His brothers tease that he will never cross the water with them:

> What has a prairie wolf to do with crossing great waters? He cannot swim, as some other animals can. Our parents gave us better names, "Chet-woot", the bear, who swims well, and "Lapool", the water fowl, whose feet are webbed, and who even floats while he sleeps. No, our young brother, Ta-la-pus, the prairie wolf, was never meant to cross the great salt Straits. (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735)

Through this analogy, the brother suggests that the potential to reach manhood is determined by the individual's relationship with the more-than-human world. The brother

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[95] As well as this feminisation, infantilisation is frequent throughout the beginning of the narrative. He is described as '[y]oung Ta-la-pus' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.734) and 'little Ta-la-pus' (Tekahionwake, 2018, pp.737-740), and explains that he had only lived a 'little life' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.734). He is described as being 'only' eleven, (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735), and that he is 'too young' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735) to travel to the mainland. His father also refers to him as a 'little hoolool' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742), which translates to mouse, due to his quiet nature. Being described as a mouse thus implies that he is far removed from the brave prairie wolf after whom he takes his name. His aspiration to reach the mainland Vancouver and realise his masculinity is also tied to him embodying his namesake, the prairie wolf.

implies that Ta-la-pus's ability to reach the mainland is impeded by his association with the wolf, and teases that because of this, he will never attend the potlatch, which, as Colin Osmond suggests, is one of the 'rites of passage affirming masculinity' (2016, p.11) for Salish tribes of Vancouver Island. His brother's reductive assumption leads Ta-la-pus to begin 'hating' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747) his association with the wolf, and wish to attend the Potlatch in spite of this connection, as he tells himself he will reach the mainland 'no matter what his name was' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735). In trying to embody colonial forms of masculinity, Ta-la-pus relinquishes his relationship with the more-than-human world. Although writing of Northwest Pacific tribes, this pre-determined nature of identity nods to an element of Tekahionwake's own Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) culture that Bob Antone explains: '[a]ll Iroquois have an innate spiritualism, cultivated for generations, increasing the desire for their own identity' (Antone, 2015, p.25). Tekahionwake nods to this notion in an ironic way, as it is later in the narrative that Ta-la-pus's 'innate spiritualism' (Antone, 2015, p.25) with the wolf helps him to form his own identity.

After being excluded from the category of 'boys' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735) and allocated a traditionally feminine role, Tekahionwake demonstrates how Ta-la-pus internalises the notion that he must reject any 'feminine' behaviours, or Indigenous notions of masculinity, to become accepted by his male family members. Ta-la-pus's refusal to be feminine, or infantile, is evidenced when he is told he is unable to go to the potlatch by his brothers and tries not to cry. Through using free indirect discourse, Tekahionwake momentarily reveals Ta-la-pus's internalised thoughts: '[p]rairie wolves must not cry like little girl babies' (2018, p.735). This slight change in narrative voice indicates that Ta-la-pus is repeating a phrase told to him many times before, that he must only embody masculinity, and not behave like a 'little girl' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735). Tekahionwake represents how Ta-la-pus internalises this sentiment and changes his behaviour to meet this masculine ideal predicated upon emotional repression, as she explains that Ta-la-pus 'would creep away to his lonely rock, trying to still the ache in his heart and forcing back the tears from his eyes' (2018, p.735). Using a change of tense here, 'would' (2018, p.735) indicates that Ta-la-pus's emotional repression is a frequent occurrence. This repression of emotion also represents his attempt to perform colonial masculinity, as Hokowhitu explains that 'forms

of European masculinity were focused on the rational achievement of mind over body' (2015, p.85). For Ta-la-pus, embodying colonial masculinity involves rejecting Indigenous masculinity which is associated with femininity in the colonial imagination.

When his father agrees that Ta-la-pus can travel to Vancouver, the links between becoming a prairie wolf and rejecting colonial masculinity become visible as Tekahionwake hints at a bodily transformation. She writes that 'the great, dark eyes of little Ta-la-pus glowed like embers of a fire' (2018, p.737), foreshadowing his later transformation into a wolf in which his eyes gleam 'red and lustrous in the firelight' (2018, p.747). As well as alluding to his wolf transformation, this image of fire also nods to ideas of masculine identity within Tekahionwake's own culture, as Antone explains that:

> For the Haudenosaunee [Iroquois], the fire is the symbol of spirit of self, family, clan, and nation. The fire embodies all that is gifted from the higher power— the Great Spirit. Each person is given a fire to care for […] In both Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe cultures, man is considered responsible for care taking of fire. (2015, p.31)

Read within the cultural and epistemological context of Tekahionwake's own band, the simile that compares his eyes to a 'fire' (2018, p.737) rejects colonial masculinities, and instead foregrounds Indigenous masculinities. Due to the fact that fire is 'the symbol of the spirit of self' (Antone, 2015, p.31), Tekahionwake foreshadows Ta-las-pus's self-realisation on his journey to the mainland. This sense of self, however, is not aligned with colonial masculinity, but instead emerges as a form of Indigenous masculinity, as within this Indigenous worldview, it is 'man' (Antone, 2015, p.31) who is responsible for the fire. Through using imagery of the more-than-human world, Tekahionwake begins to supersede colonial masculinity, and hint to her Native readers a transformation that is both lupine and decolonial.

Ta-la-pus's transformation into both wolf and man embraces his own Indigenous masculinity and initiates the text's resistance to colonial concepts of masculinity. He envisages himself wearing wolf furs at the potlatch, asking his mother: 'there is a prairie wolf skin that you cover the babies with while they sleep. Would you let me have it this once, if they would not be cold without it?' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.738). This request couples Ta-la-pus's revelation that rather than perform a tribal dance, he will perform his own dance: '"I have made one of my own, and a song, too"' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.739).

The decision both appeals to the individualism that underpins settler culture in which the *Boys' World* audience live, and speaks to the Iroquois 'desire for their own identity' (Antone, 2015, p.25) that is later actualised through the embodiment of the prairie wolf. Tekahionwake hints towards Ta-la-pus's bodily transformation into a wolf and the blurring of human/animal boundaries through an intertwining of human and wolf bodies. Taking the wolf-skin he used to sleep in as a child, Ta-la-pus states: 'I want to cover myself with it now […] its head as my headdress, its front paws about my neck, its thick fur and tail trailing behind me as I dance' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.738). Tekahionwake's use of anaphora in the repeating 'its' (2018, p.738) signals how the wolf body is privileged over his own; whilst the repetitive use of pronouns shifting from 'its' to 'my' (2018, p.738) alludes to the conjoining of human and wolf bodies. His mother's response within this conversation solidifies the link between the prairie wolf and Ta-la-pus's journey into Indigenous manhood. She advises him that:

> "That is right […] Always make things for yourself, don't depend on others, try what you can do alone. Yes, you may take the skin of the prairie wolf. I will give it to you for all time – it is yours". (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.739)

The act of gifting the wolf skin to Ta-la-pus on account of his growing sense of self links the wolf skin with Ta-la-pus's journey into Indigenous manhood. Unlike earlier, when Ta-la-pus rejects his associations with the prairie wolf, here his mother reinforces this association because of his display of independence and his connection to his more-than-human namesake. This advocation of independence and individuality also speaks to the cultural values of Tekahionwake's predominantly white audience. Whilst many First Nation tribes value community and communal values, the individualistic nature of Euro-Canadian and Euro-American culture is appealed to here.

The link between the wolf, Indigenous masculinity, and manhood is reinforced upon Ta-la-pus's arrival to the mainland. Keeping exclusively male company alongside his 'father and brother' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.739) instead of the female company he usually keeps, Ta-la-pus's journey is characterised as masculine. He travels to the white, settler state of British Columbia on the 'white man's steamer' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.740) - a technologically advanced marker of masculine, colonial modernity. Unlike the beginning of the narrative when he is excluded from the 'boys' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735), here Ta-

la-pus's male status is reinforced, as the Squamish chief tells his father, 'I am glad you have brought this boy. I have a son of the same size. They will play together' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.740). Upon the mainland, Ta-la-pus is reassured that he belongs here with the other boys. It is at this moment that he is welcomed into a male space that Tekahionwake foreshadows another moment of lupine transformation. She writes:

> As he stepped from the great canoe, Ta-la-pus thought he felt a strange thrill pass through the soles of his feet. They had touched the mainland of the vast continent of North America for the first time; his feet seemed to become sensitive, soft, furry, cushioned like those of a wild animal. Then, all at once, a strange inspiration seized him. Why not try to make his footsteps "pad" like the noiseless paws of a prairie wolf? (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.739-740)

Tekahionwake makes the link between the mainland and the wolf instantaneous. The syntax emphasises this, as it is within the same sentence that Ta-la-pus 'touched the mainland' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.739) and experiences a new bodily sensation that reminds him of the prairie wolf. The connection between reaching the mainland and the emergence of lupine attributes is mirrored in the use of the punctuation, as using a semi-colon instead of a full stop ensures the two ideas are connected both within the sentence and within the narrative. Again, Tekahionwake uses free indirect discourse to position the narrative voice between that of the narrator and that of Ta-la-pus. The narrative voice reveals Ta-la-pus's own reflective question, '[w]hy not try to make his footsteps "pad" like the noiseless paws of a prairie wolf?' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.740). Tekahionwake's formal choices, specifically her use of free indirect discourse, informs the content; in the same way that the narrative voice is located between the narrator and Ta-la-pus when describing the wolf-like sensations, Ta-la-pus's transformation is located between humanity and animality in his transition into manhood.

It is on the mainland that Tekahionwake makes the associations between reaching Vancouver and reaching manhood more overt. After Ta-la-pus receives praise from his father for offering to dance at the potlatch, the narrator explains that '[n]ever before had he been so close to manhood' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742). Stating that he is now 'close' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742) to manhood reinforces the idea that in Ta-la-pus's mind, Vancouver is a masculine space in which he will actualise his masculinity and status as a man. In closing the distance between himself and the mainland, he has also brought himself

closer to 'becoming a man'. By using a list to describe who the braves shake hands with, 'his father, his brother Lapool, and himself' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742), she aligns Ta-la-pus with the other male members of his family. Unlike the beginning of the narrative, wherein Ta-la-pus is excluded from the 'boys' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.735), in Vancouver Ta-la-pus is included alongside his father and brothers. Tekahionwake continues to emphasise the notion that Vancouver is a masculine space, as she describes it through the attendance of all of the men in the community:

> All that evening the old chiefs and the stalwart young braves were gravely shaking hands with his father, his brother Lapool, and himself, welcoming them to the great festival and saying pleasant things about peace and brotherhood […] the young men stretched themselves on the cool sands, and the old men lighted their peace pipes […] Ta-la-pus listened to everything. He could learn so much from the older men. (2018, p.742)

Like he imagined, Ta-la-pus sees Vancouver as inhabited only by men: by 'old chiefs' and 'stalwart young braves' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742). What is notable here is that Tekahionwake depicts a form of Indigenous masculinity, one that is associated with status, respect, and responsibility. As well as the old men possessing status in that they are 'chiefs' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742), so too are the young men described as being 'stalwart' 'braves' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742), and are thus perceived to be loyal, dedicated, and courageous men. Tekahionwake represents what Antone refers to as 'a caring male spirit' (2015, p.34) that he characterises as being based upon the values of '[r]eciprocity, respect, spiritualism, ceremony, and bravery' (2015, p.34). In depicting Vancouver in this way, Tekahionwake maintains the idea that it is a site of manhood. The hegemonic nature of heteropatriarchy is, however, resisted in this space as Tekahionwake is uncompromising in her presentation of Vancouver as site of specifically *Indigenous* manhood.

Conveying the fraternal nature of the potlatch with the talk of 'brotherhood' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742) that Ta-la-pus has up until now been excluded from, Tekahionwake presents a form of Indigenous masculinity that is based upon 'brotherhood' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.742) with more-than-human kin. Through zoomorphic transformation, Tekahionwake demonstrates that 'brotherhood' (2018, p.742) extends to more-than-human relatives. In preparation for his potlatch performance, through which he hopes he will prove himself a man, Ta-la-pus calls upon his namesake, the prairie wolf. He

refers to him as his brother: '"Oh, my brother," he whispered, smoothing the prairie wolf skin, "help me to be like you, worthy of your name."' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.744). In referring to the wolf as his brother, Tekahionwake evokes a notion that is seen across many Indigenous groups upon Turtle Island: that the wolf is a relative (Hogan, 1996; 2020). Hogan expresses this familial relationship with wolves, describing them as 'a relative inside our own blood' (1996, p.65). It is notable that Hogan describes the wolf as being a relative 'inside' (1996, p.65), particularly because at this moment, Ta-la-pus wants to release his 'inner' wolf. There is an element of irony in asking his brother to 'help me to be like you' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.744). Instead of wanting to be like his human brothers, Chet-woot and Lapool, Ta-la-pus now wishes to be like his other brother: the prairie wolf.

By calling upon his wolf brother to help him perform his masculinity, Ta-la-pus presents Indigenous masculinity as aligned with the more-than-human world. Contesting the nineteenth-century colonial view that animality is evolutionarily inferior to human life or otherwise degenerate, here Tekahionwake presents Ta-la-pus's wolf connection as linked to growth and expressions of Indigenous masculinity, as 'never before had he been so close to manhood' (2018, p.742). Unlike the beginning of the story that sees the prairie-wolf name pose limitations on Ta-la-pus's skills and ambitions, here we see the wolf associated with strength and growth. As part of this transformation, Ta-la-pus realises his unique nature is part of his strengths rather than weakness as his brothers suggested at the beginning of the story. As he dances, he sings:

> "They call me Ta-la-pus, the prairie wolf,
> And wild and free am I.
> I cannot swim like the Eh-ko-lie, the whale,
> Nor like the eagle, Check-Chack, can I fly.
>
> "I cannot talk as does the great Ty-ee,
> Nor like the o-tel-agh [sun] shine in the sky.
> I am but Ta-la-pus, the prairie wolf,
> And wild and free am I".
> (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745)

This song forms part of Ta-la-pus's transformation as it is in this moment that he metaphorically becomes a prairie wolf through his assertion: 'I am but Ta-la-pus, the prairie wolf' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745). Similar to how Hogan states that the wolf is 'an animal so equal to us that it reflects back what we hate and love about ourselves' (1996, p.65), Tekahionwake uses the wolf to represent the actualisation of Indigenous, male identity. Ta-la-pus's characterisation of himself as a 'prairie wolf' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745) is predicated upon accepting his limitations, and understanding that it is in being different to the 'whale,' the 'eagle', and the 'o-tel-agh' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745) that the strengths of his Indigenous identity are revealed. This is reinforced later in the narrative as he explains how 'he had won his name, and now honoured it, instead of hating it' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747), which conveys how associations with wolves are something to be revered, rather than denigrated. By associating the wolf with strength, growth, resilience, and independence, Tekahionwake encapsulates many North American Indigenous worldviews, and writes back to colonial discourses at the level of metaphor. Subverting the colonial notion that associations with wolves render Indigenous peoples dangerous scavengers, Tekahionwake reveals to her predominantly white audience that Indigenous associations with wolves are sacred. By celebrating individuality, however, Tekahionwake appeals to her young, white audience, creating a didactic tale that has a transcultural significance. The fact that Ta-la-pus is 'wild and free' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745) in his embrace of animality conveys how relationships with the more-than-human world have the potential to liberate people from the oppression of heteropatriarchal, colonial masculinity. As Antone argues, using the example of the arrival of Europeans and the enforcement of colonial masculinity, the 'spirit of men had fallen victim to colonialism and internalized oppression' (2015, p.27). By releasing his inner wolf, Ta-la-pus lets go of his internalised rejection of Indigenous masculinity. He thus becomes free from the oppression of hegemonic forms of colonial manhood, and is able to uphold what Antone refers to as the 'original teachings of Indigenous cultures', which 'fashion men to be liberated, thoughtful in deliberations, matrifocal, and self-determining in ways that honour our inner fire and responsibilities toward all of life' (2015, p.37). The nurturance of his 'inner fire' (Antone, 2015, p.37) is alluded to, as Tekahionwake describes that his eyes

glowed ‘red and lustrous in the firelight’ (2018, p.747), and signals that he fully realises his ‘responsibilities towards all of life’ (Antone, 2015, p.37), including embracing his more-than-human kin, the prairie wolf.

Tekahionwake draws upon the cultural significance of the potlatch to represent how Ta-la-pus’s performance at the ceremony is a test of his ability to perform masculinity. Antone explains that: ‘it was necessary as a special consideration always to tend the masculine energy within our families. It is this one simple act, a cleansing ceremony to bring balance back to the male spirit, that has disappeared in our communities’ (2015, p.34). This is to say that ceremonies such as potlatches were essential to foster Indigenous masculinity and male spirit. Through zoomorphism, Tekahionwake represents masculine energy as constituent within human-animal kinship, as she writes that Ta-la-pus: ‘pulled the wolf’s head over his own, twisted the fore legs about his throat, and stepped into the great circle of sand’ (2018, p.745). In this moment, the human body and the wolf body are intertwined, as the wolf’s body is ‘twisted’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745) around his throat. Evoking oral stories wherein humans shapeshift into wolves, Tekahionwake’s descriptors indicate that the human body has been taken over by the wolf. The statement ‘its head as my headdress’ (2018, p.738) reads for a moment as ‘its head as my head’, conveying a human submission to the wolf, a notion that is repeated in the fact that Ta-la-pus is ‘cover[ed]’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.378) by wolf’s head that takes ‘over his own’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745). Through joining human and wolf bodies through the wearing of fur, Tekahionwake eradicates the colonial boundaries of humanity and animality, revealing what Hogan describes as the permeability of human nature: ‘[w]ith our bodies and our selves, skin is hardly a container. Our boundaries are not solid; we are permeable’ (2020, p.x). The wolf skin on human skin reveals the permeability of human nature that Hogan encapsulates, and incorporates a key element of Native stories. Gregory Cajete explains:

> the interplay of humans with the natural world and the cosmos as seen in Native peoples’ creation stories depict the lines separating humans, animals, and forces of nature as rather fluid, instead of rigid. Animals transform into humans and humans transform into animals. (2000, p.40).

Tekahionwake’s representation of Ta-la-pus’s zoomorphic transformation evokes the fluidity between the categories that the colonial epistemological framework identifies as

humanity and animality. Rather than depicting a full transition from human to animal, through zoomorphism, Tekahionwake depicts a character that complicates this binary, and as Cajete suggests, depicts these categories as 'fluid, instead of rigid' (2000, p.40). In doing so, Tekahionwake depicts a form of masculinity that is not defined by rule over Canadian landscapes, but is instead defined by a kinship with the more-than-human world.

Through the zoomorphic transformation, Tekahionwake rejects forms of colonial masculinity reliant upon dominance over nature, and instead presents a form of masculinity that embraces animality and its place within the more-than-human world. Ta-la-pus's animality becomes fully realised when he performs for the chief:

> With every word, with every step, he became more like the wolf he was describing. […] The wolf feeling crept into his legs, his soft young feet, his clutching fingers, his wonderful dark eyes that now gleamed red and lustrous in the firelight. He was as one inspired, giving a beautiful and marvellous portrait of the wild vagabonds of the plains. For fully ten minutes he circled and sang, then suddenly crouched on his haunches, then, lifting his head, he turned to the east, his young throat voiced one long, strange note, wolf-like he howled into the rising sun. (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747)

The repetition of the pronoun 'he' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747) shows that Ta-la-pus has not undergone a change from human being to animal Other, but is simultaneously existing as human and animal: he exists as 'one' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747). Similarly, that the voice and eyes are still 'his' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.745) demonstrates that this transformation is not Ta-la-pus shifting from human to animal, but that this own sense of self is capable of expressing animality. In stating that he 'became more like the wolf' (2018, p.747), Tekahionwake uses 'more' (2018, p.747) in an ambiguous manner, as this could be interpreted as he is 'more' like the wolf than he was previously, or more significantly, that he became 'more' like the wolf than his human self. He possesses a 'wolf feeling' (2018, p.747) that Tekahionwake reveals is not only an emotion Ta-la-pus himself feels, but makes visible his lupine nature to the audience. His eyes are 'now red and lustrous' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747), with the 'now' signalling a transformation in his physicality. This is continued, as instead of legs, he now has 'haunches' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747), indicating that the audience now view Ta-la-pus as a wolf. For Euro-Canadian and Euro-American audiences, his howl into the rising sun speaks to the werewolf narratives that

depict the transition from human to wolf taking place during the night. By stating that he directs his howling 'into the rising sun' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.747), however, Tekahionwake also alludes to the First Nation conceptualisation of the Grandfather or Eldest Brother who appears in the form of the sun. Antone explains that the Eldest brother, the sun, informs Indigenous lifeways in terms of relationships with the more-than-human world: '[f]ire gives the gift of warmth to man. That warmth is about being connected to their relatives' (2015, p.33). Within the context of Indigenous epistemologies, then, Ta-la-pus howling into the rising sun emphasises how his Indigenous masculinity has been realised through his connection with his more-than-human relatives. In contrast to the beginning of the narrative where Ta-la-pus struggled to bond with his male relatives because of his inability to embody colonial masculinity, here, his relationships with his male relatives, such as Eldest brother, are now actualised because of his embracement of Indigenous masculinity.

In using zoomorphism to resist heteropatriarchy and colonial concepts of masculinity, Tekahionwake represents the Indigenous body as a site of survivance. Ta-la-pus's body becomes a source of Indigenous realities, as Simpson suggests:

> Everything we need to know about everything in the world is contained within Indigenous bodies, and that these same Indigenous bodies exist as networked vessels, or constellations across time and space intimately connected to a universe of nations and beings. (2017a, p.32)

Through the body, Tekahionwake represents a myriad of Indigenous knowledge based upon Indigenous connections with more-than-human beings. Using the Indigenous body as a tool of survivance is a way to challenge the colonial discourse that vilified Indigenous bodies, as Simpson explains that Indigenous bodies represent 'the lived alternative to heteronormative constructions of gender [...] They represent alternative Indigenous political systems that refuse to replicate capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and whiteness' (2017a, p.55). As well as existing between human and animal, Ta-la-pus exists between his initial femininity and his realised Indigenous masculinity, thus representing the 'lived alternative' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.55) to heteronormative – and heteropatriarchal – constructions of gender binaries within the colonial epistemological frame. Through zoomorphism, Tekahionwake refuses to depict a character whose masculinity is based

upon the domination of the more-than-human world, as is the case with ideas of masculinity bound up in the systems of patriarchy, capitalism, and settler colonialism. Tekahionwake uses lycanthropy to represent a form of Indigenous masculinity that embraces qualities deemed 'feminine' in the settler-colonial view, and that is based on respectful and reciprocal relationships with the more-than-human world.

Tekahionwake envisages a future that Indigenous Studies scholar Martin Cannon also speaks of: '[i]t is possible to move beyond a colonial and decidedly Eurocentric way of thinking in singular terms about gender, sex discrimination, Indigenous masculinity, and the impact of sexism on entire nations of people' (2019, p.23). Building on Innes and Anderson's prediction that 'the regeneration of positive masculinities currently taking place in many communities [...] will assist in the restoration of balanced and harmonious relationships' (2015, p.4) with men, women, children and Elders, I suggest that efforts to decolonise masculinity will also restore harmonious relationships with more-than-human relations. Through Native story, Tekahionwake imagines the ways in which resistance to colonial masculinities, and the celebration of Indigenous masculinities, can engender a form of masculinity that is beneficial to not only men, but also women, two-spirit peoples, and relationships with the more-than-human world. Whilst literature can make visible this decolonial future, however, the reality is still oppressive: 'the contemporary heteronormative patriarchal face of many Indigenous cultures remains to subjugate women' (Hokowhitu, 2015, p.87). It is due to this ongoing oppression that Simpson demands that we '[place] the interrogation of heteropatriarchy at the centre of our nation-building movements' to ensure that 'our nation building counters the impact the settler colonial political economy has on Indigenous bodies, intimacies, sexualities, and genders' (2017a, p.115). There is a need to critique masculinity as well as heteropatriarchy in order to improve Indigenous women's rights, as the 'masculine energy of our communities has a greater responsibility to self-examine and rebuild a real sense of manhood that works with women to create a world free of violence' (Antone, 2015, p.37). Tekahionwake demonstrates that Native stories can and do play a role in dismantling heteropatriarchy and colonial masculinity. As Cannon suggests, Native stories 'shape the way we think about identity and belonging, and they are especially relevant to how we are decolonizing

ourselves and our nations' (2019, p.7). In bridging oral and written narratives through the trope of shapeshifting, Tekahionwake not only preserves Native stories, but also attempts to preserve Native, decolonial futures.

2.5 Listening to Nature: Voice in 'The Wolf-Brothers'

Figure 12: Untitled by Morning Star Designs

Permission to use image kindly granted by Haudenosaunee artist Alanah Jewell of Morning Star Designs

Throughout 'The Wolf-Brothers', Tekahionwake incorporates a key element of Native stories: communication between humans and more-than-human beings.[96] Across the three Indigenous groupings of Canada - First Nation, Métis and Inuit - Native oral stories such as that of Sedna and Raven (Inuit), Wenabozho, Sky Woman and the Big Turtle, Old Man Coyote (First Nation), and Gitchi Manitou (Cree/Ojibwe/Métis), see multispecies civilisations emerge from human and more-than-human communication. In these stories, more-than-human speech is not a seen as a magical or supernatural act, but an accepted part of a tribe's origin. Ojibwe Elder Liza Mosher even states that '[i]n the beginning [...] it was no problem to talk to animals' (quoted in Watts, 2020, p.117). Throughout Western philosophy, however, language is thought to be possessed by humans only, and it is this linguistic gatekeeping that has led Timothy Baker to contend that: 'humanity defines itself through an act of linguistic violence' (2019, p.7). This 'linguistic violence' (T. Baker, 2019, p.7) is also critiqued by Jacques Derrida. Writing of Aristotle, Jacques Lacan, René Descartes, Immanuel Kant, Martin Heidegger and Emmanuel Levinas, he states 'all of them say the same thing: the animal is without language' (2008, p.32). In the first consideration of animality and its relationship to humanity, Aristotle stated that 'man alone of the animals is furnished with the faculty of language' (1995, p.11). Similarly, for Descartes, one of the key differentiators between humans and animals is the use of language: 'they could never use words or other signs, or put them together as we do in order to declare our thoughts to others' (1998, p.32).[97] More recently, Marc D. Hauser et al. argue that '[m]ost current

[96] The name 'Wolf-Brother' is also used in the Pacific Northwest story 'The Big Dipper and the Milky Way', in which the stars are five 'Wolf brothers' put in the sky by Coyote (Clark, 2003, p.153).

[97] The theorisation of animal representations or 'the animal' and their position in relation to humans has remained a key concern within Western philosophy. In the broadest of historical terms, the human/animal binary has its grounding in Enlightenment thought, with René Descartes's statement, '*I think, therefore I am'* (1998, p.19) being a germinal quote in the philosophising of animals since its publication in 1637. Established as 'the first principle' (1998, p.10) within Cartesian philosophy, Descartes asserts that the difference between animals and humans is the concept of 'I,' a form of consciousness which suggests that the mind is separate from the body, with the mind being associated with conceptions such as reason and rationality, and the body being associated with instinct and impulse. Descartes argues that rationality and reason are denied to animals, reducing them to the

commentators agree that, although bees dance, birds sing, and chimpanzees grunt, these systems of communication differ qualitatively from human language' (2002, p.1569-70), and Robert C. Berwick and Noam Chomsky deny that various animal forms of communication can be conceptualised as language (2016, p.55).

Across diverse Indigenous epistemologies in Turtle Island, however, the converse is true: more-than-human beings, including plants, animals, and land, possess a voice and complex language systems. Robin Wall Kimmerer explains that the more-than-human world is made up of a polyphony of 'voices' (2013, p.48): 'the *shhh* of wind in needles, water trickling over rock, nuthatch tapping, chipmunks digging, beechnut falling' (2013, p.48). Walking Buffalo expresses the notion that communicating across species is possible: '[d]id you know that trees talk? Well they do. They talk to each other, and they'll talk to you if you listen' (quoted in Deloria Jr., 2003, p.89). Hogan explains that more-than-human beings possess languages: '[m]any languages inhabit the world around us. There are times we forget our species is not of the highest intelligence, not the only one speaking a unique language' (2020, p.17). Hogan explains:

> Bird and animal languages are many. So are the languages of trees. The forest has exceedingly complex methods of communication still being discovered. Nonhuman languages, we have learned, are more plentiful than just the well-documented songs of water mammals who fill the oceans, more also than the enormous vocabularies of crows and ravens or the endangered prairie dogs at the edges of many towns, small burrowing animals who use numerous nouns to describe persons passing by with a language so richly developed it has a syntax and other elements common to ours. (2020, p.18)

For Vanessa Watts (2013), it is communication with the more-than-human world that informs Haudenosaunee ways of being, and it is this element of human-animal communication that this section explores in relation to gendered practices of survivance.

I argue that in 'The Wolf-Brothers', Tekahionwake depicts grounded normativity to foreground the reality that the more-than-human world possesses agency, languages, and the ability to communicate. Although writing of the Lillooet tribe, I suggest that Tekahionwake draws upon her own Mohawk/Haudenosaunee grounded normativity that

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'disposition of their organs' (1998, p.28) that is, the instinctual and physical nature of the body.

Watts refers to as ‘Place-Thought’ (2013) to challenge the Western conceptualisation that more-than-human beings are mute and inanimate. Place-Thought refers to the ways in which human and more-than-human beings derive agency from the land, which is a manifestation of the feminine, or First Woman (Watts, 2013, p.23). Watts explains that Place-Thought ‘is an extension of her circumstance, desire, and communication with the water and animals’ (2013, p.23), and it is because Indigenous peoples ‘are extensions of the very land we walk upon, [that] we have an obligation to maintain communication with it’ (2013, p.23). I argue that in ‘The Wolf-Brothers’, Tekahionwake depicts Place-Thought in action to resist the silencing of more-than-human beings and demonstrate how settler colonialism and its extractive practices have not divested Indigenous peoples from their ability to communicate with the more-than-human world. Building on Alice LaVonne Browne Ruoff’s argument that Tekahionwake uses multiple voices in her writing to represent two oppressed groups – Native Americans and women (1992, p.253) – I make the case that Tekahionwake also represents the voice of other beings subjected to colonial, capitalist, and patriarchal violence: the more-than-human world. Building on Baker’s suggestion that ‘literature continues to offer possibilities for rethinking both material and linguistic divisions [between humans and animals]’ (T. Baker, 2019, p.6), I argue that Native stories in particular offer Tekahionwake a way to challenge the notion that the more-than-human world is without language and agency.

Like ‘The Potlatch’, ‘The Wolf-Brothers’ is set in the Pacific Northwest and focuses on the experiences of an Indigenous boy from the Lillooet (also known as the St'át'imc) tribe, another First Nation. The story explores the relationships between Indigenous peoples, settlers and wolves within the context of nineteenth-century capitalism and the exploitation of tribal land, specifically, gold mining and the construction of railroads.[98]

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[98] Due to the buying and selling of land, the construction of railways was a key component of the colonisation of Turtle Island during the nineteenth century. Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson even suggest that ‘railroad companies were the “single most important factor” in the colonisation of the region west of the Mississippi’ (2010, p.92). The Canadian Pacific Railway was the largest private landowner in western Canada (Magee & Thompson, 2010, p.90). In 1880, anther contract was passed that permitted the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (R. Brown, 2016, p.14). The construction of the railway then began in 1881 and ended in 1885. Its construction was considered an

Tekahionwake's narrative fosters productive relationships between animals, Native peoples and settler tradesmen, where animality is valued and appreciated, and encourages alliances to form across both groups. This story tells of a young boy who can communicate with wolves. From an early age he demonstrates an affinity with wolves – so much so, both he and his family pride themselves on his ability to mimic wolf behaviour, and express both human and wolf voices. The boy's ability to communicate across groups - Lillooet, English and lupine - is a key theme. As a young adult, he acts as a messenger between the Lillooet tribe and the railway construction company, using his limited English to inform them that fifteen Lillooet men are willing to help construct the railroad. He journeys along the Cariboo Trail, previously used by the Hudson Bay Trading Company before being adapted for transportation of gold from Okanagan Valley to the Fraser River (Bawtree & Zabek, 2011, p.46).[99] On his journey, Leloo overhears two Englishmen planning to kill the driver of the oncoming stagecoach in order to steal its cargo of gold. To prevent this act of colonial violence, Leloo metaphorically transforms into a wolf: 'he had flung back his head, and from his thin, Indian lips there issued a weird, prolonged howl' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.719). Using his howl to communicate with wolves, and to some extent disguise himself as a wolf, Leloo bypasses the dangerous men, and travels ahead to warn, and thus save, both the gold and the coach driver, Big Bill. The story of Leloo's heroism establishes bonds across the cultural divide. To honour Leloo's bravery and kinship, at the next *potlatch* (feast), Leloo is bestowed with a new name: Wolf-Brother.[100]

'exalted act of nation building' (A den Otter, 1997, p.4) and an impressive feat that was able to penetrate the 'impassable wilderness' (A den Otter, 1997, p.4) of Canada. Harold Innis, who provided the first academic account of the Canadian Pacific Railway, writes that 'the fulfilment of the contract in the completion of the mainline of the Canadian Pacific Railway was a significant landmark in the spread of civilization throughout Canada', a type of civilisation that was 'typically Western' (1923, p.128).

[99] The Hudson Bay Company features in several of Tekahionwake's short stories including 'A Squamish Legend of Napoleon', 'A Red Girl's Reasoning', 'As it was in the Beginning', 'The Shagganappi' and 'The King's Coin', and gold-mining also features in *Canadian Born* (1903).

[100] Embracing animality to save settlers could be interpreted as Tekahionwake engaging with the colonial construction of the 'noble savage' or 'ecological Indian' to present to her audience of *Boys' World* a representation of 'Native life' (Milz, 2004, p.137) that was in keeping with their values. These stereotypes constructed First Nations people and Native

Tekahionwake demonstrates the wolves' ability to speak from the opening of the story, as she overtly refers to the wolf howl as a 'voice': 'their voices were to him the voices of friends who had sung him to sleep ever since he could remember anything' (2018, p.712). Tekahionwake reiterates this as the wolves have 'wild voices' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.714) and converse in a variety of ways: the wolves are capable of 'calling' (2018, p.711) and 'answering' (2018, p.714), and they can 'greet' (2018, p.714) and 'talk' (2018, p.721) not only to each other, but to Leloo.[101] By referring to the wolf howl as a 'voice' (2018, p.712), Tekahionwake complicates the notion that voice is evidence of human exceptionalism, as within Western thought, the concept of voice and the ability to speak is one that is reserved for humans, and even then, is denied to women, children, people of colour, and transgender people.[102] Possessing a voice that is listened to and valued is reserved for

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Americans as living harmoniously with the environment, and therefore outside of any form of civilisation and colonial modernity, or 'frozen in the past' (Rowland, 2004, p.2). The 'noble savage' in particular rendered Indigenous populations as having an innate goodness that could redeem the fact that they were perceived to be intellectually and morally 'inferior' to Euro-American settlers. I make the case that, although many of Tekahionwake's short stories draw upon reconciliation or harmony between settler and Indigenous populations, 'The Wolf-Brothers' is not a narrative of the 'noble savage' or 'ecological Indian'. Instead, I argue that the ability to metaphorically shapeshift into a wolf and communicate with wolves is a subtle form of anti-imperialist critique within a narrative that imagines compatible relations with settlers who value Indigenous peoples, their traditions, and beliefs.

[101] Across her works, Tekahionwake depicts the voices of other more-than-human beings. In 'The Bird's Lullaby' she writes of the voice of both the cedar tree: 'cedars; your voice is so lowly' (2018, p.77). In 'Dawendine' she states, 'the wailing pine trees murmur with a voice attuned to hers' (2018, p.49). In 'The Maple' she writes of the 'Voice of the restless aspen, fine and thin' (2018, pp.158-159) and tells of 'the blood-hued maple, straight and strong, voicing abroad its patriotic song' (2018, p.158). As well as trees, the voice of 'the velvet air' is referred to in 'Under Canvas: In Muskoka' and in 'Where Leaps the Ste. Marie' she writes of the voice of water: 'I hear your voice uplifting' (2018, p.106). See: Tekahionwake (2018). *Four Books by E. Pauline Johnson*. Seltzer Books.

[102] Derrida addresses this marginalisation of women and children: 'at the summit is the sovereign (master, king, husband, father[)] […] and below, subjected to his service, the slave, the beast, the woman, the child' (2009, pp.29-30). This leads him to suggest that 'in place of the beast one can put, in the same hierarchy, the slave, the woman, the child' (2009, p.33). Frantz Fanon explains that 'in the Antilles that view of the world is white because no black voice exists' (2008, p.118). bell hooks also suggests that the silencing of women, particularly black women, leads 'true speaking' (1986, p.126) to be 'an act of resistance, a political gesture that challenges the politics of domination that would render

white, heterosexual, men, the dominant identities that wield power within imperialist discourses. In Derrida's foundational work, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, he summarises the phallocentric nature of Western debates around the animal and voice:

> Men would be first and foremost those living creatures who have given themselves the word that enables them to speak of the animal with a single voice and to designate it as the single being that remains without a response, without a word with which to respond. (2008, p.32)

Reducing language and voice to a form of human exceptionalism perpetuates the idea that humans 'are fundamentally different and somehow better, more deserving of the wealth and services of the Earth than other species' (Kimmerer, 2017, p.377). It is human exceptionalism that was - and is - used to justify the exploitation of land, including goldmining and railway construction that form the context of 'The Wolf-Brothers'. Representing the wolves' voices opposes these ideas of human exceptionalism that engender environmental exploitation, as more-than-human voices '[challenge] a powerful claim of western philosophy that speech is unique to humans, a marker of their intellectual, ethical, political, and spiritual distinctiveness' (Chaplin, 2017, p.509). Through this representational choice, Tekahionwake continues the presence of animal voices as used in oral stories, and resists imperial discourses that attempt to silence, and therefore dominate, more-than-human beings.

Tekahionwake deploys Place-Thought by depicting Leloo and the wolves as part of a multispecies society. As the opening of the story relays, 'from the time he could toddle' and 'before the little fellow could talk' he 'had always listened with delight to the wolves howling' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.711). He believes that the wolves speak directly to him,

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us nameless and voiceless' (1986, p.126). hooks also makes the case that transitioning 'from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonized, the exploited' (1986, p.128). Theories of voice and 'voicelessness' permeate postcolonial studies, however, attempts to 'reveal' or 'uncover' voices of colonised peoples are often counterproductive. Ania Loomba explains: 'although its declared intentions are to allow the voices of once colonised peoples and their descendants to be heard, it in fact closes off both their voices and any legitimate place from which critics can speak' (1998, p.xi). Writing of Native Americans, Louis Owens makes a similar case: 'in giving voice to the silent we unavoidably give voice to the forces that conspire to effect that silence' (2001, p.24). See also: Spivak, G. (2016). *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Macat International Limited.

as 'their voices were to him the voices of friends who had sung him to sleep ever since he could remember anything' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.711-12).[103] Using the phrases 'since he could remember' and 'always' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.712) emphasises how co-existence with wolves has been foundational to the formation of Leloo's worldview. Leloo also considers the wolves to be his 'friends' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.712), 'brothers' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.713), 'kin' and 'cousins' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.715), who he grew 'a love for' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.711) implying that his conception of family extends beyond humans and includes the more-than-human world. Tekahionwake conveys how the wolves form part of the society in which Leloo lives. In her explanation of Place-Thought, Watts states:

> habitats and ecosystems are better understood as societies from an Indigenous point of view; meaning that they have ethical structures, inter-species treaties and agreements, and further their ability to interpret, understand and implement. Non-human beings are active members of society. Not only are they active, they also directly influence how humans organize themselves into that society. (2013, p.23)

Through voice, Tekahionwake conveys how wolves are 'active members' (Watts, 2013, p.23) of Leloo's society. Suggesting that Tekahionwake acknowledges the role of wolves in the organization of human societies also stems from the fact that Tekahionwake was part of the Wolf Clan. This relationship with the wolves is indicative of the continual existence of Place-Thought even within a colonial space. Watts explains that the feminine, or the First Woman, who is central to Haudenosaunee lifeways, 'is present in the relationships between humans and humans, humans and nonhumans, and non-humans and non-humans' (2013, p.23). Through Leloo's relationship with the wolves, and his later communication with wolves, Tekahionwake depicts Place-Thought as able to defy the violent logics of settler colonialism and capitalist extraction that attempt to eradicate grounded normativity.

In a subversion of imperialist discourse, Tekahionwake uses Leloo's subjectivity to privilege the voices of the more-than-human world over the voices of white settlers. For

[103] Considering himself the intended listener encapsulates a sentiment expressed by Hogan. Writing of a line from Jim Larsen's poem, 'I'm Indian because the wolf howls my name in the night' (1995, p.65), Hogan states 'I think this is so with me' (1995, p.65), that the wolves speak directly to humans.

Leloo, the wolves' voices are the 'voices of friends' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.712) with whom he can easily communicate. He can speak to them in their 'own language' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.718), can 'answer' them with 'perfect imitation' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.711), and explains that his 'big wolf-brother' can 'talk his talk' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.721) to him. In contrast, Tekahionwake makes foreign the settlers' voices. Whilst Tekahionwake depicts the conversation between the settlers to the reader, she represents this as intelligible to Leloo who 'did not understand English readily, he was not versed in the ways of the white man' (2018, p.715). The foreign nature of their voices is furthered as their voices are 'a sound that belonged to neither crag nor canyon' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.714). By describing settler voices as a 'sound' (2018, p.714) rather than a 'voice', Tekahionwake subverts the Aristotelian notion that underpins imperialist thought, that 'humans have *logos*, speech, while animals only have *phone*, voice or sound' (Elden, 2006, p.280). In this narrative, it is the wolves who have 'voices', (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.714), speech and *logos* (Elden, 2006, p.280) whereas white men make 'sound' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.714). Tekahionwake thus describes the settlers through the colonial discourses used to deny more-than-human beings and some groups of people a voice. The disruptive elements of this statement continue - by stating that the sound was not made by more-than-human beings such as 'crags' and 'canyons' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.714), Tekahionwake reinforces the idea that the more-than-human world can speak in ways that are familiar to Leloo. This is significant in relation to ideas of survivance, as Vizenor explains: 'an aural sense of presence is the premise of a distinctive aesthetics of survivance' (2009, p.1). By contrast, the settlers' voices are unnatural, or out-of-place within this space. This effortless communication with the more-than-human world, contrasted with the foreign nature of the settlers, destabilises the dominance of white, male settler voices that are privileged within what Janice Acoose refers to as the 'white-Euro-Canadian-Christian-patriarchy' (2016, p.14). Tekahionwake thus depicts co-existence with the more-than-human world as a way to unsettle the dominant structures that privilege white men, and disadvantage Indigenous peoples and the more-than-human world.

Although the wolves' voices differ from Leloo's voice in terms of their 'weird' 'howl' and 'barking' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.712), Leloo and the wolves do not exist in a hierarchy.

As aforementioned, Leloo views the wolves as 'friends' then 'brothers' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.713), 'kin' and 'cousins' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.715), whom he 'listens to with delight' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.712). By presenting this non-hierarchical relationship, Tekahionwake draws upon an essential element of grounded normativity that Simpson explains 'is the base of our political systems, economy, and nationhood, and it creates process-centred modes of living that generate profoundly different conceptualizations of nationhood and governmentality – ones that aren't based on enclosure, authoritarian power, and hierarchy' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.34). Grounded normativity, as Coulthard explains, 'is antithetical to capitalist accumulation' (2014, p.258), and it is through this non-hierarchical relationship that Tekahionwake critiques the capitalist extraction in which the story is set. In referring to the wolves as members of his family – a feat that gains him the name 'Wolf Brother' - Tekahionwake represents a form of human-animal relationality that exists outside of the hierarchical logics of capitalism. Leloo's ability to view the wolves outside of the capitalist system is noted when he states that he 'would rather have soft wolf skin to lie on [...] than all the gold in the world' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.716), conveying that he privileges the wolves and their bodies above the gold upon which capitalism places value. This non-hierarchical relationship counters the imperialist hierarchies that privilege humans over animals and fuel the capitalist extraction, where 'his father had often talked of the great lumps of gold the white men were digging up' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.716). Therefore, although Tekahionwake represents the colonial and capitalist contexts of nineteenth-century British Columbia, through grounded normativity, she conveys how Indigenous populations refuse to mirror colonial and capitalist relationships with the more-than-human world, and presents to her audience ways to live with nature that are not predicated upon hierarchy.

By depicting human-animal relationality in a non-hierarchical way, Tekahionwake poses a challenge to Christian values that *Boys' World* upholds. The Book of Genesis establishes a hierarchy between humans and animals:

> The fear and dread of you will fall on all the beasts of the earth, and on all the birds in the sky, on every creature that moves along the ground, and on all the fish in the sea; they are given into your hands. Everything that lives and moves about will be food for you. Just as I gave you the green plants, I now give you everything. (Genesis, 9:2-3)

As Watts explains, in Genesis 'humans were positioned into a world in which they were able to reside over nature' (2013, p.24), and it is this power dynamic that ultimately led the Euro-Christian purview to silence the land (2013, p.26) and limit agency to human-human interactions (2013, p.25). By presenting the wolves as vocal, agentic, and in a non-hierarchical relationship with Leloo, Tekahionwake evokes Place-Thought to contest the epistemological view that is upheld by the very periodical for which she writes.

The climax of the story occurs when Tekahionwake represents an act that Western philosophers consider animals incapable: that of responding. Derrida critiques Western philosophers in their assumption that animals cannot enter into dialogue, stating that: 'from Aristotle to Lacan, animals do not respond' (2008, p.85). Derrida goes onto say that: 'the said question of the said animal in its entirety comes down to knowing not whether the animal speaks but whether one can know what *respond* means' (original emphasis, 2008, p.8), and continues: '[o]r more precisely unable to respond, to respond with a response that could be precisely and rigorously distinguished from a reaction' (2002, p.400). Through Place-Thought, Tekahionwake contrasts this view held by Western philosophers that animals do not possess agency and are thus unable to respond:

> "Ah, my brothers!" Leloo called aloud. "You have come to greet me through the night," [...] as he rode on he would – just for company's sake – call back to the wolves, answering their cries with such a perfect imitation of their wild voices that they would reply to him, from far below, and then again from high above, and Leloo would smile to himself and say, "That is right, O great and fierce Leloos; answer me, for you are my kin and my cousins". (2018, p.713)

Tekahionwake represents reciprocal exchange between Leloo and the wolves: they 'greet [him]', he proceeds to 'call back' and they 'answer' and 'reply to him' (2018, p.713). By depicting the wolves as capable of responding, Tekahionwake depicts the central element of Place-Thought, that 'all elements of nature possess agency, and this agency is not limited to innate action or causal relationships' (Watts, 2013, p.23). Whilst for a white audience this interspecies communication may be considered coincidental, for a Haudenosaunee

audience, the wolves' responses are not 'innate or causal' (Watts, 2013, p.23), but are a deliberate act – because the wolves possess agency, they choose to respond to Leloo. As Watts suggests: '[o]ur ability to have sophisticated governance systems is directly related to not only the animals' ability to communicate with us, but their *willingness* to communicate with us' (original emphasis, 2013, p.30). Preceding these events with depictions of how Leloo has nurtured his relationships with the wolves from being an infant, Tekahionwake implies that it is because Leloo has fostered his relationships with the wolves that they choose to respond to him.

In 'The Wolf-Brothers', like 'The Potlatch', Tekahionwake uses metaphorical transformation from human to wolf to reject colonial discourses that violently separate humans from the more-than-human world. It is due to the impending colonial violence of white men that Leloo realises he must 'transform' into an animal to be able to 'pass under their very feet' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.718):

> Then acutely across the silence cut the long wail of a lonely wolf wandering across the heights. A very inspiration seized Leloo. In a second he flung back his head, and from his thin, Indian, boyish lips there issued a weird, prolonged howl. He was answering the wolf in his own language [...] Then his wolf friend from the heights answered him, and Leloo once more lifted his head, and the strange half-barking, half-sobbing cry again broke the silence. (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.719).

Unlike the beginning of the story, where the howls are described as 'weird' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.719) to emphasise their difference from human voices, here Leloo's 'weird, prolonged howl', 'sobbing' and 'barking' (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.719) highlight his ability to 'become' a wolf. As well as alluding to Native stories wherein shapeshifting occurs, Tekahionwake conveys that shapeshifting is a way to access what Watts refers to as the 'pre-colonial mind' (2013, p.32). The 'pre-colonial mind' (Watts, 2013, p.32), does not refer to a moment of linear time, as 'the concept of time for us was never linear' (Watts, 2013, p.32). Rather, the pre-colonial mind refers to the 'original instructions' (Watts, 2013, p.22), or grounded normativity, in which the Haudenosaunee 'ensured our own ability to act and converse with non-humans' (Watts, 2013, p.32). As Watts notes, one of the ways through which the pre-colonial mind can be accessed is through shapeshifting (2013, p.32). In this story, Tekahionwake depicts a form of

shapeshifting that enables Leloo to access the ‘pre-colonial mind’ (Watts, 2013, p.32) and reclaim the ability to communicate with the more-than-human world.

As well as reclaiming epistemological ground, Place-Thought is used to contest, and survive, colonial violence. It is through performing wolf behaviour that Leloo is able to avoid a confrontation with settlers who ‘will risk their lives and kill each other for this gold’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.716). Through mimicking the wolves’ voices, and through their willingness to respond, Leloo is able to pass ‘beneath the dreaded boulder almost noiselessly’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.718) and avoid being shot by the settlers. In Leloo’s later recounting of events, he makes it clear that is it his relationship with the more-than-human world that helped him to evade death. When Big Bill tells him ‘you saved me and the miner’s gold’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.721), Leloo corrects him by informing Bill of the wolves’ agency and role in the rescue: ‘[n]ot me save, just save by my big wolf brother. He teach me to make his cry, he answer me when I talk his talk to him’ (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.721). In stating that the wolves ‘teach’ him (Tekahionwake, 2018, p.721), and that the wolves help him to avoid an altercation, Tekahionwake overtly alludes to Place-Thought in stating that *Leloo derives his agency from the land*. In the face of colonial violence, his actions are informed by his relationships with the land. As Watts suggests, because of the ‘constant conflict’ (2013, p.22) between Indigenous and colonial worldviews, it is necessary ‘to tease out what the land’s intentions might be, and how she tries to speak through us’ (2013, p.22). Within the context of goldmining and railway construction, Tekahionwake shows that the land’s intentions are to intervene in the continued violence against herself, the land, and Indigenous peoples who are extensions of the land. Through Place-Thought, Tekahionwake contests colonial and capitalist violence against the land. Despite the narrative centring upon boys and men due to its *Boys’ World* audience, through the wolves, and by extension, Leloo, Tekahionwake represents the voice of the feminine, the land.

2.6 Conclusion

Figure 13: 'Being in a hurry does not slow down time (Mokokama Mokhonoana)' by Morning Star Designs.

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In both ‘The Wolf-Brothers’ and ‘The Potlatch’, Tekahionwake uses a metaphorical form of shapeshifting to maintain central elements of Native stories and to resist the three intersecting structures of settler colonialism, heteropatriarchy and capitalism. Through metaphorical shapeshifting, Tekahionwake asserts the continued presence of Indigenous masculinity, and of Place-Thought, or Haudenosaunee grounded normativity. These depictions of metaphorical transformation challenge Western conceptions of species boundaries, and instead return to the fluidity of nature that constitutes Native stories. By depicting the boundaries between humans and animals as fluid, Tekahionwake not only resists the imperialist ideas that separate humans and animals, but also expresses survivance as a practice of human and animal co-resistance. Foregrounding the connection between humans and animals, particularly wolves, in their navigation of settler-colonial spaces, Tekahionwake demonstrates that survivance can be a multi-species practice.

Emphasising the continuance of interspecies communication in Tekahionwake’s writing is necessary because, as Watts suggests, there is a ‘need to continue to resist the growing tendency to both be subsumed into deessentialized epistemological spaces as well as fight against the dislocation of our thoughts from place’ (2013, p.32). As Tekahionwake shows, Native stories offer a way to resist this dislocation, and reinstate Place-Thought within settler-colonial, heteropatriarchal and capitalist spaces. Due to the fact that Tekahionwake was commissioned to write these stories for *Boys’ World*, she was unable to overtly centre the female experience of these systems. Through Place-Thought, however, Tekahionwake critiques the violence committed against the feminine and the land, as Watts suggests: ‘[l]istening to what she [the land] tells us is not only about a philosophical understanding of life and the social realm, rather it is about a tangible and tacit violence being done to her - and therefore to us’ (2013, p.32). Through the union of wolf and human voices, and the fluidity between human and wolf bodies, Tekahionwake unites Indigenous peoples and the more-than-human world in their experience of settler-colonial violence, and also in their settler-colonial resistance.

Chapter Three

3.0 Women, Water and *Mana Wahine*: Feminine Power and Vulnerability to Drought in Mary Kawena Pūku'i's *Mo'olelo*

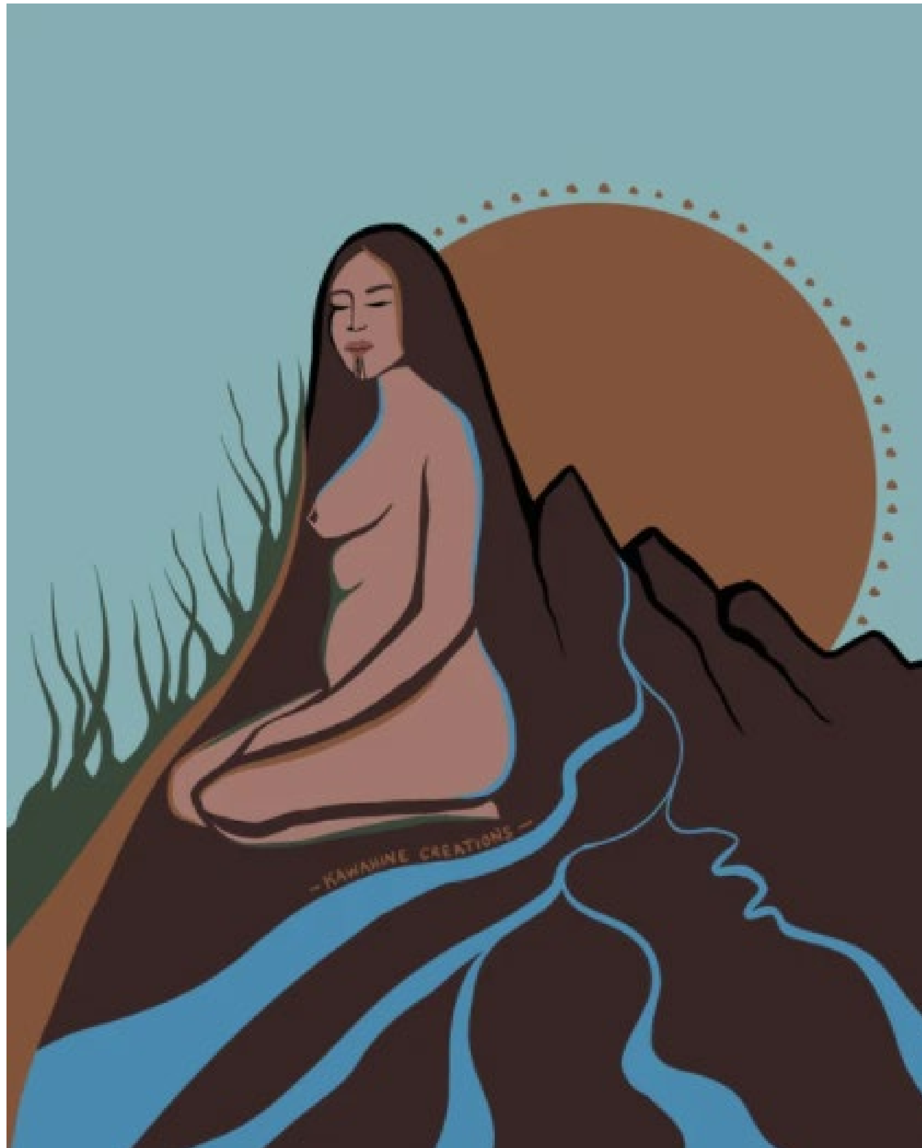

Figure 14: 'Resiliency' by Kawahine Creations.

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3.1 Introduction

In this first critical exploration of the fiction of Native Hawaiian writer and scholar, Mary Kawena Pūku'i,[104] I demonstrate how she expresses a form of gendered survivance that rejects notions of Indigenous, female victimry in relation to climate change vulnerability, specifically, drought. As James McKay and David Stirrup suggest, contemporary culture is guilty of 'placing too much emphasis on Indigenous peoples as ongoing *victims* of encounter rather than agents of change and exchange' (original emphasis, 2013, p.4). Stirrup's assertion undergirds my observation that emerging climate change discussions produce contemporary narratives of Native, female, victimhood. I make the case that Pacific Islander women are frequently constructed as passive victims of environmental change, rather than as 'agents of change' (McKay & Stirrup, 2013, p.4) equipped with the traditional knowledges needed to prevent and manage environmental disasters.

Publishing over fifty texts in her lifetime, Pūku'i's knowledge of Native Hawaiian culture spanned folklore, chants, proverbs and poetics, language, agricultural practices, customs and beliefs regarding childbirth, family systems, and even physical therapeutics. This expansive *oeuvre* emerged out of her work with the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, where Pūku'i worked as an ethnological assistant and translator between 1938-1961 (McDougall, 2016, p.29). Despite producing a large collection of Hawaiian tales and legends, scholarship tends to focus on her translations or dictionary entries (Bacchilega, 2007; McDougall, 2016), rendering her fictional works overlooked. Turning to Pūku'i's literary depictions of drought makes visible an Indigenous female address, demonstrating how Indigenous women have been leading responses to environmental change for decades. In *Songs (Meles) of Old Ka'u*, Pūku'i recollects that:

[104] Her full name is Mary Abigail Kawenaʻulaokalaniahiʻiakaikapoliopele Naleilehuaapele Wiggin Pūku'i, and encapsulates her ancestry with the goddess Pele.

> We of Kau know what a dry land it was. Much more so than it is now with the waters drawn from our upland springs and piped to all the plantation villages. The people depended on brackish pools at the sea shore, the undersea springs, or water in the few caves that were scattered far and wide over the plain. Most of the water came from the mountain springs many miles from the shore. As soon as a child was old enough to carry a water bottle he was given one and went along with the older folks to fetch some for himself. Water was so prized that after a shower, water caught in the eye socket of a fish's skull, in hollow stones, or any container that was clean and free of soil was collected together and saved. (1949, p.252)

As well as experiencing drought and its lasting effects, Pūku'i has an unparalleled role as a central figure in the continuance and preservation of Kānaka Maoli culture.[105] Her works provide a rich source of traditional knowledge that can intervene in debates dominated by imperialist thought. [106] Through an analysis of 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', this chapter highlights how Pūku'i depicts a space in which Hawaiian women, or *wahine ōiwi,* respond to drought despite being rendered particularly vulnerable due to social, cultural and spiritual responsibilities.

In this chapter, I reveal how Hawaiian *mo'olelo* can intervene in these narratives of Native, female, victimry and vulnerability through their embodiment of specific, land-based knowledges. Formed of the words *mo'o,* which means 'succession' (Bacchilega, 2007, p.7) and *ōlelo* which means 'word' (Bacchilega, 2007, p.7), *mo'olelo* are defined as a succession of words or 'succession of talk' (Pūku'i & Elbert, 1986, p.254). Cristina Bacchilega explains that the relationship between *mo'o* and *ōlelo*' is 'mutually constitutive and metonymically encapsulates the connection in Hawaiian thought of genealogy, land and (hi)story' (2007,

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[105] Within this context, 'Kanaka Maoli' and 'Kanaka 'Ōiwi' refer to Native Hawaiians, however, it must be noted that the term *Kanak* or *Kanakae* was used by French settlers pejoratively to refer to the Indigenous peoples of New Caledonia, as it is derivative of the French term *canaque.* The spelling, however, was altered by independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou 'to signify subversion and reversal, the transformation of the negative language of the past, and an affirmation of pride in being Kanak' (Ramsay, 2014, p.2).
[106] Pūku'i's other collections of folktales include *Hawaiian Folktales* (1933), *Pīkoi and Other Legends of the Island of Hawaii* (1949), *The Water of Kāne; and Other Legends of the Hawaiian Islands* (1951), *Tales of the Menehune* (1996), with several reprints in the 21st century. Other publications include *Place Names of Hawai'i* (1974), *The Echo of our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians* (1979), alongside several dictionaries.

p.7). More than works of fiction, *mo'olelo* are a form that blends Native genealogical history with interactions with the land, or *ʻāina*. As Kuʻualoha Hoʻomanawanui explains, *mo'olelo* 'contain a diversity of thought and an impressive exhibition of knowledge based on intimate observation and familiarity with the ʻāina' (2010, p.208). Due to the fact that *mo'olelo* communicate specific, ancestral knowledges relating to the more-than-human world, *mo'olelo* are considered to be 'part of the resurgence of Kanaka 'Oiwi ways of knowing' (Fujikane, 2021, p.47), with the potential to have 'critical decolonial effects' (Fujikane, 2021, p.47). In my analysis of Pūku'i's 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', I join this effort to demonstrate the transformative power of *mo'olelo.* For Ho'omanawanui, *mo'olelo* encompass knowledges that help Kanaka 'Ōiwi 'to resist and to stand in opposition against colonization and against foreign domination, suppression and appropriation of who we are and what our culture means to us' (2004, p.88-89). Brandy Nālani McDougall makes a similar case, that *mo'olelo* 'enable strong social, political, economic, and cultural critiques that subvert colonialism, support ancestrally informed decolonial movements, and inspire people to act' (2016, p.27). I build on this scholarship that foregrounds the decolonial potential of *mo'olelo* to argue that Pūku'i's 'The Pounded Water of Kekela' depicts specifically female relationships with land and land-based knowledges, or grounded normativity, through which *wahine 'ōiwi* lead responses to drought. I make the case that by representing these knowledges and the power and agency of *wahine 'ōiwi*, Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* complicates gendered, neo-colonial narratives of victimry and vulnerability, and re-imagines ways that Hawaiian women, or *wahine 'ōiwi,* can be at the forefront of climate change responses.[107]

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[107] Narratives of Pacific Islander victimhood continue the colonial legacy of misrepresenting Hawaiian women. In contemporary media, *wahine 'ōiwi* are commercialised through the image of a '*hula* girl' that 'encapsulate a cultural stereotype of Hawaii as a hospitable tourist destination' (Hajibayova & Buente, 2017, p.4). More than a stereotype that misrepresents the spiritual nature of *hula*, the image of the '*hula* girl' fetishizes Native Hawaiian women, reducing them to objects to be desired by visiting tourists. Valérie Baisnée explains: '[t]here is a contrast between the silencing and invisibility of Pacific Island women in history and the ubiquitous images of Pacific Island women which are used to objectify their bodies' (2018, p.112).

I develop recent, gendered approaches to climate change vulnerability by making the case that the social, cultural and political contexts that engender the vulnerability of *wahine ʻōiwi* are now being wielded to exclude Hawaiian women from contributing to drought mitigation strategies. As Marc Williams and Duncan McDuie-Ra suggest, there has been limited attention to the ways climate change has created new forms of vulnerabilities in relation to the Pacific Islands (2017, p.2). Of this limited scholarship, Ian Kelman suggests that 'vulnerability' is now being constructed in opposition to 'resilience', a binary that renders both concepts as harmful to island nations, as 'resilience' is used to justify limited external support, and 'vulnerable' is used to justify total management by overseas nations (2020, p.8). Jon Barnett and Elissa Waters dispute the validity of notions of 'vulnerability', claiming that they 'have limited explanatory power because they arise from a panoptical and developmental view of islands that does not speak at all to how people in islands make meaningful lives for themselves' (2016, p.734). Andrea Gerlak and Christina Greene also critique the impact of categorising a group as 'vulnerable', as narratives and framings of vulnerability 'shape who is identified as vulnerable, who participates in the development of climate services, what type of climate information is produced, and what adaptation options are suggested' (2019, p.100). What these approaches to vulnerability reveal is that the label 'vulnerable' has very real material implications, not all of which are positive or progressive.

I build on existing critiques of 'vulnerability' by making the case that 'new forms' (Williams & McDuie-Ra, 2017, p.2) of vulnerability also emerge out of neo-colonial narratives that perpetuate notions of Indigenous, female victimhood. In using the term 'neo-colonial' in relation to Hawai'i, I refer to the ways that sovereignty of Native Hawaiians is compromised by Hawai'i's relationship with colonial power, the USA. As Noenoe Silva asserts: 'Hawai'i is not a postcolonial but a (neo?) colonial state' (2004, p.9). In defining neo-colonial, I turn to the work of Huanani-Kay Trask who defines neo-colonialism as 'the experience of oppression at a stage that is nominally identified as independent or autonomous' (1999, p.102). Trask explains that '[t]he relationship between ourselves [Indigenous peoples] and those who want control of us and our resources is not a *formerly* colonial relationship, but an *ongoing* colonial relationship' (1999, p.103). The ongoing

nature of colonialism that Trask writes of refers to the USA's continual exertion of control over Hawai'i through its food exports, military presence and the tourism industry. All of these modes of control not only render Hawai'i economically dependent on the USA, but also disrupt Indigenous peoples' respectful relationships with the land. As Trask explains, the U.S military presence in Hawai'i means that 'enormous amounts of land, water and other resources are diverted to satisfy American military needs' (1999, p.105). Similarly, the tourism industry was a catalyst for land privatisation that continues to displace Native peoples and erode Hawaiian culture, as burial grounds are now recreation sites for tourists rather than sacred places (Trask, 1991, p.23). Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez argues that Hawai'i currently exists under a 'neo-colonial tourism-military complex' (2013, p.81), stating that US military presence and the tourism industry are 'mutually dependent' (2013, p4). Together, they 'produce gendered structures of feeling and formations of knowledge that are routinized into everyday life and are crucial to the practices and habits of U.S imperialism in the region' (Gonzalez, 2013, p.4). For Trask, Hawai'i's relationship with the USA is neo-colonial as she considers these violations as 'another stage in the agony that began with the first footfall of European explorers in 1778' (1991, p.23). The contemporary dispossession of land, land privatisation and rates of poverty that occur due to tourism, the military, and export are an extension of nineteenth-century settler colonialism, and therefore continue to uphold this colonial relationship.

I argue that the conflation of 'vulnerability' with 'incapability' is another attempt to wield neo-colonial control over the Hawaiian Islands. Taking into consideration these neo-colonial and capitalist contexts in which current climate change discussions take place, I argue that the assumption that Indigenous peoples are in need of being 'led' and 'managed' (Fordham et al., 2013, p.8) due to their vulnerability allows global powers such as the USA to capitalise on climate change responses. This purview enables them to exert further control over the Pacific Islands and how they respond to environmental disasters, thereby marginalising Indigenous peoples and their traditional ecological knowledge. Referring to the USA and its relations with Hawai'i as 'neo-colonial' is necessary to refute what Trask terms as 'the ideology that the United States has no overseas colonies and is, in fact, the champion of self-determination' (1991, p.23). Emphasising how climate change mitigations

enable further control over Hawai'i can lead to a reconsideration of the way the USA now wields climate change narratives in favour of neo-colonial strategies.

'Vulnerability' has evolved from its original concern regarding exposure to hazards and adaptive capacities and is now commonly mobilised to justify ongoing neo-colonial intervention and control over countries that experience the effects of climate change most acutely. In its original usage in climate change discourse, vulnerability encapsulates two circumstantial contexts: the initial propensity to anticipate or be harmed by environmental disaster, and the ability to recover from, or adapt to, the consequences of an environmental disaster (Leary et al, 2009; Wisner, 2013; Kelman et al. 2016). In terms of exposure to risk, the Hawaiian Islands (along with other Pacific Islands and territories (PICTs)[108] are indeed vulnerable due to geographical location and extensive littoral zones. The eight islands that comprise the archipelago of Hawai'i are subject to storm surges, changing weather patterns and tidal fluctuations (Showalter et al., 2019, p.50). It is this climate variability, and particularly reduced rainfall, which drives wide-spread droughts of various forms: meteorological, hydrological, ecological and agricultural (Frazier et. al., 2019, p.96). This water scarcity then impacts diverse ecosystems across the archipelago, as well as agricultural productivity (Frazier et. al., 2019, p.100), which means that the impacts of drought extend well beyond limited access to water.

The ability to recover from, and adapt to drought, however, is a feat that complicates the notion that *wahine 'ōiwi* are particularly vulnerable. As Jennifer Bryant-Tokalau asserts, prior to Euro-American contact Pacific Islanders were extremely competent at adapting to environmental disasters and continue to 'demonstrate that they are skilled at adaptation' (2018, p.3). She explains:

> Pacific countries have long been aware of a range of approaches to good environmental management as key to economic and human development [...] Pacific Islanders have been adapting to, and mitigating against, environmental change for much longer than is often currently understood. (2018, p.12)

[108] I use this term in favour of U.S-Affiliated Pacific Islands (USAPI) which continues the colonised status of Hawai'i and denies the existence of any Hawaiian sovereignty.

In many cases, Pacific Islander women lead these responses to environmental disaster. Writing about Native women from Fiji and the Marshall Islands specifically, Nicole George explains that: 'women have played key leadership roles in their communities and on the international stage to build awareness of and respond to the damaging impacts of climate change phenomena' (2018, p.125). Elizabeth McLeod et al. also state that Pacific Islander women 'hold valuable traditional knowledge gained from their individual experiences adapting to environmental changes over generations' (2018, p.179) and are 'implementing climate-smart agriculture [and] revitalizing traditional practices that utilize drought-tolerant species and the benefits of nature' (2019, p.2). Bryant-Tokalau (2018), George (2018) and McLeod et al. (2018; 2019) demonstrate that Pacific Islander women are not vulnerable due to an inability to respond – Indigenous women have been responding for centuries. Rather, the vulnerability of *wahine ʻōiwi* is a result of the poverty, violence, and limited access to resources, the conditions of which are result of settler colonialism.

The ways Pacific Islander women are vulnerable to climate change as a result of the systemic nature of settler colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy is now well documented (Alston, 2013, p.41; Showalter et al., 2019, p.60; Aipira et al., 2017, p.227).[109] What this recent scholarship highlights is that vulnerability to drought and the inability to adapt and respond to drought is the result of systemic oppression rather than an innate inability to respond or lead responses to environmental disaster. Not only are Pacific Islander women battling climate change, they are also battling associated and enduring legacies of settler colonialism.

[109] The unequal impact of drought is a global problem, as S.S Yadav and Rattan Lal explain: '[w]orldwide, women in almost two thirds of the households, are responsible for collecting water for drinking, cooking, sanitation and other productive tasks', tasks which then become increasingly difficult under the conditions of drought (2018, p.6). Writing on Zimbabwe, Alice Ncube et al. explain that women 'suffer more during periods of drought than their male counterparts because of the gender roles assigned to them', as women carry the responsibilities of 'taking care of the family (especially children and the elderly), food production and processing, weeding of crops, water and fuel (firewood or coal) supply for household use' (2018, p.69). Gendered vulnerability to drought has also been evidenced in Sweden (Arora-Jonsson, 2011) and South Asia (Yadav & Lal, 2018) as well as the Pacific Islands (McLeod et al, 2018; George, 2019).

Through U.S colonial intervention, Hawai'i was integrated into global capitalist markets and associated patriarchal structures. As J. Kēhaulani Kauanui explains: 'the U.S. occupation in Hawai'i was founded on gendered oppression, with the islands being viewed as feminine and therefore ready for masculine dominance' (2008, p.285). Before contact with US settlers, women and men had different roles and responsibilities, however, both were valued for their contributions to society. The societal structure, known as *ahupuaʻa,* organised society through land divisions. E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pūku'i explain that the land was divided into 'segments running from the shore back into the mountains' (1986, p.19) to ensure that each *ahupuaʻa* had access to 'the full range of natural resources necessary for subsistence' (Herman, 2009, p.106), including water and *taro* and *poi*, key staples of the Hawaiian diet. Within the *ahupuaʻa,* there existed a social economy based upon trade within extended families, or *ʻohana*, as Craighill Handy and Pūku'i explain: '[a] woman from seaward, wanting some medicinal plant, or sugar cane perhaps, growing on the land of a relative living inland would take with her a basket of shellfish […] and would return with her stalks of sugar cane' (1993, p.20). The mulberry tree needed for *kapa* making, which this chapter explores, was frequently used in trade agreements (Francis, 1997, p.54). The reciprocity of the *ʻohana* is encapsulated in Craighill Handy and Pūku'i's statement: 'it was the *ʻohana* that constituted the community through which the economic life moved' (1993, p.20). Douglas Herman explains further the nature of resource distribution:

> people within an *ahupuaʻa* had gathering rights to all the necessary resources within that land division, from the waterfront to the mountains. Thus for any family, land use was spread out to include not just individual holdings, which themselves might be spatially disconnected, but grass areas for thatch, forest areas for timber and medicinal herbs, beach access, and other resources areas. (2009, p.108)

Throughout Hawai'i's history, relationships with the land, or *ʻāina*, have informed socio-political structures. Sumner La Croix explains that: '[l]and has played a central role throughout Hawai'i's political history because which person had what types of land rights has always been critical to the establishment of a political order' (2018, p.3). The

communal sharing of resources meant that women had access to the resources necessary to allow for adaptation and response to drought.

Within *ahupuaʻa,* was a substrata *kapu* system,[110] in which people were organised into four categories of ranking largely based upon lineage. The highest ranking were known as the a*liʻi*: chiefs linked closely to the Hawaiian deities. Herman explains that the deities with whom the a*liʻi* were associated 'are intimately linked with every aspect of the environment, and back to humanity in a circular linkage between gods, nature and human society' (2009, p.106). At this point in Hawaiian history, governing roles were not contingent upon gender, as both men and women held positions of power based upon their genealogical rank.[111] The second highest ranking were the '*Kahuna* —the priestly and professional class', then followed the *makaʻainana*, or 'commoners', and finally the 'outcasts' (Hopkins & Lewis, 2014, p.79). Craighill Handy and Pūku'i gloss the term *makaʻainana* as referring to 'belonging to the land' (1993, p.181). Although society was hierarchical, resources were shared equally between communities. Therefore, 'although land was "held" by the supreme chief, he did not own it, but served as a "trustee" under the gods Kane and Lono' (Herman, 2009, p.107). The success of this system is noted by La Croix who explains that at this point, Hawai'i was 'resource-rich' (2018, p.5). Pre-contact Hawai'i was thus made up of a functional social structure that enabled the *makaʻainana* to have their basic needs met, but ultimately benefited the a*liʻi* and '*Kahuna.*

After the arrival of Captain James Cook and other Europeans in 1778, the spread of diseases including measles, influenza, diarrhoea, whooping cough and venereal disease significantly reduced the population, leading to labour shortages. This directly impacted the *makaʻainana* who cultivated *taro* plants, sweet potatoes, yams and breadfruit amongst other foods (La Croix, 2019, p.7), and thus had to increase their labour. The *makaʻainana*

[110] '*Kapu*' has multiple meanings in the Hawaiian language. Pūku'i and Elbert's Hawaiian dictionary list other meanings as "taboo, prohibition; … exemption from ordinary taboo; … sacred, holy, consecrated" (1986, p.132).

[111] The powerful nature of women was later expressed in a letter written by a Christian missionary in 1823: 'females of rank at the islands, and even those without rank, have, by some means, secured to themselves a high degree of attention and respect from their husbands and others' (quoted in Jolly & Macintyre, 1989, p.60).

were also impacted by increased trade, as they were required to harvest vast amounts of sandalwood from the mountains to be exported to China. In 1819, the *kapu* system was completely abolished, transforming relationships between people and land. Instead of being shared equally, resources, particularly sandalwood, were now used in foreign trade. Sally Merry explains that: '[d]uring the 1830s sandalwood became far scarcer and the pressure of the ali'i and the maka'ainana to produce surplus food and wealth even greater' (2020, p.40). As well as increased labour, access to resources and land was no longer guaranteed. As such, the *maka'ainana:*

> had to claim the land they used in order to maintain rights to it [...] many people received no land at all, and some who gained freehold tenure to cultivated plots lost former communal rights to grazing land or collecting areas. Subsistence farming became difficult if not impossible. (Herman, 2009, p.113)

Under U.S colonisation, the value of land and the organisation of society was transformed. Through what is known as the *Māhele* process of 1848, private parties could apply for their share of lands, which were largely in the ownership of the government (Gonschor & Beamer, 2014, pp.58-60). The final stage of the *Māhele* process saw the government then sell these lands back to Native Hawaiians. Eventually, not only the *maka'ainana* but vast numbers of Native Hawaiians were unable to buy back their lands, and thus were dispossessed. Under this capitalist system, *'āina* was then transformed from a gift and an embodiment of the gods into private property, typically plantations. La Croix explains: '[t]he transition to private property rights and other political reforms provided fortuitous conditions for sugar plantations to be established, to expand, and to make increasing demands for labour to work fields and factory' (2018, p.13). He continues: 'the rise of sugar interests, several of which were owned by foreigners or Caucasian residents of Hawai'i with close ties to the United States, changed Hawai'i's political economy by linking Hawai'i's sugar exports to the U.S markets' (La Croix, 2018, p.11). Instead of sharing resources equally, key commodities such as sandalwood, sugar and whale oil, were sent overseas.[112]

[112] Now in the twenty-first century, Hawai'i is ranked as the most expensive place to live in the United States, but this heightened cost of living is compounded by the fact that Hawai'i has the lowest wages within the U.S (C.D Moore, 2019, p.7). Colin Moore even suggests

Under settler colonialism, the resources which were once plentiful were vastly reduced, and access and use were dependent upon the purchase of land. Suggesting, therefore, that Pacific Islanders are vulnerable to limited resources fails to acknowledge the role that the United States played in engendering vulnerability, and removing communal access to crops, wood and animal-based produce.

Through settler colonialism, the social fabric of Hawai'i was transformed into a patriarchal system. Kauanui explains: '[c]olonialism transformed the Hawaiian system of balance between women and men. Anglo-American Calvinists introduced Western ideas to Hawaiian society that dictated the domestic subjugation of women in social, political, and economic realms' (2008, p.284). In contrast to the pre-contact era, women were removed from governing roles, as 'processes of colonialism eroded Hawaiian women's status' (Kauanui, 2008, p.282). The extended family system, or *'ohana,* changed to mirror the heteropatriarchal and heteropaternal formation of what is now referred to as a nuclear family unit. The privatisation of land also compounded the relationships between *wahine ōiwi* and the land, as 'women in some Pacific Islands are not entitled to land rights due to customary laws and practices which may limit their ability to grow food and resettle in areas less vulnerable to climate impacts' (McLeod et al, 2019, p.5). Within these contexts, *wahine ōiwi* have not been encouraged to lead, as their access and responsibilities to the land have been eroded under the triangulated structures of colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy. The fact that Pacific Islander women are continuing to take leadership roles within these contexts, as Bryant-Tokalau, George and McLeod et al demonstrate, is evidence of a form of gendered survivance that is founded upon a love, respect and responsibility for the more-than-human world.

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that because of the economic structure, 'Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders are far more likely to live in poverty than Hawaii's white and Japanese residents' (2019, p.3), with one in four Native Hawaiians living in poverty (Archer, 2018, p.235). This high cost of living and high rates of poverty means that many Indigenous inhabitants are being 'priced-out' of their homeland and forced to migrate to the United States (C.D. Moore, 2019, p.4).

3.2 Narratives of Victimry and Vulnerability

Neo-colonial powers have co-opted the term 'vulnerability' to obscure the socio-economic circumstances that have led the Pacific to experience disproportionate rates of climate change in relation to 'developed' countries. Despite an increasing awareness of the socio-economic conditions that create the contexts for gendered vulnerability to drought, 'vulnerability' constructs Indigenous women as passive victims, incapable of adapting and responding to environmental change without foreign intervention. As Bryant-Tokalau explains: '[r]epresentation of the adaptive capacity of Pacific Islanders is still sometimes presented as entirely negative' (2018, p.18). Recent scholarship encapsulates how Pacific Islanders are constructed as 'victims' or 'proof' of climate change (Dreher & Voyer, 2014, p.72; Belfer et al, 2017; McLeod et al, 2018; Carter & Howard, 2020, p.313). George considers how representations of Pacific Islander women in visual media regularly produce the aesthetic of the 'fragile paradise' (2019, p.117), as wide-angled shots are used to make Indigenous women appear small and insignificant in contrast to the landscape (2019, p.117). In climate change documentaries, men are depicted 'as leaders with technical and political acumen. They are endowed with an authority that is global as well as local' (2019, p.119). George suggests that by contrast, 'the films also operate visually to suggest that women are disinterested in capacities for critical political action in the face of this impending challenge' (2019, p.119). She concludes:

> while men are depicted as engaged political actors with perspectives to share on the international stage, the film's focus on women's resilience and adaptability seemed to suggest an acceptance of climate change as a "sealed fate" for Pacific Islanders and position women as only able to appreciate its local and immediate impacts upon family and community life. (2019, p.119)

Jaimey Hamilton Faris makes a similar case in her analysis of representations of climate disaster in Oceania: '[i]solated women in flooded waters become the embodiment of passive, feminized, and victimized Islander populations as sea levels rise' (2021, p.8). These studies are indicative of how mainstream media produces new narratives of Indigenous, female victimry that exploit their relationships with the more-than-human world.

Narratives of vulnerability and victimry facilitate the notion that Indigenous women are incapable of adapting and responding to environmental change without intervention. Helle Rydström states that a vulnerability perspective 'tends to focus on what people cannot do and thereby imply that those who are suffering from the ramifications of a disaster are in need of being "instructed, led and managed"' (2020, p.354). In relation to Indigenous women specifically, Bryant-Tokalau notes that constructing Pacific Islanders solely as vulnerable contributes to their ongoing misrepresentation: 'far from what is portrayed in the media, islanders and their countries are not always as vulnerable as they may appear and had, in the past, the ability to survive in the face of environmental changes without a large amount of assistance from donors' (2018, p.3). Meghan Shea et al. make a similar case: 'Pacific Island nations are often positioned as emblems of climate vulnerability, yet this characterization undermines the resiliency and willpower of Pacific peoples and governments in the face of climate impacts' (2020, p.105). These critics acknowledge that despite being vulnerable to climate change due to geographical location and socio-political circumstances, Pacific Islanders possess the appropriate knowledge to adapt and respond to environmental change. It is this long history of successful environmental disaster management that leads Pacific Islander women to reject the label of 'vulnerable'.[113] Speaking of Indigenous women in an interview, Aleta Miller of the United Nations Women's Fiji office recounts Pacific Islander women's responses to their portrayal as victims of environmental change:

> Women's groups are saying to me and to those that are listening, very strongly, "we aren't just vulnerable" or "we aren't vulnerable", or "we don't want you to portray us as a vulnerable group", there are vulnerabilities, [and] vulnerabilities can be exacerbated but women and other groups are strong, they're resilient. (quoted in Bryant-Tokaloau, 2018, p.32)

What Miller conveys here is that vulnerability to climate change does not eliminate resilience or strength. Pacific Islander women acknowledge that in some cases, being labelled as 'vulnerable' is reductive, and divests them of agency needed to respond to

[113] Ian Kelman even notes that some Indigenous languages including Inuktitut and Tongan do not have words for 'vulnerability' (2020, p.7).

environmental disaster through application of their own traditional, Indigenous knowledges.

The conceptualisation of Pacific Islander women as passive victims to climate change produces a rhetoric of female empowerment. Despite a representative of United Nations acknowledging the rejection of the label 'vulnerable' by Pacific Islander women, their sustainable developments goals still include 'gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls' (Wester & Lama, 2019, p.79-80). Similarly, Cecilia Aipira et al. outline how the Disaster Management Office are working with the Ministry of Women, Community and Social Development (MWCSD), to 'empower women by making sure they are participating and contributing to community discussions' (2017, p.230). Empowerment to respond to climate change is not, however, an issue. Myjolynne Marie Kim tells how 'motherhood and its role to safeguard the environment offers a pathway to empower women's voices' (2020, p.159), whilst 'stories of Micronesian goddesses and women activists in the past and present' serve as 'an inspiration for women to further advance gender empowerment in our respective societies' (2020, p.158). Similarly, Candice Elanna Steiner writes that '[w]hile many representations of Pacific Island communities affected by climate change emphasize helplessness, Pacific Islanders have been negotiating identities of empowerment and resilience in both political and cultural arenas' (2015, p.180). By contrast, Bryant-Tokalau explains how labelling Pacific Islander women as 'vulnerable' can lead to disempowerment: '[p]ercpetions of vulnerability can increase feelings of disempowerment, and yet these are qualities not widespread in the Pacific at present' (2018, p.3). This idea that Indigenous women's vulnerability places them in need of intervention, management, or empowerment therefore produces further obstacles to their voices being heard within climate change discussions, despite the fact that Indigenous peoples are accustomed to adapting to environmental change (Whyte, 2014, p.153).

When mainstream media and climate change discourse do represent Pacific Islanders, they do not foreground Pacific Islander perspectives, but rather cast Pacific Islanders as means through which to mobilise the interests of the global powers. Climate change impacts in the Pacific are usually framed in ways that centre the interests and concerns of more powerful countries. Tanja Dreher and Michelle Voyer argue that even

when Pacific Islanders are the subject of climate change media, it is not their perceptions that are represented (2015, p.67). Rather, they become passive vehicles through which neo-colonial powers can project their agendas:

> the use of the Islanders' stories are not always directly used to the advantage of the Islanders themselves but rather to illustrate a point in a much larger story, focused on the lifestyles and choices of people in the wealthy developing nations. (Dreher & Voyer, 2015, p.67)

Similarly, in case studies on several newspapers from the USA, Canada, and New Zealand, Ella Belfer et al. found that representations of Pacific Islanders also serve in the political interests of global powers. They note that there was 'limited reference to colonialism, marginalization, and the history of Indigenous communities in the articles reviewed', and that the print media 'decontextualizes Indigenous experiences and silences the role of broader socio-political factors within which vulnerability to climate change is created and sustained' (Belfer et al., 2019, p.133). They conclude that 'climate change is constructed as a problem *for* society as opposed to a problem *of* society, mirroring broader scientific discourse around Indigenous peoples and climate change […] and obscuring colonization's tangible impact on mitigation and adaptation responses' (2019, p.133). This scholarship shows that despite clear links between gendered vulnerability and settler colonialism, vulnerability is now being used as a tool through which to obscure the impacts of empire.

The depiction of Pacific Islander women as 'vulnerable', passive victims in need of empowerment to respond to climate change allows neo-colonial powers to gatekeep and monopolise environmental disaster management. As Shea et al. assert, representations of Pacific Islanders in US and UK media 'gain power through practices of colonialism and development; denoting large regions as vulnerable has been used as justification for Western intervention' (2020, p.90). This intervention is, of course, at the expense of the leadership of Pacific Islander women. The marginalisation of women and devaluation of Indigenous knowledge in climate change interventions and negotiations has been documented by scholars such as Whyte (2017a) Maria Tanyag and Jacqui True (2019) and McLeod et al. (2018). Writing on gender-responsive frameworks to climate change globally, Tanyag and True explain that 'women and girls are *kept* in the margins so as not to have

meaningful and global impact in reshaping a new vision of how humans ought to relate with the environment' (original emphasis, 2019, p.44).[114] With regards to Pacific Islander women specifically, McLeod et al. explain that 'the perspectives of Pacific Island women are not included in the extensive literature on climate change' and suggest that the 'lack of attention to the voices of Pacific Island women in climate research reflects a broader pattern of underrepresenting the importance of indigenous people, gender, and traditional knowledge' (2018, p.179). Dreher and Voyer echo this sentiment: 'emerging research in this area indicates that the voices of Pacific Islanders are rarely heard in climate change reporting' (2014, p.59). The impact of this underrepresentation or marginalisation is outlined as follows:

> Excluding the input of Pacific Island women results in less robust and equitable climate change programs and policies, and may miss the significant contributions of women. For example, women hold valuable traditional knowledge gained from their individual experiences adapting to environmental changes over generations. (McLeod et al., 2018, p.179)

As McLeod et al. demonstrate here, Indigenous women, specifically Pacific Islander women, are already excluded from debates regarding climate change responses. This is despite the fact that Pacific Islanders are already experiencing the immediate effects of a changing environment and are considered to be on 'the front line' (McLeod et al., 2018, p.179) of climate change. Not only this, but Indigenous women's knowledges have allowed them to successfully navigate environmental disasters for centuries.

Ideas of 'vulnerability' as 'incapability' allow global powers to intervene by prioritising short-term interventions in lieu of dismantling the patriarchal, imperialist, capitalist structures that perpetuate this vulnerability. As Andreas Kopf et al. assert: '[c]limate change is frequently presented as a global problem, leaving out social, economic, political and

[114] With regards to Indigenous women more broadly, Whyte asserts that 'colonial policies for addressing climate change devalue the leadership of Indigenous women' (2017, p.156) and Melissa Nursey-Bray et al. state that '[d]espite a global trend towards climate change adaptation, Aboriginal people's perspectives are being undervalued' (2019, p.474). This devaluation of Indigenous knowledge and female perspectives is indicative of the neo-colonial systems that underpin current strategies of climate change intervention.

spatial differentiation' (2020, p.119). Presenting narratives that overlook the structural and systemic inequalities caused by colonialism allows global powers such as the United States and Great Britain to appear as benevolent donors to Pacific Islands whilst capitalising on climate change interventions. As Hans. A. Baer states: '[n]umerous strategies have been proposed to address climate change, most of which seek more or less to work within the parameters of the existing capitalist world system' (2012, p.117).[115] Henri-Count Evans and Rosemary Musvipwa also acknowledge the systemic problems of climate change negotiations, explaining that measures such as the Paris Agreement and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development 'remain anchored in neo-liberal economic policies that entrench the capitalist interests of the North, which are set to benefit from renewable energy businesses and technology transfer' (2017, p.37). The Global North, which can also be conceptualised as the former colonial powers of Europe and North America, plays a leading role in climate change responses and is therefore able to monopolise policy-making initiatives to ensure that they continue to benefit from climate change interventions. These types of interventions are referred to as 'top-down' institutional processes that engender 'poor communication and engagement' and therefore result in 'little Indigenous voice, and lack of recognition of Indigenous culture and practices' (Petheram et al., 2010, p.682). It is due to the ways in which these climate change strategies re-assert imperialist and capitalist systems that I consider them to be neo-colonial. In solidifying these monopolising systems in obfuscating ways, these neo-colonial climate change strategies once again make it difficult for the voices and rights of Indigenous peoples to be heard. Whyte explains that:

> [it is] difficult to renegotiate with more powerful nation-state parties who are heavily influenced by corporations and constituencies of citizens who are largely ignorant about Indigenous peoples. Or they can throw Indigenous peoples into bureaucratic processes of emergency management in which Indigenous peoples' voices are silenced by states, corporations, and local governments. (2017a, p.155)

[115] These strategies have resulted in the concept of 'green capitalism', the notion that 'capitalism, by adopting various technological innovations, energy efficiency, recycling, and other practices, can be environmentally sustainable' (Baer, 2012, p.111).

It is due to these types of neo-colonial policies that the vulnerability of women and Indigenous groups is now being deployed to not only deny the role of the Global North in Pacific Island vulnerability, but to uphold imperial and capitalist systems of oppression and prevent Indigenous people from leading climate change responses.

I turn to 'The Pounded Water of Kekela' to emphasise how *mo'olelo* demonstrate the authority of *wahine ōiwi* in drought mitigation strategies and counter the erasure of Indigenous women and Indigenous knowledge in climate change responses. The ways that *mo'olelo* integrate Hawaiian history and the more-than-human world reveals the centrality of *wahine ōiwi* in managing the effects of water scarcity for centuries. It also complicates the neo-colonialist view of women as passive victims in need of foreign intervention. As George Carter and Elise Howard suggest: 'women from the Pacific have been active in climate negotiations, and that exploring their roles provides a counter-narrative to the representation of Pacific women as passive beneficiaries of climate change responses or as the victims of climate impacts' (2020, p.313). *Mo'olelo* counter-narrativise misrepresentations of Pacific Islander women, as they illustrate that women are active respondents to environmental disaster rather than passive victims. *Mo'olelo* are therefore a vessel for expressing gendered survivance as Indigenous women reject the structures of settler colonialism and the narratives of Indigenous, female victimry that they produce.

This chapter begins by examining Pūku'i's 'The Pounded Water of Kekela' to demonstrate how *wahine ōiwi* experience the effects of drought more acutely due to their social and cultural responsibilities, specifically, *kapa* making. Pūku'i's atypical representation of this traditional crafting practice in 'The Pounded Water of Kekela' reveals interconnected forms of oppression that cause women to forego their rights to water and thus become particularly vulnerable to drought. The second section challenges the notion that vulnerability within these contexts prevents *wahine ōiwi* from responding to drought and repairing sacred relationships with water. I demonstrate that *mana wahine* (feminine power) is deployed through *kaona*, a form of synecdoche and metaphor, which are traditional in *mo'olelo.* This includes a focus on Pūku'i's use of metaphors of the changing female body to convey how positive and reparative relationships with the environmental

are inherently female. I present *kaona* as a decolonial representational strategy through which to interrogate neo-colonial conceptions of vulnerability. In its exploration of drought, this chapter adds a new dimension to discussions in the previous two chapters that focus on land and animals, as I interpret water as an element with cultural, spiritual and epistemological power.

3.3 *Kapa* Making and the Social, Cultural and Spiritual Impacts of Drought

This section explores how in 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', Pūku'i conveys that women are rendered vulnerable to drought due to their social, cultural and spiritual relationships with *wai* (water). I interpret Pūku'i's female protagonist as synecdochally representative of the broader population of *wahine 'ōiwi* (Native Hawaiian women) in Hawai'i to foreground the vulnerability of *wahine 'ōiwi* as a combination of social, cultural and political circumstance rather than inherent weakness or inability to adapt to a changing environment. In particular, I consider Pūku'i's depictions of *kapa* making, an ancient practice in which women soak the barks of wauke tree and mulberry trees in water and then pound with a *kapa* beater to make material for clothing, mats and tapestries (Kimokeo-Goes, 2019, p.112). Due to its nature as a craft and a social, cultural and spiritual activity that was 'dominated by women' (Kimokeo-Goes, 2019, p.112), literary representations of *kapa* making under conditions of drought enable examination of the multifaceted effects of drought upon *wahine 'ōiwi*.[116] I examine how water scarcity due to drought affects women's ability to successfully perform social roles, and maintain traditional, cultural practices within the context of post-contact Hawai'i, as well as compromising their access to basic needs. My analysis of *kapa* making is contextualised with reference to Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* 'Song of the Kapa Log' and other literary representations of *kapa* (or *tapa*) making across the Pacific Islands. This section of the chapter will demonstrate that, because *kapa* making is 'intimately tied to the history and traditions of Hawai'i' (Bisulca, 2014, p.1), it also has cultural, social and anti-imperial significance in post-contact Hawai'i.[117]

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[116] The practice of making bark-cloth is seen across the Pacific Islands. Across Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti and New Zealand this process is referred to as *tapa* making. *Tapa* is used for clothing, as well as for ceremonial and ritual purposes (Neich & Pendergrast, 2005, p.12).

[117] Literary depictions of *kapa* or *tapa* making are also seen in Pūku'i's "The Song of the Kapa Log" and Hawaiian writer Lowell Uda's "Kapa", in *Under the Hala Tree: Twice Told Polynesian Myths and Legends* (2013). In Pūku'i's "The Water of Kāne" the depiction of *kapa* making is brief, but depicts a blind woman with a *kapa* beater as responsible for guarding the sacred water of Kāne. Across Hawaiian and Maori folklore, there are many tellings of how Maui made the days longer so that his mother, Hina, would find it easier to

Pūku'i begins the drought narrative by grounding it within a post-contact space[118]: '[t]his is a story of the days […] when Kekela was chiefess of Kona and when the people of Hawai'i had learned from the missionaries about the God of the Christians' (1996, p.61). Pūku'i alludes to Hawai'i's colonial history in which the seven Evangelist couples arrived in Hawai'i from the Cornwall School, Connecticut, in 1819 (Silva, 2004, p.31). This arrival led to generations of settlers remaining in Hawai'i (Silva, 2004, p.31). Due to the fact that the Kanaka Maoli were resistant to embracing Christianity, the missionaries sought to 'civilise' the Hawaiian population through other means of culturicide, including the attempted erasure of the Hawaiian language, and the attempt to transform *kapa* making. Una Kimokeo-Goes explains that:

> Missionaries wanted to clothe the naked, and hoped that sewing would introduce other "civilized" qualities such as a strong work-ethic, and industriousness. They also hoped it would put a stop to idle/idol hands. Sewing could help turn the "savages" into appropriate Christians. Sewing could also teach appropriate notions of gender, as these skills were considered "domestic" and related to the private sphere, unlike previous indigenous crafts. (2019, p.108)

Like Hawai'i, *kapa* making is inscribed in colonial history. Kimokeo-Goes shows, sewing and quilting were introduced with the intent of culturicide. Since the arrival of missionaries in the 1820s, the process and materials used in making *kapa* changed. Christina Bisulca explains that through 'Western contact and the arrival of missionaries in 1820s, the production of kapa and other traditional artifacts were gradually replaced with imported materials' (2014, p.111). Trading ships travelling to Asia brought and traded woven cotton cloth, which meant that by 1890, *kapa* making was infrequently practiced (Francis, 1997,

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dry the *kapa* she made. This idea that the days revolve around the ability to make *kapa* highlights its centrality to Pacific Island cultures.

[118] Many scholars list Captain James Cook as the first *haole* or foreigner to arrive on the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, however, Noenoe Silva is sceptical of these accounts due to the fact that Western accounts of Hawaiian history commemorate Cook and omit accounts of women engaged in leadership roles, 'making it possible for readers to imagine that gender relations in the Kanaka past were very much like the European practice where only men were allowed to sail' (2004, p.21). Silva considers Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau's account of Hawaiian history, written in Hawaiian, to be the most accurate due to the fact that Kamakau draws upon *mo'olelo* and *mele* to access this history of Hawai'i that is inclusive of women in leadership positions (2004, p.21).

p.55). It is for this reason that Barbara Ann Francis states that *kapa* making 'serves as a good case study in colonial strategy' (1997, p.52). More than this, however, because of the gendered nature of *kapa* making and its reliance on *wai,* I suggest that Pūku'i's literary representations of *kapa* making also enable an analysis of the ways drought impacted *wahine 'ōiwi* on social, cultural and spiritual levels.

Pūku'i depicts a woman attempting to preserve the craft of *kapa* in a post-contact space to convey how the effects of drought upon women are multifarious. As well as meeting basic needs, water is required for women to perform their cultural and social responsibilities. Pūku'i writes:

> An old woman sat in her cave with her *kapa* log before her. She spread her bark on the log and had her beater ready at her hand but she was not working. She felt faint and tired this morning and oh, so thirsty! She looked longingly at the little water in her coconut bowl but that was needed in *kapa* making. (1996, p.61)

Pūku'i uses ambiguous language to reveal the extent of female vulnerability to drought. Stating that the log is 'before her' (1996, p.61) Pūku'i reflects how *kapa* is made whilst implying that the needs of society must be put 'before her' (1996, p.61) own individual needs and desires. This is evidenced further when the woman looks 'longingly at the little water,' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) at which point Pūku'i uses the conjunction 'but' (1996, p.61) to convey that because it is needed to make *kapa,* it should be prioritised over her individual needs. The need for the woman to continue making *kapa* is reflective of the cultural contexts that highlight the significance of *kapa* or *tapa* making within Polynesian cultures. Jehanne H. Teilhet-Fisk explains that *kapa*, (or in this context, *tapa*), 'is a necessary valuable (*koloa*) that must be presented at all life-crisis occasions and status-raising or status-affirming ceremonies such as weddings, funerals, births' (1991, p.46). Whilst *kapa* making is a craft, it is not considered a leisure activity, but is endowed with a significant sociocultural importance and social responsibility. Therefore, the woman is rendered vulnerable to the effects of drought due to the expectation that she must continue to perform her allocated social role despite water shortages caused by environmental change.

The use of ambiguous language to reveal the gendered impacts of drought continues as Pūku'i states that the woman 'was not working' (1996, p.61) due to her dehydration and exhaustion. The verb 'working' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) simultaneously refers

to both the performance of gendered labour and the functioning of the female body under the conditions of drought. On a denotational level, 'she was not working' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) implies that the woman has ceased performing the labour expected of her because the water needed to make the *kapa* is limited, and therefore renders her task of *kapa* making extremely difficult. In reading the verb 'working' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) in this sense, the impact of the drought can be understood, as it is clear that the water scarcity impacts the ability of the woman to perform the role expected of her within traditional Hawaiian society on a practical level. As Joycelyn Linnekin suggests, *wahine 'oiwi* were valued as producers of high cultural goods which enabled them to partake in female ritual and social power (1990, p.238). This means that Hawaiian women were afforded a social value for their ability to craft *kapa* - a value that becomes jeopardised in this narrative by the limited access to water during the drought. The ambiguity present in the statement 'she was not working' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) arises when it is interpreted as an acknowledgement of how women's health is negatively impacted under the conditions of drought, as her body is struggling to function or work without water. This is significant given that the beating process, referred to as *tutu*, is described as being 'physically arduous' (Teilhet-Fisk, 1991, p.44), even within tolerable environmental conditions, and is known to cause arthritis (Teilhet-Fisk, 1991, p.44). Understanding this use of '[work]' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) as a reference to the functioning of the female body is evidenced by the fact that the woman does not feel well: she feels 'faint', 'tired' and 'thirsty' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). Pūku'i thus represents the arduous realities of *kapa* that Teilhet-Fisk references:

> It cripples the hand, causes bad backs, and the noise can cause deafness. I only beat the tapa from eight until noon, otherwise I will get sick the next day. I have to lie down after twelve to get my strength again. (1991, p.51)

As Pūku'i and Teilhet-Fisk show, *kapa* making can lead to the deterioration of women's health. The notion that social duties risk the health of Indigenous women is evidenced by Whyte who explains that for Indigenous women, 'the responsibilities that they assume in their communities can expose them to harms stemming from climate change and other environmental alterations' (2014, p.600). Therefore, stating that 'she was not working' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) implies how the conditions of the drought have magnified the physical

hardship that the female body undergoes when making *kapa*, as water is necessary for both human and social bodies to function.

The contexts in which women partake in *kapa* making is also indicative of the socioeconomic circumstances that can increase a woman's vulnerability to drought. Unlike other Pacific nations, the Hawaiian population was stratified across class and religious lines. As mentioned previously, the socioeconomic landscape of traditional Hawaiian culture was referred to as *ahupuaʻa,* wherein the organisation of society was based upon land allocation. Within the *ahupuaʻa,* society was organised into the *kapu* system: *Aliʻi,* the chiefly ruling class, *Kahuna*, the priestly and professional class, *Makaʻainana,* the commoners, and the outcasts (Hopkins and Lewis, 2014, p.79). A woman's social ranking would thus inform the circumstances under which she made *kapa*, as 'people of wealth, status, or rank do not have to beat tapa' (Teilhet-Fisk, 1991, p.51). Teilhet-Fisk explains that:

> Women who are too old, without job skills, or unable to find employment have the idle time or "leisure" to labor traditionally and make tapa. [...] Women of noble or chiefly status would beat only to gain knowledge of the process. (1991, p.51)

Social ranking thus informed a woman's risk of injury and ill health due to *kapa* making. Women with low incomes and/or little education are more likely to be exposure to hazards due to *kapa* or *tapa* making, then further intensified under conditions of drought. The types of labour that this couple perform, alongside their reverence of the chiefess, indicates that their socio-economic status amplifies their vulnerability to drought.

Pūku'i's depiction of the dehydrated and weary woman gains further significance when considering how *kaona,* which means 'hidden meaning' (McDougall, 2014, p.3) is at work within Hawaiian *mo'olelo*. This atypical representation of *kapa* making, wherein the woman is 'faint', 'tired' and 'thirsty' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61), covertly depicts how the drought also impacts spiritual aspects of *kapa* making. For Native Hawaiians, the forty-thousand gods and goddesses, known as *kino-lau*, take the form of all living and inanimate beings, including but not limited to plants, animals, the sea and the sky (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.115). Therefore, to engage with the more-than-human world is to engage with the *kino-lau* who require respectful relationships. For this reason, Pūku'i explains that: 'the "beliefs" of our people in Ka-u arise out of sensory-emotional-mental experiences' (1993,

p.112).[119] The reality wherein 'Hawaiians use their bodies as an instrument of communication, a tool in which to understand their world' (Meyer, 2006, p.26) is visible in Pūku'i's other story, 'The Song of the *Kapa* Log'. This story includes a more accurate representation of the spiritual aspect of *kapa* making, as a woman engages in *mele* (chants) and *hula*. Pūku'i states that the woman 'began a *mele* about her log. As she chanted her hands showed in a hula how she used the log in kapa-making, her love for it, how it was lost and how she hunted' (1994, p.160). This story provides a contrast to the woman in 'The Pounded Water of Kekela' as the woman is silent and does not perform *mele, oli* or *hula* due to the fact that the lack of water has left her body unable to 'work' (1996, p.61) properly. Pūku'i demonstrates how the drought impedes the woman's ability to fulfil spiritual roles, as it is through the movement of the body in *kapa* making that *'āina* or love of the land, can be expressed. Pūku'i therefore creates hidden meaning in the elements she excludes from the text as well as the ones she includes. The omission of the *mele* is significant, as Maile Andrade explains that 'every part of our work, from harvesting to ku'i, begins with oli (chants) to recognize the gods of the 'āina and to show gratitude' (quoted in McDougall, 2019, p.201). This gratitude is typically expressed to the goddess Hina when *kapa* making, as it is believed that Hina: 'empowered Maui to slow the sun in its race through the heavens so that she could dry her kapa properly' (Kaomea, 2009, p.87). In this scene, however, Pūku'i makes no references to either *meles* or prayers to Hina, and therefore provides a representation of *kapa* making that is spiritually atypical within the context of her knowledge of Hawaiian traditions and her other literary representations of *kapa*. The contrast between this protagonist's hydration and weariness and the *meles* that appear in Pūku'i's other story indicates that the missing spiritual elements of this process are due to the ongoing conditions of drought. As Kim Anderson explains, '[w]ithout water in our bodies we are dead; not only because of the dehydration that happens in the physical domain, but because of a lack of the spirit energy that signifies life' (2010, p.7). The drought and lack of water have caused the woman's focus to be placed on her own ill health rather

[119] Pūku'i is critical of the term 'beliefs' in relation to Hawaiian religion as she explains that Hawaiian religion is 'records and interpretation of experiences' (1993, p.132).

than the chants or *hula* that express gratitude to Hina. What Pūku'i conveys here, then, is that drought has the ability to impact spiritual practices as well as individual health.

By emphasising the woman's focus on her own deteriorating state, Pūku'i subtly conveys how the drought impacts the woman's ability to fulfil her spiritual responsibility, as a Native Hawaiian audience would understand the significance of the woman's physical deterioration within the context of *kapa* making. Stating that the woman 'felt faint and tired' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) and longs for the water marks a departure from other representations of *kapa* making as a spiritual act that practices thoughts of positivity and gratitude. Paraphrasing Andrade, McDougall explains how, in order to fulfil the spiritual elements of *kapa* making, it is necessary to:

> be mindful of how we speak around the kapa and to have pleasant thoughts as we do every part of the work [...] because our words and thoughts affect our relationship with the plant; our mana, our spirit and life force, is imparted into the plant and the plant responds. (2019, p.201)

Within the context of Hawaiian epistemologies, the woman's focus on her dehydrated body as consequence of drought, impacts her ability to impart positive spirit and *mana* into the plant when making *kapa*. Stating that the woman feels 'faint and tired' and 'oh, so thirsty!' (1996, p.61), Pūku'i demonstrates how the woman's thoughts are centred upon corporeality rather than spirituality, and this focus on her deteriorating body implies that her thoughts are not the 'pleasant' (2019, p.201) ones that McDougall explains should be affirmed during *kapa.* Pūku'i writes: 'the old woman raised her *kapa* beater and began her work, deeply happy at what she had seen, yet sad at the loss of Huelani' (1996, p.63). By focusing on her weary body that is struggling under the conditions of drought, coupled with the momentary loss of her dog, she centres herself in the *kapa* making process, and therefore disrupts a positive and spiritual experience with the bark that would otherwise centre the *akua* Hina. Therefore, Pūku'i demonstrates that the woman is also impacted by the drought on a spiritual level, as the lack of water hinders her ability to maintain the spirituality associated with *kapa* making.

Pūku'i implies that a colonial presence has impacted the traditional craft of *kapa* making. As well as being a craft 'dominated by women' (Kimokeo-Goes, 2019, p.112), traditionally, *kapa* making was a social activity which brought *wahine 'oiwi* together.

Teilhet-Fisk explains that 'the entire process requires a communal effort of ten to sixteen women who belong to a women's cooperative (*kautaha*)' (1991, p.44). The social nature of *kapa* became particularly important after the arrival of Europeans and missionaries, as it carved out a space in which *wahine ʻoiwi* could preserve traditional social and cultural practices. Kimokeo-Goes explains that this social element of crafting allowed women 'to work collectively, to reflect on cultural and national values, and to offer political challenges' (2019, p.106), particularly with regards to the missionaries who encouraged Native women to turn to quilting instead of *kapa*. In 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', however, Pūku'i subtly implies that this traditional, collective practice has been eroded by the missionaries. Pūku'i writes that rather than her fellow *wahine,* 'dry ferns and withering *lehua* trees [...] was all she saw' (1996, p.61), and the next day 'the woman and her dog went alone to the kapa-making cave' (1996, p.64). Here Pūku'i contrasts her other representations of *kapa* making, such as in 'The Piper in the Sacred Valley' wherein Ka'ili 'printed kapa among her women' (1994, p.74), and in 'The Song of the Kapa Log' wherein another woman 'listened to the songs of kapa logs. Many women were at work' (1994, p.157). This isolation also appears at odds with the sense of community portrayed in Pūku'i's other stories. Upon seeing another 'old woman' walking alone in 'The Girl Who Gave Breadfruit', one girl states '"I always feel sorry for old people who are alone. I think how it would be if my grandmother had none to help her"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.51). Similarly, her mother states '"[t]he old have done hard work [...] When they can no longer work, others should feed them"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.53). These characters reflect the value of community in Hawai'i and sense of female solidarity that directly contrasts with the isolation of the old woman in 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', who has to work although she 'felt faint and tired and oh! So thirsty' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). Depicting the 'old woman' making *kapa* 'alone' (1996, p.64) signals a departure from these traditional Hawaiian lifeways seen in Pūku'i's other stories, and designates a disruption to the social fabric that fostered a sense of female, Indigenous solidarity within spaces with an increasing colonial presence. As Francis explains, the arrival of European missionaries 'interrupted the maintenance of traditional crafts' (1997, p.52), which ultimately led to 'the

disruption of kinship community (*ohana*)' (Francis, 1997, p.52).[120] Francis laments that the 'work and social structure involved in making kapa on a large scale could not stand against the overwhelming influence of the Christian missionaries and their efforts to convert and to properly clothe the "pagan" Hawaiians' (1997, p. 52). Thus, in this *mo'olelo*, Pūku'i's protagonist is not only vulnerable due to the lack of water, but is vulnerable due to her attempt to resist erasure of a sacred, spiritual practice. That the woman crafts 'alone' (1996, p.64) conveys that the collective resistance that eased the practice is also in decline, along with the craft itself.

[120] In Pūku'i's other stories, *kapa* is referred to during expressions of *mana wahine* and communal celebration. In 'The Girl Who Gave Breadfruit' another 'old woman' (whom it is later revealed to be Pele) tells a girl '"There will be strange doings on this mountain side," she said. "Tell your family to hang bits of *kapa* about their home. Tell them to do this for ten days. So they shall be safe."' At the end of the story, the *kapa* ensures their safety, as 'the lava stream broke in two and flowed on each side of their home' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.55). Similarly, in 'How Hawai'i Was Made Safe' *kapa* is again associated with the goddess Pele: 'You will find her well wrapped in kapa and stirring the fire with her long stick. Give your offering to her and to no else, for that old woman is Pele' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.32).

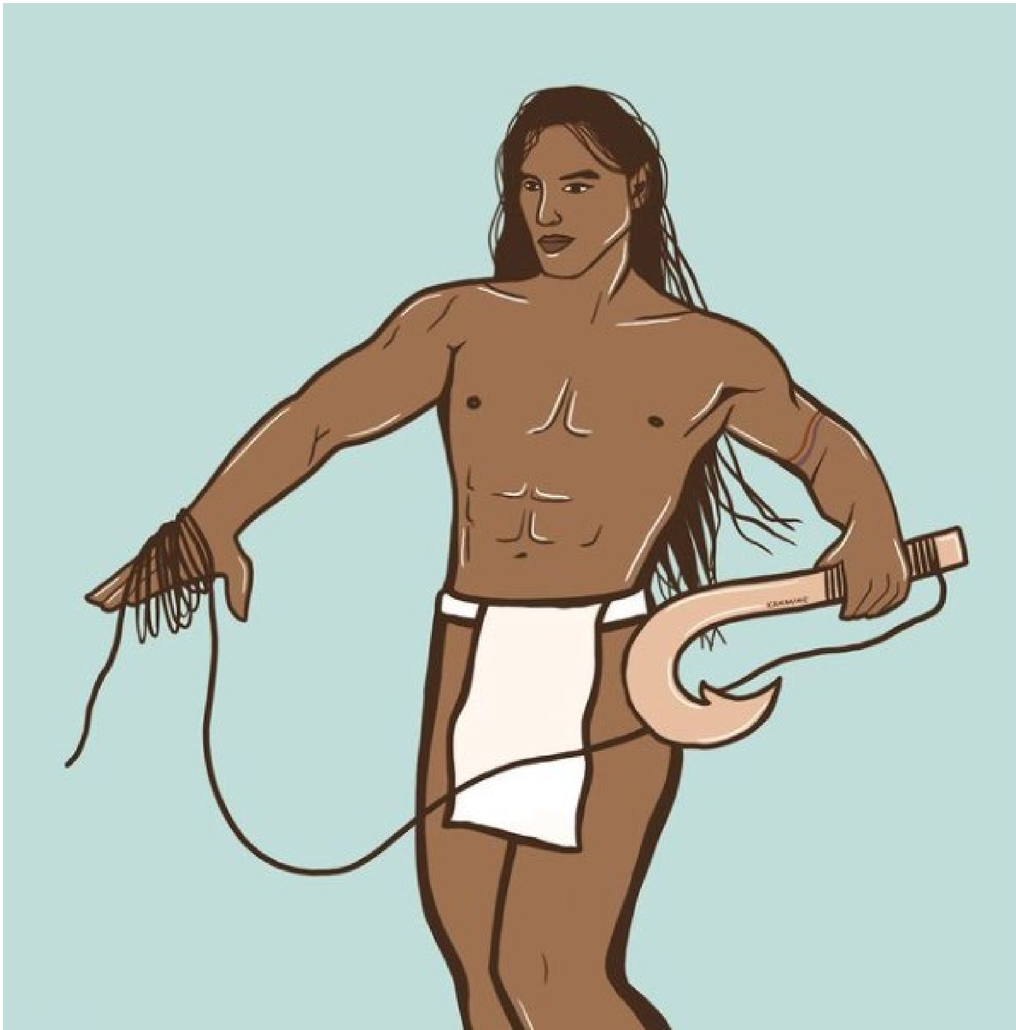

Figure 15: ‘Maui’ by Kawahine Creations.

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The missionary presence in Hawai'i also led *wahine ōiwi* to be particularly vulnerable to the effects of drought due to ways that patriarchal ideologies altered women's social and domestic roles. Upon their arrival, missionaries immediately attempted 'to transform traditional Indigenous kinship practices in a way that imposed patriarchal norms' (Kauanui, 2018, p.13). This included the institution of 'patriarchal understandings of home and family' (Kauanui, 2018, p.24) that ultimately revolved around 'subservient wifehood and authoritative husbandry' (Kauanui, 2018, p.178). As Kauanui explains, the alteration of the family or *ohana* included 'the ascendancy of patrilineal naming, patriarchal citizenship, and patriarchal marriage' (2018, p.13) and it is this patriarchal mode of thinking that the husband uses to dismiss his wife upon hearing her revelation that she has found water: '"There is no water here [...] in the time of my father, in the time of my grandfather, in all past years, no water has been known in this part of Kona"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63-64). Here, the man's response to the discovery of water is decidedly gendered. In mentioning his 'father' and 'grandfather' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63-64), he deviates from conceptualising his genealogy in terms of his matrilineal heritage, and instead considers his *ohana* in patrilineal terms. This conveys how the husband has embraced patriarchal modes of thinking rather than traditional Hawaiian, matrilineal genealogies, and wields this patriarchal thought as a way to discredit his wife and assert his authority over the reality of the situation. Despite her later explaining that she is an eyewitness to the water herself, '"I myself have seen the water"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.64) the man gives 'little heed to his wife's words' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.64). In refusing to believe his wife, he ridicules her with the response: '"When people thirst they dream of water. You have had such a dream"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.64). Here, the man prioritises the testimonials of deceased, male relatives over a woman's present-day account, rendering her detached from reality in suggesting her encounter with water was a 'dream' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.64). Pūku'i conveys how the presence of missionaries has altered the reverence of traditional, women's knowledges.

Although white, settler audiences may interpret this exchange as evidence of a solidified, patriarchal family unit, Pūku'i conveys how the woman is engaged in small acts of patriarchal and colonial resistance. Pūku'i writes: '[t]he old woman and her husband had divided their portion between them, then she had shared with the dog' (1996, p.61). Rather

than dividing the water equally between man, woman, and dog, the water is split between the man and the woman first, and it is 'then' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) that the woman shares her water with the dog. A white, settler audience may interpret this exchange as another example of patriarchal authority in the way that only the woman foregoes her water and the husband receives a full share. Pūku'i use of the word 'then' (1996, p.61) could be interpreted as an indication of the domestic hierarchy, and the gendered nature of this act, as the husband's needs are prioritised over both the woman's and the animal's needs.

Within the context of Hawaiian grounded normativity, however, this act of sharing with the dog, Huelani, conveys an act of female survivance: that of *aloha 'āina.* In literal terms *'āina* means 'that which feeds' (Kauanui, 2018, p.105), and encapsulates the fact that the land is alive and sustains humans. Silva explains that due to this life-sustaining nature of the land, 'people took care of the land in what they conceived of as a reciprocal relationship' (2007, p.39). Therefore, *aloha 'āina* means 'love of the land' and refers to the ways that the Kanaka Maoli are engaged in a reciprocal relationship with the land. In the same way that the land 'feeds' (Kauanui, 2018, p.105) her, she too reciprocates by ensuring Huelani has enough water to drink. Rather than referring to Huelani as a pet, she refers to him as her 'companion' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63), and considers them as implicated within a non-hierarchical relationship.

By establishing that the *mo'olelo* is set in a post-contact era 'when the people of Hawai'i had learned from the missionaries' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61), Pūku'i implies that the Indigenous population have 'learned' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) of Protestant teachings. These teachings present the idea that animals are subordinate to humans, and women subordinate to men. In the King James Bible, the Book of Genesis states that God granted humans 'dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth' (Genesis, 1:26 King James Bible). This Christian dogma of human dominion over animals manifested in a sense of human superiority over the more-than-human world, and the privileging of human desires and needs over those of the plants, animals and land, and it is this that the husband demonstrates. As well as being unwilling to share his water with Huelani, he also refuses to believe Huelani could have found water. These teachings are

antithetical to *aloha ʻāina,* where the Kanaka Maoli considered ʻland, humans, and nonhuman animals and all elements of the natural world as related entities with whom they share kinship obligations' (Kauaunui, 2018, p.109). I read the woman's maintenance of *aloha ʻāina* as a subtle act of resistance against missionary teachings that positioned humans as superior to animals, and men as superior to women. As Silva explains, ʻAloha aina was the cornerstone of resistance' (2007, p.11) to colonialism during the nineteenth century. I suggest that Pūku'i depicts the woman engaged in *aloha ʻāina* as an act of resistance against the heteropatriarchal nature of family that settler colonialism engendered. In sharing her water with Huelani, the woman actually prioritises her relationship with land over the relationship with her husband. As Kauanui explains: ʻHawaiian women's bonds of reciprocity with their kin superseded their ties with their respective husbands' (2018, p.180). Unlike the Protestant teachings that privileged humans over animals, and championed male authority, the woman privileges her relationship with Huelani over her relationship with her husband, and resists altering her relationship with the more-than-human world.

It is through maintaining a reciprocal relationship with the land that the land responds. In the same way that the woman shared her water with Huelani, the following day Huelani shares his discovery of water with the woman: ʻHuelani did not ask to share his mistress's drink. When they reached the cave he frolicked for a few minutes then darted off. She followed' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.64). It is because of the woman's generosity towards Huelani that the more-than-human world reciprocates and he provides the people with water. Pūku'i conveys how it is the woman's continuance of *aloha ʻāina* within a post-contact space that leads the drought to come to an end.

Pūku'i's use of naming here also enables a subtle form of gendered survivance to occur. Through naming, Pūku'i at once resists the Protestant teachings of dominion over animals, and ensures the survival of *kino-lau*, the idea that the gods take many forms. In this *mo'olelo*, Pūku'i does not give the woman and her husband, or the *makaʻainana,* names. The only beings who Pūku'i names are Kekela, the chiefess, Pele, the goddess, and

Huelani, the dog.[121] By naming these specific characters, Pūku'i subverts Protestant teachings that consider humans to exist within a hierarchy with animals, and instead ranks Huelani as just as worthy of a name as the revered women Kekela and Pele.

Pūku'i also presents Huelani as an extension of Pele's powers. Kauanui explains that in traditional Hawaiian culture 'the reverence for the 'āina is front and center; the mountains, streams, winds, animals, and trees are living entities with names. Some of them are the *kino-lau* (embodied manifestation) of deities, while others are '*aumākua* (ancestral family gods)' (Kauanui, 2018, p.106). I consider Huelani to be an 'embodied manifestation' (Kauanui, 2018, p.106) of Pele, as Pūku'i intertwines Pele and Huelani in the discovery of water. Upon Pele's arrival, she 'smiled and beckoned to him' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). Huelani then 'sprang up and ran to her 'gladly, then flattened himself at her feet in great love and devotion' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). Responding to her 'gladly', and expressing 'love and devotion' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) indicates a clear familiarity between animal and goddess. The intertwining of Pele and Huelani is expressed upon Huelani's return through the ways the woman recounts the discovery of the water, as she alternates between Pele and Huelani when describing the discovery. When Huelani initially returns and splattered her 'with drops of water' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63), she exclaims, 'Huelani! [...] You have found water!' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63) before immediately stating 'Pele has brought water for her people' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63). This occurs twice more, as she initially tells her husband '[h]e [Huelani] has found water!' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63), but then later states 'Pele loves Kona and has brought us water' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63). By stating that Huelani's actions are an extension of Pele's gift, Pūku'i implies that Huelani is an extension of Pele. In doing so, Pūku'i conveys how the navigation of the drought is a multispecies process.

[121] Naming the dog Huelani also creates an intertextual significance, particularly regarding narratives concerning water and drought. Pūku'i's contemporary, Samuel H. Elbert, with whom she published *Place Names of Hawaii* (1974) and several dictionaries, published a poem 'The Waters of Huelani', that also depicts drought on the Hawaiian Islands. Parallels can be drawn between the two texts, as 'The Waters of Huelani' begins with the speaker asking, 'Where are the waters of Huelani, / The spring of this sacred land?', suggesting that, like 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', people are desperately searching for water during a drought. This narrative, like 'The Pounded Water of Kekela', ends with the discovery of water. (See: Cabacungan, 1976). Pūku'i's decision to name the protagonist's dog 'Huelani' therefore allows her to speak across texts wherein droughts have been overcome.

3.4 *Kaona* and *Mana Wahine*: Interrogating 'Vulnerability' through *Kanaka 'Ōiwi* Aesthetics and Epistemologies

Figure 16: 'Pele and Hiiaka' by Kawahine Creations.
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This section argues that Pūku'i expresses a gendered form of survivance in 'The Pounded Water of Kekela' by depicting *wahine 'ōiwi* as agents of change in creating solutions to drought. As Majandra Rodriguez Acha asserts in her writing on climate justice, it is necessary to 'transcend the narrative of women as victims' (2019, p.249), and it is through the *mo'olelo* and the attention to ancestral knowledge that Pūku'i rejects narratives of Native, female victimry and vulnerability in terms of drought. Through synecdoche, Pūku'i demonstrates how *wahine 'ōiwi* possess the ability to navigate environmental disaster despite being rendered vulnerable due to sociocultural responsibilities.

I highlight how Pūku'i presents the responses to drought as distinctly feminine through the use of *kaona*. *Kaona* is an 'intellectual practice' (McDougall, 2014, p.3) in Hawaiian literature that includes using punning, metaphor, and cultural symbolism to convey an 'inner meaning' (Pūku'i, 1949, p.247). Suggesting that Pūku'i deploys *kaona* in her works is supported by the fact that Pūku'i wrote about the various uses of *kaona* in *Songs (Meles) of Old Ka'u, Hawaii* (1949), and that *kaona* is considered to be a 'hallmark of Hawaiian aesthetics' (McDougall, 2014, p.3). This section reveals how Pūku'i uses *kaona,* specifically metaphor, to represent the healing landscape through the female cycles of menopause, fertility and menstruation, and birth.

I argue that *kaona* is a representational strategy through which to tackle the capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal structures that construct *wahine 'ōiwi* as incapable and disempowered due to their vulnerability to drought. McDougall explains that:

> Because of the colonial context of Hawaiʻi, contemporary practices of kaona, however, must also be viewed as decolonial assertions—they are both actions (doing something with a particular aim) and enactments (acting something out) reinforcing ancestral knowledge. This reinforcement of ancestral knowledge, in turn, provides a foundation to guide us within contemporary colonial contexts to overturn colonial narratives and to actualize claims to 'āina (literally 'that which feeds,' our word for land), sovereignty, and governance. (2014, p.3)

I read The Pounded Water of Kekela' as overturning the 'colonial contexts' and 'narratives' (McDougall, 2014, p.3) relating to the weaponisation of Indigenous, female vulnerability to

drought that prevents Indigenous women from being involved in environmental disaster management. Due to the fact that *kaona* is considered to be a 'decolonial assertion' (McDougall, 2014, p.3), I pose *kaona* as a productive way of fostering anti-imperialist discussions relating to environmental interventions.

Building on Vinyeta et al.'s statement that the 'coupling of climate change with settler colonialism is the source of unique vulnerabilities' (2015, p.i), I suggest that settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy compound Hawai'i's littoral location and its lack of rainfall to engender specifically female vulnerability to drought. Acha asserts that:

> climate change can not only be truly addressed by modifying our deep-rooted economic, political and social structures but also by acknowledging that the system is capitalist as much as it is patriarchal […] The deep-rooted systems that are currently in place bring about both environmental degradation and the oppression of women. (2019, p.106)

Although climate change is a global problem with planetary implications, Acha outlines how because of the ways climate change is borne out of the logics of capitalism and patriarchy, it is women who become particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. As the introduction to this chapter outlines, I argue that it is the same structures that create female, Indigenous vulnerability to drought that also exclude Indigenous women from leading drought mitigation strategies.

Although it is widely acknowledged that it is colonialism and capitalism that have largely contributed to climate change, the strategies designed to address climate change continue to uphold these structures.[122] As Vinyeta et al. explain, 'Western institutions are

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[122] Whyte states: 'Anthropogenic (human-caused) climate change is an intensification of environmental change imposed on Indigenous peoples by colonialism' (2017a, p.153). Heather Davis and Zoe Todd also pose 'the problem of colonialism as responsible for contemporary environmental crisis' (2017, p.763). This is due to the way that colonialism, and its role in global capitalism is predicated on exploiting natural resources and Indigenous populations, and accumulative consumption. It is colonialism and its role in industrialisation, mass production, deforestation, extraction, which has created the conditions that engender environmental decline and vulnerability to climate change. Whyte explains: '[t]he consequences of capitalist economics, such as deforestation, water pollution, the clearing of land for large scale agriculture and urbanisation, generate

structured to reflect colonial values that often exclude or challenge indigenous knowledge and culture' (2015, p.48), and this is the case in climate change interventions. The ways in which solutions to climate change are approached as 'global' issues tends to centre the wealthiest polities including the USA and the UK, and therefore privilege Western knowledges over Indigenous knowledges, and continue the interconnected systems of colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy. Acha explains:

> As the global effects of climate change become clearer and more tangible, however, those in dominant positions of power are doing everything they can think of, from technological fixes and back-up plans to spraying chemicals in our clouds and placing reflective shields in space to fleeing to other planets. They are seeking to escape the consequences of what we are doing, without changing what we are doing. (2019, p.111)

Evans and Musvipwa echo a similar sentiment in their analysis of UN responses to climate change, stating that their 'market-led strategies reveal the neo-colonial dimensions of the United Nations' climate-change framework' (2017, p.39). Lim Soomin and Shirley Stevens explain that through 'the guise of "climate change" and "resource protection" the developed global North seeks to control, both politically and practically, the resources of the less developed world' (2009, p.846).[123] The exclusion and devaluation of Indigenous knowledges, coupled with narratives of Indigenous victimry, enables Western countries to

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immediate disruptions on ecosystems, "rapidly" rendering them very different from what they were like before, undermining Indigenous knowledge systems and Indigenous peoples' capacity to cultivate landscapes and adjust to environmental change' (2016, p.6). Whyte even conceptualises colonialism as an environmentally destructive practice: '[c]olonialism, such as U.S. settler colonialism, can be understood as a system of domination that concerns how one society inflicts burdensome anthropogenic environmental change on another society' (2016, p.5). See also: Wildcat, D.R. (2013). Introduction: climate change and indigenous peoples of the USA. In J. Koppel Maldonado, B. Colombi & R. Pandya (eds.), *Climate change and Indigenous peoples in the United States* (pp.1-7). Springer; Whyte, K. (2018a). Settler colonialism, ecology, and environmental injustice. *Environment and Society*, *9*(1), pp.125-144.

[123] See also: Crosby, A. (2004). *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900*. Cambridge University Press.

continue to exert control over 'former' colonies under the pretence of climate change intervention, whilst benefitting economically.

Exploring the deployment of *kaona* within *mo'olelo* allows an anti-imperialist discourse to be fostered that rejects neo-colonial ideas relating to the disempowerment and victimry of Indigenous women. Through *mo'olelo*, the ancestral knowledge that is necessary to decolonise responses to drought can be foregrounded. *Kaona* forms part of Pūku'i's decolonial aesthetic, and creates positive representations of *wahine 'ōiwi* that are consistent with the ways women are represented as more-than-human beings in Hawaiian traditions. Writing about *kaona* in Hawaiian poetry, Pūku'i explains that '[p]ersons were sometimes referred to as rains, winds, ferns, trees, birds' (1949, p.248). In particular, female power, or *mana wahine*, is expressed through imagery relating to the environment:

> The women of Hawai'i, through their cultural diversity and collective spirit of optimism, personify the four elements of nature that have built and defined our islands. They are fire, burning with the heat of goddess Pele, fierce in the protection of their children, and smouldering in their passion. They are earth, grounding families with sensitivity and tradition, while giving birth and raising each consecutive generation. They are water, fluid in their movement, graceful in their determination. And they are air. (Goldsberry, 2003, pp.i-ii)

U'i Goldsberry outlines how *wahine 'ōiwi* personify fire, earth, water, air, or 'all the elements that create land' (Yamashiro & Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2014, p.1), through their maternal nature and life-giving abilities that are highly valued within Hawaiian culture. These cultural beliefs that associate the generative qualities of women with the foundational elements of the environment are apparent in Pūku'i's *mo'olelo* through *kaona*, wherein the changing conditions of the environment through drought, and the discovery of water, become aligned with the cycles associated with the female body: birth, menstruation and menopause. This section therefore interprets *kaona* as decolonial representational strategy through which to undermine neo-colonial conceptions of vulnerability through its representation of *mana wahine.*

As mentioned in the previous section, Pūku'i situates this environmental disaster within a colonial space, during a time when 'the people of Hawai'i had learned from the missionaries about the God of the Christians' (1996, p.61). In the opening of the story, Pūku'i deploys *kaona*, specifically metaphor, to convey vulnerability to drought through a form of grounded normativity that McDougall refers to as 'island-human relationality' (2019, p.203). McDougall explains that island-human relationality is 'approaching every part of the island as sacred and as ancestor. Doing so entails seeing humans as part of and not separate from the island' (2019, p.203). I consider island-human relationality to be a form of grounded normativity as it exists as a system of reciprocal obligations between humans and land. Through using *kaona*, Pūku'i conveys a gendered notion of island-human relationality, as the vulnerability of the archipelago and the vulnerability of *wahine 'ōiwi* to drought are intertwined through imagery that connects the infertile environment with the aging female body. The reference to environmental disaster is overt, as Pūku'i writes that 'this was a time of drought in South Kona. Had it not been for a few deep wells everyone would have had to leave or die' (1996, p.61). It can be deduced that this drought is a hydrological drought caused by lack of rain, as the husband recounts '"[i]n the time of my father, in the time of my father, in all past years, no water has been known in this part of Kona"' and that it is a time 'when no rain falls' (Pūku'i, 1996, pp.64-66). Centred within this post-contact drought narrative is a Native woman who Pūku'i only identifies and describes through her age. Repeatedly referring to her as 'the old woman' (1996, p.61-6), Pūku'i presents a woman who is likely to be post-menopause. Pūku'i expresses island-human relationality within these harsh conditions through a form of *kaona* that reflects this sense of aging and infertility in the barren landscape around the woman: '[d]ry grass, dry ferns and withering lehua trees – that was all she saw' (1996, p.61).[124] As these dying plants are 'all she saw' (1996, p.61), Pūku'i conveys the reflexive nature in which the woman views the

[124] A similar sentiment is seen in 'The Song of the Kapa Log,' wherein the island-human relationality informs a woman's senses. When she loses her *kapa* log, she is told that when she finds it, she will 'hear the song' that she loves, to which she replies 'I shall listen. Today I'll hear my "grandchild's" voice' (Pūku'i, 1994, p.160). Her attachment to the *kapa* log transforms her sensory awareness, as she finds it due to the fact that 'the song was nearer and more clear' (Pūku'i, 1994, p.161).

scorched earth. The woman's perception of self is reflected in the way she perceives the environment.[125] Within the context of Hawaiian epistemologies, referring to the lehua trees as 'withering' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) also conveys a 'hidden meaning' (McDougall, 2014, p.3) in relation to the aging female body. This is due to the fact that in the Hawaiian language there exists a euphemism, 'ke kulu waimaka lehua', which translates to 'the flowing of the red lehua blossom tears' and refers to menstrual flow (Kame'eleihiwa, 2001, p.75). By referring to the lehua trees as 'withering' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61), Pūku'i invokes this Hawaiian phrase to allude to the end of a fertile period, both in terms of the female body and the more-than-human world that is deteriorating due to the lack of rainfall. Through *kaona*, then, Pūku'i depicts a form of island-human relationality wherein the infertile land is reflected in the infertile 'old woman'.

This connection between fertility and water, or infertility and lack of water, is expressed throughout Pacific Islander epistemologies.[126] As Ataria Rangipikitia Sharman explains:

> In Ngāti Kahungunu traditions, infertility was associated with dryness – the absence of wai. A Māori woman or man unable to conceive was sometimes termed 'he wai pākihi', the dried-up stream (T.Smith 2012:26). Perhaps a woman who has gone through menopause may also be associated with an absence of wai, the waters of fertility no longer flowing. (2019, p.28)

[125] By demonstrating how Hawai'i is viewed and experienced from the perspective of an Indigenous woman, Pūku'i also subverts discourses and descriptions of Hawai'i by settlers who place Hawai'i as the object of colonial, male desire.

[126] The connection between *wai*, or water, and fertility is also significant with regards to their associations with Hawaiian gods. As Dean Itsuji Saranillio explains, the god Lono is 'a major deity of peace, agriculture, rainfall, and fertility' (2018, p.xvii). This connection between rainfall and fertility is a motif seen throughout Hawaiian literature, demonstrated by Emma Scanlan's analysis of water in Hawaiian poetry by Trask. Scanlan explains that '[r]ain is often a symbol of fertility and renewal in Hawaiian poetry, so combined with the steamy rocks and wet grasses the sense of fertile land is delicately evoked' (2017, p.991). This link between rainfall and fertility appears in this *mo'olelo*, only in subverted form, as a lack of rainfall results in infertile ground, in association with the end of the old couple's family line. By using *kaona* to connect the growth of the human population, made possible through women, with the growth of the environment, Pūku'i is able to continue Hawaiian epistemologies within settler-colonial contexts and deteriorating environmental conditions.

Sharman explains that within Pacific Islander epistemologies more broadly, human fertility is conceptualised through imagery relating to the more-than-human world, specifically, water.[127] The use of this imagery is consistent with the Hawaiian belief that, as McDougall outlines, sees humans 'as part of and not separate from' (2019, p.203) the more-than-human world. As McDougall explains, '[h]umans and plants, along with all other parts of the island, are kin and intricately connected' (2019, p.201). This intricate connection between humans and plants, or island-human relationality, is demonstrated in the opening of this *mo'olelo*, as in the same way that 'the waters of fertility are no longer flowing' (Sharman, 2019, p.28) for the woman, the waters of fertility are no longer flowing on the island, which is why there is only '[d]ry grass, dry ferns and withering lehua trees' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) in Kona. Therefore, Pūku'i's use of *kaona* to represent island-human relationality during water scarcity unites *wahine 'ōiwi* and the land in their vulnerability to drought.

Pūku'i explains the significance of these reflexive and sensory experiences in her account of 'old-style Hawaiian life' (1993, p.10) in *Polynesian Family System*:

> without in some degree *sensing the feeling* that underlies this quality of consciousness in those who live intimately in a condition of primary awareness and sensitivity on the plane of subjective identification with Nature, coupled with perceptions and concepts arising therefrom – without some comprehension of this quality of *spontaneous being-one-with-natural-phenomena which are persons, not things,* it is impossible for an alien […] to understand a true country-Hawaiian's sense of dependence and obligation […] with the *'aina* (homeland). (1993, p.37-38)

[127] This intertwining of women, fertility and the environment can be seen within other Pacific Islander epistemologies more broadly, for example, among Maori tribes of Aotearoa (New Zealand). Jade Sophia La Grice and Virginia Braun explain that: '[w]ithin traditional mätauranga Mäori, the process of human reproduction is interwoven with biological, social, spiritual and ecological elements […] For Mäori, within traditional mätauranga, reproduction and human growth activities are likened to the process of growth in other natural phenomena, incorporating biological and spiritual development' (2017, p.153). What La Grice and Braun outline here is that ecological growth, and thus the fertility of the ground - does not exist in isolation but is also connected to human reproduction and the continuance of genealogical lines that are central to Hawaiian lifeways. This interconnection between humans and land in terms of fertility is epitomised in the Maori language, as the word for land, *whenua*, also means placenta (Le Grice & Braun, 2017, p.154).

Pūku'i reveals that non-Native Hawaiians (*haole*) will be incapable of understanding this intimate relationship between more-than-human beings and the Kanaka Maoli, largely due to the ways in which Western thought delineates humans from the more-than-human world. In using *kaona* or metaphor to represent the intimate 'awareness and sensitivity' (Pūku'i, 1993, p.37-38), between people and land, Pūku'i attempts to 'overturn colonial narratives' (McDougall, 2014, p.3) that view humans and the more-than-human world as separate, and 'actualize claims to 'āina [land]' and 'sovereignty, and governance' (McDougall, 2014, p.3).

This actualisation of claims to the land is expressed through Pūku'i's protagonist, as by depicting her as 'an old woman' (1996, p.61) Pūku'i references what Hawaiians would understand as a *kupuna*, a word used to refer to grandparents or living elders (deceased relatives) (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.18). Whilst some Western literature peddles the misogynistic notion that post-menopausal women have 'outlived [their] usefulness' (Formanek, 2013, p.256), within traditional Hawaiian culture, elders or *kupuna* play an essential role in the continuance of knowledges relating to the environment, or grounded normativity.[128] Although the woman will no longer bear children of her own, as a *kupuna*, she plays a central role in the passing down of knowledge relating to reciprocal relationships with the environment, knowledge that is 'intended to incite humans to act in such ways as to ensure the protection and reproduction of *all* creatures in the universe' (Holmes, 2000, p.37). That the protagonist of this *mo'olelo* is elderly or known as a *kupuna* within the Hawaiian language is significant when considering how this *mo'olelo* conveys human-nature kinship, as Leilani Holmes explains that 'the *kupuna* speak of the earth/human relationship' (2000, pp.38-46), so much so that they 'articulate the voice of the land' (2000, pp.38-46). McDougall explains that island-human relationality 'recognizes the importance of learning from Indigenous islander knowledges, not as a romanticized exercise, but as an urgent global undertaking' (2014, pp.207-208). The representation of island-human relationality (or island-*wahine* relationality) through the old woman therefore emphasises how

[128] Noreen Mokuau and Colette Browne explain: 'women in this culture have assumed in the caretaking, support, and bonding of family relationships', but acknowledge that 'there is a paucity of information specific to female elders in this culture' (1994, p.44).

Indigenous knowledge and therefore Indigenous leaders are essential to repairing human relationships with the land.

The notion that this woman possesses generative qualities and is capable of leading productive relationships with the land despite being vulnerable can be further evidenced when considering the epistemologies that are inherent within the Hawaiian language. The word *kupuna* encapsulates the relationship between the Kanaka Maoli and the more-than-human world, as the term is derived from the verb *kupu* which means 'to grow' (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.18). Craighill Handy and Pūku'i explain that *kupuna* is a term 'that is a figure of speech of a folk for whom growth, as observed in the vegetable world, is a basic concept' (1993, p.18). It is from the *kupuna* that the family, *'ohana,* which means 'off-shoots', can 'grow' or 'sprout' (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.18). Attending to the etymologies of the Hawaiian language reveals the ecological and generative qualities associated with *kupuna,* and highlights the complexity of Pūku'i's *kaona*, as McDougall explains: 'kaona may also be made using the Hawaiian language, which is accessible only to some and emphasizes both the untranslatability of certain Hawaiian concepts and the multiple meanings that are inherent to the flexibility of 'ōlelo Hawai'i' (2014, p.4). Through *kaona*, which foregrounds the island-woman relationality, Pūku'i demonstrates that whilst women are vulnerable to the effects of drought, they are central in ensuring sustainable and positive relationships with the environment for future generations.

By using *kaona* to open the story and convey the effects of the drought upon *wahine 'ōiwi,* Pūku'i emphasises how Indigenous women are pivotal in tackling the issues of water scarcity despite their status as a vulnerable group. Throughout the narrative, three women - the *kupuna*, or 'old woman' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) Pele, the Hawaiian goddess of volcanoes and creator of land, and Chiefess Kekela, after whom the *mo'olelo* is named, play a central role in recovering water for the village of Kona. These *wahine 'ōiwi* synecdochally represent women of all ages, positions of power and social statuses, and thus convey how *wahine 'ōiwi* more broadly are central to forming strategies that help communities recover from the effects of drought. This discovery of water is a communal effort between the women, as Pele leads the *kupuna* to the water source, and then the *kupuna* informs Chiefess Kekela

of this hidden body of water. It is then through the Chiefess's leadership that the village gain access to this water, and the impact of the drought is ameliorated.

When considering the first interaction between the goddess Pele and the old woman or *kupuna*, I argue that their relationship evocative of the relationship between a *haka* and an *akua* (god). A *haka,* which 'means literally "a bird's perch, or a rack to hang things on"' (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.123) functions as 'the medium for a chosen spirit' (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.123) and a mouth through which the spirit speaks. What is significant about a *haka* is the notion that, as Craighill Handy and Pūku'i state, a woman 'could become a haka only after menopause' and that '[n]o menstruating person might come there' (1993, p.124). Whilst Pele does not physically take control of the woman's body, the idea that Pūku'i's protagonist is Pele's chosen *haka* stems from the fact that the old woman becomes the mouthpiece through which the water is discovered, and thus is a metaphorical *haka*. In this narrative, Pele only appears to the 'old woman' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) and her dog, and despite not taking her usual form of an old woman herself, the protagonist immediately recognises her: '"Pele!" She whispered under her breath. "I have seen Pele!" (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63). At the end of the narrative, Pūku'i also writes that '[t]o the old people and their dog the people gave great honour, saying "they are the chosen of Pele and she always chooses the best"' (1996, p.66), highlighting that their encounter was not coincidence, but that the woman was chosen by Pele. In her depiction of the meeting between the *kupuna* and Pele, Pūku'i emphasises the central role of ancestral guidance and Hawaiian genealogies in the empowerment of women and their ability to adapt to changing environments. As Kame'eleihiwa explains, goddesses such as Pele 'are our ancestors, they are our inspiration, they live in us' (2001, p.72). Indicative of how the *Akua* metaphorically live inside the *wahine 'ōiwi,* Pūku'i uses the metaphorical *haka* to convey how Pele 'lives' inside the woman and empowers her in saving her village from the ongoing drought (Kame'eleihiwa, 2001, p.72). Pele is 'the most important *kupuna*' (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.38) who guides another *kupuna*, who then guides the Chiefess. This trajectory is a form of *kaona* that demonstrates the importance of genealogies in transferring knowledges. It also conveys how women's actions in relation to the environment are indicative of the collective action in which Indigenous women partake.

In the same way that the deterioration of the environment is depicted through *kaona* and the aging female body, the replenishment of the landscape is also signified through *kaona* relating to youthfulness, menstruation and regeneration. Pūku'i represents discovery of water as a manifestation of *mana wahine* or feminine power (McDougall, 2016, p.27). This is first represented through the inclusion of Pele.[129] As McDougall suggests, Pele's 'passionate nature and her emotions drive her to both violence and love, which are demonstrated through the flow and eruptions of Kīlauea' (2016, p.28), the volcano. Through her ability to take the form of a human woman as well as *lehua* and lava, the figure of Pele presents the feminine nature of the land as dynamic, powerful and dangerous with the potential for disruption and eruption.[130] Pele therefore poses a challenge to the Western, patriarchal and imperialist modes of thought that construct Indigenous women as vulnerable to the changing conditions of the environment. Pele is one of the central agents of change upon the archipelago and is therefore representative of *mana wahine*. Whilst her role in creating land contributes to the construction of land as feminine, her femininity is not a means of imagining the landscape as passive and conquerable as is typical of imperialist rhetoric. Trask outlines how in the colonial imagination, 'Hawai'i is a "she", the Western image of the Native "female" in her magical allure' (1992, p.23) to make the case that, in feminising Hawai'i, the state serves as an antithesis of - and economically, politically and culturally subordinate to - the United States. The feminisation of Hawai'i as a US colony enables the state to be viewed as a location of fantasy and gratification that American tourists can consume and degrade intermittently, as the island shifts from a foreign, exotic paradise to US territory and a site of potential profit. Kauanui also makes the case that 'the U.S. occupation in Hawai'i was founded on gendered oppression, with the islands being viewed as feminine and therefore ready for

[129] Pūku'i's representations of Pele gain further significance when considering Pūku'i's full name, Mary Abigail Kawenaʻulaokalani (The-Rosy-Glow of the Heavens) ahiʻiakaikapoliopele (of Hi'iaka [youngest sister of Pele] in-the-bosom-of-Pele) Naleilehuaapele (wearing the crimson *lehua* wreaths of the Volcano Goddess) (Craighill Handy & Pūku'i, 1993, p.13). Her name reveals that she shares her genealogies with Pele.

[130] Similarly, H. Arlo Nimmo writes that the gods Kū, Kāne, Kanaloa, and Lono, were 'occasionally dependent on Pele or intimidated by Pele' (1990, p.43), suggesting that male authority is conditional upon the relationship with Pele in Hawaiian *mo'olelo.*

masculine dominance' (2008, p.285). Elizabeth DeLoughrey asserts a similar rhetoric, that 'the cosmopolitan and masculine bias of migratory routes are obtained by mastering a primitivized landscape of feminized roots' (2009, p.141) implying that the feminisation of landscapes enables their construction as primitive, underdeveloped spaces. Instead, Pele's femininity is characterised as powerful and dynamic with a potential to destroy.

When Pele appears, the *kupuna* observes that '[h]er bare feet trod the rough lava road as lightly as if it had been a smooth floor' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). Like many Hawaiian *mo'olelo* that draw upon symbols and imagery associated with the female body, Pele's association with lava is a form of *kaona* associated with menstrual flow, and therefore as a metaphor for the beginning of a new cycle. This new cycle is indicative of a revitalised environment that is gendered and functions as an expression of *mana wahine*. Analysing Pūku'i's depiction of Pele as a metaphor for menstruation, and the beginning of a new environmental cycle, stems from how Pele is understood within Kanaka legends and the concept of *kino-lau*, or 'many forms' (Bray, 2016, p.13). John Dvorak explains that 'Native Hawaiians traditionally regarded an eruption as the menstruation of the goddess Pele' (2007, p.8), and Carolyn Bray similarly states that '[h]er sacred life-giving form, from the menstrual blood that courses through the body/earth, flows from the mouth of the volcano as hot lava' (2016, p.16). Dvorak and Bray explain that within traditional Hawaiian beliefs, envisaging the land as feminine is not to construct the land as a site of vulnerability or domination, but as a dynamic, generative life force. As Bray suggests, '[o]ver time, when the lava-drenched soil is soaked with rain, flora and fauna thrive. When Pele's sacred liquid reaches the sea, new land is formed' (2016, p.13). It must be noted that as well as lava being associated with growth through *kaona*, its association with growth also is representative of pedological findings wherein soils formed by volcanic ash are known to be particularly fertile grounds. Evaristo Haulle & Delphine Njewele explain that in Hawai'i as well as the Philippines and Nicaragua, 'it is believed that the eruption of volcanic ash greatly enriches the soil, giving better crops' (2015, p.22). Within these epistemological and pedological contexts then, Pūku'i's uses *kaona* to represent women as central to restoring environmental balance and promoting growth, a notion which contrasts the association of vulnerability with passivity. This life-giving force associated with Pele is

another way *mana wahine* can be understood, as the female body is central to the renewal and growth of the environment.

Pūku'i also draws upon Pele's other bodily forms to symbolise menstruation and regeneration, or the end of an infertile period, in terms of drought, and the beginning of a period of growth for the environment. The first sign of rejuvenation, or the beginning of a new cycle, is seen through this link between the 'withering lehua trees' and Pele's appearance as a 'young woman' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). This is due to the fact that, as McDougall explains, one of Pele's bodily forms is lehua groves (2016, p.38). This means that the opening 'withering lehua trees - that was all [the old woman] saw' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) depicts one form of Pele in decline, before she re-appears in youthful, human form. After seeing these 'withering lehua trees' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61), the protagonist looks up to see 'a young woman approaching, tall and beautiful, dressed in a red holoku'' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). This description is atypical of Pele's *kino-lau* as her dominant form is volcanic activity or an 'old hag' (Bray, 2016, p.13). Whilst not implying that Pele transformed from those particular lehua trees into 'a young woman' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61), I read the inclusion of the 'withering lehua' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) before Pele's arrival as a form of *kaona* that signals the end of life, before Pele appears in human form, a metaphor for her new beginning. This unusual and youthful appearance of Pele, and her meeting with the protagonist, is the first way that Pūku'i signals a form of re-birth or rejuvenation, and a foreshadowing of how *wahine 'ōiwi* will provide a solution to the drought.

Within the context of Pele legends, and this drought narrative, the lehua and Pele's red dress take on a new significance regarding the menstrual cycle. Nimmo summarises Pūku'i's writings on Pele, stating that '[a]ccording to Pūku'i, when Pele appears, the colour of her clothes are significant' (1996, p.50). Pūku'i herself writes that 'Pele in white has traditionally been interpreted as a warning of sickness; Pele in red as a coming volcanic eruption' (Pūku'i, Haertig & Lee, 1972, p.13). Within this narrative, however, Pele's arrival in the 'red *holokū'* (original emphasis, Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) heeds no volcanic eruption, but the discovery of water and the ending of a drought. I argue that this inconsistency and anomaly in terms of Pele's appearance and significance is due to the overarching use of *kaona* relating to the environment and the female body. In evoking Pele firstly through the

'withering lehua' (1996, p.61) and then through a 'red *holokū'* (original emphasis, 1996, p.61), Pūku'i demonstrates how, in a metaphorical sense, the lehua have once again become red, and thus invokes once again the euphemism relating to menstruation: 'the flowing of the red lehua blossom tears' (Kame'eleihiwa, 2001, p.75). Due to the fact that within this narrative, Pele's 'red *holokū'* (original emphasis, Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) does not foreshadow a volcanic eruption, the colour gains a new significance. As Kame'eleihiwa explains, in Hawaiian epistemologies red is 'the colour of sanctity, as well as the colour of menstrual blood' (2001, p.75), again supporting the notion that Pele's youthful and vibrant appearance within this barren space can be read as a form of rejuvenation and the beginning of a new cycle. Pele's 'red *holokū'* (original emphasis, Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) emphasises her sacredness and her embodiment of ongoing fertility in contrast to 'the old woman' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61) and the ongoing drought in Kona. Pele foreshadows how the restoration of the environment is a specifically gendered act.

This embodiment of Pele, beautiful and youthful, represents the hope of recreating a fertile world, as it is Pele's appearance that leads the old woman to have hope of finding water: '"Pele loves Kona and has brought us water,"; "Pele has shown kindness to her thirsty people"'; '"Pele has brought water for her people"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63-65). Here, Pele embodies *mana wahine* as the discovery of water is owed to Pele. Understanding Pele as central to the regeneration of the environment contributes to existing discussions surrounding Pele's role within Hawaiian *mo'olelo* by placing her regenerative qualities within the context of hydrological drought. Whilst Pele is, as aforementioned, the creator of land, her association with volcanic eruption and fire in other *mo'olelo* places Pele in a cycle of growth and destruction within Hawaiian mythologies. Pūku'i herself rejected the view that Pele was a goddess only of destruction and a deity to be feared. Together with Craighill Handy, she writes:

> 'It is profoundly significant that the Hawaiians of Ka-'u did not fear or cringe before, or hate, the power and destructive violence of Mauna Loa [the volcano] […] They loved Pele, whose home was their land: they endured her furies, and celebrated the drama of creation with which they lived' (1972, p.22).

Celebrating Pele's power to destroy, as well as her power to create, demonstrates a respect for the diversity of *mana wahine*, and for the cycles of which the environment is part.

Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahele supports this idea of regeneration, and explains how Pele and her sister Hiʻiakaikapoliopele are 'necessary in the cycle of destruction and regeneration that gives life to the Hawaiian Islands. Both are necessary for the growth of the land' (2001, p.xii). Kanahele outlines the regenerative role that Pele plays within this *mo'olelo*, transforming Kona from a place of drought and destruction to a rejuvenated land: '"[i]t is the gift of Pele […] She loves Kona and remembers her people when no rain falls"' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.66). McDougall and Nordstrom continue this notion, stating that '[b]ecause the moʻolelo and the undeniable forces associated with Pele and Hiʻiaka are so well known by Kanaka Maoli, all *moʻolelo* relating to the sisters work as powerful metaphors for the potential of life after destruction' (2011, p.98). Through *kaona*, which associates women with growth after destruction, Pūku'i emphasises how *wahine 'ōiwi* are essential in the regrowth and rebuilding of the more-than-human world after environmental disasters.

The final expression of *mana wahine* in this *mo'olelo* is the metaphorical re-birth of Kona, as the discovery of water signals the end of the drought and a new beginning. In a continuation of *kaona*, imagery of the female body is continued through the repeated images of womb-like spaces from which new beginnings can be metaphorically 'birthed'.[131] Rather than depicted as one single event, images of birthing and rebirth appear throughout the short narrative through recurring motifs of womb-like spaces, specifically that of caves and wells. When Pūku'i first introduces the protagonist, she is 'sat in her cave' (1996, p.61) partaking in the tradition of *kapa* making. She also 'gazes out of her cave', and Huelani lies

[131] Whilst not unique to Hawaiian literature, these motifs relating to the female body are often deployed through *kaona*. Kame'eleihiwa explains that '[i]t was Kapo'ulakina'u who had the flying ma'i or vagina. It detached from her body and flew through the air with little wings attached on either side' (2001, p.75). In an analysis of Imaikalani Kalahele's poetry, McDougall explains that 'eight one-line stanzas that are centered and arranged on the page so as to suggest a woman's kohe or vagina' (2014, p.17). Beyond literature, however, imagery relating to the female reproductive system is used to explain the topographical features of Hawai'i: 'Lualualei is the birth center of Oahu, hence the female, Hina's womb or cave' (Eric Enos quoted in Candace Fujikane, 2016, p.45). Using *kaona* to represent the power of the female body is consistent with the idea that *kaona* was used as a tool of colonial resistance as it provided as way to obscure sexual images from missionaries. McDougall and Nordstrom explain that 'it was through the printing of mele, or songs, and moʻolelo during this time period that it was realized that sexual kaona was especially difficult for missionary/haole audiences to read and understand' (2011, p.98).

'beside her on the cool floor of the cave' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61), until Pele appears and beckons the dog away to find water, before he returns and '[capers] proudly about the cave' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.63). As well as caves, wells are represented as a source of hope and sustainability: '[h]ad it not been for a few deep wells everyone would have had to leave or die' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.61). The central image of birth and the giving of life is the final moment in the story, as water is discovered within a cave. '"The cave!" she thought. "There is a cave near here." She found it and stooped down to peer in. Water! A great pool of water disappearing in the darkness of the cave!' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.64). Associating these images of birthing with *mana wahine* is significant as Kame'eleihiwa states that '[w]omen are powerful because they give birth' (2001, p.73) and explains that the existence of land is due to the birthing capacities of women.[132] Kame'eleihiwa explains that it is Papahanaumoku who 'gives birth to islands' (2001, p.76) and Haumea, the goddess of fertility and childbirth who is the guardian goddess of the island of Hawai'i.[133] It is women's fertility and ability to reproduce that N.A.S. Reyes et al. explains 'reminds us of the mana (power) Hawaiian women possess [...] and the mana to nurture potential' (2020, p.242). This becomes particularly significant within this *mo'olelo* as it is this womb-like imagery that conveys the power of *wāhine 'ōiwi* in creating solutions to the drought and nurturing new relationships with the environment. Through considering pregnancy and motherhood as forms of power, Hawaiian ontologies associate *wāhine 'ōiwi* with the protection and nurturing of the future. Thus, in Hawaiian culture, grounded normativity is essentially born of, and tied to, women and *mana wahine.*

In representing *mana wahine* through *kaona* relating to women's reproductive abilities, Pūku'i presents the generative capacities of women as integral to the continuance of grounded normativity. The idea that the solution to the drought is 'birthed' by women is expressed through the fact that the water is discovered in this cave, and that this water

[132] Traditions surrounding birthing were significant within Kanaka Maoli culture, with Pūku'i being a carrier of this traditional knowledge. See: Craighill Handy, E. & Pūku'i, M.K. (1952). The Polynesian Family System In Ka-U, Hawai'i: V.—The Life Cycle. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *61*(3/4), pp.243-282.

[133] Haumea is often referred to as 'Haumea of the wondrous births' (Kame'eleihiwa, 2016, p. 7) due to her ability to 'give birth from multiple parts of her body' (N. A. S. Reyes et al., 2020, p.242)

is described as being ‘of Kekela’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.66). ‘Of’ is often used to denote when someone is a child ‘of’ a person. In this sense, the water has metaphorically been birthed by Kekela through her leadership and creativity that allows the water to be accessed. This association between water and pregnancy is outlined by Anderson who explains ‘women carry water during pregnancy, and the first part of giving birth involves the release of that water’ (2010, p.9). This relationship between birth, water, and the environment is expressed by Anderson’s interviewees, as she explains that ‘[a] number of grandmothers drew the equation between life-giving waters carried by women and what occurs with Mother Earth in her life-giving cycles and abilities’ (2010, p.11). Through using these repeated motifs of caves and wells, Pūku’i draws upon Kanaka Maoli knowledges to reveal the centrality of *wahine ‘ōiwi* to the birthing of generations who can continue to care for the environment, and to the birthing of *‘āina* – love of the land.

This continuance of *‘āina* through women and genealogies is fully encapsulated at the end of the *mo’olelo* when the water is ‘birthed’ or released from the cave. In the same way that Pele is associated with the destructive power of fire and the generative life cycles, the ending of ‘The Pounded Water of Kekela’ continues these associations through mortal women. Pele is the generative life force through which the women are able to mitigate the effects of the drought. Upon locating the water inside the caves, the ‘old woman’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.61) informs the chiefess Kekela of the discovery. The old woman and her husband ‘started at once to Kekela’s home on the shore’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.65) to tell her that ‘Pele has brought water for her people’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.65). Upon hearing the news, Kekela ‘called the servants, directed them to the cave, and bade them take water gourds to fill’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.66), and ‘commanded that people gather *kuikui* nuts for torches to light the cave while others gathered vines with which to measure the pool’s size and the cave’s roof’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.66). When arriving at the cave, however, they realise that the water is difficult to access due to the fact that ‘the roof is very low and the cave dark’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.65). Faced with this obstacle, chiefess Kekela turns to the element associated with Pele and powerful femininity: fire. The chiefess first suggests that the people ‘gather *kukui* nuts for torches to light’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.65) before commanding that people ‘bring wood’ (Pūku’i, 1996, p.65) with which to make a fire. This turn to fire is symbolic of *mana wahine*,

as Kame'eleihiwa explains: 'it is woman who has the secret of fire. It is mana wahine' (2001, p.73). Pūku'i conveys that in order to end the drought, Kekela turns to the element of her powerful ancestor, Pele, and thus uses ancestral knowledge to resolve the environmental disaster. In relation to Pele and her role in cycles of destruction and regeneration, the fire is used to destroy the cave so that water can be accessed:

> When the fire died men chipped away at the hot rock […] another fire was built and more rock chipped away. After days of work a section of the cave roof had been removed and the pool was easy for thirsty folks to reach. (Pūku'i, 1996, p.66)

Through depicting the use of fire, which is symbolic of Pele, and the evocation of the cycle of destruction and regeneration, Pūku'i demonstrates the necessity of ancestral knowledge in the resolution of environmental disasters. As Kame'eleihiwa explains, '[i]t is the female *Akua* [gods] that empower Hawaiian women' (2001, p.72). That the solution to the drought begins with Pele, then passes to the *kupuna*, and then to Kekela demonstrates a genealogical empowerment; a metaphorical passing on of knowledge from ancestors and *mana wahine*. *Mana wahine* is expressed through the way that the Pele, the *kupuna*, and the chiefess Kekela work to discover the water and end the drought, as it is through the actions of all these women that '[t]here was water enough to last throughout the drought!' (Pūku'i, 1996, p.66). Whilst Pele leads Huelani to the water, it is the two mortal women that access the water and share it amongst the community.

In this *mo'olelo*, Pūku'i presents women as environmental healers who have the ability to restore *aloha 'āina*: 'love for land and all who dwell upon it; the kind of love that affirms the importance of independence and interdependence; the kind of love that demands action, ingenuity, creativity, and memory' (Yamashiro & Goodyear-Kaʻöpua, 2014, p.5). As McDougall explains, *mana wahine* is 'the power of women to bring forth new generations' (2016, p.30). This metaphorical conceptualisation of birth is linked to the fostering of environmentally conscious generations. As Reyes et al. suggest: 'Wāhine 'Ōiwi hold the potential of our lāhui (nation) in our bodies and birth them; we create hei (nets, webs) of potential to raise our future leaders, and we also serve as fierce protectors of these hei' (2020, p.242). In using *kaona* to portray the generative power and invocation of ancestral knowledge, this *mo'olelo* conveys how the empowerment of Indigenous women is not reliant upon introducing neo-colonial strategies that marginalise Indigenous voices.

The empowerment of Indigenous women to lead and engender change that can restore human and more-than-human relationships is already existent in knowledges gained and shared through ancestors, and a cultural responsibility towards the environment. Through *mo'olelo,* Pūku'i emphasises the centrality of Indigenous women and their knowledges in restoring relationships with the environment. This *mo'olelo* can thus be used to reject contemporary narratives of Indigenous, female victimry to drought.

Figure 17: 'Indigenous Mother' Kawahine Creations.
Permission to use image kindly granted by Kawahine Creations.

3.5 Conclusion

By demonstrating how vulnerability to drought and capability to mitigate the effects of drought can exist simultaneously through *mo'olelo*, this chapter intervenes in scholarship that seeks to place women into two categories: 'women as vulnerable or women as virtuous in relation to the environment' (Arora-Jonsson, 2011, p.744). Using these *mo'olelo* to show how, even since the nineteenth century, Indigenous women have experienced the effects of drought more acutely due to their domestic, social, cultural and spiritual roles, their vulnerability and capability are not mutually exclusive. Vulnerability to drought speaks to the broader systemic conditions, borne out of colonialism and global capitalism, which continue to keep Indigenous women 'vulnerable' due to their lack of access to resources and limited education, whilst the West continues to benefit from the unpaid labour performed by women. As this *mo'olelo* demonstrates, the women successfully resolve the drought through drawing upon grounded normativity passed down through ancestors, a form of knowledge that is not valued within the neo-colonial systems that play leading roles in climate change strategies. This is representative of the unpaid labour that Indigenous women perform in caring for their land, a form of labour that can continue to be exploited. This is due to the fact that *wāhine 'ōiwi* are deemed 'vulnerable' and because neo-colonial powers cannot reap economic gain from traditional knowledge. As Kamanamaikalani Beamer explains: '[t]he problems around social, cultural, and ecological justice in Hawai'i are not insignificant, nor are they something that we can will away through selfless compassion' (2014, p.15). This 'selfless compassion' (Beamer, 2014, p.15) between women and the land is not enough to solve the ecological problems that are indicative of the social and political injustices enacted against Pacific Islanders. And, as John Bellamy Foster, Hannah Holleman and Brett Clark observe, 'planetary problems cannot realistically be addressed without tackling the imperialist world system, or globalized capitalism, organized on the basis of classes and nation-states, and divided into center and periphery' (2019, p.71). To tackle these social, cultural and environmental injustices, the neo-colonial notion of vulnerability must cease to further marginalise Indigenous groups, and instead be wielded to prompt neo-colonial powers into dismantling the systems that keep Indigenous women 'vulnerable'.

Exploring how Pūku'i uses *kaona* to represent how cycles relating to the female body – birth, menstruation and menopause – are symbiotic with the environment reveals how the restorative environmental relationships are intricately intertwined with women. As Anderson explains, 'connections of water, blood, the earth, community, past and future [are] life sustaining' (2010, p.10). Using these bodily functions to convey the mutually constitutive nature of *wahine 'ōiwi* and the environment reveals how Indigenous women are a necessary part of the environment's survival, particularly within the context of its exploitation, degradation and destruction under capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal systems. As Yamashiro and Goodyear-Ka'ōpua explain: 'by understanding how we are connected by currents much larger than us—currents of colonialism, oppression, global greed, but also currents of ancestral, cultural, and spiritual knowledge of how to live as island people—we can begin to help each other find a way' (2014, p.8). *Mo'olelo*, and the element of *kaona,* demonstrate how vulnerability is not an obstacle to Indigenous women mitigating responses to drought, and thus reject narratives of Native, female victimry. *Mo'olelo* therefore have the potential to be vehicles of gendered survivance.

4.0 Conclusion

Figure 18: 'We Are Still Here' by Steph Littlebird.
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4.1 Survivance, Not Happenstance

Although 'elusive' and 'obscure' (Vizenor, 2009, p.85) in its conception, Native female survivance emphasises this unequivocal reality: *Indigenous women are still here*. Indigenous women in Turtle Island and the Pacific Islands have invariably endured, resisted and survived physical, sexual, cultural, and epistemological violence under the combined and connected oppressing structures of settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy. Native women have, and continue to, refuse erasure of their bodies, their femininities, their ways of knowing, ways of being, and ways of doing. As Leanne Betasamosake Simpson articulates: '[i]t is not happenstance or luck that Indigenous peoples and our lands still exist after centuries of attack. This is our strategic brilliance. Our presence is our weapon' (2017a, p.14). The Native, *female* presence that Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Mary Kawena Pūku'i depict and create through their writing exemplifies Simpson's claim. This is not 'happenstance' (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.14), but evidence of a mode of being that is characterised by resistance to settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy.

In illustrating how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i practice survivance through representations of the more-than-human world, I have developed Gerald Vizenor's theory of survivance to account for the specific challenges Indigenous women face as Indigenous *women*. I reveal how Indigenous women writers engage in a form of survivance that is gendered, as they respond to the gendered violence perpetrated by settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy. For Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i, the element of survivance that Vizenor terms the creation of an active, sense of presence over absence (2009, p.4) comes with challenges in addition to those that Vizenor discusses. Indigenous women must create a sense of presence that mediates their Native, *female* existence within the heteropatriarchal, colonial and capitalist spaces of the USA, Canada and Hawai'i. As this thesis has shown in its analysis of literature in relation to residential boarding school systems, the Indian Act, and climate change, colonial and neo-colonial systems work to oppress Indigenous women because of their gender *as well as* their Indigeneity, eradicating epistemologies and grounded normativities that contribute to who they are and their roles as women within Indigenous nations. Gender and race are two factors cannot be, and should not be, analysed as isolated categories. As Andrea Smith explains: '[w]hen a Native

woman suffers abuse, this abuse is an attack on her identity as a woman and an attack on her identity as a Native. The issues of colonial, race and gendered oppression cannot be separated' (2015, p.11). In understanding that the oppression of Indigenous women is both racialised and gendered, there is also a need to recognise that their resistance against these systems is also racialised and gendered.

Attentiveness to the experiences of Indigenous women as women under systems of settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy is also needed when considering another of Vizenor's conceptions of survivance: 'renunciations of dominance' (2009, p.85). Although Vizenor does not define the type of dominance he refers to, his work points towards the rejections of settler-colonial and associated cultural dominance. Given that settler colonialism effectively operates alongside heteropatriarchy, the rejection of dominance by Indigenous women includes a rejection of settler, Euro-American culture that is *heteropatriarchal* in nature. Therefore, although Native men and Native women are rejecting the same forms of dominance, Native women are fighting a system that places them at unique and heightened disadvantage. In refuting systems of dominance, Indigenous women not only pose a challenge to white supremacy, but to male dominance. As this thesis has shown through reference to residential boarding school systems, colonial institutions sought to socialise Native women using Euro-American conceptions of white femininity, predicated on subservience to men and sexual repression. Attention to the Indian Act also shows how land dispossession particularly discriminated against women as the Indian Act of 1876 conferred lines of descent, property, and landholding to men (Arvin et al., 2013, p.15). The patriarchal and heteropaternal family unit supplanted traditional, extended kinships systems, and thus divested Native women of their powerful cultural, spiritual and economic roles (Anderson, 2000, p.83-4). Whilst in traditional Indigenous societies men and women were equally valued, the pervasive nature of settler colonialism, capitalism and heteropatriarchy means that in the current moment, cisgendered Native men continue to benefit in some ways from heteropatriarchy although they remain disadvantaged under settler colonialism. (As Chapter 2 shows, however, heteropatriarchy ultimately has detrimental effects upon men, women and two-spirit peoples). Patriarchal power dynamics and the ways in which they impact the practice of survivance fail to be

mentioned in *Fugitive Poses, Manifest Manners* or *Native Liberty.* I suggest that when considering how Indigenous women are engaged in the practice of survivance, their survival, resistance, and renunciations of dominance needs to be directly addressed, not only in response to the dominance of white, settler culture, but also in response to heteropatriarchal dominance.

Examining the practice of survivance in relation to female experience is also necessary due to the fact that natural reason and land-based knowledges are specific to gender. As Nathalie Kermoal and Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez explain, attending to the specificities of Indigenous women's knowledges is important because 'being an Indigenous woman is intertwined with lived experience and the worldview of her community' (2016, p.4). Due to the fact that Indigenous women possess specific knowledges relating to the more-than-human world, including corn, beans, squash, and water, their ways of expressing natural reason or the more-than-human world more broadly will differ to men. Of course, land-based knowledges vary across the diverse Indigenous nations, and as this thesis shows, expressions of grounded normativity are specific to each band and place. Due to the fact that women's relationality with land differs from men's, the way they use their knowledges and relationships with the more-than-human world also informs their practice of survivance. Kim Anderson explains how 'the female association with the earth can help us to better understand how we have been affected by western patriarchy, and in doing so, can assist in our recovery process' (2000, p.187). As Anderson shows, specifically *female* relationships with land – which includes plants, animals, and water – are central to rejecting (hetero)patriarchal dominance. Also, because settler colonialism attacks what Vanessa Watts describes as 'two essential categories of Indigenous conceptions of the world' (2013, p.20), the feminine and the land (2013, p.20), resistance to settler colonialism requires a foregrounding of the resilience and continual existence of these fundamental elements of Indigenous lifeways. For these reasons, it is necessary to consider how the feminine and the land are intertwined in practices of survivance.

This thesis shows that for Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i, the ability to survive and resist settler colonialism in its various forms emerges from the re-claiming of

relationships with the more-than-human world, and the practice of grounded normativity. In demonstrating the integral role of plants, animals, land and water in female practices and expressions of survivance, I have demonstrated how early Indigenous women's writing has the potential to disrupt the dominance of what Watts refers to as the 'colonial frame' (2013, p.22) that violently separates humans from the land. As Watts suggests, there is an urgent need for Indigenous peoples 'to resist the growing tendency to both be subsumed into de-essentialized epistemological spaces as well as fight against the dislocation of our thoughts from place' (2013, p.33). By showing how Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i have adapted and preserved Native stories respective to their own tribal cultures, I have argued for the pivotal role of storytelling in fighting against this 'dislocation' (Watts, 2013, p.22). I centre Indigenous, female knowledges that in turn lead my analysis. Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's storytelling enables the reclaiming of Dakota, Haudenosaunee and Hawaiian epistemological frames that galvanise Native femininities and specifically female relationships with the land, and resist the colonial barriers imposed between humans and the more-than-human world.

In examining the agency and resilience of Indigenous women in resisting settler colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy as a 'gendered process' (Arvin et al., 2013, p.9), this thesis shows the ways that settlers systematically target Indigenous women and their relationships with land. It endeavours to historicise and contextualise the conditions that create anti-Indigenous and patriarchal landscapes. In order to evidence the ongoing relevance of Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's writing and thinking, I now turn to examples taken from our contemporary moment to explore how Indigenous women continue to address issues of gendered and ecological violence today.

4.2 Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG)

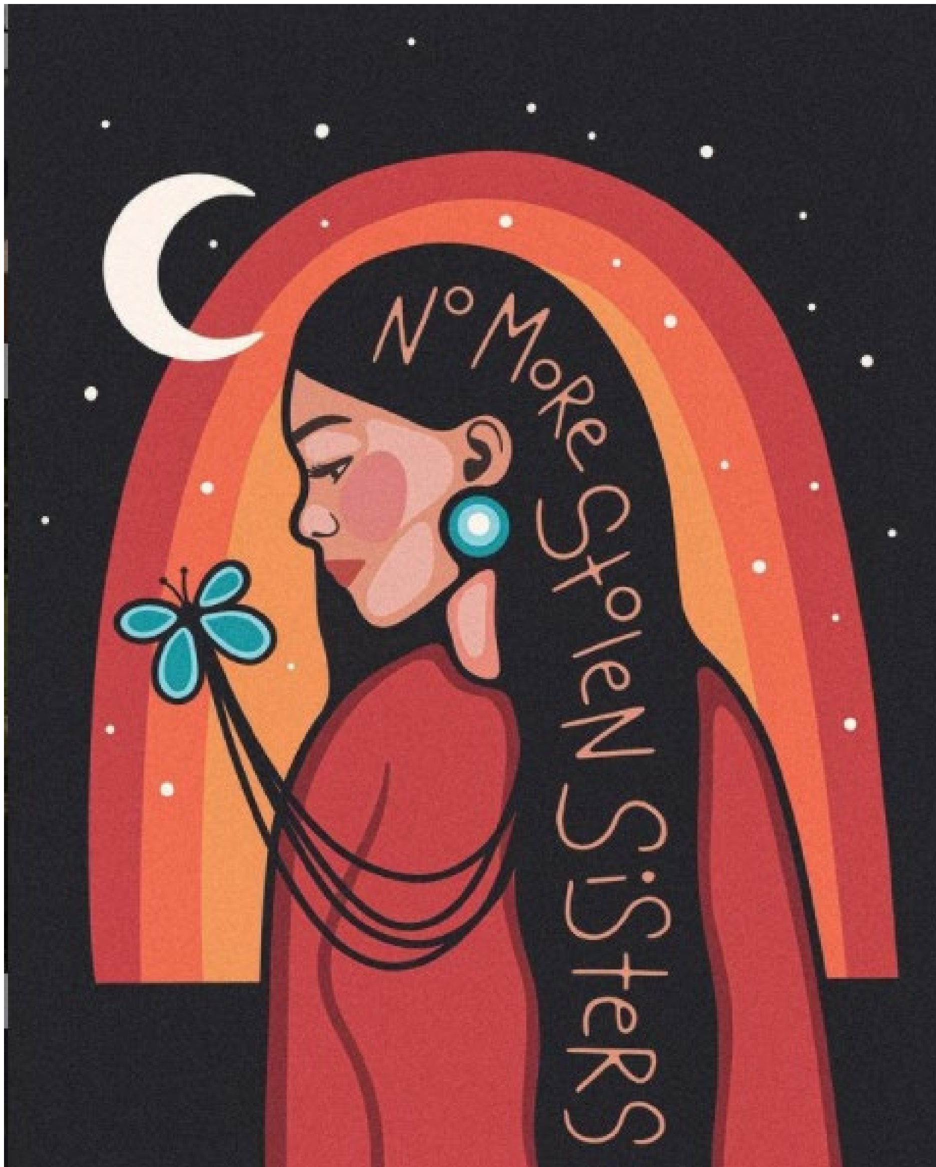

Figure 19: ‘No More Stolen Sisters’ by Morning Star Designs

Permission to use image kindly granted by Alanah Jewell of Morning Star Designs

The gendered violence that Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i depict in their writing is a direct result of systems still in place in the USA and Canada that perpetuate violence against Indigenous women and girls. As Rebecca Macklin explains: 'contemporary forms of gender-based violence must be understood in the context of gendered processes of subjugation that are intrinsic to settler colonialism' (2020, p.2). Therefore, structures of settler colonialism that shaped Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's experiences continue to impact the lives of Indigenous women today. In 2019, the Final Report of the Canadian National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls outlines that the level of violence against Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people in Canada amounts to a 'race-based genocide' (2019, p.50). The Report makes clear that the nature of this genocide is systemic, as the widespread murder of Indigenous women and girls has been facilitated by state-issued practices that Zitkala-Ša and Tekahionwake write of, including the Indian Act and residential schools (2019, p.50). Indigenous women are also 1.7 times more likely to be victims of stalking than white women (Final Report, 2019, p.542) and 12 times more likely to be murdered or missing than any other women in Canada (16 times more likely than Caucasian women) (Final Report, 2019, p.55).

The delay in acknowledging that the systemic violence elicited against Indigenous women amounts to genocide is due to the fact that 'the spatial and temporal boundaries of the case of genocide in Canada are not obvious' (Final Report, 2019, p.52). This statement encapsulates multiple realities, firstly that this genocide or 'gynocide' (Gunn Allen, 1992, p.36) spans centuries and is not limited to isolated events. As the Report shows, contributing factors have existed since settlers arrived on the continent, and have continued into the present moment, rendering the number of deaths and 'disappearances' as unquantifiable. Spatial and temporal boundaries are also difficult to determine due to the fact that for Indigenous peoples, trauma is *intergenerational*. Trauma is not an individual experience, but reverberates across families, communities and generations. The trauma of physical, psychological and sexual abuse is passed on as collective experience. As outlined in the Introduction to the thesis, it is from this notion that the concept of blood memory emerges. In this case, imposing a spatial or temporal boundary onto the systemic,

colonial violence against women is impossible, as the impact of this gendered violence is ongoing within bodies, memories, families, communities, and nations.

Whilst my analysis of Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's writing is grounded in the respective historical, social, cultural, and political contexts, my analysis of settler colonialism as a gendered process is not limited to these historical moments. The trauma experienced by these women continues to be felt by their descendants alive today. Writing of forced removal, Dakota Waziyatawin Angela Wilson explains that she 'cannot think of a time when we will not mourn what happened or even speak of our ancestors' suffering without solemnity and tears' (2013, p.262). The intersecting systems that shaped the lives of Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i continue to oppress, attack, criminalise and fetishize Indigenous women. Analysing how Indigenous women respond to and resist these systems through the more-than-human world speaks to how female survivance also manifests today.

The ways that experiences and knowledges are passed through community and storytelling raises the questions: if trauma is intergenerational, then are strategies of female survivance also inherited across generations? Do the strategies of survivance practiced by Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i live on in current and future generations? As Aman Sium and Eric Ritskes argue: 'Indigenous peoples resist colonial erasure and violence, living out the stories of the ancestors in ways that sustain, resist, and create anew' (2013, p.VI). Writing from a Haudenosaunee perspective, Lori Hill also explains that '[b]lood memory is the concept that we carry visceral memories in our genetic connections to the ancestral knowledge that can be accessed through undergoing an inner journey' (2020, p.5) and it is through these knowledges that ancestors were able to resist settler colonialism. For Native Hawaiian women, knowledge passed down from ancestors compels people to action. As Ho'omanawanui elucidates, it 'prepares us to be effective leaders because it embodies the challenges our ancestors faced as well as the solutions and consequences for action and inaction, powerful lessons for us today as we navigate the turbulent waters of the present' (2010, p.210). Wilson makes a similar case, showing how acknowledgement of past trauma continues to inform the actions of future generations:

> Our recognition of our ancestors' suffering is bringing a sense of unity to our People and reactivating a hunger for justice. Acknowledging the humanity of our ancestors awakens us to our own humanity – as well as to the realisation that we, too, are worthy of justice and freedom from oppression. (2013, p.263)

Wilson's powerful claims can be seen in action in the following example, which exemplifies how Indigenous responses to nineteenth-century settler colonialism speak across generations into Indigenous-led resistance movements today.

Figure 20: 'Blood Sisters' by Steph Littlebird.

Permission to use image kindly granted by Steph Littlebird.

4.3 Women and Water in Contemporary Literature

The strategies of Native female survivance that Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i engage in through their representations of the more-than-human world continue to be practiced today. As well as writing of resurgence and resistance through theory, Simpson's works of fiction embody female survivance. Her short story, 'Big Water' from *This Accident of Being Lost* (2017b) was published the same year as *As We Have Always Done*, and unifies women and the more-than-human world in their subjection and resistance to colonial violence. Read alongside each other, these texts appear as theory and theory-in-practice that speak to how women and land are united in expressions of survivance.

In the short story 'Big Water', Simpson represents two fundamental elements of Nishnaabe grounded normativity - *Kwe* and Lake Ontario - as female, agentic beings. In the opening of the story, the narrator describes how their legs are 'entangled with Kwe's' (2017b, p.65), and thus implies that in this narrative, Kwe is a woman. In *As We Have Always Done,* Simpson explains:

> I understand the word Kwe to mean woman within the spectrum of genders in Nishnaabemowin, or the Nishnaabe language. Kwe is not a commodity. Kwe is not capital. It is different than the word *woman* because it recognizes a spectrum of gender expressions and it exists embedded in grounded normativity. Kwe cannot be exploited. (2017a, p.41)

Simpson's definition of *Kwe* rejects colonial notions of the female; as she explains, *Kwe* is a form of womanhood that emerges within a gender spectrum, and so cannot be contained by the compulsory sexual dimorphism of colonial cultures. *Kwe* also refutes the colonial purview that women, specifically Indigenous women, are objects that can be commodified, and used by settlers to accumulate capital. This thesis' interest in specifically female forms of grounded normativity is informed by, and shared with, Simpson, as she describes *Kwe* as an essential part of grounded normativity. Simpson ties *Kwe*, and the land, or *Aki,* together through her writing, as her definitions parallel each other: 'Aki means land – place, power, relation; it is the opposition of land as commodity. Aki is not capital' (2017a, p.314). These epistemologies contradict the settler-colonial view of women and land as commodities that can either offer free labour, or be pressed to work for capitalism. In describing *Kwe* and

land in this way, Simpson encapsulates a view that is shared by many Indigenous groups, as Anderson explains: 'Indigenous people know that no one can own the earth, and, likewise, no one can own people. Aboriginal women can see that they can never be the property of a man' (2000, p.189). 'Big Water' evidences how the unification of women and land offers both *Kwe* and *Aki* ways to survive and resist settler-colonial violence.

In Simpson's short story, Lake Ontario is referred to by the narrator as 'Niibish' (2017b, p.65), a shortening of 'Chi'Niibish' which means 'big water' (2017a, p.9). In both texts, Simpson explains that the Nishnaabeg share Lake Ontario, 'a very powerful body of water' (2017a, p.81) and 'this brilliant peacemaker' (2017b, p.66), with the Mohawk tribe of which Tekahionwake was part.[134] Niibish is characterised as female, or *Kwe*, as Simpson uses the pronoun 'she' (2017b, pp.65-9) to refer to the lake. By representing Lake Ontario as female, Simpson depicts water within the context of Nishnaabeg and many other Indigenous epistemologies. In *As We Have Always Done*, Simpson explains the relationality between women and water, which translates to *nibi* in Nishnaabemowin:

> Nibi within Nishnaabeg philosophy carries within it many complex teachings and is also a reference to women. There are four female spirits responsible for the water in the oceans, the fresh water, the water in the sky, and the water within our bodies. Nibi is the responsibility of women. Nibi is women's sovereignty. (2017a, p.256)[135]

This intimacy between water and women is also expressed by other Native scholars. Anderson conceptualises water as 'a feminine force' (2000, p.184), and one of Kim Anderson et al.'s interviewees states that 'we [women] *are* water' (original emphasis, 2011, p.23). Sylvia Maracle of the Wolf Clan explains that 'whether it's that single drop, or the largest body of water, it represents the female element' (quoted in Anderson, 2000, p.185).

[134] Simpson also refers to the Mohawk as the Kanien'keha:ka, the Haudenosaunee and the Rotinonhsesha (People of the Longhouse). Simpson explains that she is 'indebted' (2017a, p.145) to Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson and her work. Although of different cultures, Leanne Simpson reveals that Audra Simpson's work 'resonates with me as a scholar and with my experience as an Indigenous woman' (2017a, p.146).

[135] Simpson also explains that 'Nishnaabeg women engage in epic water walks around the Great Lakes' (2017a, p.76).

In depicting Niibish as female, Simpson represents Lake Ontario through her own, Nishnaabeg subjectivities, and seeks to re-establish the connection between Indigenous women and water.

By constructing Niibish as female, her experiences in the narrative can be read as a metaphor for the experiences of Native women under settler colonialism. As well as using the pronoun 'she' (2017b, pp.65-9), Simpson also feminises Niibish through imagery relating to birth to describe waste and pollution in the water: '[s]he is full, too full, and she's tipsy from the birth control pills, the plastics, the sewage, and the contraband that washes into her no matter what' (2017b, p.66). On a denotational level, Simpson represents the realities of contaminated waterways in Indigenous areas. As Anderson et al. explain: 'Aboriginal communities in Canada are disproportionately affected by water quality problems' (2011, p.11). Of the Great Lakes specifically, Lake Ontario contains the highest rate of plastic particles (Mason et al., 2021, p.277-288).[136] In Chapter 3, I showed how Pūku'i conveys the detrimental effects on Hawaiian women's health due to a lack of fresh water. In a similar way, Anderson et al. outline how 'water quality and security have practical and economic implications for women' particularly in 'Aboriginal communities where the relationship between women and water is seen as both sacred and deeply spiritual' (2013, p.12). In depicting this reality in her short story, however, Simpson unites the treatment of water and the treatment of Native women under the ecocidal and gynocidal logics of settler colonialism. By stating that Niibish is polluted by 'birth control pills' (2017b, p.66), Simpson alludes to the ways that the reproductive rights of Indigenous women, or even *Kwe* more broadly, have been compromised under settler colonialism. The fact that birth control pills have been forced into Niibish against her will is evocative of the experiences of Indigenous women living in North America during the 1960s and 1970s, when 'many policy makers and physicians targeted Native women for involuntary birth control and sterilization' (Ralstin

[136] It is the rising levels of pollution in the Great Lakes that prompted the 'Mother Earth Water Walks' in 2003. See: McGregor, D. (2008). Anishnaabe-kwe, traditional knowledge and water protection. *Canadian Woman Studies*, *26*(3), pp.26-30; McGregor, D. (2015). Indigenous women, water justice and zaagidowin (love). *Canadian Woman Studies*, *30*(2-3), pp.71-78).

Lewis, 2005, p.71). D. Marie Ralstin Lewis refers to the enforcement of birth control and sterilisation as a 'systematic aim at reducing the Native population' (2005, p.72) – effectively, a form of genocide enacted through eugenics and policed through Indigenous women's bodies. More than this, in the contemporary moment, contaminated water is shown to have detrimental effects on Indigenous women's ability to reproduce: '[i]n a number of Aboriginal communities in Canada where water, air, and soil pollution are of serious concern, there is evidence of reproductive health issues affecting women' (Anderson et al., 2013, p.12), including high rates of miscarriages, still births and birth defects (Anderson et al., 2013, p.12). By depicting Niibish, the lake, as female and the subject of enforced reproductive control, Simpson represents women and water as united in their experiences of settler-colonial violence.

By representing Niibish as female, Simpson uses the events of 'Big Water' as a metaphor for female survivance. In this short story, Niibish is a powerful force that purposefully floods the surrounding areas. Representing Niibish's thought process relating to the flood, Simpson writes: '*Should this be a Braxton Hicks warning or creation?*' (original emphasis, 2017b, p.68). In describing the floods as a 'Braxton Hicks warning' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.68), Simpson continues to associate Niibish and water with the female body, as Braxton Hicks refers to contractions of the uterus felt during pregnancy. Within the context of the story, the reference to Braxton Hicks contractions is a metaphor for warning the people of their destructive behaviour, conveyed via a link between water, pregnancy and birth that is central to many Indigenous epistemologies. For Anderson, water is a force of nature that influences how women perceive themselves as life givers: 'teachings about water instill a sense of responsibility among women because of their capacity to provide and sustain life' (2000, p.185). In asking if the floods should be a 'Braxton Hicks warning or creation?' (2017b, p.68), Simpson reinforces the link between women and their life-giving powers. In referencing birth in these ways, Simpson foregrounds the power of women in creation.

Simpson represents the floods as a purposeful act by Niibish to assert the presence of female agency within settler-colonial spaces. Simpson describes the vast nature of the floods:

> Five days ago she spilled over the boardwalk and flooded the Power Plant and Queens Quay […] Six days ago, she crept over the Lake Shore and drank up Union Station, and we called New York City because remember the hurricane […] she smothered the beach. She bathed the train tracks (2017b, p.66).

This flooding can be conceptualised as a form of resistance to settler colonialism as the places Simpson mentions are sites of industrialisation and the result of capitalist ventures on Indigenous land. The 'Power Plant' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.66) is a reference to destructive nuclear energy; 'Queens Quay' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.66) a centre of commerce developed over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; and 'Union Station' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.66) and the train tracks the result of nineteenth-century railway expansion. In flooding these particular spaces, Simpson reclaims colonised spaces for women through water.

Niibish represents Native, female agency that heteropatriarchy attempts to erase (L. Simpson, 2017a, p.89). In this narrative, Niibish is able to use technology to raise awareness of her current condition, and texts the narrator: 'ARE THEY GETTING IT?' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.65). By representing Lake Ontario as agentive and communicative, Simpson complicates the conventional colonial view that water is inanimate, or a natural product that can be privatised (McGregor, 2015, p.72). Anderson et al. comment that: '[t]he notion that water is alive, sentient, and can form relationships demands a different response than if we understand water as a commodity to be bought, sold and traded' (2013, p.14). By making it clear that Niibish purposefully floods the land, Simpson also critiques the notion of a 'natural disaster'. Niibish's flood is not natural, but a direct response to the way that human actions continue to pollute her. The narrator explains: '[s]he is full of sad. She wants us to see her, to see what we're doing to her, and change' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.66). In writing a narrative in which a flood occurs due to human actions, Simpson represents and responds to anthropogenic climate change that harms both the more-than-human world and Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women. Kyle Whyte explains that climate

change is 'human-caused' (2017, p.153), and 'is an intensification of environmental change imposed on Indigenous peoples by colonialism' (2017, p.153). In representing Lake Ontario as female, Simpson conveys how disasters caused by excess consumption and a lack of respect for the more-than-human world harms Indigenous women as well as water and land. Anderson et al. explain: '[w]ater that is unsafe or substandard endangers physical health and economic welfare of everyone, but in the lives of Aboriginal women and communities, water quality issues also threaten cultural and spiritual well-being' (2011, p.16). Simpson's short story emphasises the point that women and the more-than-human world are not passive victims, but have the power to retaliate and to resist further degradation under settler-colonial and capitalist systems.

The connection between *kwe* and the more-than-human world that Simpson writes of in *As We Have Always Done* is demonstrated in 'Big Water'. After stating that Niibish wants people to acknowledge the damage they are causing to her and change their engagements with the more-than-human world, the narrator states: '[t]hat's the same thing that Kwe wants' (L. Simpson, 2017b, p.66). Here, Simpson epitomises the ways in which women and water are united in their vision of a future free from oppression and exploitation. Both Kwe and Niibish refuse to be a commodity; they refuse to be used to create capital, and they refuse to be exploited. In intertwining water and Kwe/*kwe,* Simpson achieves in her fiction what she outlines in her theory:

> I use *kwe as method* to refuse and to analyze settler colonialism as a *structure of processes*. I put forth a more expansive nonhierarchical conceptualization of dispossession to include land and bodies as the meta-relationship Indigenous peoples have with the state. (original emphasis, 2017a, p.307)

In representing the pollution of Niibish as a female experience, Simpson intertwines the exploitation of land and bodies, specifically Indigenous, female bodies. In a similar vein, Niibish's flooding also represents the actualisation of Native, female power under oppressive and exploitative structures. As Anderson explains: '[r]eclaiming a connection with the earth's waters can be a particularly powerful experience for Native women' (2000, p.184). Anderson explains that by associating themselves with water, Native women 'see

themselves as key players within any community' (2000, p.185). They realise that they 'have the power and of the force of life itself. Women learn that they are adaptable, and that they are able to direct and withstand long processes of change' (Anderson, 2000, p.185). This sentiment, that water is a powerful natural force with the ability to withstand, but also incite, change, is encapsulated in Simpson's 'Big Water', specifically in relation to environmentally destructive practices. Like Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i before her, Simpson's depiction of the more-than-human world represents a form of survivance that specifically relates to the rights of Indigenous women. What is striking, however, is that instead of using women to speak for the more-than-human world, in 'Big Water', Simpson uses the more-than-human world to speak for women.

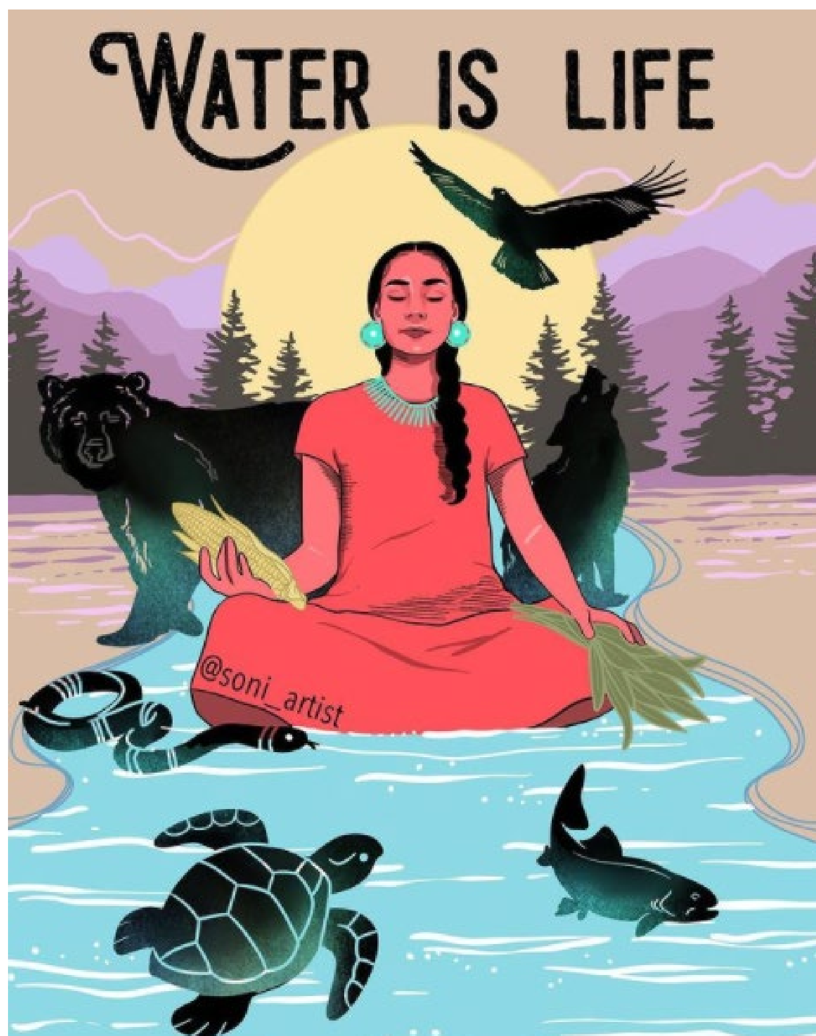

Figure 21: 'Water is Life' by Soni López-Chávez
Permission to use image kindly granted by Soni López-Chávez

4.4 Final Words: As They Always Will Do

The title of Simpson's most recent monograph, *As We Have Always Done* (2017), has gained new meaning for me as I have worked on this project. As Simpson explains: 'as long as [there] has been colonialism on our lands, there has been resistance' (2011, p.101). What Simpson conveys in her writing is that Indigenous resistance, whilst responding to various historic and political challenges and grounded in relationships to place, is a continuing and collective movement that extends beyond nations, statelines, continents, and species. Writing of grounded normativity, Simpson explains:

> Our ethical intelligence is ongoing […] I don't know it so much as an 'ethical framework' but as a series of complex, interconnected cycling processes that make up a nonlinear, overlapping emergent and responsive network of relationships of deep reciprocity, intimate and global interconnection and interdependence, that spirals across time and space. (2017a, p.36)

Simpson's explanation that grounded normativity is not limited by spatial or temporal boundaries opens up new lines of enquiry into the ongoing importance, relevance and vitality of Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's writing. Whilst my analysis is grounded in Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i's experiences of, and responses to, nineteenth- and twentieth-century settler colonialism, their focus on more-than-human relations speaks across time and space. Sium and Ritskes support this view, as they suggest that 'for Indigenous peoples, stories are open-ended processes for speaking reclamation and resurgence, dialogue and contestation, they are part of a cycle of renewal and recreation' (2013, p.VIII). Therefore, although Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i write of particular moments of settler-colonial violence, their practice of female survivance is part of an ongoing process and conversation that is continual and collective. Their expressions of survivance are part of a nonlinear practice that connects them to their ancestors and will continue into the future. Zitkala-Ša, Tekahionwake and Pūku'i thus exemplify through their writing how Indigenous women harness the power of relationships with the more-than-human world in creating a sense of Native, female presence - as they have always done, and as they always will do.

Figure 22: 'We are the Land' by Steph Littlebird.[137]

Permissions to use image kindly granted by Steph Littlebird.

[137] Writing of her artwork in personal correspondence, Steph Littlebird explained that 'Land stewardship is an integral component of Indigenous culture and there is an intrinsic connection that many Native people feel to their homeland as well as the broader landscape of the world. I use my artwork to pass on this concept 'You are the land' or 'We are the land' to my own audience and promote this idea among non-Native people, to encourage them to connect with the land… in hopes they will empathize more with issues related to the environment and those Indigenous to it'.

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