Indigenous Women's Rivered Refusals in El Calaboz

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Abstract: This essay examines how Indigenous peoples trouble nation-state borders, and how the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, and official histories, affect the community of El Calaboz, Texas. It showcases Ndé epistemology and ways of remembering through rivering ancestral relationships to place, language, and family. Through concrete knowledge-making sites like weaving, storytelling, and pictographs, the essay demonstrates an Indigenous refusal of dispossession in the borderlands.

Key Terms: Native American dispossession; Indigenous epistemology; Apache; Memory; Oral tradition; Post-9/11; Borderlands

Since legalization and enforcement of the 9/11 homeland security state, and construction of walled containment structures along existing U.S. militarized borders, the ongoing experiences of Indigenous peoples who refuse to leave ancestral lands bifurcated by border and wall structures have been excessively marginalized. This, despite attempts by academics to analyze and raise awareness of en masse dispossession, violent methods utilized by the state, and human rights violations exerted in the stripping away of Indigenous lands along the Texas-Mexico border (see Gilman; Guzmán, et al.; Garrett; Dorsey and Díaz-Barriga; Eagle Woman; Ibsen; Miller; and Nedderman, for example).1

Long before the wall catastrophe, Ndé (Lipan Apache)2 homelands were bifurcated multiple times by numerous European and Euro-Native American groups (Tamez 2010). In small, rural communities on the north shore of the Lower Rio Grande River, Indigenous memory called attention to deeper meanings and roots of Indigenous peoples' refusal of dispossession. In the community El Calaboz, a memory of refusal and standing firm is connected to the present through more than twenty generations of Indigenous protection and defense of intrinsic relationships with ancestral, customary place. The struggle to do so, however, is often obscured hand-in-glove with stock narratives, the "set of standard, typical or familiar stories held in reserve to explain racial dynamics in ways that support the status quo" (Bell 29). Also known as pionner myth, lore, and creed, these are powerful narratives underpinning the modern nation-state which perpetuate settler-colonialist ideologies of colonization, conquest, and manifest destiny. Of significance are underseen and underappreciated "concealed stories" (43) of Indigenous resilience in the southern Texas and northeastern Mexico regions. State and corporate-run media distort, obscure, and marginalize Indigenous voices and decolonial resistance, which "narrate the ways race differentially shapes life experiences and opportunities, disputing the unblemished tales ... propagated by stock stories" (43).


A vivid and prolific oral tradition articulated in various mediums and modalities that the wall was not the first obstruction to Ndé individual and collective land rights and self-determination. Indigenous peoples' memory and storied landscapes, remembered and retold during the border wall legal conflict, re-emplaced an Indigenous pluricultural perspective to relationships with, and of a homeland, strongly implying Ndé place is much more than real estate or property. Rather, Ndé homeland...
connotes a spirit, memory, story-filled embodied Indigenous territory with a detailed oral, remembered and written record of ancestral belonging, presence, and resistances to occupation and destruction.

Remembering in El Calaboz is a collective system of knowing held by Ndé peoples in relational kinship structures with Nahua, Tlaxcalteca, Comanche, Kiowa, Kickapoo, Jumano and related peoples. As such, the Lower Rio Grande River is a vital center for peoples with millennial relations passed down predating European invasion and occupation of Kónitsqálikottyaa—Ndé peoples’ homeland in the Big Water Country—and continuity, not extinction as traditional stock narratives insisted.

Ndé principles of land-water-sky as sentient, sustenance and teacher—not “property”—shapes the contours of inquiry into Ndé peoples’ (broadly) and Ndé isdzánye (Lipan Apache women’s) relationships with, and knowledge of, principles, ethics, and beliefs as a system of laws emergent from land-kinship relationships. The resurgence of the concept of homeland regained firm ground as Elders in the community of El Calaboz refused the U.S. government access to ancestral lands to construct the wall. Their vocal protests against the government’s abuses of power to acquire lands through coercive, armed, and legal approaches alerted river-hugging Indigenous communities of the need to band together in land defense, sparking an aggressive chain of litigations by the federal government (Tamez 2008; 2011).

While my inquiry is firmly situated in 9/11, anti-terror and homeland security tactics, including underhanded effects upon Indigenous peoples in the shadow of the wall, Indigenous story, imparting a methodology for balanced remembering, is cleaved in traumatic memory associated with colonial violence. Often deceptively, coercively, and forcibly, Big Water Country was taken through armed force by organized groups and institutions, from representatives of the Spanish monarchs and the inter-related Roman Catholic Empire, to a subsequent mining and ranching society, cotton and citrus cultivators, and since the 20th century, oil, gas, and uranium developers. The theft of Ndé homelands and the subjugation of Ndé sovereignty has occurred as a social-political-economic process. A long legal and cartographic erasure, vis-à-vis constant war, constructed and targeted La Gran Apachería (a colonial concept denoting the military occupation of Ndé place and space, instituted through European reconnaissance, cartography, and mining laws). The subsequent Anglo-American westward movement into Ndé heartlands appropriated and re-narrated Apachería as a monstrous space, ripe with settler anxiety.

El Calaboz, the earthen dug-out dungeon, embodies—through lenses of Spanish, Mexican and Texan militarism, and Anglo-Scot-Irish-Téjano settler domination—the settler’s carceral imaginary of Apache dissidence, and slave capitalism. Throughout these formations, river peoples banded together, forged intimate bonds, and held to familiar places.

Now, 9/11 is an entry point where my involvement in El Calaboz made a turn from poetry-of-witness and embodiment to Indigenous poetic and cognitive method as a critique of genocidal processes. The term “9/11” memorializes the aggressive, unilateral (re)Americanization of El Calaboz as a conquest story; 9/11 never sleeps and is always hungry. A gulag wall in Ndé homelands re-assures mainstream America that Americanism is best expressed as colossal carceral architecture. A national tool, an arrogant repudiation, the wall invokes an inverse/perverse/subversive American Indian history situating a Ndé homelands at the hemispheric edge, a space of abjection between violated treaties, genocidal violence, and American proclivity for amnesia. Within that triangulation, Ndé continuity was never addressed by the hegemonic system. The wall stands where it stands due to a “lack of metrics to know if we are winning or losing the global war on terror,” according to Donald Rumsfeld (2005), who asked:

Does [the U.S. Department of Defense] need to think through new ways to organize, train, equip and focus to deal with the global war on terror? Are the changes we have and are making too modest and incremental? My impression is that we have not yet made truly bold moves, although we have made many sensible, logical moves in the right direction, but are they enough?

Ndé river peoples’ stories do more than exist. Surrounded by architecture of the early 19th century, Nahua cemeteries and ranchitos, and once vibrant Ndé cornfields, hunting grounds and lively trading posts, run by Ndé-Comanche women, Ndé storytellers confront the gaze of
colonial reconnaissance missions which sought to excavate mineral ore: Scot-Irish-German occupations, seeking with barbed-wire metrics to dislocate and obstruct. At the outskirts of El Calaboz, at Palo Alto Battlefield, a National Historical Park official marker provides a stock story of Texan-American victorious battles against stock Indian and Mexican raiders, horse thieves, and murderers. Digging deeper to the root of Indigenous historical perspectives, Ndé narratives disclose how normative history, heroic settler wars and conquest, masks violence and Indigenous defenses. This essay explores Ndé rivered refusals shared by Elders through oral history, poetics, textile, painting, and traditional knowledge.

HISTORICALLY MARGINALIZED

Conducting interviews with Elders, back and forth across Highway 281 South, I came to re-read the highway as tethered to an underlying archaeology of the Camino Militar, and to the U.S. overthrow of Indigenous uprisings against occupation in 1915 (Tamez 2010).

Ndé Elders and women stretch the imaginary of indigeneity to the hemispheric edges of North American Indian studies. Survivor stories stretch the limits of our thinking about purported unrecognition. At this edge, Elders cope with and process hemispheric violence felt as river peoples—not as Apaches, which in their lived and felt reality is a colonial and military construct that was used to homogenize the dispossession of their ancestors. The oral tradition and memory occupy a space where Ndé didn’t fully assimilate, and didn’t let go of belonging in the river world. But, in this place, a majority pushed nefarious memories underground. Some are now re-emerging with resurgent knowledge drawn up from within a collective well.

In El Calaboz, working alongside Elders and knowledge-keepers offered me insights and tools for establishing a critical understanding of historically marginalized Indigenous Elders through important land defense practices and traditions. Indigenous Elders and families who have remained in unceded homelands, despite colonial conditions, are situating their legacies of refusing annihilation and assimilation. Explored are the interlocking foundations of refusing to leave ancestral place, the art and poetics of enduring the disavowal imposed by unrecognized (an ongoing form of U.S. colonization) and deployed by societies and states, and responsibility to remember, revitalize and enact Ndé beingness and belongingness.

The importance of Indigenous memory of place, being, and belonging is exemplified in the sister communities of El Calaboz and El Ranchito-La Encantada. The textile arts and oral teachings of Margarita "Chavela" Rodríguez, the genealogical record-keeping of Román Esparza de Motezuma, and land-law protection of Eloisa García Tamez, underlie the refusal of dispossession and displacement. Elders provide pathways to recover and co-create concepts, tools, histories, and methodologies of Ndé-related intermarried peoples, peoplehood and place.

RIVERING OF PLURICULTURAL MEMORY

Pluricultural Indigenous peoples of Kónitsqáigokiyaa ndé, the Big Water Country Peoples, internalized a deep rivering of memory, rooted in intimate relationships in birth places, ancestral burial sites, and sites of killing which abut cosmological sites where ancestors/storied their being and belonging with earth-sky-time. Pluricultural kinship is rivered into the Ndé through profound responsibility to place. Elders emphasize alliances, agreements, ancestors, and identity as values.

Indigenous peoples of Kónitsqáigokiyaa, forced to drive inherent beliefs, values, culture, identity and memory underground, are determined to survive Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon domination. Elders insist the Ndé will be strengthened through remembering and revalorizing the teachings of Usn (Creator), Bi'kego'idnázc (Enemy Killer), Isanaklesh (White Painted Woman) and their protection of Earth and Sky. Elders live and enact upon spirituality, dreams, and land teachings, which help them to appreciate ancestors who made the ultimate sacrifices to protect kinship, Earth, and extended relations. Sacrifices and suffering, related to genocidal violence which occurred in 1872-73, 1910-1916, and 1938 (see Margo Tamez 2010), are always at the edges of discussions with the Elders. In respect of the Elders' generosity with oral histories in my earlier work, here I privilege Ndé women's pluricultural knowing and genealogies of belonging which predate and have endured European, Mexican, Texan, and American colonization.

ROOT RELATIONSHIPS

In late spring of 2013, I made my annual return to my maternal birthplace and homeland, Kónitsqáigokiyaa ndé, home also to Lipan Apache territory, the Lower Río Grande River valley, or, in modern industrial capitalist terms, the Texas-Mexico border. Research in community
was based in understanding Ndé identity, colonization, and resistance, connected to ongoing development of Ndé poetry as a decolonization, justice, and truth-telling tool. In poetry and oral history research, I’ve traced and recuperated knowledge about persecutory wars against Ndé existence, Ndé place names in the region, and Ndé resistances (Tamez 2007; 2010). Ndé homelands are unceded lands, forcibly occupied by European, settler, and successor states. In other places, I contended that Ndé lands, kinship, spirits-minds-bodies, memories, holy and customary places were colonized and exploited in a genocidal context (Tamez 2008; 2011; 2012).

Customarily, grandmothers, mothers and children shared lands in river contexts. Ndé have survived colonization through flexible, pluri- cultural relations and by crisis-crossing the Rio Grande and interconnected rivers, streams, lakes, and lagoons in water sheds dissected by New Mexico, Louisiana borders, and Mexico borders.

Ndé land holds creation stories, languages, cosmology, and experiences reflecting a rivered relational sphere; the river has always been essential to life and human activity. Myriad human groups have needed the river and used its gifts for subsistence and healing purposes. For instance, the Ndé Big Water Country traditionally consisted of numerous Ndé interwoven, cultural relational spheres. These spatialized spiritual-social-economic-political relationships are forged through kinship, intermarriage, and exchange. Coahuiltecan-Ndé, Jicarilla-Ndé, Jumano-Ndé, Tonkawa-Ndé, Tlaixacteca-Ndé, Nahua-Ndé, Huasteca-Ndé, Jumano-Ndé, Mescalero-Ndé, Comanche-Ndé, Kiowa-Ndé, Basque-Ndé, Irish-Ndé, Anglo-Ndé, and African-Ndé kinship emerged through Indigenous peoples’ free will prior to colonization. And these social spheres continued asserting a consciousness of free will. Pluricultural bonds became crucial in colonial sites of crisis (Tamez 2010).

RIVER EPIDEMIOLOGY

Similar to the way nature operates in other Indigenous nations, the river ecology and diversity of lands significantly influenced Ndé relational protocols. As Elders stated frequently, “the river is life.” Profoundly shaped by rivering, a vibrant water-food system instilled a deep reverence, patience, and respect in Ndé river peoples to maintain peace and avoid unnecessary bloodshed.

An Indigenous rivering epistemology still exists today: a dynamic knowing and being within rivered places shape Ndé knowledge, its foundations and scope in social spheres deeply affected by borders, militarization, and nonrecognition. Rivering ways flow and swell, ebb and swirl in whirlpooled currents across space, time, and place. However, safety within rivered place has changed dramatically in recent years by disruptive and destructive forces.

The rivering of human concepts, thought, movement, and relationships being rivered to place is of utmost importance amongst Elders. Many Ndé Elders live long into their 90s, and in their historical perspectives, ancestral land was only recently barbed, gridded, and separated—physically and legally—preventing contiguous Ndé land relationships. Since the establishment of the border in 1848, Ndé footprints, voices, laughter, and stories have been radically stripped from touching the broader Ndé cultural landscape.

Still unceded today, Ndé traditional and historical territory is regioned into U.S. and Mexico national, state, municipal, military, and private property regimes. These systems, however, obscure a continuing Ndé rivering presence—rural and urban—and Ndé persistence to maintain connections to ancestral lands as Originarios, First Peoples.

NONRECOGNITION IS A RIVERED NdÉ NARRATIVE

Settler colonial ideologies of superiority, reproduced by successor nation-states, continue to project dominant groups’ political economy in southern Texas with relationship to land and power. The settler constitution at the root of modern-day Texas does not honor Indigenous peoples’ longer history enacting land defense, sovereignty, and international diplomacy through treaties and Crown land grants. While Indigenous peoples throughout Big Water Country invite equitable power relations, and many are in pursuit of U.S. federal recognition, some river-based peoples seek recognition on their own terms, through self-determination as recognized in international law (Dulitzky and Tamez 2012).

Since 2007, it has been possible to construct a more critical understanding of the effects of capitalism, individualism, racism, sexism, misogyny, and race supremacy on the peoples marginalized by these systems. In Ndé extended families, a need to publically debate colonial policies of continuing dispossession and nonrecognition, and public refusals against state violence and land
theft reproducing colonial relations, has led to increased militarization.

Nonrecognition of Indigenous peoples' belonging to place and homelands is a rivered Indigenous narrative. Ndé collective will for self-determination is a headwater spring in a dark, underground hollow of consciousness, from a matrilineal constellation of streams coursing together in collective thought, forming channels, riverbanks, floodplains, and deltas of belonging, establishing wetlands and resacas of persistence, flowing sand and sediment of storytelling, and regenerating nesting grounds of resurgence.

Nonrecognition and genocidal processes undergirding the Texas-Mexico border has subsumed Indigenous place and peoplehood in Big Water Country. Further, normative and assimilative processes render Indigenous resistance to these as quixotic, regressive, or hopeless.

A rhetoric of domination is lodged in the narratives of the border wall and the recognition regimes. The official U.S. position does not refute Ndé presence, but rather, shuns Ndé memory and evidence of title and treaties along the Lower Rio Grande. U.S. settler logic, thus, insists that Indigenous title holders must relinquish lands for protecting the nation through walled “security,” invoking the Patriot Act, Secure Fence Act and the Declaration of Taking (see Gilman 2012).

Elders responded to the State’s repudiation of Indigenous title with documented oral history, Crown grants, and treaties enacted between Indigenous peoples and colonialists. The Elders invoked the responsibilities and duties inherited through lineal blood lines and customary land protection practices.

Indigenous storytelling laid the foundations for legal documentation. Experts reconciled oral tradition with archival and genealogical collections across 20 generations (Dulitzyk and Tamez 2012). Indigenous sovereignty along the Texas-Mexico border was never voluntarily relinquished, surrendered, nor ceded. In 2007, during the government’s first wave attempting to force Indigenous owners off their lands, the Elders with knowledge of historical legal mechanisms with colonials, settlers, and their successor states questioned the legitimacy of the U.S. threats to take the lands. In the minds of Elders and lineal descendants of treaty signatories, the onus of proof to title lay upon the U.S. In Indigenous peoples’ spaces, the question was: “Where's the bill of sale?” In other words, Indigenous peoples with local documentation of inherent title demanded the State prove it had ever purchased the territorial title from Indigenous sovereigns, either prior to or after 1848—when the U.S. and Mexico obstructed Indigenous peoples’ inherent legal positions as third parties to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Six years after the wall construction, the U.S. has not produced substantive proof of its claim to ownership, casting serious doubt upon the State’s claim to sovereignty in unincorporated communities along the Lower Rio Grande. In the Ndé case, the State’s claim that its border evidences national sovereignty, and its alleged right to condemn and take unceded Indigenous lands, casts shadows on its claim to sovereign immunity from prosecution of the many human rights violations committed in the process (Gilman).

Hand-in-glove with the States’ denial of recognition, a boots-on-the-ground, gun, and drone-wielding settlement manages non-ceding Indigenous peoples in a space of abjection. Walled in an open-air containment, Indigenous peoples’ experiences contradict the rhetoric of inclusion professed by the multicultural development state. Its descriptors for Indigenous peoples in the Texas-Mexico region are a catalog of signs denoting the settlement’s regularized minimization of Originarios as minorities, populations, border peoples, Mexican-Americans, and Native Americans. These aggregates submerge the Ndé legally into perpetually invisible identities without juridical personality. However, a shifting within the unrecognized, rising out from darkness, perceived as a threat to the status quo, is shattering the mesmerization of the colonizers’ distorting lenses.

Ndé beingness pushes against empty signifiers in the corral, and posits the bankrupt signifiers are part of a larger oppressive force of a violent multicultural state. In the words of an elder: “Civil rights never came to us down here.” Indeed, exploitative oil, gas, uranium, cotton, cattle and related extractive development continued throughout the 60s, 70s, 80s, and 90s.

KÔNITSÀQÌJìGOKÌYAA

In Kônisqaqligokîyaa, Earth and Sky are woven with Elders' memories of connectedness to place, prayerful living, dreaming, feasting, songs, and dances, births, coming of age, deaths and spirit journeys. Ndé affective ties to kinship offers insights into a legacy and pride in countless heroic stands against aggressive governmentality. In turn, colonialism’s disruption of land-based kinship instilled
an intergenerational legacy of broken spirits, ruptured families, despair, disillusion, and traumatic memory of land defense. Like many Indigenous communities in the industrialized north, Ndé experienced the internalized effects of anti-Indigenous policies; ethnic, race, tribe, and family anxiety/crisis, physical subjugation, and diminishing (being made to feel that being Indigenous to a place is dirty, devious, valueless, insignificant, irrelevant), and being made to believe these are universal truths. These have disabling effects on Ndé mental/spiritual well-being.

Recovering Ndé storytelling traditions and language revalidates a land and people full of lightning, thunderclouds, warmth, rain, moonlight, starlight, butterflies, song birds, white-tail deer, rattlesnakes, pronghorn antelope, javelinas, ocelots, turkey, and diyit gochish ndé (lightning power people). In story, everything and everyone is nizhoni (beautiful); nizhoni is so because Usan blessed the land and people with diyit gochish (lightning power). Positive Ndé stories of riveted relationships can change individual and collective worldviews.

In story, Elders’ experiences of exclusion during the late 19th and 20th centuries create structures for establishing intergenerational oppression and trauma as major concerns. A burden of internalized grief, loss and shame was transmitted to Elders from their parents, and other Elders. These are (re)cycled into current generations’ ears, spirits, and bodies. The root of this problem is lodged in anti-Indigenous thought, law and policy inculcated and reinforced by state and society.

At the heart of refusal to dispossession is the realization that the Ndé cannot be well, cannot be Ndé, under nonrecognition. Further, Ndé women’s knowledge alone cannot combat entrenched settler-colonialism and its legacy of violence. Legal responsibilities, redress, and reparation are necessary to bring balance to Ndé and Kónitsaŋikyiyaa. The resiliency of Ndé narratives refusing dispossession over generations, offers an empowering perspective about Ndé and related Indigenous peoples’ individual and collective being. Ndé storying might also empower settler Texan-Americans searching for truth.

Elders such as Margarita Chavela Rodríguez and Eloisa García Tamez provide narratives exemplifying Ndé value systems and remembering. These necessary foundations are decolonizing family and kinship from prevailing heteropatriarchal behaviors which maintain colonialist and discriminatory nonrecognition.

**IN THE DUNGEON**

El Calaboz, according to Elders, meant “underground, earthen, dug-out dungeon,” and intimates a dug-in, felt story of inter-group, interpersonal, and structural violence played out in the broader context of imperialism, colonialism, and settler domination. Refusal in El Calaboz is rooted in the Indigenous women’s continuum of resisting the modern state at the intersection of Texas, the U.S., and Mexico. Being and belonging is structured by Ndé whose extended kinship did not flee, nor were entirely displaced—physically, socially, spiritually or emotionally—after the 1872 Remolino Massacre and the 1910-1915 killing fields of settlers, ranchers, farmers, and land speculators (Tamez 2010).

Riveted remembering is useful for disaggregating the homogenizing, state-centric narrative which minimizes Ndé continuity and historical struggles for survival, autonomy and self-determination. Indigenous women’s experiences and knowledge, reclaimed and revalorized in the shadow of the U.S. wall, is inherently a refusal against settler, patriarchal and oligarchic oppression. Ndé women’s continuity as landholders contradicts the Western construction of Lipan Apaches/Apaches Lipanes on various terms, including: destroyed, conquered, dispersed, and vanished peoples. Crucially, women’s land-tenure unveils the root source of Ndé true law, not in tribal councils subjugated underneath U.S. sovereignty, but rather in Ndé women’s ancestral, lineal, and legal rights to spiritual, cultural, economic, and political relationships in Kónitsaŋikyiyaa. Dialogues with Eloisa García Tamez, Chavela Rodríguez, and Román Esparza (de Moctezuma) in 2014, 2013, and 2012 narrate Ndé persistence at land-memory-law.

In the following sections, Ndé who remained and refused to leave provide evidence of the complexity of belonging in Big Water Country. Women’s and kinship-based memory of place confronts normative, assimilationist versions of Texas-American history. Intergenerational trauma, violence, and intimidation are foundations of Ndé women’s history still dominantly unquestioned by society and state.

**A COLLECTIVE HERENCIA**

During my last visit with Margarita “Chavela” Rodríguez (my maternal grandfather’s only sibling, age 93), she offered regalitos of remembering as a collective herencia. Chavela’s oral history of El Calaboz and all
surrounding lands on both sides of the river conveyed images of her generation's relationship to place and space before the community was contained by surrounding municipalities, highways, and the physically militarized river area shared with Mexico.

Like many in her generation, Chavela conceptualized familial and familiar place like a constellation memory archive of time-place-being, founded upon extended kinship, intermarriage, place of birth, places one establishes residence, and place of burial. To Chavela, El Calaboz is located relationally, throughout southern Texas, southwestern Texas, and northern Mexico "en cuanto ... por lo que los ojos pueden ver ... en todos lados y lugares" (as far as the eyes can see in all directions). Chavela's cognitive-kinship mind map laid a foundation for me to understand dramatic disruptions to Indigenous place since 1920, approximately the year of her birth. Her lens guided my inquiry into matrilineal perspectives of identity, land tenure, and relationship of her family to places of nurturance, sustenance and teachings. In the Big Water Country, these are transmitted by women, parents and grandparents to each other and to children. Her mother was her primary teacher: "Mi madre hizo de todo y me enseñó todo lo que era el jefe en estas tierras porque sabía todo acerca de sus dones" (My mother did everything and taught me everything [because] she was the boss over these lands because she knew everything about their gifts) (Rodriguez).

Román Esparza, a lineal descendent of Nahua Originarios (whose descendants co-founded late colonial societies with Basque-Tlaxcaltecan military in the mid-19th century), provided important insights into El Calaboz kinship. A meticulous documenter, Esparza offered insights into Indigenous Catholicism, maís, hunting and foraging, labor, feasts, and strategic trans-river alliances. "When we were children, the families would have many camps in different areas—along the river, between the river and the rancheria—and they went back and forth like that, from one place to the other, all year long" (Esparza).

Seasonal rounds were kinship responsibilities. Román's stories demonstrated that at times, his Nahua ancestors were in tension with Nde social spheres with regard to land use. Román's tutelage, however, dominantly portrayed a large, community-based kinship system, linking peoples from Tenochtlan and Tlaxcala to Nde Kónitsqaligikiyaa.

Likewise, Eloisa García Tamez shared stories of land-based oral history. She transmitted insights into ecologically-based healing practices of Nde-Nahua and Nde-Comanche women. Tamez conveyed challenges women faced in maintaining kinship bonds between women, especially as patriarchal institutions disrupted land-tenure, language, traditional arts, and economy. Kinship bonds and cultural diversity strengthened the extended family's continued existence, diplomacy efforts, land protection, and ethics in a culturally and ecologically diverse rivered environment.

In truth, the so-called Apache world, traditionally conveyed by Euro-centric writing as defined solely (and monolithically) by reservation-based peoples, is a portrayal which eclipses a significant number of Nde outside reservations pursuing continuity after the so-called American conquest of the border region. At best, the canonical "Apache" world is one portraying limited, partial truths, and one which biases a militarized construction of Apaches, past and present. In a rivered environment, at the margins of a militarized universalism, a pluriverse of relational spheres coexists overshadowed by normative history. In El Calaboz, I posit that the "Apache" petting zoo is closed and critical Nde methodology is emergent.

**RIVERING A NDÉ METHODOLOGY**

In keeping with Nde pictorial writing systems throughout Kónitsqaligikiyaa, Nde methodologies emerge in dissonant, disruptive, and iconographic ways. Pictorial narrative counter-balances voluminous legal briefs which, until recently, dominated how Indigenous women in El Calaboz were forced to position refusal.

Nde poetry, visual art, and spiritually-based aesthetic systems instead offer productive forms of communication which sustain rivered, culturally safer spaces for Nde "storywork" (Archibald). The creative-action and spirit-healing-based approaches to being and belonging instill respect and nurturing for the "cultural ways that stories were told [...], that storytellers learned the stories not only from master storytellers, but also by being closely connected to land, that stories can become a teacher, and that we can live life through stories" (101). Building upon Archibald, I posit Nde culturally-based revitalization is a methodology that valorizes "going to the people and their stories" (107) in Nde rivered places which have been hidden, driven underground, rejected, and/or vilified. Nde methodologies are "establishing relationships and taking directions from Elders," and are "enacting responsibility [...] essential to being culturally ready to work with..."
Elders” (108). Ndé methodologies valorize and validate the Indigenous pluriverse of Indigenous women's knowing through “life-experience stories” (112) which promote critical thinking, growth and transformation.

The Ndé conceptual participatory action approach, *ilahaleedáté nakh’été’áth béodaazjít*, (gathering together relatives it will be decided), is a collective and shared decision-making process returning authority and power to Kónitsáqilogkíya as Ndé knowledge systems are being revalorized (Tamez 2012b). Recovery arose through projects conceived during and after writing *Raven Eye* (Tamez 2007), and researching in the shadow of the border wall. Ndé methodologies, formed in revitalization of pluricultural being, is a sentient system reconnecting mothers and daughters to Kónitsáqilogkíya over time-space-place. Ndé mother-daughter epistemology of memory, dreams, and actions puts primacy on enduring and continuity. These necessary forces strengthen the recovery and recognition of inextinguishable kinship and eco-ethics of inheren-territory.

Ndé methodologies emerged during the militarization and wailing up of Kónitsáqilogkíya, thus they denote a historical turn confronting five centuries of colonization. They declare Indigenous peoples’ decision to revive and enact collective self-governance through Ndé knowledge. An emergent process of knowledge organization arose during a crisis deeply woven into the passage of the Secure Fence Act of 2006 (see Secure Fence Act of 2006, H.R. 6061—109th Congress) and construction of the U.S. border wall.

*Ilahaleedáté nakh’été’áth béodaazjít* decision-making valorizes self-determination as a river Ndé research paradigm. This process prioritizes Ndé storywork, what is known, what is unknowable, and what there is to be known and shared with current and future partners.

**ENGAGING THE OTHER INDIAN**

I returned to El Calaboz with lenses profoundly influenced by a decade studying with Teresa Leal (Opa.ta-Mayo), a knowledge-keeper who involved me in community-based environmental justice, labor, economic, and self-determination movements in Nogales, Sonora (Mexico), and Nogales, Arizona. Teresa’s “classroom” (occurring in historical museum archives; urban colonias and maquilas; shrines; community meetings; *promotoras* training; rallies, and many buses in between) re-emplaced learning on the land.

Decolonization in militarized, bordered, bifurcated lands necessitated unlearning years of stock history about the Indian Other (bordered Indigenous peoples) and rebuilding relational skills and new “contact zones.” This nurtured many suffering intergenerational trauma from a legacy of U.S.-Mexico border policies reproducing prejudice, elitism, misogyny and othering of non-federally recognized American Indians with inherent ties to bifurcated homelands.

El Calaboz, prior to 2007, had no record in academic literature, did not appear on a Google map search before the wall construction, and was not on Texas maps either. An unincorporated place, El Calaboz is situated on the north bank of the Rio Grande, in Cameron County, Texas. Historically, however, the peoples of El Calaboz structured social spheres traversing the river.

As expressed in a poem I published in 2003, “A Species,” El Calaboz is a woman navigating memory, grief, and resilience immersed in conflict with anger suppressed under the “veil” of church, oligarchy, and state.

I lived in a womb
That grieved a fetus
My mother never spoke
Of the dead. […]

Instead she picked at her cuticles,
Made the frayed edges peel back,
Exposing a flesh,
Pink and firm, like salmon.

In church, my father
Grabbed one of her hands,
Cupped it firmly between his,
To stop her.

I looked at her hands
When we sat in the pew,
The only memory of her
Sitting down. She resisted.

At mass, her shrouded eyes
Accused not heavenward, but eye-level
Through the webbed sockets
Of her black veil.
She was the abyss.
There were animals inside her,
Ancient and dark
As the ocean floor. (Tamez 2003)

Or ginarios’ descendants act out arbitrary signification of border-othered Indian Otherness, in the gray zone of abjection. In the space of abjection, indigeneity and collective identity are expunged. Elites dictate who is unnamed/unrecognized, who is heard and who is repressed. Indigenous remembering and crisis signifies other Indian Other as collective cognate of deeper, hidden violence, and of anti-Indigenous hate at/in/beneath the border wall.

CONQUERING HISTORIES

Between cyclical returns to El Calaboz, I developed a deep appreciation for Antonia Castañeda’s work. In 1990, her seminal, “Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey, Alta California, 1770-1821” (1990), established a decolonial framework for colonization in California. This foundation offered critical tools that could be extended in Spanish, Texan, and American colonization of Kóniltsałączikōyaa. Castañeda analyzed colonized Indigenous peoples and intercultural tensions, conflicts, and relationships which emerged. She skillfully posed different lenses to interrogate root institutions of violence: mission, presidio, ranch, patriarchy, masculinity, and property.

The “politics and policies of conquest” (Castañeda 1993) were always intertwined in sexual, spiritual, cognitive and material domination of Indigenous peoples, lands, cosmologies, and epistemologies. Rarely did anyone examine inter-ethnic kinship and/or violence between non-Indigenous people, or even question the effects of ongoing Euro-American violence on Indigenous peoples in southern Texas.

Spanish-Basque catholicizing canon laws and Euro-Texas-centric institutions have inculcated doctrines of Hispanization into Indigenous peoples. Elders call this the civilizational “psychological war” process. The justification of dehumanization, sexual violence, domination and theft of resources was predicated upon deep indoctrination of Nédé inferiority, barbarism, and violability. A critical indigenization and decolonization of rooted colonial institutionalization of the other Indian Other demanded an interrogation of rooted but unseen belonging.

UNMASKING “THE DUNGEON”

The cognitive metaphors and image-schema in El Calaboz (1749 to the present) include: dungeon; holding cell; prison cell; brig; guardroom; hole.

In El Calaboz, they say, one must consider the legacy of refusers who sacrificed to remain in their homelands. They say one must read across the grain of normative, militarized ethno-graphical logics which arose with the killing fields and spaces of abjection. They say one must problematize Nédé being and belonging in El Calaboz as a crisis between desire and struggle, between false signifiers of Apache bárbaros, or “Mexican,” and being disdantly Nédé in the face of feudal Hispanicization, brutal Texas settler-colonialism, and militarized Americanization. Refusing Nédé of the Big Water Country was left outside of the state’s register of the recognized.

El Calaboz, the dungeon, signified to Spanish-Mexican and Spanish-Anglo-Texan frontera society that refusing Indigenous peoples will be disciplined and punished. Interrogating the dungeon exposed origins of an ongoing crisis between Indigenous peoples with the surrounding settler Texan, Hispanic, and Hispanicized-colonized society.

Elders demure when I ask, “How did the name El Calaboz come about?”

Each responded by telling me this name means in physical and literal terms, “a jail.” The how and when of this name remains unspoken. Separation, stigma, and marginalization commemorated in “jail” allude to Hispanic, Texan and American centuries of a felt containment.

To separate those who live from those who die, traditionally, Nédé laid down a layer of wood ash inside a grave, an impenetrable barrier between living and dead. I sensed Elders were laying ash over harsh memories in El Calaboz. Eloisa, my mother, merely told me, “the stories you will learn here will come from us and the land, and that is enough for now, so get it right” (Tamez, E.G.). Root events and processes undergirding the establishment of El Calaboz by Apache, Nahua and Comanche, and deepening intercultural kinship alliances forged in the late 19th and early 20th century, were undoubtedly connected to Mexico and the U.S. extermination policies carried out against Indigenous peoples on both sides of the Rio Grande (considered to be in the way of industrial development). Memory arose amongst the river peoples whose continued presence and witness on the land was now becoming exposed. Chavela offered me other routes and roots to examine this relationship between subsidence and emergence.
REGALOS DE NUESTRA HERENCIA

In February 2013, my 92-year-old Granty (sister of my maternal grandfather, José Emilio Cavazos García), Margarita "Chavela" Rodríguez, was nearing the time of her journey to the spirit world. The daughter of Aniceto Garcia (Comanche-Lipan) and Andrea Peña Cavazos (Tlaxcalteca-Lipan-Basque), Chavela was a survivor of segregation and punitive public education.

Sitting on the small couch, Chavela was propped up by her favorite quilted and crocheted pillows, each hand-sewn in bright colors and fluid, asymmetrical patterns. Chavela relied on humor to soften the edge of the physical pain and mordedura (bites) of emotional surges. Coping, her jokes arose to storytelling, and storytelling provided much relief. She picked up the quilt she was working on, and resumed where she left off the previous day. She had completed several quilts since the previous summer. Softly, she crooned, el edredón (the quilt) helps her say and remember lo que quiere vivir (that which wants to live).

Chavela patted on the couch next to her, inviting me to sit, listen, and share stories about my life in Okanagan territory, British Columbia. Like always, she wanted to hear what was occurring all over there, meaning, directly across the road from her house, on my mother's lands. This suggested she wanted to know about the border wall and its continuing affect upon my mother and the land.

Scooting closer to me, I inhaled the faintness of her rose-scented soap. Her irises, encroached at the edges by the milky-blue tints of cataracts, pierced mine with questions: "¿Y por qué no te regresas a vivir con tu mamá? ¿Y dónde está tu marido? ¿Cuándo va a venir y quedarse el tiempo suficiente para mi que le enseñe a acolchar?" (And when are you going to come back to live here close to your mother? And where is your husband? When are you going to come and stay long enough for me to show you how to quilt?).

She wore her favorite cotton house dress, the one with a leopard-skin pattern, softly faded. Before I could answer all her questions, she motioned me to help her stand and walk toward her bedroom. Too fragile to walk the short distance without support, she opened the closet where many quilts were folded and stacked neatly, floor to ceiling. She repeated this ritual each visit.

In her bedroom, she prayed aloud for me. She told me stories of ancestors through quilts. In previous summers, she gifted me quilts freshly completed. In quilting, she composed memory metaphors. Grasping my left arm, returning to the couch, she showed me stories in patterned fabrics and shapes. She said she needed to m a scrap quilt from years of left-over fabrics.

Sitting and sorting, I noticed her fingers linger on certain images. She caressed colors which energized memory. Some fabrics stirred giggles, some evoked platonic gestures, and others tickled out songs that arose from deep places and landscapes inside her that elevated. Some provoked rivulets of wetness from the corner of her eyes. She quickly brushed away tears with a raun joke, and we burst out laughing at her feistiness. Dora, of her daughters who moved in temporarily to prov at-home care, gently admonished her: "¡Ay, mamá," I winked at me while shaking her head in amusement at her mother.

Sitting among Chavela's quilt-making and textile of a lifetime, noting their well-considered placement, chairs, tables and the couch, I felt they tethered the eight years of generous tutelage she and family memt gave me as I endeavored to relearn community history and relationships to place and kinship through the eyes. Chavela provided nuances of Indigenous mem between Comanche, Nahua, Ndé and Spanish linguistic threads, scraps, and stitches of a holistic worldview. Chavela stated, "Mis memorias siguen y siguen, no limite, así que los pintó como colores en la manta, con hilamentos largos, conectados, de un tejido a otro..." Each layer signified ancestors in the past and how they shap our present. I was drawn to a black panel with white d "Esos son los antepasados de arriba en los cielos."

Photo by Margo Tamez, Chavela's quilt and memories in my kwaonymous (ten). Note the central band of cloth, a black background with white stars, corn, "los antepasados de arriba" (antecesores in the star realm), October 2014.
Chavela observed me closely. She not only cursed the wall, she joked about the wall’s mesmerizing effect on the media, activists, and academics, me included. “He visto muchas puertas, paredes divisorias y muros, mijita.” Chavela suggested that I needed immersion in her world, and offered to teach me quilting. She said I should stay home, in order to repair my spirit and shake my dread of the state architecture, i.e., the wall. She showed me her approaches to piecing together scraps cut from cloth collections. “I bring together cloth in my mind; if I don’t do this, I will surely die.” Chavela’s colors, textiles, and techniques handed down from many textile artists on her maternal side speak to and defy the fractionated, bruised, blood-drenched history that is always near the surface. Chavela’s memory quilts put out protection for the people. She prayed over them to do this work.

The quilt she gifted to me does healing work. As an Indigenous academic and land defender, the journey is at times a mine field. Chavela reaffirmed a truth which disarms traditional academic research: no paper or foreign laws can give Indigenous peoples self-determination; nor can any nation take Indigenous peoples’ self-determination away.

I observed rigor and ethics in Ndé quilt remembering. Chavela said “yes, you can.” Thus, I started a quilt, for decolonizing, valorizing and reclaiming textuality of Ndé women’s pictorial narrative traditions. With her encouragement, I revitalized Ndé isdzané (Lipan Apache women’s) ancestral cloth traditions—hide work, traditionally the women’s practice.

With support of Syilx women in the unceded Okanagan territory in British Columbia, Canada, I (re) established a respectful relationship with Ė lithium—the female deer—and an ecology to prepare traditional hides for pictorial narrative Ndé dance and feast ceremonial. This relationship requires collective, respectful dialogue; enactments of protocols between participants in decision-making in decolonization. Everyone is heard and valued for the best outcome in revitalizing our foremothers’ knowledge. The pictorial narrative on hide—expressed in prayer, mineral paints and beadwork—reflects women’s decision-making and law.

Integrating quilting and hide work as knowledge was embodied and enacted with Chavela on my mind. Narrative, implanted into the Ndé story-filled landscapes, marks place with prayers, songs, and dreams. Decision-making involves recognition that Ndé ancestors developed complex Indigenous intellectual traditions, reflecting a collective mind of extended kinship. This is not to romanticize kinship or collective; rather, it is to situate Ndé relationships on their own terms.

Embodying Indigenous women’s praxis—as custodians, stewards, and territorial protectors—provided firm ground. Genealogies of kinship required physical visuals and performances for continuity. As the image of an earlier work (below) suggests, this knowing is grounded spiritually and physically in women’s kitchen tables/hearts, earth, water, and sky worlds.

Chavela’s storytelling re-established spirit-healing practices through narrative remembrances. Making peace with spirit scars through visual artistic aesthetic storywork strengthened foundations for (re)valorized decision-making. This in turn supports decolonizing Ndé poetics, law, governance, and self-determination founded on women’s root epistemologies.

Though river Ndé customs usually involved gift exchange, Chavela conveyed I need not offer her gifts for what was already mine when I presented my Grant with a turquoise and white shell necklace as a gesture of my gratitude for her stories. Accepting the gift and putting the string of healing stones around her neck, she conveyed her stories which were also my stories. Her remembering was full of “regalitos y bendiciones de nuestra herencia y de los antepasados, y el derecho de nacimiento de El Calaboz y el río y toda esta tierra perteneció a tus antepasados.” Memory flowing as a gift and blessings from ancestors, birthright, and heritage.
Chavela’s remembering contradicted and challenged the canon of Texas, U.S., Mexico borderlands and American Indian history. Her storied land, water, and skylines unsettles established stereotypes, suppositions, and assumptions of “Apaches” emanating from settler gazes and canonical homogenizations which obscure Indigenous continuity at the edges of the nation-state in Big Water Country. Chavela’s pluriverse of Indigenous humanity, arts and literacies confronts assimilative processes intended to obliterate Nde women as relevant decision-makers in the current protection of land, water, air, spirit, memory, time, and space.

THE DAUGHTER OF LIGHTNING

As the U.S. border wall’s was rupturing traumatic memory in El Calaboz, Nde women reasserted Indigenous knowledge foundations and Indigenous historical perspectives as crucial to women’s survival in Big Water Country. Women’s memory and storytelling contradicted the state’s and settlers’ stock narratives minimizing and disavowing ongoing Indigenous presence in Texas. Even more interesting is how the state of Texas, during the border wall conflict, was in the top ten of U.S. states with the largest American Indian populations. With a count of 315,264 in 2010, Texas has the fifth-largest American Indian and Alaska Native population in the U.S. (The American Indian and Alaska Native Population 6-7). A 46.2% change since the 2000 census, undoubtedly, Indigenous peoples of Texas refused aggregation and ongoing assimilative processes.

On the ground, Tamez’ storytelling in legal defense created a foundation of Nde izdzante defense through idzaete
gawg gəch̓əʔə gokal (her house/place of belonging). This offered new pluri-legal concepts for storytelling relationships between river-based Ndé and broader kinship systems.

When I asked my mother, “What is the root of your refusal to dispossession by the U.S. government in 2007?” she provided key insights. Her answers took up the better part of a dissertation and post-doctoral research. One story detailed a key event in 1940, during a catastrophic hurricane seriously affecting El Calaboz: Two central figures in the story are her grandparents, Aniceto Garcia and Andrea Peña Cavazos Garcia. In her re-telling, land and sky are all-important in an embodied place. My mother’s generation knew land and rivers, beaches and inland lagoons, eddies, creeks and the large mother Gulf water intimately. The following is an excerpt from that conversation:

MT: I sense, and have always sensed, that your refusal to the Wall had a lot to do with a deeper history pinned beneath the wall. Would you care to comment on this?

EGT: Yes, I would. When my sister and cousins and I grew up in El Calaboz, we didn’t really understand what “poverty” [makes quote symbols in the air with her forefingers] meant. We appreciated simple things and we ate natural foods from the land. We ate foods grown from the hard work of my father and grandfather, and we also enjoyed the milk from a cow my mother had, and eggs from her chickens, plus foods from nature all around. We were taught to gather plants, cactus and nuts, and medicines my mother needed. We didn’t eat meat frequently, except on special occasions, because our diet consisted of beans, corn, and natural tortillas [maíz, not wheat-based]. There were many foods my father gathered from all over and along the river. We were close to the land.

MT: When I was younger, you told me about the time you received the lightning. Over my life, I recalled this story in times when I was discouraged or lacked bravery. Your story helped me to recall an important event, when I was 10, when we lived on Glendora Street in San Antonio. I remember being whipped up into a whirl of a small gust of wind that came down from a thunder cloud. I was riding my bike and I just rode into the gust. I remember the static all over my body. And, I’ve never forgotten the mineral scent of the thunder. Would you tell me again about the time you were taken to lightning?

EGT: The eldest child of a family learned from her grandmother to pray, chant and sing to the lightning in order to soothe la tormenta, the tempest, and the fire arrows that cracked through the air, they said. Violent storms came and went—we were used to that, it didn’t really bother us too much. But, one time, when I was about five or so, a very strong storm came. My grandmother, Andrea Garcia [her father’s mother], prayed with lightning. At the moment, my grandparents and some others were all in a little hut, the storm circling us. I was terrified! I remember they were chanting and praying. Then, my grandfather told my grandmother to take me with her, outside. I believe they thought they would die in the storm. I felt their seriousness, and I knew. My grandmother took me out into the middle of the storm. There, she took my hand in hers, against the forceful winds, and thunder. She reached for her knife under her skirt, because women back then carried knives freely in those days, they did everything, they weren’t afraid. Then, she put that big knife in my small hands and lifted my hand with the knife up to the sky. She prayed with me in all directions, making crosses into the sky and slicing away at the storm of death. Afterwards, the storm began to subside. She took me back to the hut, where they began immediately to touch my eyes with their hands and kept chanting, as they touched my eyes. My grandfather and those ones said my eyes were glowing brightly, lighting up the darkness.

MT: In 2007, you retold this story, in the early days of the U.S. border wall conflict.
EGT: Yes, I remember that. That was an early memory which shapes who I am and my connection to my Elders and this land. I know I have a purpose. They gave me a legacy to fulfill and to protect. I'm passing that onto my generations.

NDÉ STORYWORK BEYOND NATION AND STATE

Claiming Ndé refusing stories is crucial to regaining being and belonging with place. This raises the question: What more is required for state and society to relinquish the consciousness of psycho-social domination imposed through the settler-states’ disavowal of unrecognized Indigenous peoples with inherent belonging?

Ndé women’s rivered refusal to the binary of recognized/unrecognized also opens space for recovering river peoples’ Comanche-Ndé, Kiowa-Ndé, Huasteca-Ndé, and Na-Dene kinships beyond settler borders of Canada and Mexico. Ndé knowing and being chips away at discriminatory, colonialisist identity deadwood, demanding that state and society re-see them as resilient, and contesting spaces of abjection and the exploitation of Ndé spiritual, physical, and intellectual resources.

Elders shared memories of alliances, feasts, and places which nurtured crucial bonds, bringing prosperity to the people. Their partnership-building in Indigenous land protection provides crucial conceptual frameworks in revitalizing a pluriverse. Ndé methodologies provide needed context necessary for the stabilization of ecosystems, languages, religious practices, exchange systems, and kinship across rivers.

CONCLUSIONS

Stories shared in El Calaboz inspired and guided the documentation of Ndé women’s anti-colonial experiences in the Big Water Country. In the process, Elders validated decolonial inquiry and methods. Together, critical Ndé methodology (re)emerged. Elders quickened knowledge as a rivering and pluriverse of self-determination beyond settler-state stock histories and imposed identity binaries. While there is still much work to redress Big Water Peoples recognition and survivance in the shadow of genocidal walls and militarization, Ndé women’s being, belonging, and resistance against collective destruction is at the root of past and current refusals against dispossession in El Calaboz. Rivered stories of kinship and respect continue to instill tools for another generation to return and refuse.

ENDNOTES
1 A note on terminology: Throughout the essay, I use Ndé, Lipan Apache, and Big Water Peoples interchangeably. In the Lower Río Grande river country, Ndé is specific to the Gochishdi idihni (Lightning-Thunder People) of El Calaboz Comanche-Ndé kinship society which criss-crosses numerous cousin and sister rancherias up and down the river.
4 Hispanicization is used in a decolonial sense, referring to discursive, material, punitive processes through which Indigenous lands, peoples, knowledge, and belonging are Othered, exoticized, dominated, and aggregated. Coercion, violence, and containment are constitutive of assimilation into specifically Spanish/Castilian dominant systems, institutions and ideology. Hispanicization is an ongoing hegemonic process that perpetuates binaries, hierarchies, and homogenization through oppression of colonized Others; it touts enlightenment idealism of individuals, and perpetuates anti-Indigenous, settler-colonial consciousness, European superiority, denial of indigeneity, and militarism.
5 For a detailed chronology and analysis of the border wall litigation history, see “Legal Action against Property Owners Seeking Condemnation of Land.” <https://law.utexas.edu/humanrights/borderwall/law/lawsuits-property.html>

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