A (Mexican) Native American Rock Band: Redbone, Racial Legibility, and Native-Chicanx Intimacy

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Redbone is one of the most successful Native American bands in the history of rock 'n' roll. They emerged onto the U.S. music scene in 1970 with music that spoke directly to the burgeoning Red Power movement.[1] Hits such as "Come and Get Your Love" and "The Witch-Queen of New Orleans" topped the charts in the United States, Canada, and Europe and still receive regular airplay today.[2] Brothers Patrick (Pat) and Candido (Lolly) Vegas founded the band and served as its core members. In his memoir, *Come and Get Your Love: A Celebratory Ode to Redbone (1939-Present)*, Pat Vegas traces his and Lolly's ascent to rock stardom. Vegas also reveals something perhaps unexpected in the memoir of a Native American musician: in addition to being Native, Pat Vegas is Mexican American. In fact, several of the band's members are both Native and Mexican American, and Vegas's memoir as well as the band's music, albums, and performances point to continual intimacies between Native Americans and Mexican Americans.[3]

Pat Vegas's Mexican American heritage as well as that of Redbone's other band members rub against both popular and scholarly notions of "authentic" Native American and Indigenous identity and presents a new vantage point from which to think about Native American-Chicanx relationality. Whereas scholars have examined the numerous overlaps between these groups in the nineteenth century and earlier, work examining the twentieth century often focuses on one group or the other. Further, in the few places where scholars do examine relations between these groups, they focus on analyzing the Chicano Movement's claim of Indigenous status, a claim many scholars, especially those

0026-3079/2020/5904-023$2.50/0 American Studies, 61.1 (2022)

working under the rubric of critical Latinx indigeneities and critical ethnic studies, have problematized as perpetuating the marginalization of Indigenous peoples on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. Indeed, in the interest of supporting Indigenous rights in the United States and Mexico, this study agrees with this emerging scholarship that it is important not to conflate Indigenous status—which pertains to a political category designating the first peoples within settler states—and Indigenous descent in the way that the Chicano Movement has done in the past. What this study problematizes, however, is the collapsing of all discussion of Native-Chicanx relationality into the question of the Chicano Movement's (mis)uses of indigeneity. Instead, this essay turns to intimacy as a framework to rethink Native American-Chicanx relations. I argue that the case of Redbone reveals glimpses of a long, continual history of intimacy between Native Americans and Mexican Americans as well as the oppressive demands for authenticity that delimit Native American identity and render such intimacies illegible.

This study explores traces of intimacy between Native Americans and Chicanxs through an analysis of a sampling of cultural texts produced by Redbone and Pat Vegas during the band's 1970s heyday, including music, lyrics, performances, and visual representation on album covers as well as Pat Vegas's 2017 self-published memoir *Come and Get Your Love: A Celebratory Ode to Redbone (1939-Present)*. Vegas's memoir moves chronologically, tracing his and Lolly's early years and family life, their time as backing musicians in Los Angeles, and their rise (and fall) as members of Redbone. The memoir emphasizes these early years, covering the post-1970s period, including Lolly's passing in 2010, in one brief chapter. The final portion of the book includes appendices written by friends and former band members, such as Pete DePoe and Butch Rillera, and argues explicitly for the band's induction into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame.

Scholars have long turned to popular culture, popular music in particular, as a critical site where marginalized groups articulate difference to resist the dominant national culture's attempts to assimilate them.[4] Redbone is particularly appropriate for this study because, as a prominent Native American band emerging at the height of the Red Power movement, they can easily be read as articulating Native American resistance to U.S. oppression; however, they also gesture to something more. They gesture to an intimate messiness of identity and experience that nationalist and racializing logics render illegible. I read Redbone's and Pat Vegas's self-presentation across these cultural texts as a curatorial practice. Much in the same way that a museum curates its collections, with curators making strategic decisions about what pieces to display, what to highlight, and what to leave in storage unshown in order to create a cohesive exhibit, the members of Redbone curate their public image by displaying, spotlighting, or omitting certain aspects of themselves to produce a desired narrative.[5] They curate their identities through these texts to strategically fit or resist fitting normative expectations of Native Americanness.[6] Thus, I read these texts as marking Vegas and the band's continual efforts to make sense of

experiences rendered illegible within dominant discourses of Native American identity in American culture.[7] I begin by detailing how intimacy challenges the paradigms of both Native and Chicanx studies and offers an alternative way of approaching Native-Chicanx relationality. Next, I turn to an analysis of Redbone's rise to fame to examine how oppressive demands for racial legibility pushed Vegas and the band to curate their public image as performing Native American racial authenticity necessarily entailed downplaying their Mexican American heritages. Finally, I analyze the numerous Native–Mexican American intimacies present in Pat Vegas's personal and musical inspirations and family history.

Nation, Race, Intimacy

One reason why both Native American and Indigenous and Chicanx studies fail to note Native-Chicanx intimacies is that both emerged out of nationalist movements and continue to operate largely in nationalist modes. In many ways, this is explicit. Native studies scholarship, for example, often focuses on an Indigenous nation and its pursuit of sovereignty, a practice that even extends to analysis of cultural texts through frameworks, such as American Indian literary nationalism.[8] Similarly, Chicanx studies emerged out of the nationalistic Chicano Movement, which sought to expand Mexican Americans' political influence over their own communities, and the cultural nationalist analysis of Chicanx history and cultural production remain central to the field.[9] Whereas nationalism can be a powerful source of resistance to domination, it also carries certain inherent limitations. For one, nationalist projects are invested primarily—perhaps solely—in benefitting the members of that nation; thus, there is little incentive to approach other groups relationally.[10] For another, nationalist projects privilege an imagined and idealized citizen-subject, thus creating a normative set of identity markers and experiences. This means that people whose identities and experiences fall outside of the norm—due to racial or sexual otherness, for example—find themselves marginalized within the nation.[11] Indeed, cultural nationalism is enmeshed with race.

Race, which is always already imbricated with cultural nationalism, is a second, related force inhibiting the exploration of Native-Chicanx intimacies. *Native* and *Chicanx/Mexican American* are not merely cultural nationalist categories; both operate as racial categories in U.S. society.[12] As Michael Omi and Howard Winant theorize, race is the socially constructed categorization of human beings into hierarchically ordered "types," a process that frequently serves the interests of the white ruling class.[13] In organizing nationalist projects around racial identity categories, the cultural nationalist boundaries of Native and Chicanx studies are simultaneously racial boundaries. This nationalist/racial orientation structures both fields as Native American and Indigenous studies takes Native people as its proper objects of study and Chicanx studies takes Chicanxs as its proper objects of study. Each field largely speaks "for and about itself" with separate faculty, training, bodies of literature, and professional organizations.[14] This is even evident in the small amount of scholarly work on Redbone. For example,

Jan Johnson's chapter on the band in *Indigenous Pop*, an edited collection focused exclusively on Indigenous musicians, does not mention the Vegas brothers' Mexican American ancestry.[15] On the other end, David Reyes and Tom Waldman's *Land of a Thousand Dances*, a book focused exclusively on Chicanx contributions to rock 'n' roll, presents the Vegas brothers as Chicanos in Indian attire.[16] Redbone appears in one project because they are Native American and the other because they are Chicano; the fact that band members are both Native American and Chicano goes unremarked because it falls outside of the racial/nationalist investments of both scholarly projects. This reluctance to see, read, or think across national/racial boundaries is exactly what this article challenges.

Discourses of race and nationalism undergird the often-contentious scholarly discussion about Native-Chicanx relationality. Though an earlier generation of scholars mobilized the mestizo origins of Mexican-Americans to claim Chicanxs as Indigenous to the U.S. Southwest and emphasized links between Chicanxs and Native Americans, a more recent group of scholars such as Maria Josephina Saldaña-Portillo, Sheila Contreras, Laura Pulido, and Lourdes Alberto have problematized that claim.[17] These scholars detail how this use of *mestizaje* replicates the same logic that Mexican nationalists used throughout the twentieth century to celebrate a mythologized Aztec past while attempting to assimilate its Indigenous peoples.[18] Moreover, Chicanx claims of the U.S. Southwest as their indigenous homeland, *Aztlán*, directly contradict the land claims of the Indigenous peoples already living there.[19] These critiques are well-founded, and this study acknowledges the numerous problems in claiming Chicanxs as an Indigenous people according to simplistic biologistic understandings of indigeneity.

This shift in the discourse around Native-Chicanx relationality reflects a larger tension between borderlands studies and settler colonial studies. Borderlands studies emerged in conversation with other postcolonial critiques that emphasized hybridity, overlap, and mixedness in the late 1980s and 1990s, a shift that also impacted American Indian studies.[20] As American Indian studies reconfigured itself as Native American and Indigenous studies in the mid-2000s, however, scholars such as Robert Warrior and Clara Sue Kidwell explicitly moved away from the postcolonial engagement with hybridity to instead reemphasize Indigenous national sovereignty as the primary concern of the field.[21] During this same period, settler colonial studies, specifically the oft-cited work of Patrick Wolfe, emerged. Despite tensions between these fields, both Native studies and settler colonial studies share an investment in delimiting Indigenous identity.[22] The settler colonial studies framework locates all people as either Indigenous or settler with *Indigenous* referring to Indigenous national members. Drawing on this framework, many scholars interrogating Chicanx–Indigenous relations have recast Chicanxs as settlers implicated in the ongoing structure of settler colonialism. Recently, however, scholars such as Saldaña-Portillo have troubled this perspective as it presumes that Indigenous peoples are fixed in place and accepts a "U.S. biopolitics of hypo- and hyperdescent" that renders

the interstitial space of mestizaje impossible.[23] This essay contributes to this discussion by contending that, whereas work employing this indigenous/settler binary contributes much to our understanding and whereas the question of Chicanx indigeneity is important, they also reduce Native–Chicanx relationality to a relationship between Indigenous tribal and Chicanx nationalist projects and their imagined citizen-subjects, strategically ignoring the history of intimacy implicit in Chicanx identity as well as the continual intimacies between members of these groups.

In this essay, I use intimacy as a framework for rethinking relationships between Native Americans and Chicanxs as well as Native and Chicanx studies. I draw my notion of intimacy from scholars such as Ann Laura Stoler, Nayan Shah, Lisa Lowe, and Victor Román Mendoza.[24] As often employed in this scholarship, intimacy is connection between individuals and groups that regimes of colonial governance—and even our own national imaginaries—have regulated and/or separated. In addition to approaching intimacy as connection, I contribute to this work by approaching the intimate as pertaining to the innermost self: one's inspirations, aspirations, fears, and fantasies. As with one's intimate connection to others, one's intimate sense of self is also a target for colonial regulation; however, the intimate, both individual and relational, can also serve as a space to resist or circumvent control. Moreover, intimacy is a particularly apt framework for approaching the study of popular music. As scholar Josh Kun writes, when one listens to music, "something outside of you is entering your body—alien sounds emitted from strangers…enter, via vibration and frequency, the very bones and tissue of your being."[25] One enters "sonic and social spaces where disparate identity formations, cultures, and geographies historically kept and mapped separately…enter into relationships whose consequences for cultural identification are never predetermined."[26] In other words, as one creates, performs, or enjoys music, one enters an intimate space of connection that crosses racial, cultural, and national boundaries. Whether enjoying a live band at a venue in close proximity to others or a record in the private space of one's home, the act of listening to music is intimate.

In my formulation, intimacy entails two components: 1) reading across archives, paradigms, and scholarly fields and 2) focusing on and theorizing from the intimate, inclusive of both intimate connections and one's intimate, innermost self. First, Lisa Lowe speaks to the importance of "reading across" in *The Intimacy of Four Continents*, writing, "In pursuing particular intimacies and contemporaneities that traverse distinct and separately studied 'areas,' the practice of reading across archives unsettles the discretely bounded objects, methods, and temporal frameworks canonized by a national history invested in isolated origins and independent progressive development."[27] Whereas Lowe's work is concerned with the global scope of the emergence of Western liberalism, I apply the practice of "reading across" to the nationalist boundaries within ethnic studies as it enables us to see how groups of color relate to one another, how the methods and paradigms of one field can shed new light on the "proper

objects" of another, and how a group's nationalist pursuit of self-determination can unwittingly result in the devaluation of another marginalized group. Thus, intimacy engages comparative and relational ethnic studies and critical Latinx Indigeneities scholarship, resonating with what María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo calls a "paradigm drift," the act of reading across the "compartmentaliz[ed] study of race and ethnicity."[28]

Second, I position the intimate as a messy, fecund site for rethinking race, relationality, and identity. Intimacy is simultaneously relational—pertaining to intimate contact with others—and interior—pertaining to how individuals, Pat Vegas in particular, construct their intimate senses of self. Rather than distinct, these relational and interior intimacies are connected as one's interiority often reflects one's negotiation of the relational and is, as Victor Román Mendoza writes, "determined from without."[29] Simply put, people, experiences, and creative works often fail to fit neatly into the categories that American culture (and scholarly fields) have prescribed for them. Examining and theorizing from the messiness of the intimate reveals the limitations of nationalist-oriented ethnic studies projects. As the case of Pat Vegas and Redbone reveals, sometimes people are not solely Native or Chicanx. Sometimes they are both. Sometimes they shift from one to the other and back again over the course of a single lifetime. And sometimes these prescribed categories are too narrow to contain all one's inspirations, creations, and imaginings. Intimacy enables us to locate and make sense of experiences that confound the logics and mandates of the nation. Bringing Native studies and Chicana/o studies together and looking for traces of intimacy outside of the usual paradigms helps reveal how race and white supremacy operate, structure relationships between these groups, and impact individual negotiations of identity.

Curating a Native Identity

In the very first paragraph of his memoir, *Come and Get Your Love*, Pat Vegas begins by identifying himself as a "Mexican Native American."[30] *Mexican Native American* is not a legible racial identity in the United States. It is not immediately legible because American dominant culture, as glimpsed through decades of antimiscegenation legislation and blood quantum restrictions, prefers clear racial boundaries and simple identity categories: Native American or Mexican American, not both. *Mexican Native American* is Vegas's own creation, an identity formed through the combination of *Mexican American*, which he claims from his father, and *Native American*, which he claims from his Shoshone mother. In the pages of his memoir, and perhaps in the intimate space of his home, Vegas does not privilege a tribal affiliation or fold his Indianness into a Chicano identity, tactics that would render his racial identity more legible by locating it within nationalist logics; instead, he has created an identity irreducible to its component parts. As he and his brother Lolly entered the public sphere, however, they had to negotiate increasing pressure to present themselves in a way that made racial sense to others. They did so by curating a Native American racial identity.

For the Vegas brothers, rising to rock stardom and claiming a legible Native American identity involved numerous acts of curation. This was necessary because, whereas mixed-race identities are illegible in general, Native Americans have the added weight of meeting oppressive standards of authenticity. Anthropologist Jeffrey Sissons explains oppressive authenticity as the idea that one must demonstrate cultural and racial purity in order to count as authentically Indian.[31] Approaching the same idea from the context of the U.S., Lenape scholar Joanne Barker writes, "Natives must be able to demonstrably look and act like the Natives of national narrations in order to secure their legal rights and standing as Natives within the United States."[32] Extending from U.S. projects of settlement bent on disappearing the Indian through genocide, removal, and assimilation, this insistence on purity guides dominant U.S. perspectives on Native Americanness.[33] One can see oppressive authenticity at work in the logics of blood quantum and the way that Native identities seem to operate by a "reverse one-drop rule," by which any amount of racial mixture casts doubt on one's racial authenticity as an Indian.[34] Thus, the Vegas brothers' identity as *Mexican Native American* is not legible within the United States because any racial mixture or addendum to the identity *Native American* throws Native racial authenticity into doubt. The brothers became Native American in the public eye by attempting to fit themselves into American cultural ideas of Indian authenticity.

Pat Vegas recounts that he and Lolly began negotiating these demands for authenticity and legibility early in their career. They began working as studio musicians, often playing surf music, while they were still teenagers in the 1950s. Vegas states that Lolly was known around Los Angeles as the "Mexican Elvis Presley" because of the way he danced. He writes, "Nobody knew he was also Native American. Back then and perhaps to some degree today, when you were brown-skinned—everybody thought you were Mexican. They didn't look further."[35] When the brothers met people who read their brown skin as Mexican Americanness and not as Native Americanness, the brothers were encountering a racial construction of Native Americanness as always disappearing, nonmodern, and/or located in specific geographies such as the rural reservation.[36] The Vegas brothers were two brown-skinned young men with clean-cut hair playing surf music around Los Angeles; they did not register to others as Native American because they did not look, act, or sound anything like Indians should according to stereotypes in dominant American culture. To insist on the Native aspect of their identities and resist the assumption that they were only Mexican, the brothers would have to explicitly display aspects of themselves to render their Native Americanness legible. This also entailed deemphasizing aspects that signaled Mexican Americanness.

The first step of curation the brothers took was to distance themselves from Mexican Americanness by changing their last name. *Vegas* is a stage name. Pat and Lolly were born with the surname Vasquez and were known for several years professionally as the Vasquez Brothers. Pat Vegas writes, "By 1963 or so, it became apparent that a Mexican sounding stage name and rock 'n' roll just didn't

necessarily go together."[37] They found that booking agents were hesitant to hire acts with Spanish surnames because of anti-Mexican racism.[38] On the advice of a musician mentor, the brothers changed their surname to Vegas to "sound as lily white as Elvis himself and look and smell as green as the money comes."[39] At this stage, their move away from Mexican Americanness was both a move toward racial ambiguity and increased marketability. This was not unusual for the time. Chicano rock legend Ritchie Valens, after all, started as Ritchie Valenzuela.[40] However, they would not be content remaining ambiguous for long.

Next, the brothers began insisting that others recognize their Native Americanness. In addition to changing his name, by the late 1960s, Pat Vegas began telling friends and professional contacts about his Native roots to dispel the notion that he and Lolly were only Mexican.[41] One of these professional contacts was black rock legend Jimi Hendrix, who claimed Cherokee ancestry.[42] Vegas writes that, while playing together at a festival in Monterey in 1967, Hendrix suggested that the brothers start an all-Native American band, something the brothers had already been considering. Encouraged, the brothers began working toward making that idea a reality.[43] It took a few years for them to recruit the band's other founding members, lead guitarist Tony Bellamy and drummer Pete DePoe. During these same years, the band developed their Cajun and Native-inspired signature sound through singles such as "Niki Hoeky" (1967).[44] Pat Vegas has since dubbed this sound "Native American Swamp Rock."[45] By the end of the decade, all the major pieces were set. The band had four Native American members and a Native American-inspired sound. They capped it off by choosing a Native American–themed name for themselves: Redbone. Redbone signed with CBS subsidiary Epic Records in 1969.[46] This experience reveals the multiple acts of curation involved in claiming a public Native American identity as each step worked together to present the brothers as racially Native American to the exclusion of their Mexican American heritage.

Becoming a Native American band was a strategic choice as the brothers could have let people continue to assume they were only Mexican or even attempted to remain racially ambiguous. I infer two reasons why the brothers chose to curate a public Native identity. The first is that Pat Vegas seems more personally invested in claiming a Native American identity than a Mexican American one. He writes, "My mom took time to tell us about her family…she inherently, instinctively instilled in Lolly and me our love of our culture, particularly our Native American culture."[47] His Native American cultural heritage, fostered in the intimate space of his home through a caring relationship with his mother, forms a central component of his identity. Additionally, his comment that the people who read him and his brother as only Mexican had failed to "look further" indicates a degree of discomfort with being identified as only Mexican. Claiming a simplified Native American identity may have been the best option he had to craft a public racial identity that felt true to his experience, but it was not the only reason.

A second reason the Vegas brothers curated a public Native identity is that their Native identity could be a marketable asset. Between 1963, when the brothers changed their name to distance themselves from Mexican Americanness, and 1969, when the brothers signed to Epic records as a Native American band, there was a monumental shift in the racial discourse in the United States. Noting that the band's first, self-titled album was double-sized, making it unusually expensive to produce, Vegas writes, "The executives were so excited about the material, our band and the Native American theme that they felt they needed to introduce us in a big way. You have to remember the times. This was 1969-1970 and to have a Native American band that played rock 'n' roll the right way was highly unusual."[48] Vegas adds, "Redbone fit into this important period in American History: The Civil Rights Movement."[49] CBS executives were so excited about Redbone because they represented a unique financial opportunity: They were seasoned musicians who tapped into the cultural zeitgeist of the moment. They were the first-ever Native American rock band, and they were ready to release their first album at the exact moment Native civil rights movements were gaining popular support. Whereas being Mexican was a liability in 1963, displaying an overt, nonwhite racial identity was an asset by 1969. Although it is possible that they could have achieved success as an explicitly Chicano band at this time—and other bands, such as Tierra and El Chicano, did just that—the Vegas brothers chose to develop a Native American band.[50] In doing so, they became part of an emerging discourse about Native Americans.

The late 1960s and early 1970s was a period of high-profile Native activism and blossoming Native cultural production as well as popular deployments of Native Americanness that brought Native America to the fore of American popular discourse. 1969 marks the beginning of the Native activist group Indians of All Nations' 19-month occupation of Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay.[51] It is also the year Vine Deloria, Jr.'s landmark book *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* was published and M. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, the first such honor for a Native American–authored novel.[52] This sudden surge in the popularity of Native Americans in the United States speaks to a broader commodification of Native culture and identity. The counterculture movement of the 1960s and 70s fetishized Native Americanness.[53] Hippies wore Native-inspired clothing and embraced (often generic) Native philosophies. Popular works of counterculture literature, such as Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, made Native Americans main characters, and publications such as *The Whole Earth Catalog* promoted and sold works such as *Black Elk Speaks* (reprinted in 1961 and 1972) to counterculturalists across the nation.[54] Americans turned to a stereotyped figure of the Native American in the 1960s and 70s to critique the excesses of American consumerism.[55] Equating Native Americanness with New Age spirituality, environmental consciousness, living "close to the land," and communal ownership, hippies presented a generic Native American–inspired

lifestyle as the antidote to the ills of modern society. As a Native American rock band, Redbone presented executives with the opportunity to capitalize on the market's hunger for all things Indian.

One can see traces of this marketing strategy in the liner notes for the band's second album, *Potlatch.* The Indians of All Nations' takeover of Alcatraz began in November of 1969—too late for the band to explicitly reference in their first album, *Redbone,* released in January of 1970.[56] The band prominently features the takeover, however, on their second album, *Potlatch*, released in October of the same year. On the back cover's liner notes, author Morgan Ames begins, "Last weekend in San Francisco, I stood by the bay at Sausalito and looked out at the quiet trap out there, Alcatraz, thinking how cold they all must be on their island. The Indians standing vigil."[57] By beginning his liner notes with a reference to Alcatraz, Ames is explicitly linking the band to the occupation. Ames continues by explaining that he knows "shamefully little about the American Indian," especially "about the people as a now-living culture." He then turns to discuss Redbone and their music. In addition to referencing the Pat Vegas–written track "Alcatraz" on the album, Ames's introduction also serves to catch the interest of consumers supportive of the occupation and other Native issues. The subtext of Ames's liner notes is that, even though no member of Redbone was directly involved in the occupation of Alcatraz, by purchasing the album, consumers could show their support for that and other Native American issues.

That a record label offered the brothers a contract and invested in Redbone at this stage is significant. Pat and Lolly Vegas had been working as successful professional musicians in Los Angeles for years. As the Mexican Vasquez Brothers or racially ambiguous Vegas Brothers, they had toured with Jimmy Clanton as part of his backing band, played as part of the house band for the television dance show *Shindig*, and headlined as the house band for the Hollywood club The Haunted House.[58] They had released a few singles, and their song "Nicky Hoeky" had been covered by artists such as Aretha Franklin and Bobbie Gentry.[59] However, it was only after the Vegas brothers embraced the Native American rock band concept that they finally transitioned from Los Angeles–area musicians to international rock stars. Presenting themselves publicly as a Native American rock band—and, thus, maintaining their stardom—would entail numerous acts of curation as the band negotiated U.S. cultural notions of authentic Indianness.

Maintaining a Native Identity

After emerging onto the music scene, Pat and Lolly Vegas spent the next decade maintaining their carefully curated public Native American identity. The band's name is an important component of this. As Pat Vegas defines it, *redbone* means "someone who has Indian blood in them. Mind you, this could mean anybody: half-Black, half-White, whatever."[60] The name *Redbone* references Indianness in two ways, marrying the band's explicit Native American identity with their Cajun-inspired swamp rock sound, which would likely not immediately signify Native Americanness to audiences. First, the *red* in *Redbone* references

the burgeoning Red Power activist movement as well as red as a popular referent to Native American racial classification. Second, Vegas's definition hints at a specific Southern genealogy of the term as *redbone* can also refer to a specific Louisiana community of mixed-Native and Black people as well as to light-skinned Black women.[61] It signifies a Native–Black intimacy that helps connect the band's Cajun/rock/funk-tinged swamp rock sound to popular understandings of Native Americanness. Whereas the mixedness in Vegas's definition immediately calls to mind the band members' mixed Native and Mexican heritage, in defining *redbone* as a mixture of Native heritage and "whatever," however, Pat Vegas positions Native identity as the more important part of the racial admixture. In interviews the band gave at the height of their fame, they would similarly explain their name in a way that emphasizes the Native aspect of their mixed backgrounds. For instance, one interview article in *Circus* magazine mentions "Three members of the group are half-Mexican" as incidental to a story in which "four American Indians found each other."[62] Thus, their name simultaneously references some degree of mixture at the same time that it emphasizes Native Americanness, an act of curation that simplifies the band's racial identity in the public eye.

Beyond their name, the band emphasized their Native Americanness through numerous aspects of their public engagement. Vegas writes, "Though I always had [a] vision that our music…would primarily represent our Native American culture…it was implicit that we would also dress and dance likewise in the Native American spirit."[63] Dressing and dancing in the Native American spirit meant choosing specific symbols to signify their Native Americanness in their song lyrics, on album covers, and in public performances. For example, their first album, 1970's *Redbone*, features a literal red bone with feathers attached by leather on the front cover (Figure 1).[64] The feathers would immediately signify Indianness to consumers as feathers are a ubiquitous sight across Indian

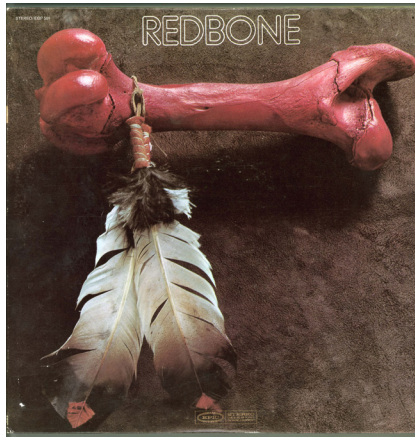

Figure 1: Redbone. *Redbone* (1970). Courtesy of Sony Music Entertainment.

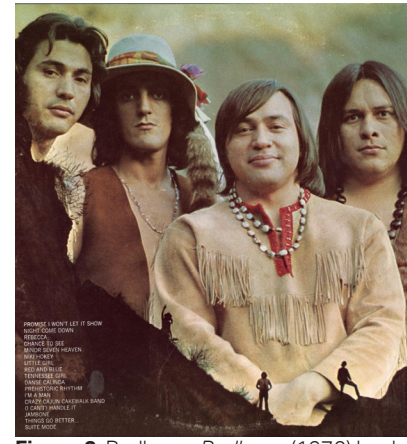

Figure 2: Redbone. *Redbone* (1970) back cover. Courtesy of Sony Music Entertainment. Photography by Yoram Kohana.

Country, used often for ceremonial or honorific purposes, as well as a constant in popular representations of Native Americans. Attaching the feathers to the bone turns the bone also into a signifier of Indianness. The red of the bone could signify "red to the bone," claiming an Indianness that reaches down into the deepest, most essential part of oneself. The back cover has two layered images. A black silhouette of the band on a ridge frames the bottom of a medium shot of the band grouped together. Standing in front of the band at a point where the black border silhouette comes to a "V," Lolly Vegas is the focal point of the image and the only band member whose upper body is completely visible. Lolly is wearing a fringed buckskin shirt that emphasizes his broad chest and shoulders as well as a necklace of shell or beads. His stance and his expression—a closed-mouth half smile—exude confidence and visually mark him as the leader. The other band members have more serious expressions, with drummer Pete DePoe gazing intensely back at the camera. The band's direct gaze and collective expressions confront the viewer. The image also emphasizes features that visually mark the band as Native American according to popular expectations. For instance, Lolly Vegas's and Pete DePoe's long, straight black hair, a feature heavily associated with Native Americans, is on full display in the image. The black image that frames the bottom features a wide shot silhouette of the band members standing far apart in a single line on a ridge amid bushes and a tree. Though their features are not visible, each member stands facing the camera, gazing back at the viewer. This calls to mind the Western trope of settlers looking up and suddenly realizing there are Indians at some distance observing them. Both layers of this image present the band as confident and formidable, challenging the viewer with an attitude that would resonate with that of Red Power and other activist groups contesting racial discrimination. Thus, the images across the album jacket curate an image of the band as authentically Native American and aligned with the broader cultural nationalist movements of the time. In these images and their personal styling, the band drew on a motley assortment of tribal inspirations, pairing plains imagery with southwest turquoise jewelry and references to Pacific Northwest cultural practices such as the potlatch, for example. This "many Nations" aesthetic could both be referencing the multiple tribal lineages embodied in each member as well as the multitribal and pan-tribal political organizations of the time, such as Indians of All Nations and the American Indian Movement.[65]

The band continued their overt display of Indianness in their live performances. Their appearance on a 1974 episode of *Burt Sugarman's the Midnight Special* provides an excellent example. The band's introduction on the show begins with a close-up shot of a rock 'n' roll drumkit. Rather than the usual rock beat, however, Redbone's drummer Butch Rillera (who joined the band in 1973) is thumping the even, rhythmic cadence of a powwow song. Lead guitarist Tony Bellamy, dressed in an electric blue-ribbon shirt and fringed maroon breech cloth and wearing two bustles of radiating orange, yellow, white, and blue on his

back, dances as Pat and Lolly Vegas shake rattles and sing vocables. They finish their powwow-style intro as Rillera transitions the drum beat to a rock groove and the band launches into their hit song "Come and Get Your Love."[66] By starting their performance with the music, clothing, and dancing of a powwow, the band emphasizes their Indianness and draws a connection between powwow music and their hit rock single. It was important that they made this explicit display of their Indianness because, without it, there is little in the song itself that would strike listeners as Native American. If oppressive authenticity is the societal demand that Native people look and sound like the Indians of settler imaginations, one can see that Redbone did everything in their power to look and sound as Indian as possible. The overall effect of the band's self-presentation is a firm declaration that this is an Indian band.

Morgan Ames's liner notes for *Potlatch* also reveal elements of the band's careful curation of their Native American identity according to the demands of oppressive authenticity. Discussing the band members, Ames begins with drummer Pete DePoe and explicitly mentions that DePoe is responsible for the Native chants heard on the track "Chant: 13th Hour." He writes "It's some powerful, and he has a right. He was born on the reservation at Neah Bay, Washington."[67] DePoe's link to a reservation community makes him appear to potential buyers as the most authentically Indian of the band and gives him a "right" to perform Native music. Perhaps coincidentally, DePoe was also the only member of the band who was not Mexican American. Ames then turns to the rest of the band, whom Lolly Vegas describes as "city Indians" in a quote. Ames writes, "Drummer DePoe heard them one night in a club. 'Their music blew my mind,' he says, 'and man, they all look like *Indians!*'" So, after establishing Pete DePoe's Native authenticity, Ames uses a quote from DePoe to vouch for the authenticity of the other band members in part by invoking the visual register: they are Indian because they look Indian. Thus, the entire introduction to the band is dedicated to establishing their authenticity. Ames makes only one oblique reference to the band members' Mexican ancestry, writing, "Between them, they sport every [Native] ancestry from Aztec on down." As with the Chicano Movement of the era, the band presents their Mexican ancestry as Aztec, a move that emphasizes the indigenous portion of a mestizo identity. By curating their identities, they create a simplified and "authentic" identity for themselves as a solely Native American band.[68]

The Vegas brother's careful curation of their American Indian identity at the height of their fame speaks to the operation of oppressive authenticity on Native identity as well as to demands for racial legibility. Simply put, to render themselves racially legible, Pat and Lolly Vegas could not be *Mexican Native American*. They had to choose one: Mexican American or Native American. They chose to be Native. However, despite this choice and despite the brothers' public performance of Native identity, Pat Vegas's memoir details how other aspects of their lives were not so clearly marked and instead spoke to continual intimacies.

Intimate Inspirations

Though Pat Vegas curated a Native American image publicly, in the intimate space of his private life, he embraced both his Native and his Mexican American heritage, especially for inspiration. Vegas's unruly assortment of musical and personal inspirations defy easy nationalist analysis and point to continual intimacies between Native Americans and Mexican Americans. For example, of the many Native influences on Vegas's life and music, the one he discusses most is the late nineteenth-century Paiute prophet Wovoka. Wovoka founded the Ghost Dance, a spiritual movement intended to restore the world to its condition presettlement that spread throughout Native communities across the United States in 1889 and 1890.[69] The Ghost Dance is an important reference point Native history, as the U.S. Cavalry massacred hundreds of unarmed Ghost Dance practitioners at Wounded Knee, South Dakota—an event that, for many, has come to epitomize U.S. settler aggression.[70] Vegas writes that the Ghost Dance inspired his approach to playing the bass guitar as he pioneered the playing of what he calls "ghost-notes." He writes, "I'll hit a note and in between that note there will be three more notes before I go to the next note….it creates harmonic, invisible tones that you can't write down."[71] He adds that many bassists in popular music today emulate his ghost-note style. Second, Wovoka and the Ghost Dance inspired the names and content of some of Redbone's work, specifically the 1973 album *Wovoka* and its title track of the same name. The chorus of the title track encourages listeners: "Our people must dance/Keep on dancing, keep on dancing/Our people must sing/Keep on singing, keep on singing for the good times to come."[72] Vegas writes that Wovoka's influence on him extend far beyond mere song content. He writes, "I wholeheartedly took to Wovoka's story and legacy" and "When I look at Wovoka…I see me." These comments demonstrate the extent to which Wovoka impacts Vegas's intimate sense of self. He identifies so strongly with Wovoka that he even sees himself when looking at images of the prophet. In a way, Vegas's artistry can be read as a continuation of Wovoka's legacy. The song's admonition for Native people to "keep on dancing" and "keep on singing" in anticipation of a better future adapts the 1890s religious practice to the cultural revolution and civil rights movements of the 1970s. Vegas saw music as entwined with the activism of the era with dancing and singing being an integral part of the work of striving for social equity. The message of the song is for people, especially Native peoples, to keep doing that work because social change is quickly approaching. Thus, Wovoka inspires Vegas's intimate self—his music, the way he plays the guitar, his sense of purpose, and even his self-image.

Vegas and Redbone also turned to Chicanx and Latinx influences for musical and personal inspiration. Pat and Lolly Vegas injected Latin American rhythms into the music they played at clubs around Los Angeles in the late 1960s. Pat Vegas writes that they learned many of these rhythms from their sister and her husband, both of whom had played with Tito Puente, the Puerto Rican "King of Latin Music."[73] Pat Vegas writes of this experience, "[It] gave me an opportunity to play music reflective of my roots, my culture" and that it later inspired his journey

as a Native American musician.[74] Beyond this direct tutelage, as musicians in Los Angeles, the Vegas brothers would have been inundated with a host of Latin American, Black, and other musical influences as the Los Angeles music scene has long been a point of confluence of musical cultures.[75] For example, Pat Vegas cites 1950s Chicano rocker Ritchie Valens as a major influence. Though Valens's biggest hit, "La Bamba," is based on a traditional Mexican wedding *huapango,* the song is grounded in a Cuban cha-cha beat.[76] Moreover, Valens thought of himself as an R&B musician, and the track features Black R&B session players Earl Palmer, René Hall, and Ernie Freeman. In listening to "La Bamba," Vegas was exposing himself to a multiplicity of musical intimacies. The Vegas Brothers, in turn, inspired others. Even before making a name for themselves as Redbone, musicians from Chicano bands Thee Midniters and Cannibal and the Headhunters would go to Hollywood to watch the brothers perform with Roy Marquez of Thee Midniters noting he would go specifically to observe Lolly Vegas play the guitar.[77] So, from their family home to their professional work in Hollywood, the brothers were intimately connected to the Chicano music scene, both drawing on it as a source of inspiration and serving as a source of inspiration to others.

Pat Vegas also writes that he feels a profound connection to Chicano rock legend Ritchie Valens, who died tragically in a plane crash in 1959. In one passage, Vegas fantasizes about meeting him in 1957 when Valens, Pat, and Lolly were all aspiring musicians. He writes, "We three future rock stars had an immediate almost spiritual bond and discussed what music meant to us as minorities. 'It's a ticket out of poverty,' said Lolly. 'No—it's a ticket to the stars,' said Ritchie. Though younger than my brother, I was usually a bit wiser: 'I just want some scratch in my pocket.'"[78] In this fantasy scene, Vegas positions Valens as simultaneously an aspirational figure—later calling him "everybody's idol"—and as a brother, someone with whom he is on equal footing and with whom he shares struggles and an "almost spiritual" connection.[79] As Victor Román Mendoza writes, fantasy, like intimacy, entails a negotiation with the broader social world. Fantasy serves two purposes: It protects one from a "potentially traumatic scene, thought, or condition," and it "enables one to locate one's desire."[80] I read this fantasy scene as expressing Vegas's desire to reconcile himself with the Chicano heritage from which he distanced himself in the public sphere, protecting him from the fear that this connection has been severed. As Vegas spent much of his career curating a simplified Native identity, his memoir, especially this fantasy scenario, serves as a space to acknowledge the impact of his Chicanx heritage. In imagining himself as a brother and friend to one of the most iconic Mexican American rock musicians, he is positioning himself as part of that Chicano rock legacy. Like his Native heritage and the prophet Wovoka, Vegas's Mexican American heritage and Ritchie Valens inspire his intimate sense of self.

Though Redbone's songs display numerous Native and Latin American musical influences, their signature sound gestures to a more complex assortment of musical inspirations. Vegas terms this sound "Native American Swamp Rock" and describes their first song in this style, "Niki Hoeky," as a "fusion of jazz, funk,

blues, and rock…rolled into a groovy ditty about a Louisiana Cajun kid."[81] The brothers wrote the song in collaboration with Jim Ford in 1967 at a time when they were calling themselves the Crazy Cajun Cakewalk Band. Because Native American contributions to popular music have often gone unacknowledged, there is little about "Niki Hoeky" sonically that would immediately register to listeners as Native American–inspired.[82] Instead, it fits within a larger trend of Southern-inspired "swamp rock" records released at the time, such as Creedence Clearwater Revival's "Susie Q"; notably, however, Vegas contends that "Niki Hoeky" is the first of this genre.[83] Like much of American popular music, it draws heavily on African American musical influences, serving as a bit of Native–Black intimacy also referenced in the name Redbone. As Vegas explains, this mobilization of Blackness was sometimes calculated. In his discussion of the band's 1972 song "Fais-Do," for instance, Vegas defines *fais-do* as a Cajun term used to describe "a White person who plays the Blues *but sounds Black*." He adds, "Elvis Presley became who he was in part because he was a White person but sounded like a Black person."[84] This comment gestures to an uncomfortable, and arguably appropriative, use of Blackness by both the band and American popular music writ large. At the same time, however, it also gestures to the intimate, boundless nature inherent to popular music.

Vegas locates the band's Native American swamp rock sound as emerging from a family history that speaks to a multiplicity of intimacies. As part of his claim to having originated the sound, Vegas traces its genesis to his maternal grandfather, Antonio Betran Morales, a man who played guitar in a Mariachi band in Texas. Vegas writes that Morales "would go to Louisiana to gig. As a kid, I remember him always playing this strange sounding music…he used to show me all of these little licks, notes and beats."[85] Thus, it is Vegas's Shoshone grandfather who introduces him to both Mariachi music, a typically Mexican musical form, as well as the Black, Creole, and Cajun sounds of Louisiana. Rather than unique, Morales's mix of musical influences may have been part of a broader pattern of cultural mixing in the South and Southwest. As historian Tyina L. Steptoe relates, Texas was a hotbed of musical and cultural mixing and innovation from the 1920s onward as African American, Mexican, and Louisiana Creole migrants converged in cities such as Houston.[86] Thus, this most intimate of experiences—playing guitar as a child with his grandfather—serves as a site where Vegas learned both the Shoshone and Chicano musical forms one might expect in a "Mexican Native American" household as well as the Cajun and African American–inspired bluesy "swamp rock" sound that would later characterize Redbone's music. American popular music itself speaks to the intimacies of peoples and cultures, of individuals and communities that overlap and influence one another. The Vegas brothers' musical genealogy is no different. The Vegas brothers drew on a broad range of personal and musical inspirations, each of which point to numerous and ongoing intimacies that cross cultures, communities, and racial categories.

Intimate Histories

In addition to his musical and personal inspirations, Pat Vegas's family history points to ongoing intimacies between Native Americans and Mexican Americans. Though his identity as a *Mexican Native American* points to his father's Mexican Americanness and his mother's Native Americanness, the intimacies he describes go far beyond the single instance in his parents' relationship. For example, Vegas describes his father, Ramon "Raymond" Mason Vasquez, as having Yaqui, Tohono O'odham, and Navajo "roots."[87] Despite these multiple indigenous roots, Vegas describes his father's experience in other ways as typically Mexican American. His father was one of "tens of thousands of Mexican-American youths" who joined the U.S. military during World War II.[88] He was also a first-generation immigrant who worked picking cotton and apricots alongside his family in the agricultural fields of Fresno, California.[89] So, whereas Ramon Mason Vasquez had a distinctive tribal heritage, his experience is also representative of that of many Mexican Americans in the mid-twentieth century. Vegas's account of his Mexican American father's Indigenous roots unsettles the assumption of a normative, imagined Chicanx subject whose Indigenous origins are located solely in a distant Aztec past and instead speak to a continual history of Indigenous-mestizo intermarriage.

Vegas's mother's racial identity is also more complicated than it appears at first glance. Whereas Vegas describes his mother, Eloise "Eloisa" Morales Vasquez, as a "direct descendant of the great Shoshone Tribe" and "full-blooded Native American (Shoshone)," he also makes several statements that complicate the racial and cultural purity implied by the term "full-blooded."[90] For one, his mother's maiden name is Spanish—Morales. Vegas also records his Shoshone family members referring to one another in Spanish as *mijo* (my son) and *abuela* (grandmother). And, once again, Vegas states that his grandfather played guitar in a mariachi band in Texas, which is a typically Mexican musical form.[91] This in no way challenges the family's legitimacy as Shoshones, as Shoshones are as perfectly capable of speaking Spanish and playing Mariachi music as Mexican Americans; rather, it demonstrates that just as Vegas claims some degree of Native American heritage on his Mexican American father's side, his Native American mother's side also bears the imprint of Mexican intimacies.

This imprint of Native–Chicanx intimacy on his "full-blooded" Shoshone mother's side is most strikingly revealed in a scene in which Vegas recounts what he claims is his oldest memory, a fantasy scenario that simultaneously invokes and upends notions of racial and cultural purity. Vegas recalls sitting on his mother's lap at age three, gazing up at her. He writes, "Her Mu Mu—perhaps in the colors of the Mexican flag—seemed brighter than the sun itself. Dark brown with a touch of green eyes, a hint of Irish blood viz-à-viz a distant relative—*I like to think he was an Irishman who fought for Santa Ana against the invaders back in the Mexican-American War*."[92] In this fantasy of his earliest recollection, Vegas clothes his full-blooded Shoshone mother in the Mexican flag and speculates

about an Irish forebearer aligned with Mexico. Radiating like the sun, seated with a baby in her lap, and clothed with the Mexican flag, Vegas's mother becomes a Madonna figure in his imagination. Specifically, this image bears a striking resemblance to *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, an incarnation of Mary that some have hailed as a syncretic, Catholicized version of the Aztec goddess Tonantzin.[93] Vegas's vision of his mother as *La Virgen*/Tonantzin corresponds with his first description of his mother in the memoir in which she is wearing a "petite gold cross" and Native dress. He writes that his mother's clothing "symbolized that my brother and I had not one but two powerful spiritual forces, Catholicism and Native American beliefs, working in our favor."[94] Though stating his mother is full-blooded Shoshone, Vegas simultaneously positions her as Mexican and Irish and a bastion of Indigenous and Catholic faiths, complicating overly simple narratives of racial and cultural purity.

The image of full-blooded Shoshone Eloise Morales Vasquez as *La Virgen*, a simultaneous embodiment of Catholicism and Indigenous spirituality, presses against oppressive notions of authenticity that privilege "pure" expressions of Indigenous culture. Scholars operating in an Indigenous nationalist mode may offer a solution to this tension. In his landmark article, "Towards a National Indian Literature," Simon J. Ortiz describes a seemingly Catholic celebration practiced by the Acqumeh community, arguing that it demonstrates how Native peoples can repurpose oppressive colonial culture "to make these forms meaningful in their own terms."[95] In a similar vein, Scott Richard Lyons writes, "When a Native religious movement that has existed for nearly five centuries is deemed unauthentic or nontraditional because its name is Christianity—even though it might well enhance the lives of the Indians who follow it—then we require a discussion about what we mean by 'traditional.'"[96] If we take serious the notion that all cultures change and if we define Indigenous by what Indigenous people do rather than by setter demands for Indigenous "authenticity" and purity, one can see that there is no contradiction in the image of a "full-blooded" Indian woman wearing a Christian cross.

The portion of Vegas's fantasy that is harder to reconcile within nationalist frameworks is the image of his full-blooded Shoshone mother clothed in the Mexican flag. A Chicanx nationalist reading might point to this combination as emblematic of Chicanx indigeneity; however, remembering that such a promotion of Chicanx/Mexican indigeneity has been used to ignore the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous peoples in Mexico and the United States, I shift away from such a reading. Eloise Morales Vazquez was Shoshone, not Chicana. Instead, recalling Mendoza's formulation that fantasy both protects and expresses desire, I read this fantasy as allowing Vegas to ameliorate the fear of *not being Indian enough*—a fear he had long managed through the curation of his public identity—by giving him the space to express desire for an intimate connection with Mexicanness—to be comfortably and legibly Mexican Native American. In positioning this image of his mother as his earliest memory, Vegas is positioning this fantasy as a point of origin. As geographer Yi-

Fu Tuan writes, "Mother may well be the first enduring and independent object in the infant's world of fleeting impressions…[the child's] essential shelter and dependable source of physical and psychological comfort…she is his familiar environment and haven."[97] In Vegas's fantasy, which he positions as his earliest memory, he envisions his mother—his point of origin, his place of comfort—as simultaneously Indian and Mexican and even containing a "hint of Irish blood." This fantasy image exists in a place outside and defiant of the racial-nationalist logics within which he has long worked to locate himself. In this fantasy in which his full-blooded Shoshone mother is clothed in the Mexican flag, Vegas can embrace his Mexicanness without fear of threatening the authenticity of his Indianness because his Mexicanness is inextricably bound to his Indianness and vice versa. This fantasy image is an expression of Pat Vegas's desire to be Mexican Native American—to be legible and authentic without curation. It is an image that speaks to ongoing intimacies between Native American and Mexican American individuals, communities, and identities.

The Promise of Intimacy

What we can conclude from this exploration of Native-Chicanx intimacies must necessarily begin with what we cannot conclude. A project intent on blurring lines of identity must contend with the reality that some lines are better left unblurred. One of those is the boundary between who counts as Indigenous and who does not as Indigenous rights depend on this sharp distinction. However, if we collapse all discussion of Native–Chicanx relationality into the question of Chicanx indigeneity, I contend that we miss something important. We miss the numerous, ongoing intimacies that exist beyond the scope or interest of nationalist-oriented scholarship and that confound the easy classification of people into distinct racial categories. These intimacies are present in lived interpersonal relationships such as the one between Pat and Lolly Vegas's parents, and they also influence our interior worlds, inspiring our creations and shaping our fantasies.

In his childhood living room, Pat Vegas learned Cajun guitar from his Shoshone grandfather who was also a mariachi. He dreams of his Shoshone mother clothed in the Mexican flag. He imagines himself to be kin to both Wovoka and Ritchie Valens. These are the intimate details of Pat Vegas's life—what he does, what he thinks about, and what he dreams about in his day-to-day experience. They are also details for which the nationalist-oriented projects of Native American and Indigenous and Chicanx studies have little use. They are details that threaten Vegas's legibility as a Native American public figure as they press against American dominant culture's demand that, to be "really Indian," one must meet oppressive standards of cultural and racial purity. This study troubles nationalist modes of scholarship that organize around the normative experiences of an imagined citizen-subject, leaving no room for experiences, lives, and intimacies that extend beyond national boundaries. If we are to take seriously the call emanating from Critical Latinx Indigeneities and Critical

Ethnic Studies to critically reexamine the relationship between Chicanx people and Indigenous peoples as well as Chicanx Studies and Native American and Indigenous Studies, this work must necessarily entail an examination of the messiness of identity and experience.

The examination of these messy intimacies is vital to both Chicanx and Native American and Indigenous studies. Writing from a Chicanx/Latinx studies perspective, María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo asks us to look more closely at these Indigenous–Chicanx/mestizo postcolonial intimacies and "subject that intimacy to critical analysis." What is at stake, she continues, is "(re)claiming an Indigenous ancestry not for the purpose of claiming to be Indian, but for the purpose of rectifying the historical record."[98] Writing from a Native studies perspective, Joanne Barker argues that the U.S. settler nation's demand for Indigenous authenticity "makes it impossible for Native peoples to narrate the historical and social complexities of cultural exchange, change, and transformation—to claim cultures and identities that are conflicted, messy, uneven, modern, technological, mixed."[99] Examining experiences that are messy and mixed offers the opportunity to resist the oppressive demands for authenticity that weigh on Native people. In examining the intimate messiness of the Vegas brothers' identities, this study highlights both the constant, ongoing nature of Native–Chicanx intimacies as well as the lengths the brothers had to go to curate a legible public image.

Cultural nationalism, dominant notions of race, and oppressive authenticity impacted the Vegas brothers' lives, prodding them to curate their public images, highlighting some aspects of themselves and de-emphasizing others to render themselves legible as Native American. These forces further shape how the public remembers Redbone. Redbone is undoubtedly a Native American band, and their induction into the Native American Music Association Hall of Fame as well as their continuous presence on radio stations across the world reflect the love both Native and non-Native people have for the band as well as their musical excellence. But the well-deserved recognition they receive as an important Native American rock band should not have to entail the erasure of their Mexican Americanness. Pat and Lolly Vegas's lived experiences point to the messiness of everyday lived experiences and how the racial categories *Native American* and *Mexican American,* categories held to be distinct in both American cultural perception and in the work of Native studies and Chicanx studies scholarship, are actually marked by continual intimacies.

Many thanks to Jordache A. Ellapen, Christina Snyder, Andrew Jolivétte, Alejandra I. Ramírez, and Giselle Cunanan as well as the anonymous reviewers at *American Studies* for their invaluable comments on earlier drafts of this manuscript.

Notes

1. For core Redbone member Pat Vegas's perspective on their success, see Pat "Redbone" Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love: A Celebratory Ode to Redbone (1939-Present)* (Self-pub., Rehbon Publishing, 2017). For more on Indigenous popular music, see Jeff Berglund, Jan Johnson, and Kimberlie Lee, eds., *Indigenous Pop: Native American Music from Jazz to Hip Hop* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016) and John W. Troutman, *Indian Blues: American Indians and the Politics of Music, 1879-1934* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009). For more on Redbone's contribution to activism during Red Power, see Jan Johnson's "We Were All Wounded at Wounded Knee: The Engaged Resistance of Folk and Rock in the Red Power Era," in *Indigenous Pop*. See also George Lipsitz, *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), esp. 130–132.

2. See Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*. "Come and Get Your Love" has received increased airplay in recent years thanks to its inclusion in the film *Guardians of the Galaxy*. It's also been featured in numerous commercials and television series. See Kory Grow, "Hooked on a Feeling: Inside the Hit 'Guardians of the Galaxy' Soundtrack," *Rolling Stone*, September 3, 2014, https://www.rollingstone.com/movies/movie-news/hooked-on-a-feeling-inside-the-hit-guardians-of-the-galaxy-soundtrack-46941/.

3. Throughout this essay, I use *Mexican American* and *Chicanx* interchangeably to refer to people of Mexican descent living in the United States. I also use *Chicanx* to refer to the contemporary academic field of Chicanx/Chicana/Chicano studies. I use *Chicano* to refer to the Chicano Movement, keeping the *o* ending to indicate both how the group named itself at the time as well as the privileging of a male citizen-subject within this group. I use Latinx when including discussion of people of Latin American descent in the United States who are not Mexican. I use *Native American* and *American Indian* interchangeably to refer to Native peoples as a racial category in the United States. I use *Indigenous* to refer to first peoples as a sociopolitical category within a settler nation.

4. Of the innumerable examples, I am thinking here of Stuart Hall, "What Is This 'Black' in Popular Culture?" *Social Justice* 20, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 1993): 104–114; John Fiske, *Reading the Popular*, *2nd Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2011 [1989]); and Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

5. The idea that people seek to control the impression others have of them has a long history in sociological literature. See, for example, Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959). More recently, scholars such as John Potter have used curation to discuss the strategic presentation of self on social media. See John Potter and Øystein Gilje, "Curation as a New Literacy Practice," *E-Learning and Digital Media* 12.2 (March 2015): 123–127.

6. This is especially true of the memoir. As G. Thomas Couser notes, memoir is the "narration of our lives in our own terms" (6) and "life writing does not register preexisting selfhood, but rather somehow creates it" (14). See Couser, *Memoir: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

7. For instance, other accounts of the Vegas brothers' early life, notably scholar George Lipsitz's, seem to contradict the specifics of Pat Vegas's account. See *Footsteps in the Dark*, pp. 130–132.

8. For more on nationalism within Native Studies, see Clara Sue Kidwell, "American Indian Studies: Intellectual Navel Gazing or Academic Discipline?" *American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 1–17; entries for "Sovereignty" and "Nation" in *Native Studies Keywords*, eds. Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, and Michelle Raheja (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015); and Jace Weaver, Craig S. Womack, and Robert Warrior, *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

9. For more on nationalism within Chicanx studies, see Dennis López, "Cultivating Aztlán: Chicano (Counter) Cultural Politics and the Postwar American University," *American*

Studies 58, no. 1 (2019): 73–111 and Rodolfo F. Acuña, *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of the Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011).

10. See Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping U.S. and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011) and Gary Y. Okihiro, *Third World Studies: Theorizing Liberation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

11. See Joanne Barker, *Native Acts: Law, Recognition, and Cultural Authenticity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Lee Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); and Cathy J. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" *GLQ* 3, no. 4 (1997): 437–465.

12. For more on *Native American/Indian* as a racial category, see Barker, *Native Acts*; Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Brian Klopotek, *Recognition Odysseys: Indigeneity, Race, and Federal Tribal Recognition Policy in Three Louisiana Indian Communities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011). For more on *Mexican American* as a racial category, see Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: NYU Press, 2007); and Julie A. Dowling, *Mexican Americans and the Question of Race* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

13. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States From the 1960s to the 1990s, 3rd ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

14. I take this phrasing from Okihiro, *Third World Studies,* p. 2.

15. Berglund, Johnson, and Lee, eds., *Indigenous Pop*.

16. David Reyes and Tom Waldman, *Land of a Thousand Dances: Chicano Rock 'n' Roll from Southern California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

17. Of the numerous significant Native and Chicanx scholars who have explored these questions. I would like to highlight Jack Forbes, *Aztecas del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlán* (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, 1973), as he is one of the most prominent Native scholars supportive of the idea of Chicanx indigeneity. The work of Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa has been deeply influential and is frequently referenced in current scholarly debates on the topic. See, for instance Cherríe L. Moraga, *Loving in the War Years: Lo Que Nunca Pasó por su Labios* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000 [1983]); Gloria Anzaldúa*, Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute, 1987); and Cherríe L. Moraga, *The Last Generation* (Cambridge, MA; South End Press, 1999 [1993]). For more on the Chicano Movement's uses of mestizaje, see Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race* and Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions*. See also work examining broader cross-racial relationships in California: David-James Gonzales, "Placing the *et al.* Back in *Mendez v. Westminster*: Hector Tarango and the Mexican American Movement to End Segregation in the Social and Political Borderlands of Orange County, California," *American Studies* 56, no. 2 (2017): 31–52; and Allison Varzally, *Making a Non-White America: Californians Coloring Outside Ethnic Lines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). Key works charting Native-Chicanx relations and the contention over Chicanx indigeneity include Inés Hernández-Avila and Domino Perez, eds., "Indigenous Intersections in Literature: American Indians and Chicanos/Chicanas," special section, *SAIL* 2, no. 15 (Fall 2003/Winter 2004): 1–127; Lourdes Gutierrez Najera, M. Bianet Castellanos, and Arturo J. Aldama, eds., *Comparative Indigeneities of the Américas: Toward a Hemispheric Approach* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012); María Eugenia Cotera and María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, "Indigenous But Not Indian? Chicana/os and the Politics of Indigeneity" in *The World of Indigenous North America*, Robert Warrior, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 549–568; Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian Given: Racial Geographies Across Mexico and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); and Simón Ventura Trujillo, *Land Uprising:*

Native Story Power and the Insurgent Horizons of Latinx Indigeneity (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2020).

18. María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) and "Who's the Indian in Aztlán? Re-writing Mestizaje, Indianism, and Chicanismo from the Lacandón" in *The Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader*, María Milagros López and Ileana Rodriguez, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Sheila Contreras, *Blood Lines: Myth, Indigenism, and Chicana/o Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence*; Laura Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III: Settler Colonialism and Nonnative People of Color," *Progress in Human Geography* 42, no. 2 (2017): 309–318; and Lourdes Alberto, "Nations, Nationalisms, and *Indígenas:* The "Indian" in the Chicano Revolutionary Imaginary," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 107–127.

19. See Pulido, "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III."

20. Other key early borderlands works include Renato Rosaldo, *Cultural and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); D. Emily Hicks, *Border Writing: The Multidimensional Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); and Hector Calderon and José David Saldívar, eds., *Criticism in the Borderlands: Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991). For more on borderlands studies, see Nicole M. Guidlotti-Hernández, "Borderlands," in *Keywords for Latina/o Studies*, eds. Deborah R. Vargas, Nancy Raquel Mirabal, and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 21–24, and Nancy A. Naples, "Borderlands Studies and Border Theory: Linking Activism and Scholarship for Social Justice," *Sociology Compass* 4.7 (2010): 505–518.

21. For an example of hybridity in American Indian Studies Scholarship, see Louis Owens, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998). For the reconceptualization of Native American and Indigenous Studies, see Robert Warrior, "2010 NAISA Presidential Address: Practicing Native American and Indigenous Studies," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 3–24, and Clara Sue Kidwell, "American Indian Studies."

22. Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409. An example of a work that engages both Native and Settler Colonial studies is Eve Tuck and Wayne K. Yang, "Decolonization is not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1, no. 1. (2012): 1–40. For an examination of distinctions and tensions between settler colonial studies and Native studies, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "'A Structure, Not an Event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity," *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2016).

23. María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, "Indians Have Always Been Modern: *Roma*, the Settler Colonial Paradigm, and Latinx Temporality," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 45, no. 2 (2020): 221–242, esp. 225–226. For further critiques of settler colonial studies, see Tiffany Lethabo King, *The Black Shoals: Offshore Formations of Black and Native Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019), esp. chapter 1; Nandita Sharma, *Home Rule: National Sovereignty and the Separation of Natives and Migrants* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), esp. ch. 8; and Mahmood Mamdani, *Neither Settler Nor Native: The Making and Unmaking of Permanent Minorities* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020).

24. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015); and Victor Román Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies: Fantasy,*

Racial-Sexual Governance, and the Philippines in U.S. Imperialism, 1899-1913 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 10.

25. Kun, *Audiotopia*, 13.

26. Kun, 23.

27. Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, 6.

28. See Grace Kyungwon Hong and Roderick A. Ferguson, eds., *Strange Affinities: The Gender and Sexual Politics of Comparative Racialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011); Okihiro, *Third World Studies*; and María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, "Critical Latinx Indigeneities: A Paradigm Drift," *Latino Studies* 15, no. 2 (2017): 138–155, esp. 143.

29. Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies*, 11.

30. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 14.

31. Jeffrey Sissons, *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and Their Futures* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).

32. Barker, *Native Acts*, 6.

33. See Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); and Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing," in *Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006): 66–73.

34. Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*. One can also see this in the salvage ethnography of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the anthropological preference for the "pure" cultural traditions of the past over the dynamic, living cultures of existing Native peoples. See Barker, *Native Acts*, esp. 19–22.

35. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 39.

36. See Barker, *Native Acts*; María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *Indian Given*; Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004); and Nicolas G. Rosenthal, *Reimagining Indian Country: Native American Migration and Identity in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

37. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 51.

38. Other Mexican American musicians at the time have commented on this dynamic. For example, Frankie "Cannibal" Garcia of the band Cannibal and the Headhunters said that after their record "Land of a Thousand Dances" reached the top 40 in 1965, record companies, "didn't know how to market us, for one. There were basically only black or white groups in the early 1960s…the people didn't even know what we were half of the time." Ethlie Ann Vare, "Cannibal and the Headhunters," *Goldmine,* November 1983, 26, quoted in George Lipsitz, "Cruising Around the Historical Bloc: Postmodernism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles," *Cultural Critique* 5, Modernity and Modernism, Postmodernity and Postmodernism (Winter 1986-7): 157–177, esp. 167.

39. Vegas, 53.

40. Reyes and Waldman, *Land of a Thousand Dances*, chapter 4.

41. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 84.

42. Whereas there is no reason to doubt that Hendrix had Cherokee ancestry, his claim must also be placed in context. Though he claimed Cherokee ancestry, Jimi Hendrix was not enrolled in a Cherokee tribe. Although there are many African Americans with Cherokee or other Native ancestry, one must also note that claiming to have a Cherokee grandmother, as Hendrix did, is a common way that non-Indians in the U.S. appropriate indigenous heritage. See Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988 [1969]), chapter 1. See also Circe Sturm, *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-First Century* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011).

43. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 71–72.

44. Vegas, 74–76.

45. Vegas, 74.

46. Vegas, 89.

47. Vegas, 27.

48. Vegas, 90–91. Reyes and Waldman note that Chicano musicians also embraced a more explicit ethnic identity after 1968 in *Land of a Thousand Dances*, p. 103.

49. Vegas, 91.

50. For more on Tierra and El Chicano, see Reyes and Waldman, *Land of a Thousand Dances,* esp. ch. 10.

51. See Josephy et al., *Red Power,* and Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*.

52. See Vine Deloria, Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins* and N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1999 [1968]) and James Ruppert, "Fiction: 1968 to the Present," in *The Cambridge Companion to Native American Literature*, eds. Joy Porter and Kenneth M. Roemer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173–188.

53. For more on this phenomenon, see Phillip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. ch. 6; Shari M. Huhndorf, *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), esp. ch. 3; and Sherry L. Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

54. See Smith, *Hippies, Indians, and the Fight for Red Power.*

55. The production of "authentic" Indianness in music and performance for a non-Native audience has a long history stretching back to the wild west shows of the late nineteenth century and Native musicians in the early twentieth century. See John W. Troutman, "Joe Shunatona and the United States Indian Reservation Orchestra," in *Indigenous Pop*, pp. 17–32.

56. For more on the occupation, see Josephy et al., *Red Power,* and Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane.*

57. Morgan Ames, liner notes to *Potlatch*, Redbone, Epic, 1971.

58. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 39–41, 53–60.

59. Vegas, 57.

60. Vegas, 89.

61. See, for instance, Don C. Marler, "The Louisiana Redbones," (presentation, First Union, a Meeting of the Melungeons, Wise, VA, July, 1997), *AfriGeneas Library*, http://www.afrigeneas.com/library/redbones.html.

62. Janis Schacht, "Redbone and the Top Forty Trap," *Circus*, April 1972, 60–63, digitized and uploaded to Christian Staebler, "Circus," Redbone: Redbone's Official Website, http://www.redbone.be/presse/Circus.html.

63. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 90.

64. You can find images of Redbone's self-titled album on the band's official site. Chris Staebler, "1970—Redbone," *Redbone: Redbone's Official Website*, http://www.redbone.be/Discography/Redbone.html.

65. For example, Pete DePoe is Northern Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Siletz among other tribal affiliations and Tony Bellamy is Yaqui. See Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 86–87. For more on pan-Indian activist movements, see Alvin M. Josephy Jr., Joane Nagel, and Troy Johnson, eds., *Red Power: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1999) and Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1997).

66. Redbone performed "Come and Get Your Love" on *Burt Sugarman's The Midnight Special*, episode 98, originally aired December 13, 1974 on NBC. It was posted online by Redbone Official, "Redbone—Come and Get Your Love (Live on the Midnight Special) HQ," YouTube video, 4:46, June 9, 2010, https://youtu.be/OnJqFrVD3uE.

67. Ames, liner notes to *Potlatch*.

68. As of his 2017 memoir, Pat Vegas does not claim Aztec ancestry or attribute Aztec ancestry to any other band member.

69. See Gregory E. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

70. See Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*. For narrative accounts of the massacre at Wounded Knee, see Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux,* 2nd ed. (Lincoln: Bison Books, 2006 [1928]) and Black Elk, John G. Neihardt, and Raymond J. DeMallie, *Black Elk Speaks* (Albany: Excelsior Editions, State University Press of New York Press, 2008 [1932]).

71. Vegas acknowledges in the text that other bass players, including Motown's James Jamerson, also claim to have developed the ghost note style. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 49–50.

72. Redbone, performers, "Wovoka," by Pat Vegas and Lolly Vegas, track 1 on *Wovoka*, Epic, 1973, 33 1/3 rpm.

73. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 84.

74. Vegas*,* 84.

75. For more on Los Angeles as a center of Latin American music, see Josh Kun, ed., *The Tide Was Always High: The Music of Latin America in Los Angeles*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

76. Lipsitz, "Crusing Around the Historical Bloc," 167; Josh Kun, "Introduction," in *The Tide Was Always High*, 36–37.

77. Reyes and Waldman, *Land of a Thousand Dances*, 128.

78. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 32–33.

79. Vegas, 33.

80. Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies*, 5.

81. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 74.

82. As Native studies scholars, such as Philip J. Deloria, John Troutman, and John-Carlos Perea have demonstrated, Native American musical contributions have been central to much of American popular music. See Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*; Troutman, *Indian Blues*; John-Carlos Perea, *Intertribal Native American Music in the United States: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Berglund, Johnson, and Lee, eds., *Indigenous Pop*.

83. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 75 and 258.

84. Vegas provides this definition on page 118 of *Come and Get Your Love*. In a personal communication, however, Indigenous Creole scholar Andrew Jolivétte revealed that *fais-do* is more commonly used to refer to a party, a dance, or a lullaby. Jolivétte, email message to author, August 6, 2019.

85. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love,* 74.

86. Tyina L. Steptoe, *Houston Bound: Culture and Color in a Jim Crow City* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

87. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 15. What I interpret as Tohono O'odham, Vegas lists as "Tahona" and "Papago."

88. Vegas, 15.

89. Vegas, 15 and 31.

90. Vegas, 15 and 27.

91. Vegas, 23, 28, and 29.

92. Vegas, 28, italics in original.

93. For instance, Gloria Anzaldúa writes that Guadalupe*,* "the single most potent religious, political and cultural image of the Chicano/*Mexican*," appeared outside of Mexico City in 1531 at a site where Nahuas had once worshipped Tonantzin. She suggests Guadalupe is a homophonic approximation of Coatlalopeuh, the goddess's full name. See Anzaldúa*, Borderlands/La Frontera*, esp. 50–52.

94. Vegas, *Come and Get Your Love*, 15.

95. Simon J. Ortiz, "Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism," *MELUS* 8, no. 2 (Summer, 1981): 7–12, esp. 8.

96. Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 33.

97. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005 [1977]), 29.

98. Saldaña-Portillo, "Indians Have Always Been Modern," 236 and 237.

99. Barker, *Native Acts*, 223.