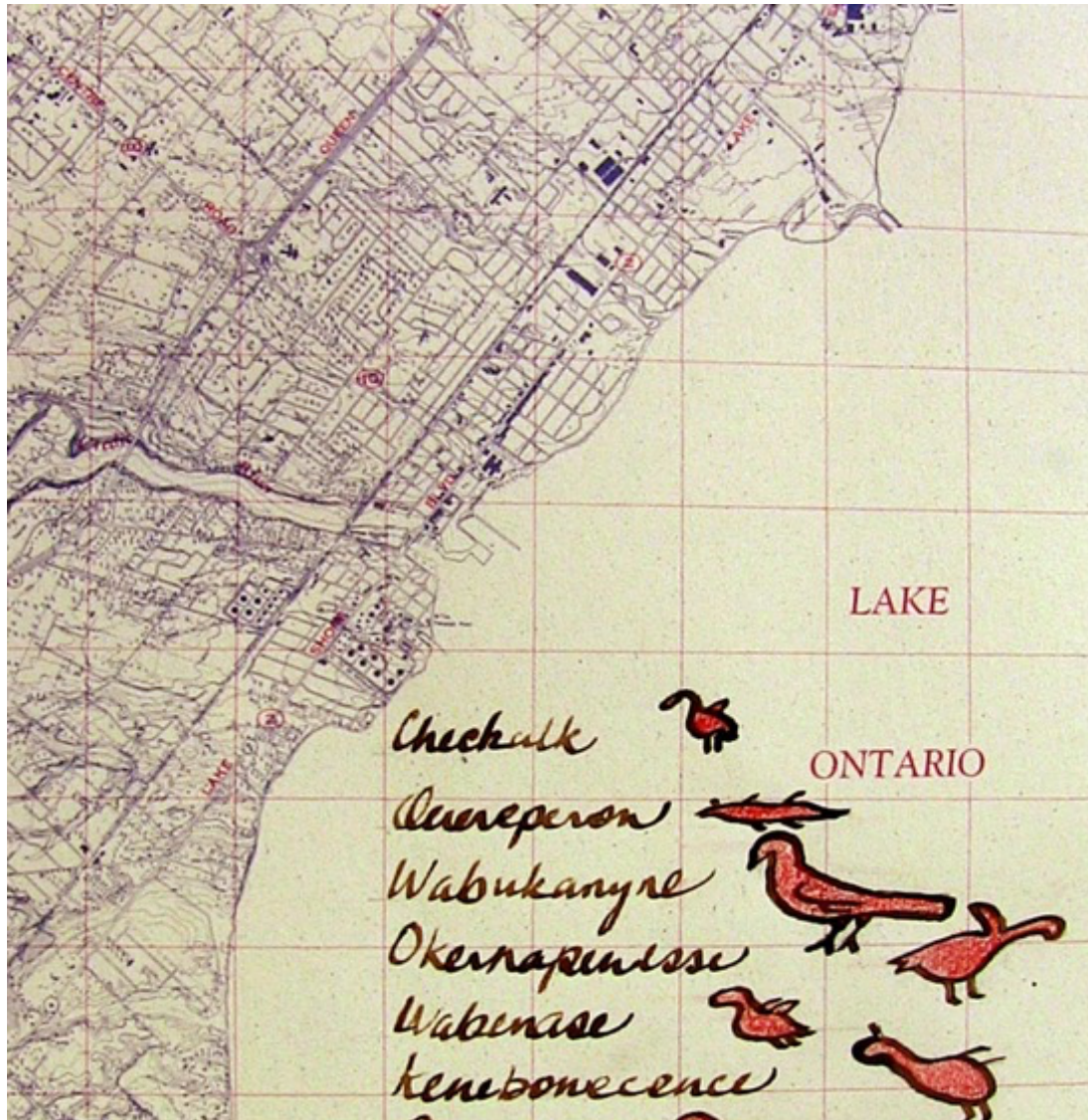


Entangled Modernities: New Directions in Settler Colonial and Critical Indigenous Studies

11th -12th September 2020, via zoom.

Abstract book



Bonnie Devine, *Titled/Untitled*, 2018. Ink and crayon on paper. Courtesy of the artist. Map courtesy of Ontario Council of University Libraries (OCUL).

University of
Kent



Keynote Speaker: Alice Te Punga Somerville (University of Waikato)

“Singing in their genealogical trees:” entanglement as whakapapa.

In the first issue of the journal *Mana Review*, published in 1976 at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, the small cluster of foundational essays included “Singing in their genealogical trees,” in which Fijian poet Pio Manoa suggested that “if [the poet] sings in his genealogical tree the better it would be for all concerned. For the poet cannot sing with borrowed feelings and emotions. He has to sing with his own.” In this talk I will consider what might happen when the idea of ‘entanglement’ – as in the name of this conference - is understood through the concept of ‘whakapapa,’ the multi-dimensional Māori concept of genealogy. Whakapapa is both noun (my whakapapa) and verb (to whakapapa): perhaps entanglement is something we describe but also something we do. Certainly entanglement is the inheritance of all of us who have been shaped – maybe even produced – by colonialism, but it is also a network in which we can trace an infinite range of dynamic connections. In 2020, the inheritance – the whakapapa - of an Indigenous scholar like myself, and Indigenous studies globally, is not just the centuries-long legacy of relationship, violence and articulation we call colonialism in its many forms, but also the decades-long legacy of Indigenous thinking and writing about the relationships between “borrowed” and “[our] own.”

Special session: Black Lives Matter in the Australian Context. Chiara Minestrelli (LCC) and Robert Thorpe (Guanî Elder).

This work is a collaborative effort between an Australian Indigenous (Guanî) Elder, Leader and activist and a European scholar. Grounding this paper within decolonizing methodologies (Smith, 1999; Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2005; Land, 2015), we will look at the Black Lives Matter movement in Australia, reflecting on its history and transnational influences. The first part of the paper will focus on the key issues raised by the movement, the context in which it emerged, its origins and development over time. The historical approach here embraced will be integrated with a more conversational tone introduced by a series of reflections, anecdotes and questions raised by the authors. In the second half of the paper, we will engage with the two dimensions of the movement, namely its digital presence and the ‘physical’ protests across Australia. We’ll do so by following the content

generated by the hashtag (Aboriginal) Black Lives Matter and related hashtags. We'll be examining the rhetoric and online strategies used to gather support (e.g. video, images, audio, text) and how these translate into more concrete action. We'll mainly focus on Facebook and Twitter as they are the most popular social media platforms amongst Indigenous peoples in Australia (Carlson and Frazer, 2018). The content will be analysed through a multimodal approach to text analysis (Kress, 2010) and the findings will be used to reflect on the transnational dimension of the phenomenon, its (affective) publics, local manifestations, and global resonances.

Panel 1: Lightning Talks

Porscha Fermanis (University College Dublin), 'No literature worthy of the name': Ethnography, Orality, and Malay Literary History'

In an article on the Orang Minitra in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (est. 1847) in 1847, the Singapore-based ethnologist James Richardson Logan identifies the double othering of Indigenous tribal Malays, who are at once distinguished from useful 'native' knowledge-collectors and informants by Europeans *and* subjected to the ridicule of 'modern' urban Malays. In this paper, I trace this process of 'double othering' in the pages of the *Journal* itself via its representation of various forms of 'encounter' with Indigenous Malays. In so doing, I argue for the role of ethnological data collection in shaping a bifurcation between two zones of social existence: one constituted by 'modern' subjects inhabiting meaningful life-worlds and the other constituted by those 'pre-modern' subjects who can be objectified or reduced to numerical data or statistical demonstration within an abstract knowledge field. If, as Logan puts it, 'the reduction of every species of information that admits it, into an arithmetical or accurate quantitative form ... gives it a far greater value, both for practical and scientific purposes, than if it were merely stated in a loose or general manner', then this 'reductive' methodological procedure has profound effects on the ways in which encounters with Indigenous peoples are naturalised, viewed, and represented by Europeans, and for the ways in which Indigenous peoples in turn understand their encounters with Europeans.

Viewing science as a semiotic practise, where numerical signs and symbols act as stand-ins for physical nature, in the first part of this paper I discuss some telling instantiations of this 'reduction' of the corporeal to the semiotic, arguing that the journal's numerical tables, schemas, and images are replete with meaning, revealing not only their direct functions as 'data' but also strategies of material and symbolic violence. In the second part of the paper, I consider how these kinds of data-driven approaches and methodologies permeate questions of literary value and appreciation in the journal as they relate to Malay literature and culture. In particular, I consider the ways in which ethnographic models inform the construction of a 'modern' Malay literary history that is severed from its 'pre-modern' aural and oral past. Since Indigenous Malays have 'no literature worthy of the name', this process simultaneously involves the disaggregation of oral from written culture, and the rejection of 'foreign' Islamic discourses and traditions, in order to construct a Malay 'golden age' compatible with a Judeo-Christian and Greco-Latin cultural heritage. In tracing the kinds of Malay manuscripts and texts deemed worthy of being collected, translated, printed, and promoted by Europeans, I argue for the intransigence of Malay language and

culture (as itself a 'life world') in the face of linguistic classification, standardisation, and translation, considering both its resistance to being flattened into data and its retention of aural and oral meanings.

Danne Jobin (University of Kent) 'Trans-Atlantic crossings and settler-colonial reversals in two Native American narratives of the Columbus Quincentennial'

Louise Erdrich's and Michael Dorris's *The Crown of Columbus* and Gerald Vizenor's *The Heirs of Columbus* both came out in 1991 in anticipation the 1992 quincentennial celebrations. Co-authored by Erdrich and Dorris, *The Crown* investigates the complexity of settler and Indigenous relationships, both in their distinctiveness and interconnections. The two main protagonists conduct research that leads them to investigate Christopher Columbus's journey of discovery on the island of Eleuthera. Through their interracial relationship, the novel also demonstrates ongoing colonial legacies. Vivian's revisionist take on Columbus's voyage also re-positions settler to Native relationships so as to envision futures unfolding from an Indigenous perspective.

Vizenor's Anishinaabe characters in *The Heirs* attempt to single out the gene of survivance carried by Columbus's tribal heirs to envision new types of citizenship. The novel is set in a utopian future that imagines an alternative reality for North American tribal nations and reimagines colonial history through a series of reverse trajectories across the ocean. In *The Heirs*, humanity and civilization emerge from the headwaters of the Mississippi, the Maya give birth to civilization and Columbus is himself a Mayan who finds his "homeland" at the headwaters of the Mississippi, on Anishinaabe land. Vizenor thus uses this pattern of reversals to demonstrate the complexity of origins and deconstruct any simplistic notion of belonging. Settler colonialism is undermined as the explorer simply returns to his place of origin instead of discovering uncharted land.

While previous analyses of these works tended to focus on the figure of the mixedblood, this reading will examine trans-Atlantic crossings in the context of more recent theory such as Jace Weaver's *Red Atlantic* and Chadwick Allen's *Trans-Indigenous* so as to illuminate the spatial dynamics of boundary-crossing that break down the rigid binary categories of settler-colonial versus Indigenous positionalities.

Hal Langfur (SUNY Buffalo), 'Indigenous Knowledge Networks and Portuguese Territorial Control in Southeastern Brazil, 1750 – 1800'

Historians and literary scholars conventionally exclude indigenous peoples in scholarship on Lusophone knowledge networks in the early modern South Atlantic. This paper explores relations between Portuguese legal authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, and native peoples, especially the Coroado and Coropó, in the rugged lands north of Rio de Janeiro during the second half of the eighteenth century. Despite more than two centuries of colonial occupation along the Atlantic coast, these mobile hunters, foragers, and agriculturalists continued to dominate the mountainous zone separating the captaincies of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais in southeastern Brazil. Crown ministers, military officers, churchmen, and other agents of Portugal's transatlantic judicial system increasingly targeted them as informants, believing they could provide crucial intelligence about transport routes and illegal mining operations in the densely forested mountains. By examining the ensuing investigations, which linked trailside interrogations to the Holy Office

of the Inquisition in Lisbon, this paper demonstrates the centrality of indigenous expertise to the crown's multifaceted judicial efforts to consolidate territorial control. The exchanges helped Portuguese officials refine their understanding of inland areas but also contributed to fantastical narratives of untapped mineral wealth. For their part, native peoples strove to shape their own opportunities and outcomes in the face of an encroaching settler society. They did so both in strategic collaboration with and defiance of emerging legal institutions that heralded more forceful forms of Portuguese territorial control.

Helen Jennings (University of the Arctic, Norway) 'Indigenous Communities and Tourism in British Columbia'

In a recent video produced by 'Indigenous Tourism British Columbia' entitled 'Why tourism matters', Sierra Hall a member of the Xai'xais Nation maintained that, 'Tourism is really important to our people as it is a form of reconciliation' ..[yet].. 'our community were very very hesitant in doing tourism, but then one Elder stood up and said you know our youth are starting to lose their way, their culture and their traditions and we don't know another way to bring that back, other than tourism'. The focus on, and the development of, Indigenous tourism in the province fits into many of the 'calls to action' that came out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which was completed in 2015. Many of those calls spoke about the importance of having a space to learn and engage with different Indigenous languages and cultures, as well as the ability to partake effectively in the economy. This talk will draw on my recent ethnographic research in British Columbia, Canada to investigate how Indigenous owned and operated tourist sites can serve as a resource for the hosts and guides. I pay particular attention to, and ask questions about, how Indigeneity and spirituality are articulated in these tourist spaces. I employ articulation theory to explore how Indigeneity and spirituality are communicated, performed and negotiated by the individuals represented. On a fundamental level the industry creates jobs for Indigenous peoples across the province, which has opened up new avenues for communication with each other, with guests and with national and global audiences. These jobs being under the control and management of the hosts are providing the people involved with opportunities to learn, create and share practises - practises that might have been previously prohibited or stigmatised - which are now through tourism incentivised and facilitated.

Rebecca Macklin (University of Leeds) 'Relationality as Decolonial Method: Entanglements Beyond Indigeneity'

In recent years, a truly transnational Indigenous studies has emerged. Moving away from a model based upon tribal nationalism, Native American studies has begun to embrace its global resonance. Indigenous North American Scholars including Chadwick Allen, Jodi A. Byrd, Glenn Coulthard, and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson have developed theoretical perspectives that allow for plural and converging experiences of settler colonialism to be understood in relation to one another. These theoretical paradigms frequently seek to place locally-informed and rooted experiences into dialogue with one another to understand the shared impacts of transnational settler colonialism and the possibility of shared "constellations of coresistance" (Simpson 2017). This talk employs the concept of *relationality* in the service of developing such connections, asserting that in some contexts relationality can help to elucidate points of connection that a focus on indigeneity might

inadvertently foreclose. While undoubtedly a productive vehicle for transnational Indigenous rights movement, indigeneity can also be an exclusionary category that serves to create barriers between groups that have similar experiences under settler colonialism. To explore this, my talk will share narratives from South Africa, of groups that are not recognised as Indigenous, but that can productively be placed in relation to Indigenous North American experiences. Consequently, I posit that the concept of relationality, a concept which resonates across many Indigenous and African cultures, can be employed as a method for decolonial connection.

Panel 2: Indigenous perspectives on imperial and postcolonial history

Laurie Allen (University of Newcastle, NSW): 'Guldy: Aboriginal Evader of Australian Colonial Justice'

The first Aboriginal man to be tried and convicted in the New South Wales Supreme Court was Guldy (c. 1797 – c. 1870), a man from the Mangrove Creek area of the Central Coast of New South Wales. His story is not widely known, but in the 1820s and 30s his name struck fear into early colonists over a wide area north of Sydney from the Hawkesbury River to Newcastle. An embittered cripple, he is said to have killed one man and almost killed several more, yet he was never punished for these acts and died at around seventy years of age after falling from a tree. Known as Devil-Devil, Bumble or Bumblefoot because he had a deformed limb, Guldy defies such simple labels as defending warrior, resistance leader or even common criminal. Rather, he was something of a Ned Kelly figure, attacking both Aboriginal people and settlers seemingly on a whim, exhibiting a mixture of public bravado and private grievance.

Guldy's story is one of successful evasion of colonial justice as the unwieldy court system, designed for a convict settlement, found itself unable to deal with his case. Guldy was convicted in 1824 but never sentenced, and after being released from Sydney Gaol went on to wage a form of guerrilla warfare, thumbing his nose at the system that had incarcerated him. Guldy reminds us that Indigenous people in the nineteenth century were individuals, motivated as much by their own concerns as by the sweep of colonisation, which they may have viewed as simply another circumstance of their lives with which to grapple.

Amanda Behm (University of York): 'Mapping the 'extraordinary': imperial controversy, Pacific frontiers, and mind of the British 'settler turn' in the 1860s '

This paper revises nineteenth-century British, imperial, and global narratives by examining the connections between the long-infamous Governor Eyre controversy around imperial brutality in Jamaica (c.1865-70) and contemporaneous British reactions to the ascendancy of extra-legality and vigilantism in California and the wider North American Pacific. It queries our assumptions about "authoritarian" and "settler" turns alike by comparing contemporaneous debates about states of exception in the expanding, supposedly ultra-legal "Anglo-Saxon" world.

First, it amends critical approaches to the Governor Eyre episode by looking at the broader intra-imperial context in which those events took place. It observes that debates around Morant Bay conjured not just the traumas of the Indian Mutiny nor the American Civil War, but the aftermath of the American conquest of California, the world's first modern gold rush, and attendant demographic, economic, and strategic reconfigurations in world affairs. Second, it tracks why the logic of the Jamaica debate fell apart in Britain by the 1870s. Why did the zone of exception held up by Eyre's supporters, or alternately the Jamaica's Committee's insistence on the coherence and co-temporality of legality, both become obsolete so quickly? It finds that the Eyre affair did not dissipate in the face of mere legal attrition. Rather, it unravelled in Britain amidst a wider ecosystem of late-new-world settler sympathies.

To this end, this paper bridges narratives of mid-Victorian "high-liberal" optimism at home and retributive authoritarianism in Britain's overseas empire to propose a sharper modeling of the political and moral psyche of the English governing class. Contemporaries drew not just on domestic or despotic examples; rather, they boasted an idiom rooted in new U.S., Canadian, and Australian projects on the Pacific. Building on scholarship about martial law and masculinity, the paper evaluates how British observers grappled with the heart of the Eyre controversy—the potential admission of "lawlessness" within Britain's oldest imperial domain—and how they sought to square the circle by declaring legal abrogation the tremendous achievement of a supposedly law-giving people.

Eva Bischoff (Trier University): 'Family Business: Transoceanic Perspectives on the Settler Colonial Anglo-World, c1790-1860'

Starting in the 1790s, Euro-American whaling fleets expanded their fishing grounds from the Atlantic, where commercial whaling had been established since the mid-eighteenth century, into the Pacific. Whale oil lit modern Euro-American cities and lubricated the wheels of industrialisation. A significant group among the whalers providing this resource were members of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). This religious community was characterized by pacifism and the unwavering activism of its members in the abolitionist and the prison reform movements. Simultaneously, Quaker families and their businesses played a crucial role in the expansion of the whaling industry, which had a profound impact on maritime life, which is palpable until today. In addition, whaling crews interacted with Indigenous peoples across the Pacific with ambivalent consequences. Their presence created trade opportunities (weapons); they were potential allies in local political and military struggles as well as marriage partners but they also spread diseases and alcoholism – often with devastating consequences.

The history of these multifaceted and ambivalent interactions is coming into view more clearly in recent years with a growing number of studies that have shown the crucial role Indigenous people have played on board of whaling ships or in founding creole communities (i.e. Shoemaker, Russell, Wanhalla, Haines). Settler Colonial Studies, however, with its focus on settlement, territorial expansion and the settler-native binary, has often neglected the socio-economic entanglements between land and sea as well as the "Indigenous heterogeneities" (Rowse) emerging at the maritime frontier.

In this presentation, I will outline a new research project that looks at the settler colonial "Anglo-World" (Belich) from a transoceanic perspective. Combining social network analysis and family biography, the project maps the socio-ecological, economic, and political

networks of Quaker and Indigenous families that created an uneven and shifting liminal space, fractured along specific local particularities and power differentials, connected by the waves of two oceans.

Weiao Xing (University of Cambridge): 'Multilingualism and Cultural Translation in Colonial Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic World'

European colonisation in the New World has long been the object of inquiry among early modernists and Americanists. In recent decades, relevant historical research has been shaped by 'encounters' and the framework of 'Atlantic history' in an interactive way, indicating a tendency moving from missionary and colonial history to Atlantic, connective and global history.¹ In this methodological paper, I attempt to test the potential of two notions – 'multilingualism' and 'cultural translation' in the social and cultural history of colonial encounters in the early modern Atlantic world.

Being widely discussed by linguists nowadays, 'multilingualism' refers to the use and coexistence of diverse languages.² At local and global levels, early modern multilingualism was born of cross-linguistic exchanges and was developed thanks to the frequent circulations driven by colonial and religious encounters connecting continents. This concept sheds new light on textual sources written in various languages, particularly a wide range of translation works in the circulation of information and knowledge.³ Meanwhile, multilingualism is far from the equivalence of linguistic and literary issues. Dynamic multilingualism is regarded as an agency and representation of social and cultural interactions in the early modern world; this notion, thus, is heuristic in illuminating facets such as orality, everyday life and popular culture that have yet been widely discussed by the existing scholarship.⁴

Transcending the textuality, 'cultural translation' inspires further re-examination of the broader 'culture' in colonisation despite its multiple definitions differing in disciplines.⁵ Originating in a postcolonial context, 'cultural translation' illuminates universal aspects and features including ethical issues and the power distribution in intercultural encounters across time, which opens up novel perspectives in the re-consideration of the colonial past, especially achieves more multi-layer interactions in the analysis on early modern global encounters.⁶ However, using 'cultural translation' in colonial discourses should be cautious; elaborating the dynamic encounters between colonisers and the colonised is of course not a moralisation or rationalisation of colonialism.

¹ John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Bernard Bailyn, 'Introduction: Reflections on Some Major Themes', in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1–43.

² 'Multilingualism', *Oxford English dictionary*, last modified 2003, [<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/244233?redirectedFrom=multilingualism#eid>].

³ Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A Collection of Essays* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000).

⁴ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵ Roger M Keesing, 'Conventional Metaphors and Anthropological Metaphysics: The Problematic of Cultural Translation', *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41, no. 2 (1985): 201–17.

Panel 3: ((trans))Indigenous modernities, identities and memories

Abdenour Bouich (University of Exeter): 'Traumatic Modernities, Traumatized Peripherality: A Trans-Indigenous Reading of Colonial Traumas in Kim Scott's *Taboo* and Tommy Orange's *There There*'

In the prologue of *There There* (2018), Tommy Orange writes, "Some of us grew with stories about massacres. Stories about what happened to our people not so long ago. How we came out of it" (8). Here, Orange refers to the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 perpetrated against the Native American Cheyenne and Arapaho people by the US Army. In the same vein, the first paragraph of Kim Scott's *Taboo* (2017) reads, "Our hometown was a massacre place. People called it taboo. They said it is haunted and you will get sick if you go there" (1). Indeed, Kim Scott builds his novel around the Cocanarup Massacre of 1881 perpetrated by white settlers against the Aboriginal Australian Noongar people. In this paper, I will investigate the way in which the authors challenge the often-advocated conceptualisation of the historical trauma of colonialism as a traumatic event(s) that exclusively pertain(s) to a colonial past. This, I argue, is conveyed by the authors' comprehension of colonial traumas not as straightforwardly historical, but rather as *trans*/historical for they suggest a historical multiplicity, accumulation, and proliferation through different spatio-temporal and material realities, each with its own traumatic effects. In addition, I examine the way in which the two texts register the trauma of peripheral modernities as a product of neo-colonial capitalism and its subsequent incommensurable material, cultural, social, and existential conditions lived by Indigenous people in the peripheries of core-capitalistic countries. This, I contend, is not only achieved through an explicit thematic representation but also through the novels' formal and stylistic features; as will become apparent, both authors use realistic narrative modes undermined by a catalogue of "irrealist" aesthetics as a way to provide a literary representation of the incongruity and unevenness of the capitalist modernisation and the destructive effects it has on the Indigenous communities represented in the novels.

Judit Agnes Kádár (University of Physical Education, Budapest): "'Restore me!": The Process of Ethnic Positioning and the Re-Negotiated Identities in Southwestern Mixed Heritage Prose'

This paper is to address several of the topics related to Indigenous and settler relations, namely mobilities (migration, colonization, displacement), identities beyond the Indigenous/settler binary, challenges to colonial modernist representation, Indigenous knowledge archives, colonial, postcolonial and decolonial frameworks and post-modern Indigenous survivance. The related research and book project focus on a less explored area of Indigenous and Anglo-American relations: mixed heritage past, present and cultural interactions in the Southwest, reflected in recent fiction by mixed blood writers. The narratives written by and about individuals of blended ethno-cultural heritage depict various forms of conflict, stigma, inhibitions and frustrations. Through these narratives of re-Indigenization and through re-conceptualizing one's social identity, these stories depict and stimulate a better sense of identity in the prose texts of Leslie M. Silko, Scott Momaday, Paula Gunn Allen, James Welch, Louis Owens and Joy Harjo, and similar tendencies appear in visual arts. The presentation explores identity reformulation: ethno-cultural transits,

fluidity and choices, taking control of one's own narrated identity. It implies turning a presumably stigmatized identity into a self-conscious holder of valuable assets, a unique set of cultural attitudes, memories and knowledge that the fictional characters can select, adjust and activate through symbolic practices of reparatory justice, commitment to symbolic change, racial un-categorization and exploring the limits of Indigeneity. S. Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), L. Owens's *Nightland* (1996) and *Dark River* (1999) will be referred to in particular.

Ananya Mishra (University of Cambridge): 'Reading Adivasi Literatures through frameworks in Transnational Indigenous Studies'

As a postcolonial nation state, India claims independence from British colonialism and yet retains colonial era laws, cultural institutions and literary categories that continue to colonize Indigenous communities and epistemologies. Though the Indian subcontinent's history of colonialism is not directly comparable to settler colonialism in North America and Australia, the modern Hindu nationalist state replicates settler imaginaries. The way in which the nexus of state machineries and mining conglomerates pervade cultural and educational institutions enforcing assimilation into the dominant mainstream and preserving the idea of the 'disappearing' Adivasi, complicates the idea of the 'postcolonial' Indian nation state. My paper will reflect on the necessity for reading contemporary Adivasi writing and examine political Indigeneity in the context of India within the methodological frameworks in transnational Indigenous Studies.

Doro Wiese (University of Warwick): 'Problems and Possibilities of Transcultural Knowledge Transfers Native North America in N. Scott Momaday and Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich's Fictional Works'

This talk aims to address problems and possibilities of transcultural knowledge transfer when it reads Indigenous and non-Indigenous post-war fiction on Native North America side by side. It chooses the critically acclaimed and widely circulating post-war novels of Native American Renaissance writer N. Scott Momaday and his German-speaking contemporary Liselotte Welskopf-Henrich as a case study. It asks: How did socio-historical circumstances impact on the representation of the writers' subject, Indigenous North America? What do recorded readers' reactions tell us about the problem of representation and the impact of the chosen texts? Did the two writers, when representing Indigenous peoples, offer different narrative strategies and solutions to the problem of the marginalization, stigmatization, and exclusion of Indigenous knowledge formations in hegemonic settler-colonial culture? This talk embeds the text corpora within their historical and discursive contexts – of land-removals, treaty-violations, boarding schools, exclusion from citizenship and Red Power movements in the case of Kiowa writer Momaday; of German fascism, the Cold War, the liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the case of East German writer Welskopf-Henrich. It asks for the wider implications of transnational knowledge formations, and contributes to the development of comparative literature as a field that needs to engage with different forms of knowledge. Relying on Cree scholar Willie Ermine's vision of an "ethical space" when creating encounters between Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews, this talk will pay attention to distinct and sometimes distant and incommensurable histories, traditions, social and political realities, and to questions of appropriation and transnational solidarity.

Panel 4: Decolonising museum and library collections

Sonja L. Dobroski (University of St. Andrews): 'A Theory of Material Occupation: Metaphysical Epistemic(s) & Critical Curatorial Directions in the Treatment of American Indian Objects.'

Settler colonial studies has often concerned itself with the practices of Indigenous erasure. The U.S., as a settler state has been built upon operative forms of power exercised over Indigenous people(s). Whether through trade or violent practices of extraction, American Indian objects have figured widely in the relationship between settlers and Native American people. Contemporaneously, curatorial and museum practices in Europe and abroad have begun to make strides on decolonization efforts in relation to their collections, primarily focusing on repatriation. Drawing on critical theory and anthropological research, this paper presents a theory of material occupation in settler colonial societies. This paper will argue that hegemonic practices in settler systems rely on a sustained, active engagement with the material objects of the Indigenous population. This active engagement supports Nation building exercises and acts as a conduit through which U.S. settler society performs Nationalism. I will argue that the material outcomes of settler intervention with American Indian objects supports and sustains ideas of American exceptionalism and the amnesiac character of settler Nationalism.

By introducing the concept of settler materiality, a hegemonic practice of object dissection and material replacement this paper will offer new directions in curatorial practice that grounds itself in historical and theoretical discourse supported by ethnographic and archival data. This paper will argue in part, that American Indian objects have undergone a type of metaphysical, epistemic occupation that exists largely outside of the museum space. By presenting this theoretical premise, I aim to offer the potentials of new curatorial directions that operate on critical foundations. A foundation that draws on an application of settler colonial theory, semiotics, and anthropological methods to produce a critical and engaging discourse for public consumption in the museum space. These curatorial methods, I argue, may yield a productive, applied re-grafting of complex material relationships.

Jennifer Graber (University of Texas, Austin): 'Religion, Survivance, and Sovereignty in the Kiowa Archive'

In the 1890s, Kiowas underwent a religious transformation. As a Plains Indian nation, they had long practiced the Sun Dance, a communal rite of sacrifice and prayer directed at sacred powers capable of blessing them. Under increased army surveillance and in a landscape depleted by the buffalos' slaughter, Kiowas "put [the Sun Dance] away." In turn, they engaged in a variety of new ritual practices. Some participated in what has been called the Ghost Dance, which imagined a world restored. Others engaged in ritual peyote ingestion to invoke healing power. Still others affiliated with Christian churches, asking Jesus to bless them and relating to missionaries who offered vital resources. Over the course of the decade, Kiowas responded to colonial threats by creating new religious systems that maintained older ways of invoking sacred power while imagining new sources of that power. They engaged in these new systems as a form of survivance and with the hope of maintaining their sovereignty.

In this presentation, I consider potential archives for studying this religious transformation. Rather than rely on documents created by missionaries and other colonial representatives, I explore the Kiowa archive, which includes visual forms of history keeping and representing religious experience. *Sai-cut*, or calendars, are creations on hide or paper. An example is pictured below. The calendars include non-alphabetic representations of historical events. They invoke memory and prompt storytelling. At least fifteen calendars were kept in this period. They document Kiowa engagements with the Ghost Dance, peyote rites, and missions. The calendars, along with other visual materials, show how Kiowas navigated their new religious options and how these choices functioned within broader efforts to protect family, kin networks, and nation. After tracking the alternative histories made possible by using the Kiowa archive, I will conclude by reflecting on how these sources came to be in the hands of colonial institutions, namely museums, and how Kiowas work to access them in the present day.

Chloe Osbourne (Royal Holloway): 'Robert Louis Stevenson, Andrew Lang, and the Apemama 'devil-box': Modern afterlives of Victorian collected objects'

In 1891, Robert Louis Stevenson sent a gift from Apemama in the Pacific Kingsmill Islands to his friend, the Scottish anthropologist, author and theorist of folklore Andrew Lang. The gift was a box made of pandanus wood, containing a single shell inside. The 'devil-box', as it was named by Stevenson, had been used by a local wizard doctor, Terutak, to cure Stevenson of a cold in a ritual healing ceremony which called upon indigenous spirits that manifested themselves through the 'devil' shell that was contained in the wizard's box. In a rare act of collecting, Stevenson recounts in his 'anthropology' of the South Pacific *In the South Seas* how at length he purchased the box, which he soon sent to Andrew Lang in London as a memento of his travels.

Using a selection of lenses borrowed from thing theory, material culture studies and economic anthropology, this paper explores some of the myriad ways that this single incident of object acquisition bears significance to the history of collecting in the nineteenth century. It investigates how a recognition of the complex historical interdependencies between literary studies and anthropology can allow us to approach issues in contemporary museology in new interdisciplinary ways, by following the story of the 'devil-box' and imagining where it might reside in the modern day.

Rebecca Slatcher (University of Hull): 'Cataloguing North American Indigenous languages at the British Library'

Cultural heritage repositories translate the past for the future: they organise the past through systems of knowledge and compose systems of retrieval for that knowledge. As culturally inscribed systems, these classifications reflect and reify dominant structures and embody moral choices that impact people's identities. For Indigenous topics generally, critiques have found that standardised systems used in library catalogues problematically place materials, distort knowledge, diminish autonomy, employ outdated terminology, and ultimately impede access to information.

Indigenous language materials provide a specific lens into the tension between past and present in the repository. The historic collecting under the settler-colonial agenda to eliminate, extract and document language in print is situated against the acute need to

access documentation for endangered language revitalisation efforts today. Using the British Library's North American Indigenous language holdings this talk will explore how the role of language in settler-colonial structures informs the historic documentation of language materials and how the subsequent cataloguing of those materials imposes misrepresentations and impacts discovery. This will interrogate legacies of colonial collecting and cataloguing, explore the material effects of cataloguing and contend with questions on the responsiveness of universalised, standardised systems to Indigenous topics.

Panel 5: Re-thinking Colonial Science

Benjamin Klein (University of Cambridge): 'Ecologies of the Bleek-Lloyd Collection: Nature, Transculturation, and Resistance in Late-Nineteenth-Century South Africa'

South Africa's Bleek-Lloyd Collection comprises over 150 handwritten notebooks containing the oral testimonies of ten |Xam and !Kung-speaking informants phonetically notated and translated by the German linguist Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd between 1870 and 1884. Housed in the University of Cape Town's special collections library, the collection illustrates the worldviews of southern Africa's past |Xam and !Kung-speaking peoples and reflects considerable knowledge about the natural world and about human relations with plants, animals, and the wider cosmos. In recent years, the collection has drawn attention from ecologically-minded scholars intent on viewing it as a beacon of ecological thought and practice grounded in South Africa's indigenous past. These scholarly efforts, however, are inseparable from a long history in terms of which the collection has been appropriated and romanticised through what the historian Andrew Bank calls a 'garden myth' tied to the fetishizing of African affiliations with nature within a settler colonial context.

Considering the collection's ethnographic origins and its history of appropriation, there is doubt as to whether it can be made to speak for an indigenous past. Nevertheless, this paper argues for a perspective on the collection as implicated in transcultural processes of knowledge production that reflect indigenous agencies, and as providing an underexplored counternarrative to colonial modernity and its histories of human and environmental exploitation. Drawing on contextual and historically-informed readings of the collection, this paper moves away from an analysis of the collection as entirely representative of colonial power, and towards one that recognises how it continues to generate new perspectives that both unsettle settler/indigenous binaries, and attest to the co-creation of alternative modernities grounded in concern for people and environments. The paper is part of developing research on the role indigenous oral practices have played in renegotiating modern relationships with the natural world in South Africa.

Megan Kuster (University College Dublin): 'Commodity Chains and Use-Value: William Colenso, Natural History and Indigenous Labour'

Considering the absent presences of Indigenous lives in the natural history archives of colonial New Zealand, this paper explores the themes of knowledge production and the use-value of labour in the expedition archives of collector and missionary William Colenso (1811-1899). It looks, first, at the citation of Indigenous intermediaries in the context of labour differentiation and tropes of natural history "discovery"; and second, at the value of

scientific specimen discovery within a wider commodity chain that was both recognised and resisted by Indigenous peoples. The broader claim of the paper is that tracing these themes adds to understandings of the material practices of natural history some sense of how Indigenous people responded to coercions for assistance by European collectors.

Lucy Rowland (British Library): ‘Contemporary Oceania print culture in a colonial archive’ Although only founded in 1973, the British Library has undeniably deep colonial roots which have shaped both the material in the collections and the knowledge systems which act as entry points for readers. Much of the Library’s most ‘treasured’ printed material, and the ways in which this is organised, can be traced back to the collection founders who include Joseph Banks, the botanist on James Cook’s *Endeavour* voyage to the Pacific, and Hans Sloane, a collector whose wealth was intricately connected with the slave trade. The Library continues to acquire printed material from around the globe, including the contemporary publications of Australia, Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Pacific.

How have the Oceania collections evolved from their origins as colonial exploration narratives, settler tales and missionary publications, to expressions of Indigenous culture and interrogations of colonisation through artists’ books, photobooks and other less traditional printed formats? And what stories can we tell by placing these side by side? This presentation will explore the problematic nature of collecting and representing contemporary Indigenous print culture in an institution still bound by many of its colonial origins and practices.

Panel 6: Re-examining the settler literary archive: Indigenous presence in colonial periodicals

Emily Bell (Loughborough University): ‘Reporting on Aboriginal Performance in the Nineteenth-Century Australian Press’

In short their hideous crouching, measured gestures, and low jumps [...] seemed a fitter spectacle for Pandemonium than the light of the bounteous sun. Thus these savages slowly retired along the river bank, all the while dancing in a circle, like the witches in *Macbeth*, and leaving us in the expectation of their return, and perhaps an attack in the morning.
 (“Singular War Dance of an Australian Tribe”, *The Australian* 8 January 1839)

As this example from *The Australian* shows, works such as *Paradise Lost* and *Macbeth* could be used to create a framework for the Australian reading public to understand Aboriginal cultures in terms more familiar to them, though often with troubling connotations. Those writing for Australian newspapers in the early decades of the century used the language of authors who signified British cultural capital to convey their relationship with new lands and cultures, forging an innovative literary language that united the old with the new in different ways. The balance shifted over time, particularly as regional identity began to turn into national identity later in the period; as a distinct Australian identity began to take shape, a more nuanced reporting of the performances began to make increasing use of Aboriginal words, and moved away from the problematic literary allusions of the earlier period.

This paper will introduce a new project that is in the early stages of development. It proposes to explore how reporting of Aboriginal performance in the nineteenth century enables us to understand a discourse of acculturation in both directions, while recognising the problems inherent in accessing indigenous culture through a colonial lens. The extensive oral literary tradition of Aboriginal groups has meant that the print culture of the initial settlers has long been emphasised above indigenous literary culture; however, by exploring the language used to give voice to their performances in the newspapers, this work encourages an interpretation of the relationship between settler and indigenous literary cultures that acknowledges the colonialist dynamics of these accounts while also offering a new avenue for engaging with the long history of aesthetic production among these indigenous groups.

Ryan Fong (Kalamazoo College): "Print Wampum: E. Pauline Johnson, Indigenous Survivance, and Colonial Print Culture"

This paper analyzes the work of Canadian-Mohawk poet E. Pauline Johnson and the circulation of her work in Canadian newspapers and periodicals during the 1880s and 90s. The paper argues that Johnson cannily used the space of this colonial print culture to negotiate the demands of a settler culture that was forcibly and violently working to assimilate First Nations peoples across the continent. Rooted in a careful tracing of specific moments in her print history, this analysis of Johnson's work seeks to more productively frame the persistent questions of authenticity and purity that have plagued her literary reception, especially regarding the depth of her affiliations with the Six Nations Haudenosaunee community. Instead, it uses her writing and its publication contexts to show how she used the multi-faceted and juxtapositional affordances of print to articulate a self-conscious presentation of Mohawk identity and practices. In undertaking this analysis, the paper makes an additional intervention by using and foregrounding the critical frameworks of Indigenous studies to read Johnson's work, in ways that de-center white settler ideologies and aesthetic norms. By combining research by Haudenosaunee scholars on their cultural practices and ways of knowing with scholarship on Victorian periodical and print culture, particularly in the Canadian context, the paper reads Johnson's work and her navigation of colonial print culture through the culturally specific lens of Haudenosaunee Wampum traditions. In so doing, the paper contributes to the development of an account of the British empire in Canada that centers and celebrates the Indigenous perspectives that have been historically occluded in both the Victorian literary canon and in Victorian literary studies.

Sarah Galletly (University College Dublin): 'Representing and Tracing Aboriginal Mobilities in Colonial Periodical Fiction'

This paper builds upon Jude Piesse's articulation of the periodical as an "inherently mobile form" (2016), and cultural geographer Tim Cresswell's exploration of "fixity" and "flow" in mobility studies (2006), to examine representations of Aboriginal mobilities in colonial Australian periodical fiction. Using Kath Bode's ["To Be Continued"](#) database of nineteenth-century Australian newspaper fiction as its starting point, this paper will consider the mobility of these periodical (often serial) texts alongside the representation and circulation of Aboriginal characters within the fiction itself, to explore both these figures' relative mobility or immobility, and how "fixed" or "mobile" their representations were.

Panel 7: Narrativising Indigenous Resistance, Collaboration and Survivance.

Ichrak Dik (Loughbrough University): “[T]hey were satisfied and could do as they pleased; therefore, I thought I could do as I pleased”: Fanonian Reading of Native American Resistance and Violence in William Apess’s *A Son of the Forest*

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon argues that “The violence which has ruled over the ordering of the colonial world, which has ceaselessly drummed the rhythm for the destruction of the native social forms [...] that same violence will be claimed and taken over by the native.” In his work, Fanon also contends that the colonizer is the bringer of violence to the mind of the native. Having lived under continuous violence and oppression, the colonized eventually realizes that the only language that the colonizer understands is that of violence. According to Fanon, the first stage of natives’ violence begins by channelling their anger against their own societies and families. This violence evolves to reach its final stage, i.e. violence against the colonizer. Building on Fanon’s theorization of violence, in this paper, I aim to examine how reactive violence is represented in Apess’s *A Son of the Forest* (1829) as a form of resistance. In my investigation of how this form of violent resistance is represented in the autobiography, I will explore different instances of violence that Apess experienced throughout his life. I first aim to examine the violence his grandmother directed against him and the violence he directed against himself through his alcohol addiction. Additionally, I aim to explore the violence that ruled Apess’s relationship with Euro-American society. I also aim to examine the links between the violence that Apess endured and the US government’s visible and invisible forms of violence and how this relationship of violence led Apess to conclude that reactive violence can be conceived of as a form of resistance.

Arun Sood (University of Plymouth): “‘We were amused by an itinerant *singing-man*’: Decolonizing cultures of print and orality in Mungo Park’s *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*’

This paper concerns the representation, framing, and ideological mediation of indigenous or ‘native’ voices in Mungo Park’s *Travels In The Interior Districts of Africa* (1799) through an examination of ‘singing men’, song-culture and griots throughout the narrative. Travelling through the kingdoms of Kaarta and Bambarra, Park accompanied a troupe of *jilla keas*, or ‘singing men’ on his journey; and his later transcription of a Jelimuso’s ‘Negro Song’ is considered one of the first English translations ‘of the traditional West African practice of turning event into oral history’ (Marsters, 3). Such representations of West African orality and cultural ‘texts’ are inherently problematic when accessed through the colonial archive, and particularly Park’s text, which was sponsored and conceived by Sir Joseph Banks. By 1788, Joseph Banks had formed the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the “African Association”— and it was under the patronage of Banks that Park set out on a mission that would be hugely influential on the subsequent colonization of West Africa.

In this paper, I address the inherent problems in accessing ‘indigenous voices’, more specifically West African cultures of orality, through colonial texts by focussing on the role of the reader with regard to Park’s text. Following the decolonising methodologies of Aman

Sium and Eric Ritskes, I will discuss the ways in which readers might bear witness to 'profound, powerful, and complex articulations of decolonization and indigenous being' (Sium and Ritskes, 1), and also examine the role that indigenous storytelling might play as resurgence and insurgency, disrupting Eurocentric norms of 'objectivity' and knowledge within the colonial archive itself.

Holly May Treadwell (University of Kent): "Extinction in *Embrace of the Serpent*: Capitalism's Erasure of People, Culture, and Nature"

This paper examines Ciro Guerra's film, which tells the story of Karamakate, the last surviving member of the Cohiuano people who were eradicated in the Rubber Holocaust. The film is set in the early 1900s and criticises capitalism as an extension of colonialism, the central victims of which are colonial subjects (in this case, the indigenous peoples of Columbia). This article examines the film in relation to the concept of the Capitalocene, which describes our current epoch as one that is most detrimentally affected by the activities of capitalism, rather than humans as a whole (Anthropocene). As Shiva states, 'life in all its diversity - in people and in nature - seems to have been sacrificed to [the] progress' that is the essential aim of capitalism.¹ This paper uses literary theory alongside sociological, anthropological, and historical writings in order to examine the film's interactions with the concept and with real-world effects. The central focus of the paper examines issues of indigenous survivance in the face of colonial capitalism, displacement, and enslavement, and looks at Indigenous knowledges and their role in colonial networks, particularly regarding knowledge of the land and the yakruna plant. The paper is split into three sections: the extinction of Indigenous people via forced labour, decimation of land, murder, and dispossession; the extinction of Native culture, comparing the personification, conservation, and kinship with nature, to settler capitalism's commodification, exploitation, and demonisation of nature; and the extinction of nature itself via its domination and cultivation. This project aims to demonstrate how *Embrace of the Serpent* presents the capitalocene and its deadly effects on indigenous communities and knowledge networks.

¹ Vandana Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1988), p. xii.

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