Despite growing scholarly work to the contrary, the popular image of early modern Europe remains an extraordinarily white, ruffled and cod-pieced Tudor fantasy, where Indigenous, African and Asian people existed only as curiosities from distant lands. This chimera of ‘historical whiteness’ has become a political battleground in recent years and even pseudo-historical fictional worlds replicate and reproduce this cultural homogeneity, perpetuating public perceptions of the European past as a white domain.

But, in reality, tens of thousands of Indigenous people travelled to Europe from the very moment of first encounter, many unwillingly, but some by choice, showing Native people as purposeful voyagers and powerful agents at the heart of empire from its very inception. In the turbulent waters of the sixteenth century, when the tide had not yet turned inexorably toward Europe, Indigenous people were a powerful force in global networks, becoming ubiquitous as diplomats, servants, relatives, enslaved people and collaborators, especially in the Iberian peninsula, where sources show them as a significant minority by the mid-1500s.

Reflecting on some of the earliest journeys of this Indigenous diaspora, this paper confronts damaging Eurocentric stereotypes of early modernity, showing the ways in which Indigenous travellers can destabilise our assumptions about early
modern society and Atlantic exchanges. By writing an Indigenous-centred history of the early colonial world, of Indigenous travellers, it becomes possible to decolonize popular understandings of the past, to suggest new ways to transcend traditional narratives and re-imagine the sixteenth century as a place of Indigenous activity, imagination and power.

Dr Caroline Dodds Pennock is Senior Lecturer in International History at the University of Sheffield. Her first book, Bonds of Blood: Gender, Lifecycle and Sacrifice in Aztec Society won the Royal Historical Society’s Gladstone Prize in 2008. She is currently writing a book about Indigenous travellers to Europe before the founding of Jamestown. Tentatively entitled On Savage Shores, it will be published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson (UK) and Pantheon (USA) in 2021/

Sebastian Jablonski (University of Potsdam), ‘Moving on their Own Terms: Pitcairn Islanders’ Mobility in the Pacific’

Nineteenth century colonial literature repeatedly presents Pitcairn Islanders as static, their mobility entirely dependent on the British colonizer’s willingness for transport, largely due to the remoteness of the island, as well as the lack of necessary knowledge in shipbuilding. In this paper, I aim at reversing this notion and showing how the Islanders used the means of European transport for their own purposes, exerting their Indigenous agency at even this early stage.

I will present three historical instances in which the Islanders proved this imposed notion of immobility inaccurate. I will start with a closer look when, at the brink of the nineteenth century, the women previously captured from Tahiti intended to leave the island on a self-made raft, long before the British even discovered the settlement. Next, I will analyse the first resettlement of Pitcairn’s inhabitants to Tahiti in 1831: it resulted in a disaster as many of them died there, which incited them to rescue themselves by buying passage back to Pitcairn. In the last part, I will discuss an outcome of the second resettlement of the Islanders, in this case to Norfolk Island in 1856. Pitcairn’s community split up when part of them, being disenchanted by the treatment of British colonial officials, decided to return back home.

As the thorough analysis of these various historical sources proves, Pitcairn Islanders successfully utilized the tools of the colonizer in order to achieve their aims. Their example adds valuable nuances to the simplified master narrative of the colonizer’s power over native mobility.

Sebastian Jablonski has earned degrees in Teaching English from the University of Warsaw and Anglophone Modernities in Literature and Culture from the University of Potsdam, for which he received a DAAD stipend. His research interests include Victorian England and the history of nineteenth century Pacific colonization, the
topic of his MA thesis. The present abstract is a work in progress towards his PhD project preliminarily titled Pitcairn Island as an Intersection of British and American Nineteenth Century Pacific Colonial Interests.


Emerging studies of “Indigenous mobilities” have in recent years uncovered little-known histories of how Indigenous peoples from throughout the world have travelled to Europe, often to assert their sovereignty at the “hearts of empire”. However, few of them have examined encounters between non-European peoples. Addressing this neglect, this paper investigates the transnational and non-European encounter of five Aboriginal activists with the US Black Power movement in the international Black Power conference, “Congress of African People”, in Atlanta in 1970. Investigating the role that this US trip played for these activists, this presentation argues that despite their often-negative conclusions about the usefulness of this trip, their encounter with the US Black Power movement helped them to find new answers to the long-term Aboriginal rights struggle. After the trip, some of the Aboriginal activists implemented and adapted some tactics and philosophies of the US Black Power movement, the most important being new perspectives on black pride and self-determination. The second aim of this article is to address the marginalisation of Indigenous peoples within the field of Global History. Global History has favoured the study of mobile and transnational European elites over Indigenous peoples who have been typically assumed to be local and static and at the receiving end of the processes of globalisation. This case study of transnational encounters of five Aboriginal activists however challenges this notion that Indigenous peoples were immobile and demonstrates that Global History approaches can also be used to give a voice to Indigenous peoples.

My name is Marvin Martin and I am currently adding the final touches to my master’s thesis for the completion of the master’s programme Global History at the Freie Universität Berlin and the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Before studying Global History, I received a Bachelor’s degree in History and Political Science from the Freie Universität Berlin and completed an exchange year at the University of Kent in 2014-2015. An additional exchange year at the University of Melbourne in 2017-2018 sparked my research interest in Australian Indigenous history. I have just completed my job as a research assistant for the “Return, Reconcile, Renew” research project headed by the Australian National University, which aims to facilitate the repatriation of ancestral remains to Indigenous communities in Australia. In my master’s thesis, I examine how the Australian Indigenous
Warrgamay people were involved in the little-researched explorations of the Norwegian explorer Carl Lumholtz in North Queensland in the early 1880s.

**Tuesday 15th June**

**15-16:15 - Children and Families**

*Felicity Jensz (WWU Münster) and Marleen Reichgelt (Radboud University), ‘Photographic Encounters: Seeing German colonial child subjects through European Encounters, ca. 1890’*

In 1890-91, August and Louis, two young Melanesian boys from the German protectorate of Neu-Pommern (current Papua New Guinea) accompanied the French missionary Bishop Couppé to Europe. Through examining five photographs of the boys’ European tour, we aim to identify various spatial-temporal specific encounters centred on these ‘colonial children’: intimate encounters (the Netherlands), public encounters (France), religious encounters (the Vatican), national/political encounters (Germany), reencounters (New Britain). In our paper, photographs not only serve as a point of entry to the actual moment of contact captured by the camera, but form contact zones themselves: many people across Europe encountered ‘colonial children’ only through their photographic representations. As the event of photography is never over (Azoulay), the photographs of children remain a site in which communities continue to encounter these children. As such, photography shaped, facilitated, and prolongs the (various) encounter(s). Historical studies on Indigenous people travelling to Europe have often focused on performances of ‘Otherness’ (Poignant). In this context, Indigenous children accompanying Christian missionaries constitute both an overlooked and diverging group: they too were put on show, not just because they were different, but by virtue of their supposed capability to become ‘like us’ and their ability to perform ‘religion’ and ‘respectability’. By distinguishing the diverse contexts in which these children became involved and the currencies they held in these encounters, this paper will elucidate the complex role of ‘colonial children’ in processes of colonisation, empire building and the formation of European-Catholic identities, thus transcending their ascribed role as ‘spectacle’.

Felicity Jensz received her PhD from The University of Melbourne in 2007 and in 2017 her Habilitation from the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster (WWU), Germany. Since 2008 she has been employed in the Cluster of Excellence for “Religion and Politics in Pre-Modern and Modern Cultures” at the WWU, where she works on British and German colonial history, including on cultural contact, missionaries, education and childhoods of non-European peoples and anthropological and natural history collections. She has published widely on mission, colonial, and book history with her publications including “German
Moravian Missionaries in the British Colony of Victoria” (Brill, 2010), an edited collection “Missions and Media” (with Hanna Acke, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), and articles in various journals including Gender & History (forthcoming), Postcolonial Studies (2018), History of Education (2018), Anthropological Forum (2017) and Itinerario (2016).

Marleen Reichgelt is a PhD candidate at the History Department of the Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Her research project (2017-2022) is centred around missionary photography, which she uses to study the position, agency, and life worlds of children engaged in the Catholic mission on Netherlands New Guinea between 1905 and 1962. Her core research interests are intercultural contact and exchange in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, involving three overlapping fields: photography and visual culture, (Dutch) colonialism and postcolonialism, and the Catholic mission. In addition to her PhD project, she works as an archivist at the Heritage Centre for Dutch Monastery Life (Erfgoedcentrum Nederlands Kloosterleven). She has published on missionary photography and colonial childhoods in BMGN -Low Countries Historical Review(forthcoming) and Trajecta (2018).

Mairin Odle (University of Alabama), ”Perfectly unmoved”: A Trans-Atlantic Removal and the Second Seminole War’

In London in 1843, attendees at the General World’s Anti-Slavery Convention would have seen a young Seminole boy, known as Nikkanochee, presented to the gathering and would have heard from his “guardians”—a minister and a doctor—about the circumstances of the American war against the Seminoles. Nikkanochee, like many Southeastern Native children of the era, had been removed from his family, community, and homeland: but unlike those coercively ‘adopted’ by American settlers, he was taken across the Atlantic and placed on a different imperial stage. In England, his portrait was painted by the American artist George Catlin, while measurements of his head were made by eager phrenologists. His story was made the basis of a book written by the doctor who had taken him from Florida. Such elements of his experience are similar to the ways many indigenous people were treated as exotic spectacles in European metropoles. Yet the particularities of Nikkanochee’s life—a Seminole child “rescued” from American violence by an English doctor, then deployed as a prop among anti-slavery advocates—also place him and his travels at the heart of mid-nineteenth-century Atlantic politics. This paper will consider how intersecting—and sometimes competing—narratives of moral high ground prompted various American and British actors to make claims on Nikkanochee’s story, while also asking how our interpretations of U.S. “Indian Removal” policy might shift if viewed as a transatlantic phenomenon. My paper will also attend to the traces left by
Nikkanoochee’s life, first as a student at London’s Mill Hill School, then onboard a ship of the merchant marine, exploring them as acts which transcended the scripts created by his captors/adopters.

Dr. Mairin Odle is an assistant professor of American Studies at the University of Alabama, where she teaches courses in Native American studies and the history of the body. Her current book manuscript, Skin Deep: Tattoos, Scalps, and the Contested Language of Bodies in Early America (under contract with Penn Press), explores how cross-cultural body modifications in early America remade both physical appearances and ideas about identity. Focusing on indigenous practices of tattooing and scalping, the book traces how these practices were adopted and transformed by colonial powers.

**Krista Barclay** (University of Toronto), “‘All our Hudson’s Bay friends’: Indigenous Hudson’s Bay Company Families in Nineteenth-Century Scotland’

By the nineteenth century the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) permitted its retiring employees to settle with their Indigenous partners and children outside the boundaries of its territorial holdings in British North America (Rupert’s Land). Much work has been done on fur trade families who remained at HBC trading posts or settled the American and Canadian Wests, but there has been less research on families who left Rupert’s Land for Scotland in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. This paper focuses on a network of such families that were bound together by personal and professional connections that spanned the nineteenth century British World. In Scotland, they clustered alongside one another and alongside other imperial families in places like Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Nairn. The racial and gendered terrains of their new home communities in Scotland were complex for Indigenous women and their children to navigate. They were connected to vast imperial networks of power and patronage and had the capital to perform elite sociability; yet, their presence raised potentially unsettling questions about race, gender, and citizenship in these places. Simply by their persistence ‘out of place’, the Indigenous women and children whose stories are foregrounded in this paper complicate assumptions about where Indigenous people belonged and could be found in the nineteenth century British Empire; they were genteel travellers, employers, wealthy heads of families, and the owners of fine country estates. They played roles in both the reification and subversion of racial and gendered imperial hierarchies, and thus came to occupy unexpected and even contradictory positions in family and local historical narratives.

I completed my doctoral studies in the Department of History at the University of Manitoba in 2019. My dissertation, titled “‘Far asunder there are those to whom my name is music’: Nineteenth Century Hudson’s Bay Company Families in the British
Imperial World” focused on the settlement experiences of Indigenous Hudson’s Bay Company families in Scotland and Ontario. Part of this research was published in the Journal of the Canadian Historical Association (CHA) in 2017, where it won the CHA’s Jean-Marie Fecteau Article Prize. I am currently a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department for the Study of Religion at the University of Toronto, where I work on a digital humanities partnership with Rainy River First Nations called Kiinawin Kawindomowin Story Nations. I am a settler in Chippewa Tri-Council Territory north of Toronto, Canada.

**Tuesday 15th June**

**16.30-17.45 - Heritage and History**

*Lisa King (University of Tennessee, Knoxville), ‘Diversity, Relationality, and Accountability: Decolonizing the Humboldt Forum’*

Within North America, there are cautious success stories of Indigenous peoples creating museum spaces that speak “the hard truths of colonialism” (Lonetree, Decolonizing Museums) in varying degrees (King, Legible Sovereignties). These sites arguably draw the right to speak from the land itself, as the represented Indigenous communities can make direct appeals to Indigenous histories and presence there. However, given Indigenous nations’ and communities’ literal and epistemological distance from Europe, they too often are not counted as full or legitimate participants in the European museological conversation. Institutions such as the British Museum are notorious for arguing that present possession and stewardship justify claiming ownership and rights to meaning-making on the world stage, thus perpetuating colonial logics of physical and rhetorical domination. However, new museums are not exempt from this legacy: the colonial framework itself is the problem, not just individual institutions. Using the nearly-finished Humboldt Forum in Berlin, Germany, as a working example of a new museum that relies on old colonial logics under the guise of “diversity,” this presentation discusses the conflict resulting from the Forum’s desire to “bring together diverse cultures and perspectives” without full and responsible engagement of the communities represented in its collections (https://www.humboldtforum.com/en/pages/humboldt-forum). While superficial orientation to possession and place would suggest prioritizing German self-narratives at the Humboldt, Indigenous appeals to relationality and accountability suggest a different approach is not only warranted, but necessary to begin the decolonization of these collections and system itself.

Lisa King is Associate Professor of Rhetoric, Writing, and Linguistics in the Department of English at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Her research and teaching interests are interdisciplinary, and include cultural rhetorics with an
emphasis in contemporary Native American and Indigenous rhetorics. More specifically, her focus rests on the rhetorics of cross-cultural sites such as Indigenous museums and cultural centers. Currently, her work continues to explore public representations of Indigenous peoples within the United States, while expanding to consider contemporary German and European museological representations of Native Americans and those representations’ rhetorical and cultural impact. She is the co-editor of *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story: Teaching American Indian Rhetorics* (2015), and author of *Legible Sovereignties: Rhetoric, Representations, and Native American Museums* (2017).

Christine Diindisi McCleave (National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition), ‘Examining Empire and Colonization through the Boarding School Model: Can Truth in History “Transcend the Spectacle?”’

This paper discusses how I, an Anishinaabe woman with French ancestry, am working through the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS) to decolonize research and institutions and to advocate for an Indigenous Studies that is truly Indigenous-centered, in the U.S. and globally. This paper examines the notions of empire, conquest, and colonization through the particular context of the boarding school model that was used internationally to assimilate and convert indigenous children into Western society and Christian culture. Explored further are various models of Truth and Reconciliation that have happened around the world as well as how such wide-scale processes encourage the public to confront truth in history and “transcend the spectacle” of indigenous peoples as static antiquated cultures and societies of the past. Finally, this examination concludes with an analysis that details how NABS—an organization whose Board and Executive Staff is 100% Native American—effectively prioritizes the voices and wishes of Tribal communities to support data sovereignty and inform a decision-making process about what oral histories should (and should not) be made public, especially with regard to the right of indigenous peoples and nations to govern the collection, ownership, and application of their own data and confronting how academia has historically exploited indigenous data and continues to do so.

Christine Diindissi McCleave, Chief Executive Officer, National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, is an enrolled citizen of Turtle Mountain Ojibwe Nation and a leader and an activist for Indigenous Rights advocating for truth, justice, and healing for the genocidal policy of U.S. Indian Boarding Schools. Diindissi McCleave was the first employee hired to work at NABS in 2015 and has spent the last several years building capacity, programming, and operations. Diindissi McCleave has a master of arts in leadership and a bachelor of science in communication studies. She conducted her thesis research on the spectrum of spiritual practices between traditional Native American spirituality and Christianity.
and the legacy of the boarding schools on spiritual activities and Indian Activism today.

Diindiisi McCleave has dedicated her life and work to pursuing truth and healing for the Indigenous survivors of historical trauma at the hands of colonialism and settler-states. She is one of the primary investigators for the “Child Removal in Native Communities: An Anonymous Survey” currently being conducted with the University of Minnesota, and has published several scholarly articles, including one titled, “The Catholic Church and U.S. Indian Boarding Schools: What Colonial Empire Has to do With God” in the Journal of the West: Catholic Indian Mission Schools: Colonial or Decolonized spaces in the American West (Vol. 59, No. 3, Summer 2020). In 2020, Diindiisi McCleave was instrumental in writing H.R.8420 - Truth and Healing Commission on Indian Boarding School Policy Act—the first bill ever introduced for a commission addressing boarding school policy in the U.S. She is also a member of the Truth and Reconciliation working group for the City of Minneapolis.

Tahnee Ahtoneharjo-Growingthunder (Oklahoma History Centre)

Indigenous peoples all over the world have called on museums to better the representation through new narratives. Our people believe that museums have a responsibility to Indigenous peoples and that both groups stand to gain in the fulfillment of that responsibility. This discussion will cover what it means to be a Native American art curator within the scenery of National and International museums as American art museum professionals, the range of best practices, and how to better understand the bureaucracy of institutional standards when working with tribal nations.

The dynamics and historical relations between museum practice and Indigenous communities have been contentious for various reasons. This discussion will step outside of the past constraints to examine the new relations with museums as a positive and celebration of a new era in museum scholarship. By sharing the evidence of Native scholarship who are breaking a path for inclusivity, authority, and plurality, we will explore how the museum community has changed. This topic will cover the relationships among the academy who have transformed museums across the globe within the past decade, and whom to look for in the coming decade as the next generation of institutional authority to take the helm. The conclusion will outline what impact of need there is for the field of Native American art and art studies and share how a present voice of Indigenous peoples are effective in curatorial planning.

Tahnee Ahtoneharjo-Growingthunder serves the Oklahoma History Center as a liaison to Oklahoma's thirty-nine American Indian tribes for history, culture, and art. She has previously served as the curator of the American Indian and Textile
Collections for the Oklahoma History Center, and previously, as a senior curator for the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center in Mashantucket, Connecticut. While at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, she curated *Without a Theme*, a group exhibition of First Nations and Native American visual artists who did not necessarily use Native imagery or subject matter in their artwork. Ahtoneharjo-Growingthunder’s other museum contributions include serving the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, Germany for the *Once Upon A Time in America: Three Centuries of US-American Art* and participation in the Brown University, Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology’s *Gifts of Pride and Love: Kiowa and Comanche Cradles* exhibition.

Ahtoneharjo-Growingthunder is the Curating Indigeneity Producer, a New York–based project that documents creative endeavors of Indigenous artisans obtaining curatorial space for Native American artisans in contemporary art.

Ahtoneharjo-Growingthunder’s diverse representation in the museum community includes being the fifth generation within her family to attend higher education as a Native American scholar. Currently, Tahnee is one of the only full-blood Native American curators working in the national museum scene as a federally recognized tribal member with a Certificate Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB). Being an advisor to the field, she has worked for twenty-three years as a museum educator and curriculum writer, curator, and administrator. She is a devout traditionalist with cultural knowledge and Indigenous knowledge methodologies. Ahtoneharjo-Growingthunder is a member of the Association of Art Museum Curators (AAMC), a 2019 Oklahoma Museum Association (OMA) honoree for her “Service to the Field” and serves as a lead advisor for numerous American art organizations.

**Tuesday 15th June**

**18.15-19.30 - Activism across the Atlantic**

*Cathleen Clark (University of Toronto), ‘International Indigenous Resistance to the Patriation of the Canadian Constitution’*

In fall of 1980, the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs issued a call to action inviting its members to join the Constitution Express—a protest that began as a cross-Canada train journey to demonstrate on Parliament Hill in Ottawa and then went on to seek international support and audiences in New York, London, and Western Europe. The Constitution Express’ goal was to halt then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s efforts to patriate the Canadian Constitution and sever colonial ties with Britain without Indigenous consultation nor any assurances that Canada would uphold federal obligations to Aboriginal and treaty rights. Drawing from archival sources, Indigenous-authored publications, and oral histories with activists from the period, this paper examines the ways that Express protestors situated their political
undertakings in both localized and transnational contexts and simultaneously invoked centuries-old colonial struggles alongside more recent activist interventions from the prior two decades. Both historical precedents for Indigenous travel to the “hearts of empire” and transnational legacies of Sixties Red Power activism informed the way that Indigenous actors in this period perceived, understood, and responded to patriation. Importantly, they resisted Canada and Britain’s repeated attempts to frame their concerns in strictly domestic terms. By refusing to accept Ottawa as the final site of decision-making on Indigenous rights, they instead recalled older nation-to-nation relationships and looked to new political allies in the international theatre to express their inherent rights and sovereignty on their own terms.

Cathleen is a fifth-year PhD candidate in the History Department at the University of Toronto in Canada. Under the supervision of Dr. Heidi Bohaker and Dr. Sean Mills, her doctoral research explores Indigenous rights activism in Canada during the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, her dissertation examines the ways that Indigenous activists in Canada developed and contributed to transnational networks and discourses on rights, decolonization, and global Indigeneity to advance their interests in domestic and international forums. She is a beneficiary of the Ontario Graduate Scholarship and held the SSHRC CGS award from 2015-2018. In addition to her history-related pursuits, she holds an B.Ed in Aboriginal Education from Queen’s University.

Darcey Evans (UC Santa Cruz), ‘Salmon Aquaculture and its Discontents: People, Knowledge, and Salmon in a Trans-Atlantic Entanglement’

In the coastal waters of British Columbia, open-net farms of Atlantic salmon have stoked anxieties around the ecological uncertainties of farming Atlantic salmon in the Pacific Ocean and, by extension, have become embroiled within the protection of Indigenous rights and territories. Many coastal First Nations in BC are clear that by polluting their ancestral waterways, the salmon farms are an attack on constitutionally protected Indigenous fishing rights, and, by operating without consent in unceded territories, they are breaking Indigenous law. Since the majority of salmon farms in BC waters are owned by Norwegian-based aquaculture companies, Indigenous leaders from BC have repeatedly travelled to Norway to build partnerships with Sami peoples, petition divestment to government entities, and seek colleagueship from Sami and Norwegian scientists.

In this paper, I take these trips as instances of emergent and ongoing entanglements between Indigenous peoples, ecologies, governments, and corporations in Canada and Norway. I explore how BC and Norway are linked through the sharing of industrial practices and scientific knowledge, and through Indigenous-led activist campaigns that cultivate unique pressures and alliances.
within Norway. I examine the multidirectional trans-Atlantic flows of people, knowledge, and salmon that make the salmon farming industry possible, and yet, through assertions of Indigenous sovereignty, are a source of its potential undoing. In this expansive geography of aquaculture, I hope to center Indigenous activists as a locus of power in an emerging international network that is at once highly localized yet global in scope and effect.

Darcey Evans is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Her doctoral dissertation examines the political and ecological complexities of salmon farming in British Columbia and Washington State, and she asks how the bodies of salmon can tell stories of livability, encounter, and colonial entanglement in a watery borderland between settler-states. Raised in the UK and the US, she is of Karuk-British heritage and is an enrolled member of Quartz Valley Indian Reservation in Northern California.

LeAndra Nephin (University of Oxford & Incomindios UK), ““Native in Britain: the Challenges of Activism””

As an Indigenous activist in the UK, there are increasing challenges in creating greater visibility to combat the perpetuation of stereotypes and damaging narratives that erase the violence of Britain’s colonial legacy. While social media affords an unprecedented level of visibility for Indigenous Human Rights activists and advocates, the colonization of Indigenous peoples is still not being taught in schools. Although, activism through academic research is important and necessary, we need active participation in communities and organizational involvement in order to create social change. The combination of attitude, lack of education, and messaging that does not reach the intended audience can often negate the intentions of the change agent. Indigenous populations are among the most marginalized populations in the Americas, and in Britain, Native American people experience even greater invisibility. It is time to shift the nature of civic engagement and amplify Indigenous voices as experts in our own stories here in the heart of the British Empire.

LeAndra Nephin is an enrolled member of the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska and Iowa with lineal descent from the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska. She is a Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioural Therapist and has spent the last five years working with survivors of sexual violence and domestic abuse. She attained her BSc (Hons) in Counselling and Psychotherapy and is currently studying for an MSc in Cognitive Behavioural Therapy at the University of Oxford. She is an international public speaker and advocate for Indigenous human rights with a particular focus on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls, and People (MMIWG/MMIP) along with authentic and accurate representation of Native Americans in education,
media. and sport. LeAndra is a Board Member for Incomindios UK, Beyond the Spectacle: Native North American Presence in Britain, the Omaha Tribal Historical Research Project, and is on the Panel of Experts with the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) at the Hague.

Tuesday 15th June
19.45-21

KEYNOTE: David Chang (University of Minnesota), “Why Does Indigenous Mobility Matter? Thinking from the Case of 19th Century Hawaiians”

Introduced by Coll Thrush, University of British Columbia

Indigenous people were mobile in the past, as they remain in the present, moving across national, continental, and social boundaries in ways that we continue to recover through research across all sorts of archives. But why and how did that mobility matter, especially from the perspective of their home societies? The answers are as diverse as the many different Native nations whose people moved, but this paper will begin to explore the questions with an overview of Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) mobility in the 19th century. Among others, it will consider voyagers and laborers who brought home new perspectives on foreigners and their agendas; Kanaka youth in New England and their relation to American missionary work in Hawai‘i; the Kanaka who studied in Europe and laid the basis for a circulation of nationalisms among Hawai‘i, Europe, and China; and Kanaka who labored on the West Coast and shaped inter-Indigenous networks with American Indian people.

I am a Native Hawaiian historian of indigenous people, colonialism, borders and migration in Hawaii and North America, focusing especially on the histories of Native American and Native Hawaiian people. My second book, The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration was published in 2016 by the University of Minnesota Press. It speaks to a foundational imperative in Indigenous studies: the need to not just understand Indigenous people from their own perspectives, but to understand the world from their perspectives as well. It traces the ways that Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) explored the outside world and generated understandings of their place in it in the century and half after James Cook stumbled on their islands in 1778. In doing so, this book examines indigenous people as the active agents of global exploration, rather than the passive objects of that exploration, broadening our understanding of geographical knowledge production and power in the context of colonialism.
The book draws on Hawaiian-language sources—the stories, songs, chants, texts, and political prose—to reveal Kanaka Maoli reflections on the nature of global geography and their place in it. *The World and All the Things Upon It* received the American Historical Association’s Albert J. Beveridge Award (best book in English on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada from 1492 to the present); the Modern Language Association’s Prize for Studies in Native American Literatures, Cultures, and Languages; The Western History Association’s John C. Ewers Award (best book in North American Indian Ethnohistory); the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association’s Best Subsequent Book Prize; and was honored as a finalist for the American Studies Association’s John Hope Franklin Award (for Most Outstanding Book in American Studies). My first book, *The Color of the Land*, argues for the central place of struggles over the ownership of Native American lands in the history of racial and national construction by Creeks, African Americans, and whites in the Creek Nation and eastern Oklahoma. *The Color of the Land* was awarded the 2010 Theodore Saloutos Prize for best book in agricultural history from the Agricultural History Society and was granted Honorable Mention in the competition for the American Studies Association’s 2011 Lora Romero First Book Prize.
Every two years the ORIGINS Festival of First Nations brings Indigenous performers, artists, speakers, filmmakers and other cultural ambassadors to London, UK. At arts, heritage, museum and public venues across the city, Indigenous people entertain audiences while enabling dialogue and debate. Core themes of Indigeneity are presented in ways that enthuse audiences while contesting the maintenance of continuing forms of imperial power or privilege. The panellists engage with specific ORIGINS events as well with other trans-Indigenous cultural festivals to address the organisation, production, ambitions and outcomes of the festival’s Indigenous and inter-cultural diplomacy.

Michael Walling, “Framing Indigeneity in the context of the former Imperial Centre” Border Crossings ORIGINS Festival, which is a partner of the Beyond The Spectacle project, has been offering a space for Indigenous artists to share their cultures in London since 2009. In this presentation, I will explore how the Festival has framed these performances for London audiences, and what potential changes may have come about, or be coming about, as a result of these potent cross-cultural interactions. First Nations cultures are particularly rich and resonant for a post-imperial city: they can teach us a huge amount about how to respect the planet, how to respect elders, how to educate rather than simply train our young people, how to place culture at the heart of political and social life, how to think for the long term, how to have a fully participatory democracy—all areas where Western societies are clearly failing at present. My presentation will indicate how the Festival form offers the potential for equitable interchange, and the potential to galvanise shifts in governing paradigms for both artists and audiences.

Graham Harvey, “Re-assembling democracy by honouring ancestors at the British Museum” Border Crossings’ ORIGINS Festival offers an exciting venue for Indigenous participants (performers and presenters in many cultural media) to address audiences at the heart of the (post-)empire. In this presentation I consider implications of a Zenadth Kes /Torres Strait performance group’s mask dance at the British Museum. Beyond the spectacle of elaborately costumed and masked dancers under the dome of the museum, audiences were encouraged to respond positively to the group leader’s eloquent statement of the reasons for and protocols of the performance. Audiences (including museum curators) were challenged to understand that the dance masks were ancestors and full participants in the
intercultural encounter. That the displayed masks were replicas of ones now housed in the museum was not allowed to diminish their status as ancestors. That ancestors can dance in plural material and bodily forms, and require specific behaviours (e.g. their wearers must not smile) embodies an educative theme of the performance. In this festival event, an ontology of object-personhood required the re-assembling of notions of animacy, kinship and materiality to re-place respectful etiquette at heart of relationships. Perhaps these could be treated as lenses through which to understand “other cultures” and, while reaching “beyond spectacle”, there are more implications to this and other ORIGINS Festival events. Situated in relation to the “new animism” and the “new materialism” as well as in reflection on research at the annual Sámi organised Riddu Riddu festival, this presentation concludes with a re-imagination of democracy as a larger-than-human practice and project. Graham Harvey is Professor of Religious Studies at The Open University, UK.

Michael Walling is the Artistic Director of the intercultural arts organisation Border Crossings, and the ORIGINS Festival. He studied History at Oxford University, and subsequently trained at Trinity College, Dublin. He has directed numerous productions across four continents, winning awards for Two Gentlemen of Verona in the US and Paul & Virginie in Mauritius. Michael also directs and teaches regularly at Rose Bruford College, where he is Visiting Professor in the Research Centre for Multicultural and Intercultural Performance. His many publications include pieces in New Theatre Quarterly, African Theatre, and the books Suspect and Peripheral Centres / Central Peripheries. He has edited the publications “Theatre and Slavery”, “The Orientations Trilogy” and “The Promised Land”.

Graham Harvey is professor of religious studies at The Open University. His research largely concerns the rituals and protocols through which Indigenous and other communities engage with the larger-than-human world. These contribute to a focus on material-and lived-religion. His contribution to the Norwegian Research Council funded project “Reassembling Democracy” involved research at Riddu Riddu and ORIGINS festivals. His publications include Food, Sex and Strangers: Understanding Religion as Everyday Life (2013), and Animism: Respecting the Living World (2nd edition 2017). He is editor of the Equinox series “Religion and the Senses” and the Routledge series “Vitality of Indigenous Religions.”

Wednesday 16 June
15-16:15
PLENARY: Sovereign Acts
Wanda Nanibush (Art Gallery of Ontario), in conversation with Beyond the Spectacle
The history of Indigenous Peoples performing cultural dances and practices for international and colonial audiences is an important part of Indigenous art generally, and performance art specifically. The Indigenous performers known as ‘Indians’ faced the conundrum of maintaining traditional cultural practices by performing them on stage while also having that performance fulfill the desires of a colonial imaginary. In Sovereign Acts, the artists contend with the legacy of colonial representations. Drawing on the depiction of the imaginary Indian – the ahistorical, pre-contact ‘primitivism’ in popular and mass culture – they recover and construct new ways of performing the complexity of Indigenous cultures for a contemporary art audience. Their work returns to the multi-levelled history of ‘Performing Indian’ to recuperate the erased and objectified performer as an ancestor, an artist, and an Indigenous subject.

Wanda Nanibush is an Anishinaabe-kwe image and word warrior, curator and community organizer from Beausoleil First Nation. Currently Nanibush is the inaugural curator of Indigenous art and co-head of the Indigenous + Canadian Art department at Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO). Her current AGO exhibition, Rebecca Belmore Facing the Monumental is touring internationally as well as two independent projects Nanabozho’s sisters (Dalhousie) and Sovereign Acts (JMB). Nanibush has a Masters of Visual Studies from University of Toronto where she has taught graduate courses. On top of many catalogue essays Nanibush has published widely on Indigenous art, politics, history and feminism and sexuality.
Since the XVIth century, Native American visits to Europe have not been exceptional, whether forced or voluntary. Their cultural impact is noticeable. The visit of six Osage in France in 1827 was often related and commented on in contemporary newspapers. Starting with Francis 1st, the French kings invited Native American chiefs to come to France in the hope of impressing them by the wealth of the Court. Moreover, they were given gifts that enhanced their prestige. In 1725, an Osage chief came to France and met Louis XV. Back home, he said he wished his descendants to go to France too. Besides, many Frenchmen had married Osage women and had started families. Consequently, six Osage came in 1827, described in the newspapers as courteous and elegant. They were very popular for a few months; then the curiosity vanished. Hardship began when the Frenchman who had accompanied them left them without money. They roamed Europe for two years, until 3 met Lafayette who helped them sail back; the 3 others reached Montauban, where Bishop Dubourg welcomed them with open arms and launched a subscription to pay for their trip back. The story was forgotten in France, but not by the Osage. One day, a high school teacher read about it in a magazine and he decided to renew friendship by inviting three Osage to Montauban, and retrace the footsteps of their ancestors. Since then, Montauban and Pawhuska (Oklahoma) have become sister cities and, for 30 years, Osage people have been coming to Montauban and French people have been going to Oklahoma, making friends and, sometimes finding they are related.

Marie-Claude Strigler was a professor at the University Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle. After her doctoral dissertation on the economic policy of the Navajo tribal government, she wrote several books on various aspects of the Navajo culture and economy, as well as a History of United States Indians, The Pequots of Connecticut, and a History of the Osage nation. She has also written a number of articles, both in French and in English, about the current economic and political evolution of Native American nations. She is an expert and a member of the Scientific Committee for the United States, of GITPA, the French branch of IWGIA (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs).

Sammie-Dennison Harmon (Friends of the Oklahoma State Historical Archives), ‘Beyond the Horizon’
This presentation offers insight into the life of Osages abandoned in Paris in 1829. Through research, we can follow the stories of how two very different cultures were united. Through personal affiliation and connections with not only the Osage Tribe, but also the French who came to their rescue, we can begin to see this period in a different light through the perspective of the stranded.

GOALS
1. The author attempts to gain a better understanding of this event by obtaining recounted experiences from descendants of both the Osage and the French involved.
2. As the reality of how six Osages found themselves in Paris is up for discussion, this paper hopes to bring the actuality of the travels, experiences and rescue to light.
3. In addition to further understanding of these occurrences, the author strives to develop the personalities, characteristics and beliefs of these six Osages based on their decisions at the time and stories told by their descendants.

SPECIFICATIONS
Through oral interviews of descendants and resources obtained through the Wah-Zha-Zhi Cultural Center, the Osage Museum and others, and in addition to pictorial evidence, it is the hope that this presentation brings about new information and a new frame of reference about this two year venture in Paris.

My name is Sammie Dennison-Harmon. I am a member of the Osage Nation. I am an historian of the Osage history and I have spent many years researching and writing our history. Preserving the past is important to me. I loved researching for the biography I am writing of my grandmother’s life, Head of the Household. I am well read in my genre and have access to many materials and prominent Osage elders to verify the historical content of my book. Fellow Osage actor, Larry Sellers and Renee Brumley, who is the consultant for the upcoming film by Martin Scorsese based on the New York Times best-selling book, Killers of Flower Moon, to be filmed in Osage county, also advise on Osage history. Sharon O’Brien, Harvard graduate and former American Studies Professor at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, is a consultant on the book. Barb Landis, Biographer for Carlisle Indian Industrial School in, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, verifies historical content for the Carlisle section.

The bestselling cookbook, The Pioneer Woman, written by, Ree Drummond, has put Osage county on the map. People from all over the United States visit the The Pioneer Woman Mercantile in Pawhuska, Oklahoma and are intrigued with the Osage history. I believe I have a wide audience based on the success of numerous books and movies written on the Osage history and people. Today’s society is intrigued with Native American history.
The sharing our beautiful traditions is as important today as in the past. We live in a world where this art is no longer as widespread as it once was, and our stories are in danger of getting lost. We are distracted by social media and tribal members are scattered among the four winds. We need to be reminded of a beautiful way of life that it is not too late to save.

Minnie Adeline Kennedy was my grandmother. She was born and raised on the Osage reservation. I was chosen to be the storyteller of her incredible journey.

*Christen Mucher (Smith College), ‘An Indigenous Audience and a Royal Spectacle’*

Before US painter George Catlin exhibited his “Indian Gallery” and “live” Indigenous performers (some Iowa, some Ojibwe) at the Louvre in 1845, the visitors enjoyed an audience with King Louis-Philippe. Addressing the group, the French King recalled his trips to North America, which Catlin later recorded: “Tell these good fellows...[that] I was amongst the Senecas near Buffalo, and the Oneidas—that I slept in the wigwams of the chiefs—that I was amongst the Shawnees and Delawares on the Ohio; and also amongst the Cherokees and Creeks in Georgia and Tennessee...more than fifty years ago” (Catlin 1848, II: 212). The King’s speech reportedly “made the Indians stare” and groan with surprise, much as Catlin wanted to make his readers thrill at the spectacular coincidence (Catlin 1848, II: 212).

This paper considers this 1845 “spectacle” not in terms of the performers’ European dislocation, but in the sense that Paris was just one of many places of Indigenous migration and exile, and that these histories were always present but seldom registered. It is possible that the Ojibwe and Iowa travelers’ alleged shock instead attests to the fact that their relatives—and the groups Louis-Philippe mentioned—had recently been forcibly removed from the lands where the King had once encountered them, a condition for exile completely elided in this transatlantic encounter. By centering those histories recalled by Louis-Philippe—of the “Indian Wars” and “Indian Removal”—the space of Paris in 1845 reveals the absented politics of North American dispossession at its center.

Emily C. Burns (Auburn University), ‘Lakȟóta Travel in France and in Time: Arthur Amiotte’s Cosmopolitan Collages’

This paper oscillates between the time of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West travel in France in 1889, 1905-6, and 1911 and the time built by contemporary Oglala Lakota artist Arthur Amiotte’s collages that re-imagine that historical mobility in the footsteps of Amiotte’s own travel in France in 1997. As Amiotte follows the movements of his great grandfather Matȟó Nážiŋ, Standing Bear, who was a Buffalo Bill’s Wild West performer in the nine-month Paris and Marseilles tour of 1889, he joins a long history of Indigenous mobility in France. Alongside Amiotte’s collage series imagining Wild West performers in Europe, I interpret When We Performed (2001; private collection) as a pointed revision to settler colonial histories and as an interrogation of the role of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in promoting Lakȟóta circulation beyond Reservation life. This talk traces the temporal complexities within the collage to show how Amiotte reframes a Lakȟóta cosmopolitanism that asserts cultural identity not only through spatial mobility, but also through ideas of time travel that underscore wider Lakȟóta cosmologies.

Emily C. Burns is Associate Professor of Art History at Auburn University. With a research focus on mobility and visual culture, her book Transnational Frontiers: the American West in France analyzes appropriations of the American West in France in performance and visual and material culture in the tripartite international relationships between the United States, France, and the Lakota nation between 1867 and 1914. Her most recent article, “Circulating Regalia and Lakȟóta Survivance, c. 1900,” published in a special issue of Arts Magazine, offers object-biography of two sets of Lakȟóta regalia that traveled to France in the context of Wild West performance and remained in French collections as exemplars of Lakȟóta survivance in the context of the early Reservation Period.

Wednesday 16 June  
18.15-19.30 - Performance and Diplomacy

Louise Siddons (Oklahoma State University), ‘Anadarko to Addis Ababa: Acee Blue Eagle, Haile Selassie, and the Material Performance of Indigenous-Imperial Diplomacy’

Throughout his career, Acee Blue Eagle—a Muscogee Creek, Pawnee, and Wichita artist from Anadarko, Oklahoma—traversed both the global network and the intellectual structure of empire, radically reshaping global perceptions of Indigenous North American identity. In 1935, Blue Eagle embarked on a lecture tour of the UK and Europe. Two decades later, he translated those experiences into his performative diplomatic relationship with Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia.
Like Blue Eagle, Selassie also performed for UK audiences in the 1930s. His consciously constructed imperial Ethiopian identity at times referred to, was modeled on, and emphatically rejected European modes of empire; it was always resolutely Ethiopian. Although conversations about the United Kingdom and empire usually focus on its exercise of imperial power, for both Blue Eagle and Selassie the British Empire became a politically potent backdrop for their own sovereign and imperial goals. Blue Eagle’s invitation to speak at Oxford University was an opening for a European tour throughout which he embodied and performed contemporary Native Americanness for European audiences, countering pervasive (and persistent) stereotypes of Indian premodernity. When, in 1954, Blue Eagle greeted the Emperor on his first state visit to the USA, Selassie’s highly visible—and emphatically modern—performance of Ethiopian ethnic identity inflected the artist’s own diplomatic performance of Indianness. In this paper, I consider Blue Eagle and Selassie’s manipulations of the material and performance cultures of Indigeneity and empire, as filtered through their contemporaneous early experiences of UK and European imperialism, as expressions of resistant sovereignty.

Louise Siddons (Ph.D. Stanford University) is an associate professor of art history, teaching courses in American and Native American visual culture at Oklahoma State University. She has published on topics from the eighteenth century to the present, and is active as an independent curator and critic. Siddons was the founding curator and co-director of the Oklahoma State University Museum of Art; her most recent monograph is Centering Modernism: J. Jay McVicker and Postwar American Art (University of Oklahoma Press, 2018). She is currently writing a book about photographer Laura Gilpin and midcentury Navajo sovereignty, under contract with the University of Minnesota Press, along with several other studies of Indigenous intersectional politics.

**Yanitsa Buendía de Llaca (UC Santa Barbara), ‘A life on the move. From danzante to Temachtiani’**

In 2001, 21 year old Akaxe YotzinGomez was invited to tour through Eastern Europe as a dance teacher. Akaxe, who grew up in the danza mexica tradition in Mexico, taught danza, Temazcales (mexican sweat lodge) and Tonalpohualli (divination calendar) to groups in Hungry, Austria, and Poland. His presence in Europe embodied notions of indigenous identity, performance, and authenticity. In this paper, I will resume Akaxe’s life story and explore how mobility changed his life. It was in those trips to far and unknown places that he was able to revise not only his own identity but the tradition he grew up in. It was through the act of geographical distance and mobility that he transformed himself from being a danzante, a dancer as part of the Mexican tradition, to becoming a Temachtiani, a teacher and person that holds knowledge and power in the tradition. Through the process of oral
history, Akaxe’s story shows how indigenous people are seen, from European and Mexican white-mestizos, through performative markers of difference. It also shows signs of cultural and individual exploitation by ‘non-indigenous’ people on both sides of the Atlantic. Although Akaxe comes late to a long history of American indigenous mobilities, from the Americas to Europe, his story reminds us how history, prejudice, and also desire, get comprised into the human body that meets (un)expected imaginations of the exotic.

Yanitsa Buendia is a PhD Candidate at the University of California Santa Barbara. Her research focus in the Mexicayotl Movement and its practitioners in a transnational context between Mexico and the U.S. Her M.A. Thesis focused on how women form their identities through spiritual practices and believes inside the Reginista Movement in Mexico City. As part of her doctoral research she explores how indigenous identities are constructed through spiritual practices and traditions, regardless of State denominations. For her dissertation research she worked collaboratively with students and practitioners of the Indigenous/Native Arts & Science of Chicomostok Academy, located in Chicago, Ill. Yanitsa’s research interests are mobility, space creation, and production of indigenous identities and knowledge. All of which explore notions of racialization, mestizaje, and history creation through grassroots spiritual traditions that resist official categories of identity and colonization. Her research has received the support of Conacyt-UC Mexus (2014-2019); the Chicana/o Studies Institute (2018); and the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center (2019).

Courtney Mohler (Butler University), Staging “Indian” Abroad during the American Indian Movement: The Native American Theatre Ensemble’s 1973 European Tour

The social political radicalism of the 1970s set the stage for the emergence of the first creatively autonomous Native American theater company. Inspired by American Indian Movement public protests and the powerful activist plays of the Black Arts Movement, Hanay Geiogamah (Kiowa-Delaware) brought together a pan-tribal group of performers to form the American Indian Theatre Ensemble (AITE) in 1971. The company’s goals, artistry, and practice connected aesthetics from their tribal cultures with practical techniques from contemporaneous political and alternative theatre scenes.

In 1973, the troupe changed its name to the Native American Theatre Ensemble (NATE) and premiered Geiogamah’s political satire Foghorn, which staged a series of short vignettes depicting hyperbolic representations of the colonial experience for Native North Americans. Despite the troupe’s stated goal of “creating and performing stage works by Indian artists for Indian people,” Foghorn premiered in West Berlin and later visited the Berliner Ensemble at the Brecht

23
Theater in East Berlin. Geiogamah published Foghorn in an anthology entitled New Native American Drama: Three Plays in 1980; this book was then translated into Italian, perhaps an indication of NATE’s successful European tour.

This paper explores the relationship between NATE’s production of Foghorn and its European audiences. Some questions that motivate this project are: What was the critical reception of the Foghorn throughout its European tour? How was the tour funded, produced and publicized? In which ways did the striking contemporaneous protests, such as the Occupation(s) of Alcatraz Island (1969-1971), the 1973 Occupation of Wounded Knee, and the 1972 cross-country walk titled “The Trail of Broken Treaties,” garner international attention; and how did such performative events impact European reception of Foghorn? If (white) American fascination with ideas about Native America can be tied to their paradoxical guilt about and justification for settler colonialism, what are the possible meanings of European fascination with the contemporary survivors of European conquest and Western domination?

Courtney Elkin Mohler (Santa Barbara Chumash) serves as Assistant Professor of Theatre in the Jordan College of Arts at Butler University where she directs plays for the department and teaches Theatre History and Performance Studies. As a stage director and dramaturge, Mohler concentrates on new works that push aesthetic and political boundaries aimed to affect a more equitable world and is dedicated to supporting new work by Native American playwrights. Bridging her research and artistic interests, she has worked closely with Native Voices at the Autry. Specializing in Critical Race Theory, Native American Theater, and Performance Studies, she has published articles in Theatre Topics, Modern Drama, Text and Presentation, Platform, and Ecumenica, and has contributed chapters to numerous edited anthologies. Mohler also co-authored Critical Companion to Native American and First Nations Theatre and Performance: Indigenous Spaces with Christy Stanlake and Jaye T. Darby (2020 Bloomsbury-Metheun Press).

Wednesday 16 June
19.45-21 - ‘Doctrine of Discovery: Heart of Glass’

Beverly Jacobs (University of Windsor), Debra Harry (University of Nevada, Reno), Tina Ngata, Betty Lyons (American Indian Law Alliance), Sylvia McAdam Saysewahum (University of Windsor) and Jeffery Hewitt (York University)

This roundtable draws on multi-disciplinary research and art and will critically discuss the doctrine of discovery. Comprised of Indigenous academics and writers from various Indigenous nations, the roundtable will examine the roles and responsibilities of both successor and European nations’ institutions in repealing the doctrine and the decolonization work necessary for substantive change.
The unrepealed doctrine of discovery authorized colonial empires’ violence against Indigenous Nations and once served as the heart of imperial expansion, positioning Indigenous peoples as savage, soulless, unworthy. It has been deeply entrenched into colonial institutions, including courts. Johnson v. McIntosh (USA) and Sparrow (Canada) are two of many decisions in successor nation courts allowing the doctrine to thrive.

Today, the doctrine’s legacy will be considered by this roundtable as is seen through high rates of violence against Indigenous women and girls as well as increased incarceration rates of Indigenous peoples, particularly women (Beverly Jacobs, Mohawk, Windsor Law), corporatization of Indigenous traditional knowledge of the biosphere (Debra Harry, Numu, University of Nevada, Reno), asymmetrical government responses to protests of extraction industries and environmental destruction (Tina Ngata, Maori, independent researcher), successor governments failing to honor existing treaties at international law (Betty Lyons, Onondaga, American Indian Law Alliance), increasing the armory of police forces located near Indigenous populations (Sylvia McAdam, Cree, Windsor Law).

Indigenous resistance also continues in many forms. For example, Indigenous artists invite substantive change through images of resilience in direct response to assertions of European supremacy (Jeffery Hewitt, Cree, Osgoode Hall Law School). This roundtable’s participants challenge the status quo and seek to pierce through the opacity of the deeply entrenched doctrine of discovery rendering it more visible – a heart of glass, at once both a vital organ of empire and vulnerable in its form, capable of being shattered.

Dr Beverly Jacobs (CM, Member of the Order of Canada), (LLB University of Windsor), (LLM University of Saskatchewan) (PhD University of Calgary) is a member of the Mohawk Nation of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, Bear Clan. She is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law, University of Windsor. Beverly lives and practices law part-time at her home community of Six Nations of the Grand River Territory. Beverly is also a consultant/researcher/writer/public speaker and she is a former President of the Native Women’s Association of Canada (elected 2004 to 2009). Bev’s passion is about peacefulness and safety of Indigenous peoples. For the past 25 or so years, much of her work has focussed on anti-violence work, restoring Indigenous traditions, values, beliefs and laws and decolonizing Eurocentric law. She continues to advocate for families of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls and to educate the public about the history and impacts of colonization, which has resulted in the traumas that are occurring to Indigenous peoples, specifically Indigenous women and girls today. Beverly received a Franco-German Prize for Human Rights and the Rule of Law from the Governments of France and Germany for her human rights fight for the issues relating to missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls in Canada. She is
mother of Ashley and grandmother of Nicholas (18), Tessa (16), Bryson (11) and Kenna (9). She is partner to Patrick Sandy, Mohawk Nation, Turtle Clan.


Tina Ngata (Ngāti Poru) is a mother of two from Aotearoa (the East Coast of what is now known as New Zealand). Her work involves advocacy for environmental, Indigenous and human rights. This includes local, national and international initiatives that highlight the role of settler colonialism on issues such as climate change and waste pollution, and promote Indigenous conservation as best practices for a globally sustainable future. Tina is also the creator and author of the blog The Non-Plastic Maori.

Betty Lyons, President & Executive Director of the American Indian Law Alliance (AILA), is an Indigenous and environmental activist and citizen of the Onondaga Nation. Her native name, Gaen hia uh, meaning ‘small sky,’ was given to her by her Snipe Clan mother and has developed her love for the earth from her deep connection to her culture. Growing up Ms. Lyons learned a deep respect for the earth and the responsibility to protect it. Ms. Lyons worked together with the NOON organization (Neighbors of the Onondaga Nation) to educate and teach local communities about the culture of the Onondaga Nation to further a better understanding and to bridge the gap between the communities. Ms. Lyons has participated and organized rallies and demonstrations pushing for a ban on fracking in New York State, until a ban was achieved in December 2014. Betty Lyons has worked for the Onondaga Nation for over seventeen years as a Public Relations Representative, Manager of the Onondaga Nation Arena, and as Executive Assistant to Tadodaho Sidney Hill. She has been an active participant at the annual
United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) since the first session in 2001 and has coordinated the opening ceremonies. For over 10 years, Ms. Lyons was the President of Onondaga Minor Athletic Club where she organized and managed over 15 youth sports team programs. Betty Lyons graduated from Cazenovia College ALA (2013), Bryant Stratton College Graduate of Paralegal Program Magna Cum Laude. She is also the hardworking mother of Garrett and Sid Jr.

Professor Sylvia McAdam (Saysewahum) is from the Treaty 6 lands in what is now called Canada. She is a direct descendant of Treaty peoples and Original peoples of these lands. Sylvia is from the nêhiyaw Nation. She has her Juris Doctorate from the University of Saskatchewan and a Bachelor’s degree in Human Justice from the University of Regina. Sylvia is co-founder of a global grassroots Indigenous-led movement called “Idle No More.” Idle No More has changed the political and social landscape of Canada as well as reached the global community to defend and protect all lands, waters, and animals. Sylvia is also co-founder of the “One House Many Nations” Campaign, which designs off-the-grid sustainable tiny-homes to address and raise awareness about the epidemic unacceptable proportions of homelessness in such a wealthy state as “Canada” especially amongst Indigenous/Original peoples. Through the work of protecting land and water, Idle No More has been selected for several awards, namely: the Carole Gellar Human Rights Award, Foreign Policy Top 100 Global Thinkers 2013, Social Justice Award, and 2014 Global Citizen Award. Most recently, it was awarded the Margolese National Design for Living Prize.

Professor Jeffery Hewitt (LLB, Osgoode Hall Law School, 1996) (LLM, Osgoode Hall Law School, 2015) is a community-based researcher, which has lead research focusing on Indigenous legal orders and governance, constitutional law, human rights, legal education, business law, as well as art + law and visual legal studies. Professor Hewitt has presented his research work nationally and internationally to a range of audiences. He is mixed-descent Cree, was called to the Bar in Ontario in 1998 and works with Rama First Nation as well as various Indigenous Elders, leaders and organizers in the promotion of Indigenous legal orders. He has done a mix of other things as well, serving as past-President of the Indigenous Bar Association of Canada, director of Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto, and he once wore an iconic NASA space suit. Professor Hewitt is currently on the Executive of Legal Leaders for Diversity, and serves as a director of both the Indigenous Bar Association Foundation as well as the National Theatre School of Canada. In 2019, Professor Hewitt was awarded a Law Society of Ontario Medal; a 2019 Excellence in Research Award, University of Windsor; a 2017 Teaching Award from the University of Windsor; the 2015 Charles D. Gonthier Fellowship from the Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice; a 2014 Teaching Award from Osgoode; a 2013-14
McMurtry Fellow at Osgoode Hall Law School; and a 2011 Canadian General Counsel Award for Social Responsibility.
Danne Jobin (University of Kent), “Transnational Aesthetics and Mobile Citizenship in *Blue Ravens*”

More than any of Gerald Vizenor’s previous work, *Blue Ravens* (2014) deploys a transnational aesthetic which playfully explores potential avenues for Native sovereignty. The novel’s focus on artistic production opens up a space of self-determination that juxtaposes an Anishinaabe sensibility onto French war scenes and the urban environment of Paris, thus imprinting Native presence onto the land. It enables like-minded individuals to find refuge and create a new order in which Native voices are heard and artistic influence is mutual as Indigenous artists participate in the thriving cultural scene of interwar France. Vizenor’s fiction explores mobile forms of belonging that do not attempt to regulate subjects but allow a celebration of communal as well as individual identities. The novel showcases a Native relationship to space transformed by Indigenous art into inventive, transnational forms of aesthetic citizenship. It also outlines dynamic maps of transnational networks that nevertheless retain their Indigenous, tribal-specific focus even as they open up the field for new exchanges with global spaces. The focus on Anishinaabe art and writing demonstrates that tribal national specificities, when entering transnational space, can adapt and evolve without compromising their integrity. Using Shari Huhndorf’s *Mapping the Americas*, Jace Weaver’s *Red Atlantic*, and Chadwick Allen’s *Trans-Indigenous*, this paper will show that instead of breaking its ties to White Earth, the protagonists’ art transposes Anishinaabe aesthetics onto Parisian locales, thus claiming European spaces as their own by exploring new forms of Indigenous sovereignty that span beyond political borders.

Danne Jobin holds a PhD from the University of Kent. Their thesis, titled “Mapping out Native American space in Contemporary Anishinaabe Fiction,” looks at the expansion of Indigenous space beyond reservation boundaries towards urban, transnational, and futuristic spaces. The manuscript is currently under review by MSUP. Danne is also co-editing a special issue of *Transmotion* on Transgender, Two-Spirit and Nonbinary Indigenous Literature and researching trans* Indigenous poetics. Their poems can be found in *Magma, Datableed, harana poetry* and *Tenebrae*.

Doro Wiese (University of Warwick/Radboud University), “James Welch’s *The Heartsong of Charging Elk* and the Undoing of Eurocentrism”
Critics have mostly read James Welch’s The Heartsong of Charging Elk (2000) as a historical novel that explores how a young Oglala Sioux man can retain his Indigenous identity when being far away from home. Based on a true historical case, the novel tells the story of Charging Elk, who travels at the end of the 19th century with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show through Europe, and who is left behind in Marseille after a debilitating accident. While Charging Elk is at the beginning unfamiliar with his surroundings, and unable to communicate in English or French, he is gradually able to make himself at home away from home. The novel combines elements of the bildungsroman with French romanticism, melodrama as well as historical realism, and thereby eases his audience into following the development of its Indigenous protagonist. In this talk, I want to complicate previous readings of Welch’s novel by showing how the Blackfeet and A’aninin writer sustains structural irony in The Heartsong of Charging Elk. While purportedly telling the story of Charging Elk, Welch’s masterful employment of European narrative traditions and styles mask a consequential change of perspective. For it is France, the colonial center, that is defamiliarized through the narrative perspective of an Indigenous protagonist. It is French romanticism that Welch imitates and whose pathos he at times degrades in a pastiche, creating comic effects. I will show how Welch’s use of irony and humor undoes eurocentrism, and reverses power relations between the purported center and periphery.

Doro Wiese, PhD, is a WIRL research fellow at the Institute of Advanced Study, University of Warwick. In her multifaceted research, she investigates how aesthetics is a manner of drawing people into an effective relation with the lacunae of knowledges and histories. In The Powers of the False (Northwestern UP 2014), she explores how literature can help to represent histories that would otherwise remain ineffable. In her current project, titled Side by Side: Reading Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Literature, she asks which epistemological, formal, and thematic distinctions and connections are present in post-war fiction on Native North America on both sides of the Atlantic. This study helps to develop transcultural and cross-epistemological research fields in literary, historical, and cultural studies. Doro Wiese evinces a strong commitment to the study of colonialism, transcultural epistemology, and the relationship between literature and historiography, and is inspired by insights formulated in Indigenous Studies.

Cass Krauss (University of Kent), “Indigenous Narratives of War”

The two world wars are defining events of the twentieth century; their impact lasts into the present, spawning countless narrative renditions focused predominantly on white experiences of the wars, excluding other tellings and contributing to a master narrative of good and evil that casts North Americans as heroic actors, emerging victorious from the fog of war. The Canadian and U.S. American nation states build
heavily on these narratives, their present day culture and politics defined and strengthened by their participation in World Wars I and II. Looking at novels by David Treuer and Gerald Vizenor, this paper aims to examine Indigenous participation in global wars. While Treuer’s Prudence (2015) and Vizenor’s Blue Ravens (2014) offer vastly different stories and tellings – Treuer tells a tragic love story that criticizes the heteronormative systems that enable and nourish war; Vizenor focuses on the growing artistic and intellectual accomplishments of two brothers during World War I – both participate in what Vizenor has termed survivance – an active sense of presence and continuance of native stories that counter native victimry and undermine North American claims to white dominance. This paper argues that both Treuer and Vizenor use the European theater of war to emphasize the presence (and success) of Native North Americans within the global intellectual and artistic community – ultimately underlining the continuing presence of Native Americans in the world and thus subverting a master narrative that tries to write them out of existence.

I am a German-American, born in Berlin. After completing my BA at the University of Bremen in English-Speaking Cultures and History, I moved to the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität where I received my MA in British, American and Postcolonial Studies in 2016. I am currently a PhD student at the University of Kent in Canterbury (UK); my focus lies on Native American literature and the production of history. Other interests include post-apocalyptic and horror fiction, as well as Virginia Woolf and her negotiations of war.

Thursday 17 June
15-16.15

PLENARY: “Indians on Tour (European Edition)”
Jeff Thomas and Leah Snyder in conversation

Jeff Thomas’ trajectory as an artist has been an ongoing critical conversation with colonial depictions of the Indigenous peoples of North America, whether that be by photographing monuments and architecture for his “image bank of Indigeneity” or offering a visual counter-narrative to the ethnographic documentation of the perceived “Vanishing Race.” Another way Thomas has continued with this dialogue has been through the cheeky insertion of plastic Indian figures in front of locations of colonial importance. In his series Indians on Tour (view work), Thomas foregrounds the figures, often playing with the device of scale and focus, in order to assert their prominence as a proxy for Indigenous presence when juxtaposed against a colonial backdrop. Some of the sites include Paris, France (the Louvre) and London, England (Covent Gardens). This work also draws on considering the
colonial gaze as evidenced in the Indigenous representation and stereotypes presented in performances of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show and George Catlin’s touring Indian Gallery. He began his work as a film photographer but as digital SLR cameras, GPS and drone technology as well as 360 and 3D documentation progress Thomas has been inspired to find new ways of conversing, documenting and asserting Indigenous presence. This current phase of work has become even more prescient, particularly at a time when borders have closed and international travel halted. Leah Snyder has been his digital collaborator since 2013, working with him to design and develop innovative ways to deliver his story along with the digital archiving of his work. For the Beyond the Spectacle conference Thomas and Snyder propose a conversation about his Indians on Tour ‘European Edition’ as well as the ways digital technology has allowed him to re-imagine his work and assert a ‘decentralized’ Indigenous presence in cyberspace.

---

**Thursday 17 June**

**16.30-17.45**

*Menja Holtz (Technische Universität Braunschweig), “Travels of Solidarity” – a multimedia presentation*

This presentation will not be a regular paper but a reflection about travels and solidarity. This was inspired by recent travels of Mapuche (from Wallmapu in Chile) to Europe. They have created an international network, and have in return received visitors in their territory. We want to inspire an exchange with the audience about solidarity. The presentation is worked out by a European academic who has traveled to the Americas quite a bit and by Jorge Huichalaf, representative of the Mapuche cooperative Küme Mogen and frequent visitor in Europe.

Menja Holtz is post-doctoral researcher at the History Department of the Technical University Braunschweig, Germany. She is studying and teaching in the field of transnational history, decolonization and colonialism in Africa and especially the Americas. Her current project is about missionaries’ and Lenape’s views of the Lenape world in 19th century Ontario, using mission records in a critical way, discussing what these biased and eurocentric sources reveal of indigenous views and actions. She has been dealing with the records of the Moravian Fairfield Mission in Ontario since 2014, funded by Gerda Henkel Foundation, Germany (2014-16).

*Laura Clark (Fulbright scholar, University of Cork), “Vis-à-Vis:Transnational Narratives in Native American Art” – a visual essay*
It is logical to surmise that mankind from our earliest beginnings must have questioned our reality. Whether by cave light or by Enlightenment, human perception about what was, or is, has always been complex, diametrical—authentic but also skewed. In like manner, our search for understanding about Native American transnational experiences in London, in Paris, in Belfast, or Castile remains complex, juxtaposed against European colonial histories in America, which are under re-examination and re-interpretation today by scholars. But enter The Artist. The Dreamer. Not just researcher or observer, but participant, freely admitting that his or her perceptions may be both authentic and skewed, striated and mixed, like ochre and vermilion paints squeezed onto a vast geographical palette. The creative knows full well that true red and pure ochre often coagulate with tinges of orange and swipes of cyan. Still, artists vividly stir up story, tell a tale, paint their prophecies, and depict their dreams. In these we can’t help but search deeply for connections to our own reality. Vis-à-Vis: Transnational Narratives in Native American Art is a PowerPoint slideshow presentation of Native perceptions about and experiences in Europe, expressed in stunning artworks by approximately 20 renowned Native American artists. This compelling visual essay is presented by Muscogee Creek scholar and independent curator Laura Marshall Clark, who will speak to the artworks, the artists’ European experiences, tribal histories, and contemporary issues. The presentation is augmented by the works of Native American poets plus music by Chickasaw classical composer Jerod Impichchaaha' Tate.

The worlds of Indigenous fine arts and Native American scholarship have taken deep root in Laura Marshall Clark, an enrolled member of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, and scholar, author, editor, independent curator, and Native business owner in central Oklahoma. Building upon a Bachelor of Arts in political science from East Central University in Ada, Okla., she earned a master’s degree in Native American Studies from the University of Oklahoma, with a focus in Indigenous arts and media. She was also an Andrew Mellon Native American Curatorial Intern at Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art while at OU. Clark was recently named the first Scholarly Fellow at the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) in Santa Fe, New Mexico, researching the reciprocal influences of IAIA and Oklahoma Native artists, writers, and curators who were once students or faculty at IAIA. Her work will result in an exhibition in 2022 at IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts (MoCNA), in addition to an exhibition in Oklahoma, and the publication of a book. She began her management consulting company, Wild Horse Consulting, LLC, in 2013 with goals to broaden her work in the fine arts, develop a variety of creative projects, and serve the marketplace in reforming thought and culture for groundbreaking work. Along with other projects, Clark is management consultant and co-developer for the VISUAL VOICES: Chickasaw Contemporary Art touring art exhibition. The exhibit has shown in fine art museums in Oklahoma, Mississippi, and New Mexico, with two museums scheduled in 2020 in North Carolina and Texas. Before starting
her management consulting company in Edmond, Okla., Clark served in the Chickasaw Nation Division of Arts and Humanities as manager of humanities and literary arts, and instructor in the Chickasaw Arts Academy for eight years, among other duties. Her published works range from magazine articles to a Native bilingual children’s book to editing the 128-page, hardcover VISUAL VOICES exhibition catalog.

**Thursday 17 June**

**18.15-19.30 - European Wartime Experiences and their Legacies**

**John Moses (Carleton University), ‘Beyond the Restless Wave: Six Nations Troops in Europe during the World Wars’**

Utilizing poetry, letters, diaries, telegrams and photographs, and the traditional knowledge and oral histories of the extended Moses (Lenape) and Monture (Mohawk) families at the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory in Ontario, Canada, this presentation traces the wartime service and ultimate fate of selected Six Nations band members including Great War aviator James Moses, infantryman Arnold Moses, U.S. Army nurse Edith Anderson Monture, artillery officer Gilbert Monture; and Second World War tank crewman Jesse Moses and flying officer Dave Moses. The net effect is a highly personalized account of Six Nations contributions to the Allied and British Empire war efforts of the twentieth century, and a unique commentary on the fortunes of war from an unfiltered, first-hand Indigenous perspective. Notwithstanding that under Canada’s colonial Indian Act legislation they were actively denied the full rights and benefits of Canadian citizenship at home, Six Nations and other Indigenous troops of the World Wars were at the very forefront in fulfilling abroad that most onerous and profound obligation of citizenship and expression of sovereignty, in donning uniform and bearing arms against their respective nations’ enemies. Ultimately, Six Nations troops’ individual service in wartime was in the context of the historic Covenant Chain wampum accord: diplomatic partnerships in peace and military alliance during war.

John Moses is a member of the Delaware and Upper Mohawk bands from the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory. He is a PhD candidate in cultural mediations at Carleton University, Ottawa

**Mathilde Roza (Radboud University), North American Indigenous Soldiers in Nijmegen, The Netherlands, during World War II**

Following initiatives in Washington D.C. (2020) and Omaha Beach (2017) to recognize, honor and commemorate Native American war veterans, I am currently working to bring the spirit of these initiatives into the European mainland, starting
with The Netherlands. As yet, indigenous soldiers have little visibility in the Dutch context of war memorialization. Starting with Nijmegen, I hope to increase this visibility. Specifically, I want to work towards the creation of a monument in Nijmegen to commemorate and draw attention to Native participation in the largest paratrooper event during the Second World War, Operation Market Garden. I am currently in the process of identifying as many native soldiers as possible. In a next step, I will contact and seek help and support from native communities, and approach the Nijmegen city council. In addition to enhancing our knowledge of U.S. and Canadian Second World War soldiers, this project hopes to build a greater awareness of a shared past and a shared history. Even though paths may have crossed briefly, the extreme circumstances of the wartime encounters between members of European and indigenous nations, render them especially meaningful. Making these connections visible, and fostering transatlantic memories, are powerful tools to work towards a fuller awareness of human interconnectedness—in this case transatlantic—at moments of crisis.

Mathilde Roza is Associate Professor of North American Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen. She has specialized in American modernism and the European historical avant-garde as well as in contemporary Native American and First Nation writing and visual art.

Erin Fehr (Sequoyah National Research Center), ‘Beyond the War: Native American Doughboys in France, 1917-1920’

In April 6, 1917, when the United States of America joined the Allied Forces in their fight against Germany, the majority of American Indians and Alaska Natives had received their education in federally run boarding schools for decades as a means of assimilation. Although many of these students were not yet American citizens, they were aggressively recruited into the U.S. Armed Forces due to their extensive military training received in these boarding schools. An estimated 12,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives served in the U.S. military during World War I. During their time in France, American Indians and Alaska Natives wrote of their experiences in letters home and journals, describing the French people’s reactions to seeing Indians for the first time and telling of their time at war. After the armistice was signed, many of these soldiers stayed for months longer in the Army of Occupation, taking advantage of their time in a new, exciting place. They wrote of sightseeing in Paris, performing in bands across the French countryside and even for international dignitaries, and taking music lessons in France and Germany. While many would like to believe that these activities were merely evidence of successful assimilation policies, I believe they instead show the spirit of adaptability, resilience, and self-determination that have sustained American Indians and Alaska Natives for
centuries. This paper will examine their stories of indigenous mobility in the light of personal triumph and perseverance in an otherwise tragic chapter in world history.

Erin Fehr is the Archivist at the Sequoyah National Research Center at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. She received a BA in Music from Central Baptist College in Conway, Arkansas, and her MM in Musicology and MLIS from the University of Oklahoma. Her research interests include the musical education and performance of Native Americans during and after the boarding school era, Natives in World War I, and the history of American Indian marching bands.

Thursday 17 June
19:45-21 - ‘From Homelands to Empires and Everywhere in Between: North American Indigenous Border Crossings, Cultural Exchanges, and Contemporary Considerations’

Scott Manning Stevens (Syracuse University), Robert Keith Collins (San Francisco State University) and Nicole Perry (University of Auckland)

This panel considers Indigenous cultural exchanges with Europeans, border crossings in North America, and the mythmaking about Indigenous peoples from a nation-state without a North American empire. Nicole Perry examines the myth of the Indianer in popular German culture and the importance of contemporary Indigenous reclaimings of this image. Scott Manning Stevens discusses border crossings at Niagara Falls as a site of resistance for the Haudenosaunee, extending it to the League of Nations in Geneva and the problematics of a post 9/11 world. Finally, Robert Keith Collins explores the cultural impact of Indigenous American culture on Europeans, highlighting the relevance of these exchanges to the cultural traditions of Europe. All three papers go beyond the spectacle of performance to explore the importance of resistance, resilience, and the cultural impact of Indigenous and European relations.

Nicole Perry, University of Auckland
‘Thinking Beyond Empire: Germany’s Indianer Then and Now’

Germany’s truncated colonial era focused primarily on the continent of Africa and the South Pacific, and although they were not a colonizing power in North America, the German presence in the United States was extensive as seen through the waves of mass migration in and around 1848. Although the German fascination with Indigenous peoples arguably started with the late 19th Century author Karl May and his Winnetou series (1893), what role did Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show and its Indigenous participants, such as Sitting Bull, play in laying the foundation for the German Indianer? This paper will historicize and contextualize the Indianer in the
German homeland from the 19th Century to present and consider contemporary Indigenous remasterings and reappropriations. The anachronistic and romanticized image is still present and visible today—showcasing a distinct German nostalgia for an imaginary and mythical American Wild West. Perhaps more stunning is the necessary intervention by Indigenous writers and artists, who challenge and decolonize this imagined image through a variety of multimedia texts. Kent Monkman’s (Cree) alter ego Miss Chief Eagle Testicle and her music video “Dance to Miss Chief” is just one example of how Indigenous artists are confronting a decidedly fascinating and problematic spectacle.

Nicole Perry is a Senior Lecturer of German and Comparative Literature at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. She earned her PhD in German at the University of Toronto examining the texts of three German authors and the role and function of Indigenous characters in these works 1798-1893. Before her appointment at Auckland, Nicole held two postdoctoral positions at the University of Vienna in the Institute of German. Her second post doc, funded by a Lise Meitner-Programme fellowship from the Austrian Science Fund, explored how Indigenous artists reclaim and reappropriate the German Indianer image as a way to begin important conversations regarding North American Indigeneity in German popular culture. She is also the Associate Editor (German) for the William F. Cody Papers, a digital archive on the life and times of Buffalo Bill. Recent publications include articles in both Indigenous and German Studies journals on the German Indianer and contemporary Indigenous interventions.

**Scott Manning Stevens, Syracuse University**

‘Haudenosaunee Travel as Activism’

My paper examines the history of the annual ‘Border Crossing Celebration’ held by the Indian Defense League of America (IDLA) on the border separating the United States and Canada at Niagara Falls. Since July of 1928 IDLA members have staged a crossing of the bridge linking the US and Canada to remind the citizens of both of those nations of the guaranteed right for Indigenous North Americans to cross the border unimpeded. This has been especially important for citizens of the Haudenosaunee (also known as the Iroquois) Confederacy. Those six nations, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora live on seventeen reservations in Canada and the US. Families have relatives on both sides of the border and need to travel between nations frequently. This right was guaranteed to Native peoples in the 1794 Jay Treaty and later in 1814, in the Treaty of Ghent. In the early 1920s disputes between Haudenosaunee rights activists and the Canadian government led to the detention of certain Native leaders at the border or the refusal to allow these individuals entry into Canada. The IDLA was established in 1926 to advocate for Native sovereignty and assert the rights of Indigenous North.
Americans, according the treaties mentioned above. I first consider the activist travel undertaken by Iroquois rights advocates in the twentieth century. I examine the mission by the Cayuga leader, Levi General, to the League of Nations in 1923 and the Haudenosaunee delegation to the United Nations offices in Geneva in 1977. Each year since 1928 Haudenosaunee citizens, from both sides of the border, have met to ceremonially cross from one side to the other - without US or Canadian passports. My paper concludes by analyzing the current issue of border security that has put new pressures on Indigenous communities following the 9/11 attacks.

Scott Manning Stevens is a citizen of the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation and the Director of the Native American Indigenous Studies Program at Syracuse University. He earned his PhD from Harvard University in English and has published widely on Native American literatures and visual culture. Before coming to Syracuse, Dr. Stevens was the Director of the D’Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Prof. Stevens had previously held teaching positions at Arizona State University and the University at Buffalo. His recent publications include an essay on the translation of the King James Bible into Mohawk and another on Iroquois internationalism. He is a coauthor of the books *Home Front: Daily Life in the Civil War North* (U of Chicago Press, 2013) and *The Art of the American West* (Yale UP, 2014). Dr. Stevens is also a co-editor and contributor to the recent collection of essays *Why You Can’t Teach United States History without American Indians* (U of North Carolina Press, 2015) and has contributed a chapter on museums to the newly released *Oxford Handbook of American Indian History* (Oxford UP, 2016).

Robert Keith Collins, San Francisco State University
‘The Impact of American Indians and Europeans Cultures: Evidence from the Anthropological Record’

What impact did American Indians have on European cultures? To explore this question, this paper expands on A. Irving Hallowell’s analysis of, “The Impact of the American Indian on American Culture,” by examining the impact that American Indian lifeways had on European cultural traditions. In this paper, I argue that American Indian cultural impact must be understood as byproduct of cultural exchanges that occurred between various American Indian individuals and populations and Europeans and the new economic, fashion, and subsistence traditions created in Europe from these interactions. This paper shows, on the one hand, that contact between American Indians and Europeans lent to cultural changes, but on the other, that these cultural changes were experienced by both American Indians and Europeans as well. Although this point may seem revisionist, it is consistent with an early and empirically sound body of ethnographic literature upon which Hallowell’s analysis of transculturalization phenomena are based and
illuminates a significant impact on European cultures by American Indians. Knowing that colonial interactions occurred between American Indians and Europeans only skims the surface of the tremendous exchanges of lifeways and subsistence strategies evident in the anthropological and historical records, there remains the challenge of understanding the relevance of these exchanges to the cultural traditions of Europe.

The early 21st century’s hyper-interconnectedness through news, social media and instant communication has brought the politics of the West full circle (or hoop?), to a world where even semi-public statements made in one corner to one audience not only ‘echo’ to others across the globe, but are taken, re-worked and deployed by and according to the needs and interests of various political forces, from movements for social justice through national governments and transnational corporations, to shadowy entities of extreme ideologies. Like in the Cold War of the 20th century, various entities have again begun to ‘weaponize’ the suffering and struggles of oppressed populations around the world, not in the least of those in the heart/s of the empire. This panel brings together studies about these kinds of ‘mobilities’ of Indigenous issues during these two periods of intercontinental conflicts by proxy. Toth, a historian trained in American Studies, aims to advance a theory of the ‘Red Transatlantic’ through his case study of the circulation of travellers, correspondence, funds, periodicals and ideas across national borders about Native American sovereignty in the late Cold War. Trained as a historian and now a scholar of North American Studies, Kyrová maps the opportunities and limitations of the coverage of Native American issues in Eastern Bloc news media during the Cold War. Ruckes, Betanzos and Savage apply Computer Science research methods to the cyber-ethics dimension of the deployment of Indigenous issues on social media for divisive political and social propaganda. All three papers will place careful emphasis on discussing Indigenous agency in engagement with or responses to, the mobilities of Native rights and causes in the last half a century.

Gyorgy “George” Toth, University of Stirling
“He was our roving ambassador”: Indigenous Mobility and Transatlantic Alliances for Native Rights in the Late Cold War

“He was our roving ambassador”, Russell Means wrote in his memoir about the American Indian Movement’s Vernon Bellecourt, who in the 1970s travelled in Europe on behalf of the militant Native rights organization, holding press conferences, creating phrases for sound bites, lecturing on television, and making speeches in countries like Italy (Means with Wolf, 1995; Banks and Erdoes, 2004). Bellecourt’s activities were part of the radical Native sovereignty movement’s strategy of transnational diplomacy –building and using alliances outside of the
United States to put pressure on its national government for the protection of Native status and rights. This strategy involved the circulation of travellers, correspondence, funds, periodicals and ideas across national borders in the Transatlantic realm. In the process, radical Native activists not only built a transatlantic alliance for sovereignty, but also entered the United Nations, where they helped develop a global Indigenous human rights regime.

This paper will use the above phenomenon as an American Culture Studies “dense fact” (Wise, 1979) to argue that Native American rights activists used Indigenous mobility to practice their kind of transnational diplomacy in the Central European contact zone of the Cold War. On the theoretical level, building on Jace Weaver’s formulation of a Red Atlantic (2014), the paper will make a case for the “Red Transatlantic” as a framework for the understanding of Indigenous presence in the heart(s) of the empire. The paper will refine the author’s earlier (Toth, 2016) thesis that American Indian and Indigenous Studies provide Transnational American Studies with a chance to deconstruct the U.S. nation state from the inside out - through the traditions and historical agency of Indigenous populations, one of the very groups who were exploited to construct it.

György Tóth holds degrees in English Language and Literature and American Studies from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary (M.A.) and The University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, USA (Ph.D.). In his academic specializations, György combines U.S. cultural and social history with Transnational American Studies, Performance Studies and Memory Studies to yield interdisciplinary insights into the politics of U.S. social and cultural movements in post-1945 Europe. Since 2014 György has been serving as Lecturer in post-1945 U.S. History and Transatlantic Relations at the Division of History, Heritage and Politics of the University of Stirling, Scotland, UK. His book titled From Wounded Knee to Checkpoint Charlie: The Alliance for Sovereignty between American Indians and Central Europeans in the Late Cold War was published by SUNY Press in 2016, and he is co-author of Memory in Transatlantic Relations from the Cold War to the Global War on Terror, published by Routledge in 2019.

Lucie Kýrová, Charles University
Cold War Media and Native Voices: The Opportunities and Limitations of Challenging the Settler State

“Mr. President, I’ve heard that a group of American Indians have come here because they couldn’t meet you in the United States of America. If you fail to meet them here, will you be able to improve -to correct it and meet them back in the
United States?” A student of Moscow State University to President Ronald Reagan, 1988.¹

The question posed by the Moscow University student to President Reagan during his 1988 visit points to an existing awareness of Native American issues among people in the Soviet Union and, by extension in the Eastern Bloc, by the late 1980s. In its ideological battle against the United States, Eastern Block media discussed, among other topics, American racial relations and the position of minorities in order to challenge the US as the leader of the democratic free world. The media mostly concentrated on African Americans, but images of Native Americans and news of their situation travelled across the Atlantic to the East as well. Native Americans recognized the potential of this international media coverage as a tool to educate a broader public about their problems, raise support, and increase pressure on American politicians. However, the actual impact of Eastern Block media coverage was limited. The newspapers used Native Americans as a tool in their general anti-US propaganda, and although the coverage was useful, it did not necessarily translate into official political support. On a case study of Czech language media, this paper will discuss the opportunities and limitations of Eastern Block media coverage of Native American issues as a tool to challenge the continued coloniality of Native Americans during the Cold War.

Lucie Kýrová received her Ph.D. from the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, USA. She works as an assistant professor at the Department of North American Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic. Her teaching and research interests include American history (social, cultural, and intellectual), Native American and Indigenous studies, Indigenous internationalism, transnational social movements and dissent. She is currently working on a book manuscript, based on her dissertation “The Right to Think for Themselves’: Native American Intellectual Sovereignty and Internationalism during the Cold War, 1950 –1989.”

Amy Ruckes, unaffiliated AND Dr. Eber Omar Betanzos Torres, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico (UNAM).

The Exploitation of Indigenous Social Media for Political Propaganda

“If you want to see an example of failed socialism, go to an Indian Reservation.” Russel Means paraphrasing James Watts

Our investigation examined how disruptive social media appropriate and exploit Native Americans for computational propaganda. Examples of computational propaganda include videos posted by partisan organizations, such as Turning Point USA, where these types of quotes (e.g. from Russel Means) are

misrepresented and used to promote certain political causes. Computational propaganda, which appropriates Native issues and exploits these concerns, might ultimately be used to influence electoral participation, encourage social division, and inflame protests. Political polarization, fuelled by foreign and domestic actors, is known to increase during election cycles. Thus, the 2020 election might also be politically impacted by influencing Native Americans. Promoting derogatory political content that exploit Native identity might ultimately discourage support for certain candidates while suppressing political participation of Native American voters. However, we are still currently at the beginning of understanding how computational propaganda is exactly targeting Native Americans, and how their identity is being weaponized for political causes. We conducted a data analysis of how Native Americans were targeted on different social media platforms. Through our analysis we identified that propaganda exploited Native Americans in three different methods: (1) Attacking politicians via Indigenous identity; (2) Weaponizing economic concerns of Indigenous nations; (3) Utilizing Indigenous identity for anti-immigration propaganda. In this panel we will present our results, and also discuss actions Tribal Nations can implement together with the help of data scientists to fight disinformation targeting Native Americans at scale.

Amy Ruckes is a independent researcher and analyst working with SOVAW (Stop Online Violence Against Women) and is currently advised by Dr. Betanzos Torres. Amy’s research involves the areas of Disinformation, Civic Media, and Human Computer Interaction. She is interested in understanding how Native Americans are targeted across social media platforms, and how their Native identity is weaponized by bad actors to promote disinformation. Amy utilizes the findings from her research to create design guidelines to fight disinformation at scale, especially disinformation targeting minority groups. Amy has collaborated with different civic organizations on the topic of political disinformation, such as the Atlantic Council and Mexico’s National Electoral Institute. Previously, Amy worked at the GroupSense cyber security firm, which allowed her to become an expert in conducting geopolitical investigations to evaluate electoral risks during disinformation attacks. This has empowered her to focus on the disengagement of voters, the disenfranchisement of minority populations, and how hacked material is weaponized by bad actors.

Friday 18 June
15-16.15

KEYNOTE: Madeline Sayet (Arizona State University), "Ancestors in Unexpected Places"

Introduced by Michael Walling, Border Crossings
In 2015, award-winning Mohegan Theater Maker Madeline Sayet travelled to England to pursue a PhD in Shakespeare, but what she found instead was a journey that intersected with that of her Mohegan ancestors who crossed the ocean in the 1700s on diplomatic missions for their people. This process led to the creation of her play “Where We Belong,” currently available online June 14-July 11th through Woolly Mammoth Theatre Company in Association with The Folger Shakespeare Library. In this keynote Madeline reveals the process of creating “Where We Belong,” the questions raised by her own travels, and those of Mohegans who have traveled to England across time.

Madeline Sayet is a member of the Mohegan Tribe in Connecticut, where she was raised on a combination of traditional Mohegan stories and Shakespeare. Both of which have influenced her work as a stage director of new plays, classics, and opera.

For her work she has been named a Forbes 30 Under 30 in Hollywood & Entertainment, a NCAIED Native American 40 Under 40, a TED Fellow, MIT Media Lab Director’s Fellow, and a recipient of the White House Champion of Change Award from President Obama. She is the Executive Director of the Yale Indigenous Performing Arts Program (YIPAP). Within her field she has also been acknowledged as a 2019 Drama League Director in Residence, a member of the 2016 National Directors Fellowship Cohort, and is currently a member of Long Wharf Theatre’s inaugural artistic ensemble. Her directorial work has been described by critics as effervescent, enchanting, magical, insightful, and fearless.

She received her BFA in Drama from Tisch School of the Arts, where she studied under the Atlantic Theatre Company. She has a MA in Arts Politics & Post-Colonial Theory from NYU’s Gallatin School of Individualized Study, and a MA in Shakespeare & Creativity (with Distinction) from The Shakespeare Institute (Stratford Upon Avon, UK).

After finishing her studies at NYU, she received directing mentorship through a Van Lier Directing Fellowship at Second Stage Theatre, and social entrepreneurship training as part of the first cohort of National Arts Strategies' Creative Community Fellows (where she now serves as a mentor), before going on to develop a national and international artistic career.

She has served on panels for the NEA, Mellon Foundation, Jerome Many Voices Fellowship, ART NY grants, as well as the Artistic Council for the O'Neill Playwrights Conference. Her writing has been published by TCG (Theatre Communications Group), Howlround Theatre Commons, University of Nebraska Press, and No Passport Press. She currently serves on the Board of Directors at NEFA, and Board of Trustees at the Eugene O’Neill Theater Center.

Her directing work has been seen at the Long Wharf Theatre, Perseverance Theatre (Alaska), Denver Center for the Performing Arts, Connecticut Repertory
Theatre, Delaware Shakespeare Festival, South Dakota Shakespeare Festival, Orlando Shakespeare Festival, The Krannert Center (Illinois), Theatresquared (Arkansas), Penobscot Theatre (Maine), the Public Theater (NY), HERE Arts Center (NY), 59e59 Theaters (NY), Ars Nova (NY), Lark Play Development Center (NY), the Glimmerglass Festival (NY), as well as in Iceland and the UK.

Please note: the streamed version of “Where We Belong” is part of the 2021 ORIGINS festival, available to view at https://originsfestival.bordercrossings.org.uk/programme/where-we-belong-1

Friday 18 June
16.30-17:45
‘Concepts that Bite through Time: Blackfoot objects as curriculum’

Josephine Mills (University of Lethbridge), Melissa Shouting, and Danielle Heavy Head (Blackfoot Digital Library)

This panel will discuss approaches for connecting Blackfoot and non-Indigenous audiences with Blackfoot historical objects that are housed in museum collections located far from Blackfoot traditional territory. We will discuss the specifics of working with historical Blackfoot objects in British museum collections alongside Blackfoot Elders and students as well as our strategies for engaging audiences living in Treaty 7 territory in Southern Alberta, Canada, through art-based programming and online exhibitions.

Josephine Mills will provide an overview of a new project organized by Level 2: Lichen Lab, which involves artists, web designers, academics, and art galleries working with Blackfoot Elders to connect people with the knowledge held by historical Blackfoot objects in British museum collections. We are designing online spaces and art-based programming where people can interact with the objects, experiment with photogrammetry and RTI, practice Blackfoot artmaking, and learn about Blackfoot culture and the legacies of colonialism. As we aim to promote rich and diverse public engagement with the digital artefacts and their histories, we are exploring a set of imbricated questions: how do we design a web experience that enables people to make meaningful connections with objects? does having hands-on activities as part of exhibitions improve public engagement with audiences? and can working with digital objects, art exhibitions, and art making build connections for Blackfoot people with their material culture and for non-Indigenous people with Indigenous knowledge and perspectives?

Melissa Shouting will briefly explain the importance of incorporating museums and objects as a mode of knowledge transmission through the incorporation of art-based methods as a means to illuminate Blackfoot dimensions
of connecting with one another and most importantly to existing knowledge systems.

Danielle Heavy Head will discuss the Blackfoot Digital Library. When the library was created it was called the Blackfoot Repatriation Database. It was a simple database created with a simple Corel program. The intention was to catalogue all museums, collections, and archival institutions around the world that held Blackfoot cultural, patrimonial, sacred objects, as well as anything related to the Blackfoot peoples. This started with the hopes that repatriation laws would go beyond the United States and Canada, so we could bring our heritage home. The first successful repatriation using the Blackfoot Repatriation Database was done by a young researcher named Ryan Hancock, who repatriated the first Beaver Bundle to be returned to the Blackfoot people from the Peabody Museum at Harvard.

Not long after this first successful repatriation under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, Heavy Head was tasked with widening and building up the database by the late Allen Pard and late Mike Swimsunder both of whom were leaders in the Beaver People Society. Heavy Head will address the transformation of the database into what is now known as the Blackfoot Digital Library.

Melissa Shouting is an artist, health researcher, and graduate student residing in Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada. She is a registered member of Kainai (Blood) Nation, belonging to the Blackfoot Confederacy and is of Blackfoot, Plains Cree and Gros Ventre descent. She holds an undergraduate degree in Health Sciences majoring in Public Health with a minor in Aboriginal Health and is currently pursuing a Master of Science in Health Sciences at the University of Lethbridge. Her research interests include Indigenous Women’s Health, Gendered Colonial Violence against Indigenous populations, and Incorporating Museums and Objects as a means of Health Promotion for Indigenous people. Melissa’s art is centered around land-based teachings and storytelling that involves engaging in knowledge renewal and transmission techniques that are dependent on the oral history and practices which are reliant on her kinship alliances within the Blackfoot Confederacy. Melissa utilizes Blackfoot art techniques as a vessel to carry knowledge that will increase the health literacy within her community through the incorporation of examining Blackfoot objects that are currently housed within museums. She is a research assistant and one of the artists leads for the community engagement workshops for the Mootookakio’ssin: Blackfoot Digital Project.

Josephine Mills is the Director/Curator of the University of Lethbridge Art Gallery and a Professor in the Department of Art. She is the Principal Investigator for Level 2: Lichen Lab, a symbiotic research partnership studying the connection between art galleries and enactive cognition.
Danielle Heavy Head has been working with the Blackfoot Digital Library (BDL) since she was a high school student in 1997 and has been with the University of Lethbridge Library since 2008. She was instrumental in making the University of Lethbridge Library the permanent home of the BDL, which is in the heart of current Blackfoot Territory. Danielle continues to work with the University of Lethbridge’s Library Administration and the Library’s IT department to expand and support the initiative. The BDL continues to be a “living library” that provides a means for all to learn about the meaning of being Blackfoot.

Friday 18 June
18.15-19.30
‘WORKSHOP: Objects as Curriculum’

Thomas Allison (University of the Arts, London), Christine Clark (University of Lethbridge), Ian Dawson (University of Southampton), Danielle Heavyhead (Blackfoot Digital Library) and Louisa Minkin (University of the Arts, London)

This workshop will seek to introduce the conference audience to both the digital technologies and the digital artefacts assembled during the first phase of the Concepts that Bite through Time: Objects as Curriculum project. This project, a New Frontiers funded collaboration between Blackfoot Knowledge Holders, The Blackfoot Digital Library, UoL, UAL and UoS seeks to make 3D images of Blackfoot objects held in museums in the UK accessible to their home people in order to explore the knowledge embedded in them. Can these digital techniques help to impart traditional skills such as quillwork and how do these digital assemblages travel themselves? By introducing this project through a workshop format with demonstrations of the technical processes of photogrammetry and Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) this event will seek to raise questions and continue the ongoing dialogue between the matter, skills, crafting and transfer rights bound within the physical objects and the shifting ontologies of the digital artefacts.

Thomas Allison is an artist and a technician at Central Saint Martins where he has developed the Capture Lab and built a portable photogrammetric rig.

Christine Clark is an Assistant Professor in the Department of New Media at the University of Lethbridge where she teaches and practices in web design and development. She is the Principal Investigator for a New Frontiers in Research grant that explores use of digital imaging to connect people with Blackfoot objects housed in British museum collections. Clark received her MFA in New Media from the UofL in 2014, with her thesis focusing on the design of climate data visualizations and design/science collaboration. Christine continues to work with
researchers and organizations to develop web-based media that aim to engage the public with issues related to the environment, waste, and community.

Ian Dawson is Head of Sculpture and Co-Director of the Critical Practices Research Group at University of Southampton., Winchester School of Art. Ian has exhibited extensively with solo shows in New York (James Cohan Gallery), London (C&C Gallery) and Paris (Galerie Xippas) and has works in both public and private collections worldwide, including the Chaney Family collection, Goss Michael Collection, and Mickey and Janice Cartin Collection. His work is featured in Contemporary British Sculpture (Schiffer Publishing) and Collage, Assembling Contemporary Art, (Black Dog Publishing). He articulated the complex relationship between the artist and the creative act in his book Making Contemporary Sculpture (Crowood Press). Recent exhibitions include: ‘Artist Boss’ New Art Centre, Roche Court, Salisbury, ‘Gestures of Resistance’ Athens and ‘Annihilation Event, London and explore new 3D imaging and print technologies, these have been the outcome of an ongoing collaboration with members of the Archaeological Computing Research Group and The Centre for the Archaeology of Human Origins.

Danielle Heavy Head has been working with the Blackfoot Digital Library (BDL) since she was a high school student in 1997 and has been with the University of Lethbridge Library since 2008. She was instrumental in making the University of Lethbridge Library the permanent home of the BDL, which is in the heart of current Blackfoot Territory. Danielle continues to work with the University of Lethbridge’s Library Administration and the Library’s IT department to expand and support the initiative. The BDL continues to be a “living library” that provides a means for all to learn about the meaning of being Blackfoot.

Louisa Minkin is an artist and Course Leader for MA Fine Art at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts, London. She worked with archaeologists on the Leverhulme funded Making a Mark project applying digital imaging technology to the portable artefacts of the UK Neolithic and has since worked to bring visualisation technology to creative use in art school. Her research involves an interrogation of the relationship between physical and virtual objects employing scanning, fabrication and other new and old technologies.

Friday 18 June
19.45-21 - Colonial Stories, and the Lives of Objects

Cole Hawkins (University of Alberta), ‘Across the Great Water: Tobacco, Wampum, and Haudenosaunee Diplomacy in Early Eighteenth-Century London’
Long ago, the Peacemaker travelled across Turtle Island (North America) to unite the Haudenosaunee under kayanerenkó:wa (The Great Law of Peace). Gathering the Haudenosaunee together, the nations planted a Sacred Pine which would extend its roots east, west, north, and south, meaning all the people of the earth would eventually accept peace. In 1710, four diplomats from the Kanien’kehá:ka (Mohawk) and Mahican nations stretched the roots of the Sacred Tree and kayanerenkó:wa across oceans, as was the Peacemaker’s intent. Although the diplomats, known as the “Four Indian Kings,” have been actively studied, this paper uses an Indigenous lens to better understand the goals, expectations, and results of the diplomatic mission from an Indigenous perspective. Since few written sources exist, this paper centres the significance of Indigenous diplomatic protocols utilized during the visit. Engaging with the deep symbolic and cultural meanings as well as the accepted expectations contained in seemingly innocent words, gestures, actions, and material objects, demonstrates how Indigenous peoples asserted their diplomatic traditions to actively shape a globalized early modern world. While the diplomat’s physical presence in Britain was brief, Indigenous material presence continued to impact and shape British and European diplomatic culture through the European use of Indigenous tobacco. From Onondaga, to Albany, to Montreal, and to London, Indigenous protocols of diplomacy were not contained by national borders or oceans and were actively used by Europeans and Indigenous peoples. Kayanerenkó:wa and tobacco united a diverse array of individuals and cultures seeking mutual understanding, negotiation, and one-mindedness.

Cole Hawkins is from Treaty Four Territory and is currently completing his Master of Arts in History on Treaty Six Territory at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada. His work looks at the physical and material movement of North American Indigenous peoples and goods to Britain during the early modern period. Specifically, how transoceanic expressions of Haudenosaunee diplomacy, such as Wampum and tobacco, impacted diplomatic negotiations and wider diplomatic culture in Britain and Europe. Professionally, Cole was an educator for First Nations and Métis children and also worked as a university recruiter and career advisor collaborating with Indigenous communities and students in northern Alberta. Currently, Cole is the Treasurer of the History and Classics Truth and Reconciliation Commission Committee working to implement the TRC Calls to Action in the Department of History and Classics.

Sarah Sense, ‘Eighteen Colonial Stories with Maps and Coordinates: Research and Search at the British Library’

Drawing on inspiration from the British Library’s collection of maps, rare books and manuscripts, I will create two-dimensional photo-weavings accompanied by scholarly narratives of eighteen stories that explore the vast colonial history of
British settling in North America, focusing on Native perspectives: at initial contact, during exploration and war, and effects on current contemporary Native life and environment. The concepts are based on my British Library research during an Eccle’s Visiting Fellowship, engaging my sixteen-year weaving practice to physically combine images from the British Library archive to tell stories with maps and photographs. Accompanying narratives will be written by scholars as collaborators. For the visual art production, photographs of the British Library’s collection will be digitally reproduced and printed on paper for cutting, collaging and weaving. While my photo-weaving practice has consistently been of Chitimacha and Choctaw basket weaving-techniques, I am making new patterns for each of these pieces using latitude and longitude coordinates from two locations, one in the United Kingdom and the other in the United States, to form new patterns from the coordinates’ numerical sequences. Woven through the maps will be text and imagery from the library’s collection combined with my landscape photography relating to location, conceptually closing a gap between historical and contemporary time. This unique rhythm will spin an historical web, entangling sad realities of war and genocide while honoring ancestral basket weaving. Like webs, the spun stories will swirl in circles, mirroring the portolan charts from cartographic artists beginning with the library’s earliest map, Chart of the World from the Cape Verd Islands to the Red Sea (1339) to more recent maps, such as the Geological Investigation of the Alluvial Valley of the Lower Mississippi River (1944). As the pieces move through a cartographic chronology, the aesthetics of coastlines, reference points shaping circles, and layered lines with imagery will form visual stories while the scholarship gives Indigenous historical and contemporary perspective, including: climate change effecting community and landscapes, marginalization, and loss of tradition and culture with loss of land. As the Mayflower 400 Anniversary is at present, rather than celebrate colonialism, this exhibition of visual art and scholarship lends an opportunity to acknowledge history while learning new Indigenous perspectives.

With traditional Chitimacha and Choctaw basket techniques using non-traditional material of cut paper woven into flat mats and baskets, Sarah Sense has taught herself a weaving practice using photographic images, exposing socio-political themes effecting Native peoples. When traveling to meet Indigenous artists in their communities throughout the Americas and Southeast Asia, she experienced an interconnectedness between artists and land through local source materials, closely linking land to traditional preservation, thus becoming a continued conceptual theme in her practice. Her weaving tells stories drawing on these connections. Sense is an artist from Sacramento, California (1980). She received a BFA from California State University Chico (2003), and a MFA from Parsons the New School for Design, New York (2005). Sense was the curator/director of the American Indian Community House Gallery (2005-07) where she catalogued the gallery’s thirty-year
history. Sense has been practicing photo-weaving since 2004. Early works are based on Chitimacha landscape in Louisiana and Hollywood interpretations of Native North America. When Sense moved to South America in 2010 for research, her work changed to include travels journals, landscape photography and family archives, telling stories to reveal Indigenous histories, most notably her field search of Native art from twelve countries in the Western Hemisphere, for the book and exhibition, Weaving the Americas in Valdivia and Santiago, Chile (2011). After, she traveled to Southeast Asia and the Caribbean for, Weaving Water in Bristol, England (2013). While living in Ireland she collaborated with her Choctaw grandmother for Grandmother’s Stories in Tulsa, Oklahoma (2015), followed by works about family lines and motherhood for Remember in Frankfurt, Germany (2016). Sense continues her research as a British Library Eccles Centre Visiting Fellow (2019-20) and recently installed a sculpture at the National Marine Aquarium (2019) Plymouth, England.

Lauren Working (University of Oxford), Felipa Flowers’ Blue Moccasins: Indigenous Artefacts in Early Modern London and Oxford

Indigeneity saturated the world of the political elite in London, from the tobacco that fueled the sociability of gentlemen to the feather work used in court performances. Yet the circulation of indigenous peoples and goods is rarely considered important or relevant to English history or heritage. The troubling legacies of colonialism are all too often seen as an American/colonial issue, not an English/imperial one. What would English heritage look like if Native Americans were integrated more fully within it? The first part of this paper raises attention to the objects that travelled to the English political centre in the earliest colonial moment, from tobacco to claw jewelry to deerskin mantles. Notably, such objects did not just sit in cabinets of curiosity but were appropriated to enact ideas of civility and dispossession, meaning the circulation and use of indigenous goods in London has long been a political matter. The paper then turns to the need to address how indigenous artefacts are displayed and interpreted in English museums. Re-interpreting the trajectories of indigenous-made objects and their presence in England becomes critical to confronting imperial legacies and to presenting a deeper understanding of Englishness itself. By considering recent scholarship about the animacy of things and how objects reflect or absorb the value-systems imbued upon them by their makers and handlers, it becomes impossible to view the English as merely ‘acting on’ American spaces, untouched by the world it sought to transform.

Lauren is a postdoc on the TIDE project and an AHRC/BBC Next Generation Thinker. Her first book, The Making of an Imperial Polity: Civility and America in the Jacobean Metropolis (Cambridge University Press, 2020) explores the influence of English colonization on taste and politics in London. Her work on topics including

CLOSE
Many thanks on behalf of the Beyond the Spectacle team:
David Stirrup (University of Kent)
Jacqueline Fear-Segal (UEA)
Coll Thrush (UBC)
Kate Rennard (University of Kent)
Jack Davy (UEA/Morley College)
Charlie Hall (University of Kent)
And our research partner, Yvonne McEwen

To our project partners:
Rainmaker Gallery [https://www.rainmakerart.co.uk]
Border Crossings [https://www.bordercrossings.org.uk] and ORIGINS Festival
[Origins Festival]
The British Library, and especially the Eccles Centre for American Studies
The Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming
Dickinson College, Pennsylvania

To our artists in residence:
Marla Allison (Laguna Pueblo)
Sonny Assu (Ligwilda’xw Kwakwaka’wakw)
Barbara Croall (Odawa)

To our advisory board:
Prof. Chris Andersen (Métis)
Dr Max Carocci
Dr Philip Hatfield
Carole Holden
Prof. Stephen Hooper
Dr Padraig Kirwan
LeAndra Nephin (Omaha)
Dr Margaret Noodin (Anishinaabe descent)
Dr Stephanie Pratt (Crow Creek Dakota)
Dr Robbie Richardson (Pabineau First Nation (Mi’kmaw))
Dr Dylan Robinson (Stó:lō)
Dr Theodore Van Alst
Michael Zimmerman (Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians)

To our collaborating organisations including:
The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and the Warriors of Anikituhwa
‘Namgis First Nation
Salford City Council
Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, Pennsylvania
And to our many volunteers and assistants, including Shelley Saggar, Charlotte Vergette, Nicola Wheeler, Timea Koppandi, Maissa Zeltni, Holly May Treadwell, Amelia Mulcahey, Elizabeth Fraser, Marta Klimkowicz, Caitlin Casey, Sam Bellotti, Kaitlyn Neve, Josie Howl, Yasmina Belabid, Hannah Graham, Caitlin Hampton, Ruth Jenkins, Sophie John, Elise Page, Madeleine Scott, Anna-Grace Scullion, Holly Steele, Chloe Sykes

Along with a wide range of interviewees, community members, and individual collaborators.