One World, Many Tribes: Transnational Imagination in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* ¹⁾

【要旨】アメリカ合衆国の先住民作家レズリー・マーモン・シルコウの小説『死者の暦』は、国境、 異なる民族や部族、文化を超えるトランスナショナルなプロットと登場人物の設定から、近年「トランスナショナル・アメリカ研究」の枠組のなかでその重要性が認識されてきている。本論文は、 『死者の暦』のトランスナショナルな面を具体的に解説した上で、トランスナショナルであるだけでなく、異なる出自の人々が物語やテクストを共有することによって「アメリカ人」としてアイデンティティを獲得しようとする典型的なアメリカ的小説でもあることを指摘している。

Introduction: Transnational American Studies and Native American Studies

For the last three decades, the transnational turn in American studies has been advocated by various international Americanists such as Amy Kaplan, Shelly Fisher Fishkin, Takayuki Tasumi, and many others. This turn has offered new perspectives, venues, and more interdisciplinary possibilities in the field, including the digital publication that specializes in transnationality in American studies, namely *The Journal of Transnational American Studies*, a publication that has opened new approaches to political and economic situations, civic activities such as environmental justice movement and anti-nuclear movement, and the development and expansion of internet information and communication system(s).²⁾

Underrepresentation of Native American perspectives in transnational American studies has been pointed out in the context of this newly emerged framework. Interest in and production of Native American Studies from the transnational perspective have followed ever since.³⁾ Native American perspectives, while often emphasizing "Native American Nationalism" and "tribalism," have brought in wider visions in terms of both time and space, putting into question the very concept of nation state and sometimes the legitimacy of specific nation states such as the United States of America.

One example is the renewed attention given to Leslie Marmon Silko's Almanac of the Dead among scholars of American studies with a transnational perspective. It is regarded as one of the important texts in the transnational context and may be analyzed with the perspectives such as eco-criticism and environmental justice literary criticism, as is demonstrated by Howling for Justice: New Perspectives on Leslie Marmon Silko's Almanac of the Dead, an anthology of scholarly essays on Almanac of the Dead. A more recent example is Kyoko Matsunaga's North American Native American Authors and "Nuclear Lit-

erature": From Apocalypse to Survivance (2019), which analyzes Almanac of the Dead as part of nuclear apocalyptic literature in a transnational context.

Centering around the fictional ancient Mayan almanac, the novel depicts the ongoing present hard times, called the era of "Death-Eye Dog" in the novel, which is characterized by ruthless exploitation of the poor and marginal in society by the rich and powerful. Both apocalyptic and frighteningly realistic, the novel also depicts various characters both within and outside the United States, many of whom cross over, challenge, and/or ignore national borders, engaging in transnational activities such as indigenous land claims movement, ecological movement, Mother Earth worship, proletarian movements that demand redistribution of wealth, and smuggling of arms and drugs as subversive actions against the United States and the Mexican governments. Towards the end of the novel, those who struggle against the greedy rich and demand justice eventually get together and plan to cooperate to overthrow the power.

The novel starts and ends in Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, where the uranium mine had once been developed because the United States military needed it to manufacture nuclear weapons, although the mine is now abandoned after "uranium prices plunged" (762). The novel illustrates the local and tribal situations along with the development and the decline of the uranium mine that has had significant impact on the local people. At the same time, it depicts how the turn of events in the Southwestern desert was transnationally connected with the fates of people in different countries in distant places, such as Japan, where the nuclear weapons were eventually used and destroyed people^{4).} The episodes of exploitation and destruction of people and community by the rich take place in different locations within and across the US border with Mexico. Resistance movements against them are also depicted. They are at first represented in mutually unrelated fragments, but eventually different groups of people start to unite despite differences of locations, situations, political creeds, and religious beliefs. The people in the resistance movements believe that "all traces of Europeans in America would disappear, and, at last, the people would retake the land" as has been predicted by the almanac as is inscribed on the map drawn by Silko⁵⁾.



In the following essay, I first try to outline this voluminous novel and then point out particular episodes and characters that are typically relevant to the transnational aspect of this novel. Then I will analyze how Silko connects the tribal, local, and indigenous, with the more all-inclusive vision of "one world with many tribes" as the title of its final part declares.

Almanac of the Dead as a novel of transnationality

The novel centers around the 60-year-old Indian twin sisters, Lecha and Zeta, who live on a ranch on the outskirts of Tucson, Arizona. They are the keepers of the ancient almanac that they inherited from their Yaqui grandmother Yoeme. The almanac contains the descriptions of historical events in a fragmented condition, which has been added and revised over time in different languages.

Among the later additions by the keepers, "Day of Deliverance" (580), Yoeme's story of resistance against the Mexican government, is one of the most recent entries. The almanac is important for the survival of indigenous people because it has informed them of "who they [are] and where they [have] come from in the stories" and "if even part of their almanac survived, they as a people would return someday" (246). It also contains prophecies of the coming of hard times and eventual disappearance of all things European.

Zeta, together with Lecha's son Ferro, smuggles drugs and arms from Mexico in cooperation with Carabazas, an old Mexican man. For them, smuggling is not just their way of making a living, but an act of resistance against the US and Mexican governments. The twin sisters and Carabazas have never accepted the authority of these governments, which they perceive were founded on land stolen from their ancestors. Nor do they accept the legitimacy of the border, which has no relevance for the indigenous population. For Zeta, the more militant of the twins, smuggling weapons is also the preparation for the war with the US government which, from Zeta's point of view, has never ended for the last 500 years. Meanwhile, Lecha, a TV and mail order psychic who specializes in locating the corpses of missing people, focuses on deciphering the fragments of the almanac, which "don't just tell you when to plant or harvest," but also "about the days yet to come—drought or flood, plague, civil war or invasion" and will make them "foresee the months and years to come—everything" (137). Lecha hires a young white woman, Seese, who came to her for help in finding her kidnapped baby son, and asks her to type the manuscript into a word processor.

At the same time, they hire Sterling, an old man from Laguna Pueblo, New Mexico, as a gardener. From Sterling, they learn that a giant stone snake suddenly appeared in Laguna Pueblo, near the now abandoned uranium mine. Because they have been warned by Yoeme about such a sign, they realize that "the cruel years" prophesied in the almanac is approaching (703).

Around these people and the almanac, and in and around Tucson, there are many characters who at first seem to have no connection to each other, but eventually gather together into a loosely formed network of resistance that demands justice and the land that they perceive is rightfully theirs. Among them are the unlikely pair of a white Vietnam veteran Roy, nicknamed "Rambo," and his African American colleague Clinton who, together, organize the "Army of the Homeless." There are indigenous spiritual and political leaders from different locations and tribes such as Wilson Weasel Tail, a lawyer and poet, Barefoot

Hopi, an activist and organizer, Rose, a Yupik Eskimo medicine woman, a group of eco-terrorists called "Green Vengeance," a Korean hacker Awa-Gee who awaits the chance to destroy the United States' power structure whose racism and imperialism he despises (729).

They get together with Zeta, Lecha, and Carabazas, at a seemingly non-political event called "The International Holistic Healers Convention," to plan simultaneous uprisings against the present power structure and to support the spiritual Mexican twin brothers, El Feo and Tacho, or "Wacah." The brothers receive messages from spirits and are marching toward the US and Mexican border, gathering more and more followers. All of the characters have their own stories, and it is implied that their stories, like Yoeme's "Day of Deliverance" story, will be part of the almanac as they are an integral part of the novel Almanac of the Dead (580). As one of the characters argues, stories accumulate momentum and power by being repeated (520).

Meanwhile, the oppressive powers these people are trying to subvert are represented by the cruel and greedy characters and episodes that include torture, rape, trafficking and abusing of drugs, exploitative sex industries that include snuff film manufacturing, "harvesting" and selling of human bodyparts, and the destruction of nature and violation of land—the most typical of which is mining uranium in New Mexico for the purpose of manufacturing nuclear weapons.

The numerous tales and conspiracies that are eventually connected with each other and show-case descriptions of exploitations reflect the transnational reality in the present world. In fact, it has been repeatedly pointed out that Silko not just described or imagined but predicted some of the real transnational incidents such as political and environmental movements, most notably of which is the Zapatista movement in Mexico⁶.

Transnational Characters and Episodes in Almanac of the Dead

The most notable example of transnationality in *Almanac of the Dead* is "the Army of the Homeless," organized by Roy and Clinton. There are, at first, disagreements between Roy and Clinton as well as among the other members of this group, which seem to be almost irredeemably divisive. Clinton is a militant black nationalist, and seems to be hostile toward everything that is related to white people. He joins Roy in organizing the homeless veterans, but does not give up his ethnocentric creed. His hatred of communism most typically represents his ethnocentric tendency, which prevents him from searching out the possibility of cross-racial coalitions. Clinton's hostility toward communism is demonstrated as follows:

Roy had found out the hard way Clinton couldn't be teased about communism. Clinton had been all over him so fast Roy hadn't even seen where the razor had come from.

"Don't ever call me that again! Don't ever say my name Clinton and communism in the same breath!" Communism was dead. Communism was a failure, and that was not Clinton was talking about. Maybe Rambo-Roy himself was the communist, Clinton said. Rambo was the one who had gone to all the rich people's houses to steal in the name of the homeless and the poor. Roy had laughed out then, at Clinton and his razor; he laughed at himself. No wonder human

beings never improved themselves over hundreds of years. He and Clinton would just as soon fight and kill each other as go to the trouble to confront a crooked politician. (412)

Roy himself is at first a military enthusiast; his identity depends on his once having been a green beret, and he continues to wear his beret after he is discharged and even after he becomes homeless. He is obviously proud to have been part of the US military. He understands the other veterans who are also proud of their military experiences. In promoting the loyalty of the homeless veterans, he relies on their belief in the United States in its ideal possibility, not on their hostility to it.

In organizing and developing the Army, however, Rambo's strategy gradually transforms into a transnational coalition. He makes use of the sense of solidarity among the veterans—and in doing so, the word "veteran" itself is transformed. His Army starts with the Vietnam veterans who are incapable of finding a place in the post-Vietnam American society, but it eventually attracts poor younger men who have never been to Vietnam but make up their veteran stories from what they learned from their relatives or from Vietnam movies. While some of the real Vietnam veterans become furious toward the pretenders, Roy decides to accept them without questioning whether their stories are true or not. "In America a man needs some kind of story to explain himself, to explain why he was here and how he had got here. The only good they would realize from that war were the stories" (397). In doing so, he reaches the insight that "they had all been casualties of that war, all Americans no matter how young, even the unborn" (398)⁷⁾.

With this understanding and with his patriotic belief that the United States has potential to become a better place, he persuades Clinton and others to be more inclusive and that their target is the capitalists who sacrifice the poor. He also uses the US military connection with Native American veterans who have returned to the reservations. Roy, Clinton, Barefoot Hopi, and Wilson Weasel Tail start planning to organize Indian reservations with the "surviving vets. . .at the core of the preparations" (742).

Clinton sympathizes with the indigenous movements not only because he identifies himself as a "black Indian" who has both African and Indian ancestors, but also because, as a black nationalist, he relates to the nationalist movements in the African continent. Being encouraged by the fact that African people took back their land from the white colonizers, Clinton believes that American Indians should be able to do the same. Eventually he redefines black nationalism to be more inclusive, and starts organizing "black Indians scattered throughout the Americas" (742). In doing so, he decides that one of his missions is to persuade other black veterans not to be "misled by fanatics or extremists screaming 'Black only! Africa only!'" (742). While Roy and other members of the "Army of the Homeless" consider Clinton "crazy" (408) because of his black nationalism, including his faith in African gods, they accept Clinton as their comrade because they understand that Clinton's hatred is aimed at the rich, and not at white people per se. One of the veterans explains that "Clinton, he's after the rich. . . he'd even go after Oprah Winfrey because the bitch is rich!" (448). Both Roy and Clinton acknowledge the risk of racial conflicts within the Army of the Homeless and even a race war. However, they eventually persuade themselves and their multi-ethnic colleagues that the economic class divide is the most important and that "battle lines will be drawn according to color: green, the color of money, the only color that had ever mattered" (406).

In spite of the risk of racial conflict and differences among them, they learn to understand each other as they decide on a more inclusive framework for their activism. Being conscious that they share the story of the original Rambo⁸⁾, a fictional Vietnam veteran who becomes homeless, they transcend their original notion of nationalism and patriotic loyalty to the US government and gain a transnational perspective. When they get together with other leaders at the International Holistic Healers Convention, they agree with the others that multi-racial and national coalition is possible and is in fact under way. By being forced into homelessness, Roy, Clinton, and others in the Army of the Homeless learn to relate to the exploited and poor in other countries, Indians who demand their stolen land, and people in Africa who successfully retrieved their native land from the colonists.

Another example is the militant revolutionary, Angelita la Escapía. She is the political leader of a Mexican village who takes advantage of the international connections with Cuban communists and those whom she ironically calls "friends of the Indians" (471). While she denies the suspicion of her neighbors that she is under the control of white Marxists, she tells them that she has learned much from Marx whom she defines as "a Jewish storyteller" and "more tribal Jew than European" who "had been inspired by reading about certain Native American communal societies, though naturally as a European he had misunderstood a great deal" (519). As Roy and Clinton have to overcome their strong anti-Marxist feeling which had prevented them from class-based solidarity, people of Angelita's village also have to overcome their hostility toward Marxism. Angelita explains Marx and Engels to her tribal members, arguing that Marx's idea of an equal society originates in his reading about Native American communal societies "in which everyone ate or everyone starved together, and no one being stood above another—all stood side by side—rock, insect, human being, river, or flower. Each depended upon the other; the destruction of one harmed all others" (520).

She persuades the local people to rise up to take back their land and successfully connects with other groups all over the world who share the same purpose. She denies the accusation of the Cuban authority that her village was "the hotbeds of tribalism and native religion" and argues that her brand of activism is, though somewhat in a tongue-in-cheek fashion, "tribal internationalism" (515). She supports El Feo and Tacho, who have started marching toward the US-Mexican border with the increasing followers, and prepares arms to defend the twins and their group from the armed forces of both the US and Mexico.

Angelita's blatant militancy, her willingness to resort to violence and weapons, and especially her decision to execute Bartholomeo, a communist organizer from Cuba, is problematic to say the least. Bartholomeo does not believe in the indigenous people's claims for the land and risks Tacho's safety in order to spread communist propaganda, and when he is tried by the tribal court, he arrogantly chooses to be his own defender and openly denies the legitimacy of his trial by insulting the villagers as "jungle monkeys and savages" (525). His cold-blooded willingness to sacrifice Tacho for his own purpose, from Angelita's point of view, is a repetition of the historical events in which Europeans and European Americans, including those who called themselves "friends of the Indians," exploited the indigenous people for their own benefits and therefore it is another example of "the crimes against people's history" (525). However, while it is partly Bartholomeo's fault that he ruins his chance to be pardoned by arrogantly justifying himself and

insulting the tribal people, Angelita's determination to execute him contradicts the pacifism of the spiritual twin brothers whom Angelita supports and undermines their claim that "all were welcome" and the reward for joining them is "peace and harmony with all living things" (710). El Feo, who basically agrees with Angelita that bloodshed will be necessary, still feels that "[s]omeone would have to think of something better to do with traitors like Bartolomeo" (532).

Bartolomeo's execution, however, produces improvement within the unified efforts of indigenous peoples and their allies. Angelita makes use of the occasion to tell the stories of the European invasions and exploitations, indigenous resistance movements against them, and explains how their resistance is related to resistance movements in the transnational and historical perspective, as do the 19th century stories of exploitation of the poor, that Karl Marx collected and tried to spread.

Her speech unifies the formally doubtful indigenous people. El Feo, the more militant of the twins, hopes that "[o]nce the people got their land back the killing would be stopped" (532). It is therefore suggested that Angelita's insistence of Bartolomeo's execution does not lead to revenge or to more blood-thirstiness among her people, as was the case of European invaders.

Thus, in spite of disagreements, differences, and distrusts that are often mutual, and while these characters do not wholeheartedly embrace each other's beliefs, these characters and groups recognize the common cause regardless of their locations or nationalities. The people in this coalition learn to connect to each other by sharing stories that are geographically and historically specific. By being shared, the individual stories, turn out to be transnational and prophetic to all.

Inclusiveness and "All Things European"

The prophecy of the "disappearance of all things European," while seemingly the most powerful slogan that unites the indigenous peoples, is also the most disturbing, since it sounds exclusive rather than inclusive and therefore seems to contradict the momentum toward the convergence in the novel's final part, called "One World, Many Tribes." In fact, some early reviews blamed the novel for encouraging hostility toward European Americans⁹⁾. As many reviewers and critics, as well as Silko herself, reassures us, however, it does not mean the genocide of everyone who are from Europe or of European descent. In the context of *Almanac of the Dead*, "European" means the history of invasion and exploitation as well as the Western view of the nature. The twin brothers invite those people who are descendants of invaders from Europe to be indigenized by being connected with the land, by realizing that they are inseparable from the land, and that the earth is not something to conquer, own, exploit, and destroy for profit, but the sacred Mother Earth. Their creed is explained as follows:

The people came from all directions, and many claimed they had been summoned in dreams. Wacah had proclaimed all human beings were welcome to live in harmony together. People from tribes farther south, peasants without land, mestizos, the homeless from the cities and even a busload of Europeans, had come to hear the spirit macaws speak through Wacah. The

faithful waited quietly by their sleep shelters and belongings. ... All were welcome. It was only necessary to walk with the people and let go of all the greed and the selfishness in one's heart. One must be able to let go of a great many comforts and all things European; but the reward would be peace and harmony with all living things. All they have to do was return to Mother Earth. No more blasting, digging, or burning (709-710)

Silko, in one interview, claims that this sense of nature is what makes people join the indigenous, and that some of the immigrants from Europe have been influenced and transformed by living in the Americas. She states in "Listening to the Spirits: and Interview with Leslie Marmon Silko," that the 19th century transcendentalists, such as Henry David Thoreau, are the symptom of this transformation.

Even to this day, I point to American Transcendentalism as a sign of what the old prophecies say about the strangers who come to this continent. The longer they live here, the more they are being changed. Every minute the Europeans, and any other immigrants from any other place, come on to the Americas and start walking on this land. You get this dirt on you and you drink this water, it starts to change you. Then your kids will be different, and then the sprits start to work on you.

...And the links with Whitman, and with Thoreau, with earth and land and animals—it's my evidence to the world of the change that's already happening. The Europeans come to this land, and the old prophecies say, not that the Europeans will disappear, but the purely European way of looking at this place and relationships. So the American Transcendentalists, they're the first important sign that this is already underway. ("Listening to the Spirits," 180)

Seese is a good example of such transformation. By typing the fragmented ancient almanac into the word processor, she learns indigenous history, as well as the stories of the people she lives with. Seese also learns from Starling stories of "famous criminals" that he read in cheap crime magazines, but his version of the stories of the "famous criminals" such as Geronimo is connected to his own past and presents not just famous individuals but the systematic exploitation of the poor and powerless by the rich. By learning these stories, Seese eventually accepts the fact that her son was brutally murdered by a snuff-film producer, and the story of the loss of her son blends in with the other stories in the almanac. Thus, her sense of loss and sorrow becomes part of the history that the almanac reserves for future readers. She learns to share anger and desire for justice with the indigenous population and eventually becomes a member of the indigenous resistance group that include Zeta, Lecha, and Ferro, who, toward the end of the novel, leave Tucson together to join the other indigenous people in South Dakota. Whether she should go along with the others as part of the group does not even come up as a question. Their escape parallels with one of the episodes in the almanac, in which the indigenous children escape north from the destroyers to save the almanac. This parallelism suggests that the story of their escape, as well as the Seese's story, will eventually become part of the almanac as its integral part.

As Seese's case shows, transnationality is achieved by people sharing their stories. Roy and Clinton share their own war stories with their Army of the Homeless. Clinton learns the stories of his black Indian ancestors and stories of indigenous victory against colonizers in Africa, all of which help him relate transnationally to different groups of people. Angelita learns the stories of the poor people, including children who were starving and cruelly worked to death, collected and retold by Marx, "a tribal man and storyteller" (521), as Silko details in the following quote:

Marx with his primitive devotion to the workers' stories. No wonder the Europeans hated him! Marx had gathered official government reports of the suffering of English factory workers the way a tribal shaman might have, feverishly working to bring together a powerful, even magical, assembly of stories. In the repetition of the workers' stories lay great power; Workers must never forget the stories of other workers. The people did not struggle alone. Marx, more tribal Jew than European, instinctively knew the stories, or "history," accumulated momentum and power. No factory inspector's "official report" could whitewash the tears, blood, and sweat that glistened from the simple words of the narratives (521)

Together with these few examples of the characters with their local incidents and local concerns, *Almanac of the Dead* as a whole demonstrates how transnational consciousness formulates as various people share their stories and learn the stories of others. The vision of the disappearance of all things European does not include disappearance of people of European dissent. It in fact includes cultural and political traits of Europe and will develop the all inclusive "one world" from there.

Conclusion: Almanac as Transnational and American Novel

The importance of *Almanac of the Dead* as a transnational text is obvious. However, I would argue that its importance lies in the fact that it is both transnational and American. In fact, it should still be read as a typically American novel: a narrative that attempts to present an American identity. It actually illustrates what American identity is with newly acquired transnational consciousness.

The most obvious clue to read *Almanac of the Dead* as an American novel is its very title and the way the whole novel is centered around the fictional almanac. While it supposedly originated in Mayan culture and has been kept among the indigenous, it reminds us of another almanac that has been considered the most originally American publication by the author who is often called Mr. America, that is Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Containing anecdotes and wisdom added to the margins of its scientific descriptions of the days of the year, it eventually developed to present what the colonists of his time perceived as one of the most famous representations of the "American character¹⁰." While Silko's novel successfully deconstructs the centrality of the United States as the only source of identity, loyalty, and imagination, and while it emphasizes how indigenous politics and cultures have influenced the European immigrants and their descendants, it seems also true that the book records how one becomes American. It is

another story of being included and becoming part of the group regardless of their race, class, or the place of origin, which still has a strong appeal. It may be said that Europeans and European Americans, searching for a way to be "Americanized," as Benjamin Franklin did, have also tried to develop transnational imagination, which may not be totally unlike that of Silko. And *Almanac of the Dead*, while firmly acknowledging the history of European invasion and exploitation of the Americas, has shown us the possibility that it can be read alongside the stories of European immigrants and their descendants, who also struggled to define "who they were and who they were going to be."

Notes

- 1) This essay is a revised and expanded version of the oral presentation for the workshop "The Transpacific Overtures: The Black Atlantic and Settler Colonialism II" at the American Studies Association's annual conference at Kita Kyushu University in June, 2018. I express my gratitude to the American Studies Association that made my presentation possible, as well as my fellow panelists, commentators, and participants of the workshop.
- 2) For the development of transnational American Studies, see, for examples, Shigeo Fujimoto's "Transnational Historical Studies in the United States and Ian Tyrrell's Transnational Nation" and The Routledge Companion to Transnational American Studies.
- 3) See, for example, Robert Warrior's "Native American Scholarship and the Transnational Turn" and Bryce Traister's "The Object of Study; or, Are We Being Transnational Yet?"
- 4) The connection of the uranium mines in the Southwest with the indigenous population and the use of atomic bombs in Japan is also depicted in Silko's first novel, *The Ceremony*, but in *Almanac of the Dead*, it is presented in a more complex and multi-dimensional way. For the reference of nuclear weapons in Silko's works, including the *Ceremony* and *Almanac of the Dead*, as well as the overview of the indigenous nuclear literature, see Kyoko Matsunaga's *American Indigenous Writers and Nuclear Literature: From Apocalypse to Survivance*.
- 5) The prophecy that "things European" or "the Europeans" would disappear from the Americas is also mentioned on pp. 316, 503, 511, 631, 632, and 712.
- 6) For Silko's "prophecy" of the Zapatista movement in *Almanac of the Dead*, see Joni Adamson's "¡Todos Somos Indios!" Revolutionary Imagination, Alternative Modernity, and Transnational Organizing in the Work of Silko, Tamez, and Anzaldúa."
- 7) I would suggest that Silko is influenced by Maxine Hong Kingston's definition of veterans as is presented in Kingston's "Introduction: Tell the Truth, and So Make Peace.".
- 8) First Blood is a 1982 Hollywood film based on the novel of the same title written by David Morrell (1972) and directed by Ted Kotcheff. It presents the story of a homeless Vietnam veteran, Rambo, who has to rely on his military survival skills in order to defend himself against a misguided manhunt by the police of a small town.
- 9) See, for example, the reviews of *Almanac of the Dead* such as "Multicultural Rhetoric Echoes That of Hitler" by Caroline Miranda and "An Inept 'Almanac of the Dead" by Alan Ryan.
- 10) For the examples of the formation of American identity in the American Revolutionary period, see, for example, Gordon S. Wood's *The Americanization of Benjamin Franklin*.

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