Located near the confluence of several waterways, the Newberry Library sits on land that intersects with the aboriginal homelands of several tribal nations: the Council of the Three Fires: the Potawatomi, Odawa, and Ojibwe Nations; the Illinois Confederacy: the Peoria and Kaskaskia Nations; and the Myaamia, Wea, Tbahiekawi, and Meskwaki Nations. The Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Kiikaapoi, and Masconot Nations also call the region of northeast Illinois home. Indigenous people continue to live in this area and celebrate their traditional teachings and lifeways. Today, Chicago is home to one of the largest urban Indigenous communities in the United States, and this land remains an important place for Indigenous peoples. As a Chicago institution, it is the Newberry’s responsibility to acknowledge this historical context and build reciprocal relationships with the tribal nations on whose lands we are situated.
Schedule at a Glance

Thursday, February 3
1 pm – 2 pm CT: NCAIS Liaisons Meeting (Virtual)

Friday, February 4
10 am – 1 pm: Reunion for 2021 Summer Institute Participants
2 pm – 5 pm: Reunion for 2021 Spring Workshop Participants
6:30 pm – 7:30 pm CT: Keynote Presentation (Virtual)

Saturday, February 5
8:30 am: Registration Open
9:15 am: Welcome and Opening Remarks (Rettinger Hall)
9:30 am – 11 am: Concurrent Sessions (Rettinger Hall and Baskes Boardroom)
11 am – 11:15 am: Break
11:15 am – 12:45 pm: Concurrent Sessions (Rettinger Hall, Baskes Boardroom, and Towner Fellows Lounge)

12:45 pm – 2:15 pm: Lunch on Your Own

2:15 pm – 3:45 pm: Concurrent Sessions (Rettinger Hall, Baskes Boardroom, and Towner Fellows Lounge)
3:45 pm – 4 pm: Break
4 pm – 5:30 pm: Concurrent Sessions (Rettinger Hall and Baskes Boardroom)

Sunday February 6
9 am – 11 am: NCAIS Steering Committee Meeting (The McRae Room, the Talbott Hotel)
Detailed Agenda
*Indicates an individual is presenting virtually

Thursday, February 3
1 pm – 2 pm CT: NCAIS Liaisons Meeting *(Virtual)*

Friday, February 4
10 am – 1 pm: Reunion for 2021 Summer Institute Participants
2 pm – 5 pm: Reunion for 2021 Spring Workshop Participants
6:30 pm – 7:30 pm CT: Keynote Presentation by Jean O’Brien, co-editor (with Daniel Heath Justice) of the forthcoming volume: *Allotment Stories: Indigenous Land Relations Under Settler Siege,* in conversation with Rose Miron *(Virtual)*

Saturday, February 5
8:30 am: Registration Open
9:15 am: Welcome and Opening Remarks, Laura McEnaney, Vice President for Research and Academic Programs at the Newberry and Rose Miron, Director of the D’Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at the Newberry *(Rettinger Hall)*

9:30 am – 11 am: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 1: Protecting and Reclaiming Indigenous Ancestors and Material Culture in Museums and Beyond** *(Rettinger Hall)*
  
  *Chair: Jean O’Brien,* University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
  
  Potential for the Digital Archive: Alaska Native Culture in an Online Space, Sabena Allen, University of Chicago
  
  *Documenting the Mounds: The Impact of Colonization on Indigenous Earthworks in the Illinois River Valley,* Aimée E. Carbaugh, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign
  
  *How Does Black Ash Basketry Represent Ho-Chunk Persistence?*, Molli Ann Pauliot, University of Wisconsin-Madison
  
  *Goyahkla’s Body: Repatriate the Remains of Geronimo,* Janna LM Rogers, Oklahoma State University
• **Session 2: Contemporary Responses to and Reframing of Colonial Violence**  
  (*Baskes Boardroom*)  
  **Chair: Josh Reid**, University of Washington  
  *Natural and Social Ecosystems in the Fiction of Linda Hogan, Lee Hodge, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*  
  *Micronesian Youth and the Importance of Indigenous Medicine, Noah Humphrey, Yale University*  
  How American Indian Cultural Values Impact Their Decision to Study Engineering, James Sumpter, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
  *Philosophy and Epistemology at Pankará People: A Preliminary Study Regarding Traditional Knowledge at Indigenous Schools, Eduardo Vergolino, University of Manitoba*

11 am – 11:15 am: Break

11:15 am – 12:45 pm: Concurrent Sessions

• **Session 3: Unpacking Settler Colonial Narratives of Erasure, Disappearance, and White Supremacy**  
  (*Rettinger Hall*)  
  **Chair: Kelly Wisecup**, Northwestern University  
  Reading Gender and Intent: Piankshaw Land Deeds in the Francis Vigo Papers, Josh McGonagle Althoff, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities  
  “The Indian Side of the Question”: Settling the Story of Potawatomi Removal in the Twentieth Century Midwest, Zada Ballew, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
  “You Say the Indians Shouldn’t Have Special Privileges, I Say They Should”: Claiming Rights, Place, and Power in Northwestern New Mexico, Cate Costley, University of Colorado-Boulder  
  Salvage, Crisis, and Future: Temporal Structures of Dispossession in the 20th Century Southwest, Hunter Kennedy, University of Chicago

• **Session 4: Community Consequences, Decisions, and Resiliency in the Wake of Removal and Displacement**  
  (*Baskes Boardroom*)  
  **Chair: William Bauer**, University of Nevada-Las Vegas  
  Reimagining Indigenous Sovereignty: International Law and Transatlantic Republicanism in Cherokee Political Thought, Ben Clingman, University of Colorado-Boulder  
  *“Our Present Lands Continue Undefined”: Borders and Competing Sovereignties Within the Cherokee Nation, 1839-1846, Michael Joslin, Oklahoma State University*  
  The Fort Berthold Industrial Fair 1911: Sites of Survivance, Jayne Kinney, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities  
  She Fled to Texas: Cherokee Woman Slaveholders During the Civil War, Kristina Rogers, Oklahoma State University
• **Session 5: Colonial Environmental Policies and Indigenous Responses**
   *(Towner Fellows Lounge)*
   *Chair: Matthew Krueer*, University of Chicago

   Breakdown: The Tewa Pueblos, the Manhattan Project, and Patterns of Accommodation, *Dmitri Brown*, University of California-Davis
   
   Ecologies of Nationhood: Culture, Forestry, and Place at the Turn from Cutover to Conservation, *Ryan Hellenbrand*, University of Wisconsin-Madison
   
   12:45 pm – 2:15 pm: Lunch on Your Own

2:15 pm – 3:45 pm: Concurrent Sessions

• **Session 6: Reclaiming Indigenous Culture in Art, Performance, and Medicine** *(Rettinger Hall)*
  *Chair: Kasey Keeler*, University of Wisconsin-Madison

  Memory and Archive: How Words Work in Indigenous Culture, *Robin Olive Little Jackson*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
  
  *Relationship-Centred Professional Development for Indigenous Birth Support Workers, Alexandra Nychuk and Kiera Kowalski*, University of Winnipeg
  
  *Waiting for the Sun to Rise: Rebecca Belmore and the FARET Tachikawa Art Project, Noah Mapes*, Cornell University
  
  Sucker Fish Writing: The Survivance of Mi’kmaq Hieroglyphs, *Julia Marsan*, University of Chicago

• **Session 7: Interrogating Spaces of Encounter and Diplomacy** *(Baskes Boardroom)*
  *Chair: Richard Boles*, Oklahoma State University

  
  
  *Creating Yucatán’s Montaña: Routes of Maya Ecologies, Parasitic Violence, and Enslavement in an Early Modern Tropical Forest, 1517-1550, Scott Doebler*, Penn State University

• **Session 8: Assertions of Native Identity and Agency Across the 19th and Early 20th Century** *(Towner Fellows Lounge)*
  *Chair: Jennifer Denetdale*, University of New Mexico
State-Making, Secession, and the Conquest of Illegibility: Renaming Indigenous People in the U.S., 1890-1910, Sonja Castañeda Dower, University of Chicago

*“A Crooked Haired Half-Breed”: Husti-Coluc-Chee alias Rev. John D. Bemo, Race, and Semnvole Identity in Nineteenth Century America, Michelle Martin, University of New Mexico

The Reverberating Village Dish: Interpellated Soundscapes and Indigenous Soundmapping in Hannah Caleb’s Testimony, Anthony Trujillo, Harvard University

Re-Weaving an Ecology of Looking: Paiute Basket Weavers and Yosemite National Park, Michael Schrimper, University of Colorado-Boulder

3:45 pm – 4 pm: Break

4 pm – 5:30 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 9: New Perspectives on Red Power and Native Activism in the Late 20th Century** *(Rettinger Hall)*
  *Chair: Doug Miller, Oklahoma State University*
  Red Power Storytellers: The Autobiographies of the AIM Movement, Tania Balderas, University of New Mexico
  “New Wave Natives”: Ohoyo and Sisterhood from Tahlequah to Seattle, 1977-1983, Amanda Johnson, Oklahoma State University
  *Seeing Red: Radio Resistance and Aural Sovereignty, Karen Kramer, Harvard University*
  *The Promises and Complications of Urban Indian Self-Determination: An Examination of Seattle’s 1970 Fort Lawton Takeover, William Sampson, University of Washington*

- **Session 10: Uncovering the Capitalist, Legal, and Extractivist Mechanisms of Settler Colonialism** *(Baskes Boardroom)*
  *Chair: Joseph Whitson, Northwestern University*
  Fallout From Nuclear Imperialism: The Legacies of Nuclear Testing on Climate Change in the Marshall Islands and Alaskan North Slope, Giulia Caporuscio, University of New Mexico
  The Right to Returns: Settler Investments in Ho-Chunk and Dakota Dispossession, 1861-1865, Heather Menefee, Northwestern University
  Transforming Economies of Extraction: Indigenous Language, Story, and Stewardship of Land, Miya Moriwaki, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign
  El Pecado Nefando: Prosecuting Sexual Deviance Across Casta Lines in Catille and New Spain During the 16th and 17th Centuries, Micaela Wiehe, Penn State University

**Sunday February 23**

9 am – 11 am: NCAIS Steering Committee Meeting *(The McRae Room, the Talbott Hotel)*
Abstracts

Session 1: Protecting and Reclaiming Indigenous Ancestors and Material Culture in Museums and Beyond (Rettinger Hall)

Chair: Jean O’Brien, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

Potential for the Digital Archive: Alaska Native Culture in an Online Space, Sabena Allen, University of Chicago

Museum studies often presents the digital as an accessible solution that can better connect audiences to the information and objects being presented, either in physical or virtual spaces. However, remnants of past traumas get incorporated into digital archives and collections, with rippling implications for the present and future. This is especially true of Indigenous collections, which are comprised largely of stolen cultural belongings. Taking the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. and the Field Museum in Chicago as case studies, this paper interrogates questions of digital representation, sovereignty, and the potential for reciprocal community engagement by museums in the Tlingit context. The Smithsonian and the Field were formed in a particular moment of ethnographic collection and salvage anthropology. In southeast Alaska, Tlingit cultural belongings were taken and recontextualized in settler imaginaries, which are still embedded in online collections. Cultural belongings have been taken, photographed, and uploaded in ways that do not conform to Tlingit traditional law. The lack of tribal control over Tlingit stories and clan-owned sacred belongings demands reassessment through the lens of sovereignty. This is felt by communities and artists who want to engage their artistic practices with the creations of their ancestors, but due to limited access or physical distance, they are unable. Social media presents opportunities for museums to engage more directly with communities, potentially undermining institutional hierarchies and allowing for the type of reciprocity demanded by artists who want museums held accountable as well as made more accessible to rightful owners.

Documenting the Mounds: The Impact of Colonization on Indigenous Earthworks in the Illinois River Valley, Aimée E. Carbaugh, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

Indigenous earthworks mark the landscape of the Illinois River Valley. Built along the bluff tops and in the floodplain, these mounds are attributed to the region’s Middle Woodland, Late Woodland, and Mississippian Period (ca. 50 cal BCE–cal CE 1425) inhabitants, with many constructed as burial sites for Ancestors and their belongings. The arrival of Euro-American settlers in the valley beginning in the nineteenth century resulted in the forced removal of the Indigenous communities responsible for the care of the mounds and the Ancestors interred within. Since then, the mounds have been vulnerable to settler intrusion. In this paper, I take a closer look at the recent history of two mound groups in order to examine the destructive colonial processes they have undergone and begin to consider how these violent histories impact the ability of Native Nations today to reconnect with their ancestral landscapes. The Rose Mound Group and Hagans Mound Group are situated along the western bluffs of the Illinois River in Schuyler County, Illinois. Located on private property, these mounds have been subject to looting, archaeological excavations, and agricultural practices. As a result of these disturbances, ancestral remains and belongings removed from the mounds are currently located at several institutions, and the mounds themselves are partially or almost completely destroyed. I suggest that documenting
the recent history of the mounds, in conjunction with the Ancestors and belongings removed from the mounds, is a means of bearing witness to the past and present harms that occur to Indigenous sacred spaces.

**How Does Black Ash Basketry Represent Ho-Chunk Persistence?, Molli Ann Pauliot, University of Wisconsin-Madison**

Can modern sciences and technology intersect with indigenous culture in a beneficial way? With scientific advancements traditional cultures commonly have been exposed to sciences, medicines, technology, and modern innovations unknowingly no different from the rest of society. Indigenous people have slowly incorporated changes into their traditional cultures. This paper examines how the Ho-Chunk people are using science and technology to preserve a material culture practice. Black ash basketry was a spiritual gift offered in a dream to a Ho-Chunk women in need. The basket was meant to provide for a woman to care for the spirit of her departed loved one. Through research we know that historically the basket has ties to cultural development, the tribal economy, Ho-Chunk entrepreneurial integrity, political interplay with commerce, and business development within the Ho-Chunk nation. Exploring what can an indigenous nation with scientific resources do to retain their endangered material culture. North America has an invasive species the emerald ash borer that is destroying the black ash trees needed to continue the Ho-Chunk black ash basketry. How are the Ho-Chunk people using science and technology to retain oral teachings to be revitalized in the future along with science to preserve the ash tree species? Can this practice of using new technology benefit the Ho-Chunk and other tribal nations to preserve, sustain, and revitalize traditional craft practices after environmental climate change and globalization has impacted their existence.

**Goyahkla’s Body: Repatriate the Remains of Geronimo, Janna LM Rogers, Oklahoma State University**

This essay builds upon “Returning Geronimo to His Homeland: The Application of NAGPRA and Broken Treaties to the Case of Geronimo’s Repatriation,” by Jaime Geronimo Vela a professor of Anthropology at UCLA. In support of Vela’s call to return the remains of his great uncle, Goyahkla (Geronimo), I acknowledge Geronimo was as a leader who resisted genocide. I argue the Apache leader remains a prisoner at Fort Sill Army Base in Oklahoma today and his repatriation is upheld by federal legislation, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Indigenous epistemology and use of the name Goyahkla are central to the methodology for this essay that interrupts what Vela refers to as “academic folklore.” A restorative approach incorporates the oral history of Geronimo’s family that was given to Vela’s father and grandfather about the life, surrender, and imprisonment of Goyahkla. This methodology rejects romanticized myths and amplifies the experience of ancestors held in repositories. Who owns Geronimo and other Indigenous deceased? This essay contributes to scholarship that questions ownership of Native American remains held in federally supported repositories and posits Indigenous histories within the discourse of modernity and posthumous scholarship that argues for the return of ancestors to their Native nations. My research contributes to salient debates and current NAGPRA discourse and is strengthened by the work of Jerome C. Rose, “NAGPRA is Forever: Osteology and the Repatriation of Skeletons” and Alix Rogers, “Owning Geronimo but not Elmer McCurdy: The Unique Property Status of Native American Remains.”
Natural and Social Ecosystems in the Fiction of Linda Hogan, Lee Hodge, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

In Linda Hogan's novels Power and Mean Spirit, the author explores the roles indigenous people play in natural and social ecosystems struggling to resist white colonial violence. In Power the coastal Florida landscape in which Omishto lives participates in the story she tells. Mean Spirit centers around a population of Osage Nation peoples and their preservation of indigenous tradition despite violent colonial forces. A devastating hurricane and the killing of an endangered Florida panther form the plot of Power; during the hurricane Omishto has taken up residence with her wayward aunt Ama. In Mean Spirit the murder of Grace Blanket sets the stage for a series of brutal systematic killings of land-owning Osage at the hands of white developers. The careful characterization of Omishto’s aunt Ama portrays her unique and revealing relationship to the ecosystem in which she lives. While Ama does not seem part of indigenous or white society, Michael Horse, a central character in Mean Spirit occupies a pivotal tribal role by tending a sacred fire handed down through generations of Osage. Omishto is both attracted and repulsed by Ama's isolation and disinterest with ‘fitting in’ just as the sacred fire Michael Horse tends is juxtaposed against the fallen statue of Grace Blanket’s grave. One is a fallen monument of European, white, and Christian sensibility and the other burns on as a force, a form of life, and a relationship requiring constant tending and stewardship.

Micronesian Youth and the Importance of Indigenous Medicine, Noah Humphrey, Yale University

From my own faith as a devout Christian with knowledge on spiritual and indigenous traditions, I want to view the scope of Micronesian Youth in Hawaii and give greater context to the generational trauma and redlining that affects their wellbeing and social security. Although not related with the aina (land) of Hawaii, I want to discuss the work and help bring new ways to describe pain management to non-traditional fields of medicine in regards to generational trauma amongst Micronesian youth. In addition I will combine it with religious rhetoric that gives free access to the ancestry within and not stereotypes or roundabouts to their heritage. Conclusively as I use mana, a form of spiritual energy via acknowledgement of ancestors I want to note the resilience of Micronesian youth and evaluate through different scholars how colonizing powers, Christianity, and forms of indigenous medicines intersect with the wellbeing of Micronesians. Evidently, with the patients going through these experiences, I evaluate these interventions with the differentials with colonial power and its incoming customs as a procedure itself.

How American Indian Cultural Values Impact Their Decision to Study Engineering, James Sumpter, University of Wisconsin-Madison

American Indian students are significantly underrepresented in engineering education. Despite investment into tribal educational infrastructure, enrollment rates of American Indian students in engineering degree programs remains low; American Indians represent less than one percent of enrolled engineering students across the country. While other studies have explored the economic shortcomings of tribal communities in an attempt to answer the question of “Why aren’t American Indians enrolling in STEM?” there is meager data on how long-standing cultural values may influence career outcomes. In short, previous studies have treated the lack of American Indian enrollment in
STEM as economic in origin, failing to grasp and understand the cultural innerworkings of American Indian communities. American education is often geared towards and reflective of dominant, white American values, culturally and economically, often lacking emphasis on community. A better understanding of American Indian values in education may produce better educational outcomes as a whole. There is a need for American Indian engineers, not for the betterment of American science and industry, but rather for the betterment tribal nations themselves. Tribal engineers engaging tribal communities may better understand the societal impacts of their work, especially in areas such as energy and infrastructure. In my paper, I examine and begin to analyze the personal, familial, community, and tribal values of American Indians that influences their decision to pursue a 4-year engineering degree through comparative qualitative analysis. The comparative nature of this study may shed light on where the American education system fails and disengages American Indian youths.

Philosophy and Epistemology at Pankará People: A Preliminary Study Regarding Traditional Knowledge at Indigenous Schools, Eduardo Vergolino, University of Manitoba

The Pankará indigenous people live at Serra do Arapuá, a high-altitude swamp, in the municipality of Carnaubeira da Penha, in the hinterland of Pernambuco, within the Caatinga Biome, in the São Francisco basin. The Indians have been mobilizing for the right to land and government assistance for over 50 years, however, it was only in 2003 that they called themselves one of the "Resistant Peoples", reaffirming the mobilizations for land and the guarantee of social rights, such as Health and Specific and Differentiated Education. Thus, the aim of this work is to deepen the philosophy and epistemology of the Pankara People, with preliminary studies on the education of these Indigenous People. It is justified by the need to discuss the epistemological and philosophical relationship within education in schools at Pankara community, with a deepening in a study on differentiated education. Its methodology was bibliographical research based on scientific articles and books that address the philosophy of education, and traditional knowledge with emphasis on school education, the traditional knowledge of the Pankará Indigenous people has shown that the knowledge established within the community has an important meaning, as they are experienced and built, in addition to establishing a philosophical and epistemological connection.

Session 3: Unpacking Settler Colonial Narratives of Erasure, Disappearance, and White Supremacy (Rettinger Hall)

Chair: Kelly Wisecup, Northwestern University

Reading Gender and Intent: Piankshaw Land Deeds in the Francis Vigo Papers, Josh McGonagle Althoff, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

At a moment of high tension between Native residents, French villagers, and an influx of English settlers and militia, a significant volume of Peeyankihšiaki (Piankeshaw people) departed from the village of Vincennes on the Waapaahšiki siipiwi (Wabash River) in 1786. This departure became codified by historians as the moment when Vincennes transitioned from a mixed French and Indigenous village to a wholly French one, a narrative which glosses over Piankeshaw presence in Vincennes through the early 19th century, but which is based on a truth. Between 1790 and 1831, a French merchant in colonial Vincennes named Francis Vigo bought a number of land conveyances from his poorer neighbors. These titles were transferred to Vigo by virtue of a signature and date inscribed on the original deed. This collection of land conveyance documents thus contains a wealth of
information about landowners in Vincennes the generation before; and of those who sold their land in 1786, the year of the great departure, all were Piankeshaw families with the majority of deed signatories being Piankeshaw women. This paper argues that these deeds reflect the interconnectedness between Vincennes and the neighboring Piankeshaw village, the involvement and authority of Piankeshaw women concerning land rights, and the reluctance with which these lands were sold. This paper concludes by recognizing how francophone settlers played a role in defining themselves as the natural and legal inheritors of land rights at Vincennes.

“The Indian Side of the Question”: Settling the Story of Potawatomi Removal in the Twentieth Century Midwest, Zada Ballew, University of Wisconsin-Madison

On October 9, 1893, Simon Pokagon, a leader of the “unremoved” Pokagon Band of Potawatomi, told a most unsettling story at the Chicago World’s Fair. After speaking in the “White City” before a crowd of hundreds of thousands, Pokagon sold and distributed a birch bark pamphlet titled “The Red Man’s Rebuke.” This story condemned settlers for dispossessing Native peoples of their lands and removing them west of the Mississippi River in service of their “civilization.” Pokagon’s words reminded fairgoers that long before the settlers built their “Queen City of the West,” Chicago was home to “the red man’s wigwam,” until the settlers had “usurped” it from the American Indians. Pokagon’s “Rebuke” remains one of the most widely cited texts in Native American history. But what happened to Pokagon’s message after the World’s Fair? How did settlers react to this unsettling history and the incompleteness of their nineteenth century Indian Removal project as they entered the twentieth century? This paper follows the stories told about Potawatomi Removal and dispossession after Pokagon told his version of the story at the World’s Fair. It introduces audiences to the settlers who wrote and told the story of Potawatomi Removal from “the Indian side of the question,” in order to officially “settle” the story of Potawatomi Removal for local audiences. By analyzing several stories told about Potawatomi Removal at the turn of the twentieth century, it reveals how settlers responded to Pokagon’s presence and challenge to their dominion in the twentieth century Midwest.

“You Say the Indians Shouldn’t Have Special Privileges, I Say They Should”: Claiming Rights, Place, and Power in Northwestern New Mexico, Cate Costley, University of Colorado-Boulder

In late April of 1974, the murder of three Diné men by three white teenagers in Farmington, New Mexico, catalyzed a fierce confrontation between the area’s Native and Anglo communities. The Chokecherry Canyon Massacre, as it came to be called, ripped open underlying volatilities in Farmington, which is a border town of the Navajo Nation. When Native activists marched through the city on six Saturdays in a row in the summer of ’74, they challenged its entrenched social, political, and economic hierarchies. They demanded justice not only for the slain men, but also for historical wrongs and contemporary inequities. This paper examines the divergent discourses harnessed by Native and Anglo commentators in the aftermath of the murders. It argues that, in this border town, as in so many others, Native assertions of sovereignty ran up against settler assumptions of supremacy, and that those collisions forced important questions about the meanings of rights and citizenship, the role of the state, and the legacies of the country’s violent history. Reflecting the backlash discourses emerging from the New Right in the early 1970s, Anglos rejected the idea that Native people, as a “minority group,” deserved certain rights and benefits. By contrast, members of the Native coalition were adamant that they did deserve “special privileges.” They based their argument on a sophisticated triangulation between Indigenous and settler worldviews. Ultimately, this paper argues for the significance of reservation border towns for understanding both modern American conservatism and movements for Native sovereignty.
Salvage, Crisis, and Future: Temporal Structures of Dispossession in the 20th Century
Southwest Hunter Kennedy, University of Chicago

This paper is an attempt to link cultural and land rights in the American Southwest to the wider genres of knowledge production in place throughout the 20th century. Drawing upon archives at the Field Museum of Natural History and the University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center, I read salvage anthropology conducted under the myth of the “vanishing Indian”, widespread laments of the new “industrial society” during the Cold War, and the contemporary disaster rhetoric of “climate change” together through their shared spatial and temporal mechanisms. I argue that they are impelled by a mood of crisis constitutive of US political culture, and that the temporal structures of urgency, inevitability, and novelty within them facilitate a still unfolding land grab. In other words, the narrative frames which authorize(d) museum collecting practices, mid-century megaprojects, and speculative climate fixes unite these disparate moments as parts of an ongoing effort to secure the nation, globe, and planet for American settler capital. The purpose of this reading is twofold: first, to understand “salvage” not as a disciplinary mode which was progressively shed, but symptomatic of a world in which attachments to lands, relations, and kin are made vulnerable to capitalist influence; and second, to productively refuse—if momentarily—the totalizing rhetoric of anthropocene crisis epistemology, and read it alongside its historical forebearers as a kind of dispossession. By doing so, I also think with contemporary Marxist and critical Indigenous literatures on the perdurance of primitive accumulation.

Session 4: Community Consequences, Decisions, and Resiliency in the Wake of Removal and Displacement (Baskes Boardroom)
Chair: William Bauer, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Reimagining Indigenous Sovereignty: International Law and Transatlantic Republicanism in Cherokee Political Thought, Ben Clingman, University of Colorado-Boulder

This paper offers a reassessment of the intellectual origins of early nineteenth-century Cherokee political culture. Traditionally, historians have discussed Cherokee politics within a diffusionist narrative: as Cherokees “Americanized” through their “acculturation” of Anglo-American customs, they enacted laws and constitutions mimicking those of the United States. Some revisionist scholars, in contrast, increasingly emphasize the indigenous aspects Cherokee political culture. Whilst a necessary corrective to earlier Eurocentric narratives, such scholarship risks overlooking the ways Cherokees actively engaged with, and sought to shape, transatlantic debates on the nature of sovereignty and international law: a relatively unexplored field Jace Weaver terms “the Red Atlantic.” I argue early nineteenth-century Cherokees were neither inward-looking, nor passive recipients of U.S. cultural diffusion, but active translators of a plethora of European ideas that, combined with Cherokee intellectual traditions, formed the basis of a hybrid political culture. Just as black abolitionists repurposed the rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson, a white supremacist slaveowner, in support of their own universalist visions of racial equality, Cherokees reimagined the ideas of Lockean liberalism, the French enlightenment, and the law of nations—all used by Euro-American settler-colonists to justify Native dispossession—in defense indigenous sovereignty. Through their participation in global intellectual debates, ranging from seventeenth-century European philosophy to the western hemispheric republicanism of Haiti, Mexico, and, above all, Texas, Cherokees developed a radical, alternative theory of sovereignty, declaring themselves an equal American republic under international law, rather than simply an imitation or junior partner of the United States.
“Our Present Lands Continue Undefined”: Borders and Competing Sovereignties Within the Cherokee Nation, 1839-1846, Michael Joslin, Oklahoma State University

Questions of sovereignty immediately arose with the forced removal of Cherokees to Indian Territory in 1839. Chief John Ross’s government believed theirs to be the legitimate authority over the Cherokee Nation, a claim rejected by the Western Cherokees who asserted sovereignty over the new arrivals by dint of their earlier occupancy of the region. A third party, the Treaty Party, insisted upon their own sovereignty. General Matthew Arbuckle’s involvement complicated the issue and precipitated claims from Ross that the United States actively tried to remove him. The Cherokee Nation and Arkansas border played an important role in these claims; clandestine meetings across the “line”, instances of outside interference, and fears of a multi-tribal invasion of the U.S. punctuated ongoing debate. This paper will use first-hand accounts, archival records, and secondary sources to examine these competing claims to sovereignty, their role in exacerbating violent factionalism, and their reliance upon borders as defense of authority. First, all three factions drew upon previous treaties and border agreements to justify their sovereignty that, in turn, created conflicting opinions among U.S. officials. Next, claims of U.S. military and state officials interfering in tribal politics ultimately hardened Ross’s diplomatic stance. These debates also contained a racial element as rumors persisted among Arkansas residents and officials of a plot by Ross to create an intertribal army with the goal of invading the U.S. to assert Native American sovereignty. Although the Treaty of 1846 officially unified Cherokees, the consequences of this period reverberated well into the twentieth century.

The Fort Berthold Industrial Fair 1911: Sites of Survivance, Jayne Kinney, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities

In the Fall of 1911, the Indigenous led Fort Berthold Indian Industrial Fair Association reflected on the recent Fort Berthold Industrial Fair. Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish community leaders emphasized the fair’s role in Indigenous resistance and asserted Indigenous power and sovereignty. At the end of the fair, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish elders met in council with North Dakota Governor Louis B. Hanna and Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs Frederick H. Abbott to assert their treaty rights against the destruction of the reservation via the sale of land to white Industrial Fair to reinforce community and kinship relationships, resist settler-colonial policies, and assert their sovereignty over the land and policy. In this presentation, I examine the Fort Berthold Industrial Fair as a site of survivance where the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish mobilized their relationships and knowledge systems to assert their sovereignty and resist settler colonial erasure. Indigenous leaders mobilized their relationships with the Fort Berthold Agency and Anglo-American education to create space where Indigenous community members confronted Office of Indian Affairs policies which attempted to erase Indigeneity and assert their active presence and agency by gathering together as a united community, asserting the importance of Indigenous knowledge, and confronting United States policymakers about treaty violations and Indigenous sovereignty.

She Fled to Texas: Cherokee Woman Slaveholders During the Civil War, Kristina Rogers

Oklahoma State University

“She Fled to Texas: Cherokee Women Slaveholders During the Civil War” discusses the experiences and motivations of Cherokee slaveholding women during the Civil War. The Cherokee Nation was divided between those that supported the Union and those that supported the Confederacy. This paper
focuses on one group of Cherokees who supported the Confederacy: Cherokee women slaveholders. Some Cherokee women slaveholders moved to Texas during the war, and forced the enslaved people they owned to accompany them. Other women slaveholders chose to go through the Cherokee court system and free the enslaved people they owned. This paper utilizes a variety of source material including Cherokee and United States governmental documents, Cherokee court records, and oral histories from Cherokee freedpeople, and Cherokee women slaveholders, and their descendants. “She Fleed to Texas: Cherokee Women Slaveholders During the Civil War” argues that Cherokee slaveholding women played an active role in supporting the Confederacy. These women had a stake in the outcome of the war, and wanted the institution of chattel slavery to continue. “She Fleed to Texas: Cherokee Women Slaveholders During the Civil War” further complicates the historiography of Native American involvement in the American Civil War, and the historiography of the Civil War more broadly. It builds on scholarship from historians like Stephanie Jones-Rogers and Drew Gilpin Faust who explore the experiences of white women slaveowners in the Civil War.

Session 5: **Colonial Environmental Policies and Indigenous Responses** (*Towner Fellows Lounge*)
*Chair: Matthew Krueer, University of Chicago*

**Breakdown: The Tewa Pueblos, the Manhattan Project, and Patterns of Accommodation, Dmitri Brown, University of California-Davis**

In 1942, the Manhattan Project came to the Tewa world. Los Alamos, the site where physicists developed the first atomic weapons, was less than a fifteen-mile drive up a winding mesa road from the Tewa Pueblos of Santa Clara and San Ildefonso. Workers from all six of the Tewa villages travelled daily by bus or truck to the gated and guarded community on “the Hill.” Shortly after World War II, anthropologist Florence Hawley Ellis studied the changes Los Alamos had brought to the Pueblos. In her hand-written notes, she underlined “BREAKDOWN.” “Acculturation,” an academic keyword of the day, seemed to fit the Tewa experience. Tewa social structures and culture struggled to accommodate the influx of “Anglo” or “Mericana” goods, the worldly experiences of military servicemen, and, critically, the apparent permanence of the Los Alamos National Laboratory. Some Tewa elders have reflected on the Manhattan Project at Los Alamos as a shattering force that signaled the end of the Pueblo way of life. Yet, as a Pueblo leader reminded a meeting of the All-Pueblo Council in 1944, “Even the rocks change.” The question was whether the dynamic patterns of Tewa life could adjust expansively and quickly enough. Today that pervasive credo of Indian Country, “We are still here,” remains strong among the Pueblos. A Tewa scholar might ask, if we are still here, to what extent would our ancestors recognize our thoughts and our voices. And what would our answers tell us about what it means to be Tewa?

**Ecologies of Nationhood: Culture, Forestry, and Place at the Turn from Cutover to Conservation, Ryan Hellenbrand, University of Wisconsin-Madison**

Lumbering and settlement in the forests of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan radically and violently disrupted Indigenous ecological relationships to their homelands. In the late 19th Century, the protection and restoration of these woodlands became a national priority, marking an inflection point in Euro-American settlers’ relationship to this land. This paper examines the implementation of scientific forest management in the U.S. as a revealing example of how national ideology informed the beginnings of settler-colonial natural resource management. The genealogy of forestry, with its roots in 19th Century Germany, highlights how forests are construed as constitutive of national identity. At the
turn of the century, the institutionalization of scientific forest management promoted natural resource conservation and forest restoration as key to establishing the national character of the U.S. In the Upper Midwest, the Cutover made way for the expanding settlement of EuroAmerican farmers on the lands of the Anishinaabe and Menominee peoples. As these lands proved unfruitful for farming, forestry and forest restoration offered methods to transition from subjugating Indigenous lands to affirming settler belonging. By interrogating the settler-colonial legacy of German forestry through E.M. Griffith’s initial management plans and forest policies, I examine how desires for conservation arose from the ecological consequences of the Cutover in the forests of the Upper Midwest—as maintaining settler futurity on Indigenous lands. Attending to such histories is crucial to understanding the contemporary politics of co-management and eco-cultural restoration. The inflection from cutover to conservation constitutes a restructuring of settler-colonial relations with lasting impacts today.

Session 6: Reclaiming Indigenous Culture in Art, Performance, and Medicine
(Rettinger Hall)
Chair: Kasey Keeler, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Memory and Archive: How Words Work in Indigenous Culture, Robin Olive Little Jackson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

The power of words has always been an essential element of Indigenous life. Words are life, words are strength, and words are our history and culture all in one. They personify our thoughts and feelings, and as living placeholders. They tell a story, hold a memory, teach us about life. When those words are used to tell a story, the origins of the story or the specific facts might fade, but the meaning of those memories stays the same. The history and purpose of the words become important when they function as a mnemonic device to keep the energy of those utterances alive. For this paper I will discuss how Indigenous cultures use words in their daily life to protest, archive, and remember. To achieve this, I will use Regina José Galindo’s PERRA (or Bitch) performance to attain a better understanding from a linguistic and cultural aspect, I will study the importance of language and memory from the Indigenous and Euro-centric perspectives by filtering Galindo through a serious of comparisons to popular culture where we can start to understand how language functions as memory. It is my belief that by understanding how memory and archive of these two cultures act and behave performatively, I will be able to see the how Indigenous words have the capability to be more than just words, but as significant devices for storing cultural heritage.

Relationship-Centred Professional Development for Indigenous Birth Support Workers, Alexandra Nychuk and Kiera Kowalski, University of Winnipeg

Background: The practice of Indigenous birth support work has been identified as a promising approach to begin the healing process from the devastating effects of colonization on Indigenous peoples, creating a culturally relevant and self-determined birthing experience for Indigenous parents (Ireland, Montgomery-Andersen, & Geraghty, 2019). The repatriation of traditional birthing practices, and the traditional roles and responsibilities within community that pertain to birth, nurtures the reclamation and resurgence of culture and identity while recuperating Indigenous peoples’ sovereignty over their bodies (Cidro et al., 2018). Methods: This research is grounded in Indigenous methodologies and uses the conversational method to explore service delivery models Indigenous doula collectives utilize across Canada (Kovach, 2010). Five collectives from British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario,
Quebec and Nova Scotia respectively, were interviewed for this project. The interviews were analyzed using grounded theory and constant comparative method to establish recurring themes (Charmaz, 2005). Results: Through these conversations the collectives describe the gaps they have experienced in their birth support training specific to working with Indigenous parents, navigating conflict, and the incorporation of Indigenous teaching pedagogies in mainstream service delivery models. Conclusion: These themes all speak to the challenges that Indigenous Birth Support Work Collectives face in finding and providing training that is both recognized and culturally relevant to Indigenous peoples.

**Waiting for the Sun to Rise: Rebecca Belmore and the FARET Tachikawa Art Project, Noah Mapes, Cornell University**

In 1994, artist Rebecca Belmore, an Anishinaabe member of the Lac Seul First Nation, publicly installed *I Wait for the Sun* in Tachikawa, Tokyo, Japan in conjunction with the FARET Tachikawa Art Project. FARET Tachikawa emerged that year as a city planning and beautification initiative that functionally embedded the creations of ninety-two artists from around the globe into the urban landscape to underline that, in the words of FARET Art Director Furamu Kitagawa, “diversity is both beautiful and terrible.” Relying on solar illumination, *I Wait for the Sun* reflects Anishinaabemowin syllabics onto Japanese script; depending on the environment’s conditions and time of day, the installation unifies, separates, brightens, and dims the languages of two peoples. In fostering an artistic Anishinaabe-Japanese relationship on the streets of Tachikawa, how does *I Wait for the Sun* publicly enact Indigenous *visual sovereignty* and *sensate sovereignty* in a cross-cultural, international language exchange? In what ways does a dependence on natural forces to activate the space similarly highlight the bonds between Indigenous arts, languages, and lands? As the Anishinaabemowin syllabics appear and disappear on end, how does Belmore’s permanent installation continue the resiliency of Indigenous languages? Through a critical reading of the FARET Tachikawa Art Project and a comparative analysis of its artworks, “Waiting for the Sun to Rise: Rebecca Belmore and the FARET Tachikawa Art Project” seeks to understand how this seldom-studied installation asserts the importance of Anishinaabe language and relationships between peoples and lands within a mission of Japanese urban renewal.

**Sucker Fish Writing: The Survivance of Mi’kmaq Hieroglyphs, Julia Marsan, University of Chicago**

Semiotic analysis of indigenous American sign systems is a vital field of American Indian studies. Yet these analyses have tended to prioritize the sign systems of Mesoamerica, due to a perceived paucity of extant material or scholarship regarding North American Indian systems. This paper explores the semiotic categorization of Mi’kmaq *komqwe-jwi’kasikl*, or sucker fish writing, in historic literature and its significance in contemporary Mi’kmaq art. Analysis of extant missionary texts and commentaries, particularly those collected in David Schmidt and Murdena Marshall’s *Mi’kmaq Hieroglyphic Prayers*, is juxtaposed against the use of sucker fish writing in the contemporary work of Mi’kmaq Lnu poet and artist Michelle Sylliboy. I argue that because sucker fish writing functions as a visual orientation of spiritual relationships, it survives today as a uniquely hieroglyphic system. The preservation of sucker fish writing reflects Mi’kmaq cultural and spiritual survivance, which is demonstrated by Sylliboy’s esoteric contemporary use of the hieroglyphs in art installations and poetry.

**Session 7: Interrogating Spaces of Encounter and Diplomacy (Baskes Boardroom)**

Chair: Richard Boles, Oklahoma State University
“Making Provision for Their Half-Breed Relatives”: Negotiating Treaties and Navigating Racialization in the Nineteenth-Century Great Lakes Region, Michael Albani, Michigan State University

Following the War of 1812, the U.S. government claimed control over Anishinaabe Lands across the Great Lakes region. It would not take long, however, for American settlers and officials to realize that Indigenous peoples remained committed to both upholding connections to their Homelands and ensuring stable futures for their children, including those of mixed Native and Euro-American ancestries. This paper examines how the Anishinaabe of Michilimackinac – a space situated between what are now Michigan’s upper and lower peninsulas – complicated the nineteenth-century project of U.S. state formation. It analyzes how Indigenous diplomats from this area participated in various land cession treaty negotiations not solely to stave off American attempts to violently expel them from their homes. Resisting removal was undoubtedly crucial, but treaty negotiators were also motivated to secure protections for mixed ancestry members of their communities whom Americans began labelling with terms like “half-breed.” As scholar Jill Doerfler asserts, Anishinaabe treaty negotiators did not necessarily differentiate “half-breeds” from themselves or agree with how Americans characterized them. Thus, this paper traces how U.S. state formation coincided with the U.S. codifying people of mixed ancestry as racialized “others,” and how the Anishinaabe of Michilimackinac responded to impositions of these kinds of racial categories over time. Underpinning this paper are analyses of dozens of treaties (and their corresponding documentation) as well as archival resources from the Newberry Library made accessible with the generous support of a Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies Graduate Student Fellowship.

“His Knowledge Was Greater Than the Information of Our Geographers…”: Digital Representations of Indigenous Space and Diplomacy on the Upper Missouri River, 1801-1853, Jennifer Andrella, Michigan State University

Based on the first chapter of my dissertation, my digital spatial history project, “Mapping the Upper Missouri: Visualizing Negotiation, Diplomacy, and Culture on the Northern Plains, 1801-1853” charts a geospatial history of the fur trade, intercultural exchange, and Indigenous diplomacy in the Upper Missouri River region. As an ongoing project, this work seeks to expand spatial methods and digital approaches for interpreting histories of Indigenous agency and settler colonialism. Through an interactive interface that features Indigenous and colonial historical maps “stitched” onto a contemporary mapping layer through a process called georectification, viewers are guided through twelve narrative panels that provide context, interpretation, and additional historical sources. In doing so, this project seeks to reconstruct the history of the Upper Missouri as an Indigenous space that became increasingly contested under the pressures of European and American fur companies, federal Indian agencies, and mineral prospectors. The expansion of U.S. fur companies in the 1830s coincided with federal efforts to recast administrative networks into the region by tapping into relationships that traders built with Indigenous partners. As the U.S. government worked to incorporate the Northern Plains through a series of land policies in the 1850s, Indigenous communities responded strategically in ways that continued to define the terms of diplomacy and negotiation through the region. “Mapping the Upper Missouri” provides a lens to both visualize and ask critical questions about the importance of Indigenous spatiality despite colonizing efforts to redraw and reconfigure the Northern Plains.

Creating Yucatán’s Montaña: Routes of Maya Ecologies, Parasitic Violence, and Enslavement in an Early Modern Tropical Forest, 1517-1550, Scott Doebler, Penn State University
In the early sixteenth century, Europeans and Mayas encountered one another on the Yucatán Peninsula. Over the coming decades, invasion, epidemics, slave raiding, and colonization swept the region. By the middle of the sixteenth century, conquistadors claimed they had conquered Yucatán, yet in reality, tens of thousands of Mayas continued to live autonomously throughout the majority of the geographic area of the peninsula. Using archival materials in Spanish and Mayan, this paper explores how networks of ecologies, violence, and enslavement played an integral role in early contact with the Yucatán Peninsula. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Maya communities thrived in diverse environmental settings, which were tightly entwined within the tapestry of local arboreal interactions. I argue that Spanish conquistadors attempted to latch onto peninsular ecological networks, behaving similarly to a parasitic infection. Violence and enslavement spread along routes that closely followed Maya socioecological networks. Though the invasions were devastating for many Maya communities, forest entanglements also sustained Maya autonomy throughout the upheavals, while limiting the Spaniards to the fringes of the peninsula. Spanish enthusiasm soon floundered in mud, rain, and clouds of mosquitoes of the lowlands— a product of their inability to create a sustainable colony out of its parasitic foundation. But to claim a conquest had in fact occurred, the Spaniards shifted to describing two Yucatáns: a supposedly “conquered” north and a supposedly “uninhabited” south. The erasure of the Mayas and their forest continues to define the shape of “Yucatán” to this day.

Session 8: Assertions of Native Identity and Agency Across the 19th and Early 20th Century (Towner Fellows Lounge)

Chair: Jennifer Denetdale, University of New Mexico

State-Making, Secession, and the Conquest of Illegibility: Renaming Indigenous People in the U.S., 1890-1910, Sonja Castañeda Dower, University of Chicago

Widely accepted theories of democracy hold that democratization will lead to secessions in large, heterogeneous jurisdictions. Many states have employed legibility campaigns that named or renamed people and places in order to both simplify administration and to try to streamline the preferences and behaviors of populations themselves. I evaluate one approach taken by the United States between 1890-1910 to address both “illegibility” and “cultural difference”: the state-sponsored forcible renaming of many thousands of “American Indians,” across dozens of Indigenous nations and groups. This paper contends with two main questions: Did this campaign lead to increased assimilation among those renamed? Further, where the project of assimilation is successful (by widely used measures), is this followed by reduced demands for sovereignty and self-determination, as much current scholarship predicts? Previous literature identifies immigrants’ assignment of “American-sounding” names to children as evidence of assimilation of the parent and calls on children’s various outcomes as evidence of second-generation assimilation. Here, we can’t tell if parents favoring majority names also privilege assimilation and pass this on or if names themselves influence outcomes. I try to mitigate this selection problem by evaluating effects of the US. Government’s arguably exogenous renaming exercise. I supplement this with data on group-specific Indigenous autonomy claims, exploiting recorded cultural and institutional heterogeneity within groups, to consider the link between assimilation and claims. Whereas theory predicts increasing assimilation reduces autonomy claims, I introduce a testable typology that specifies not-so-rare conditions under which assimilation is instead expected to - and shown to - increase these claims.

“A Crooked Haired Half-Breed”: Husti-Coluc-Chee alias Rev. John D. Bemo, Race, and Semnvole Identity in Nineteenth Century America, Michelle Martin, University of New Mexico
From 1843-1890 Husti-Coluc-Chee, alias Rev. John D. Bemo, thrilled and entertained audiences from Philadelphia to Kansas with his arresting story of kidnap, personal salvation, religious conversion, and triumph over hardship. The nephew of the famed Semnvole leader Osceola, Husti-Coluc-Chee carefully crafted an Indigenous stage presence acceptable to Anglo-American audiences that permeated his life and work for decades. This public persona provided Husti-Coluc-Chee with a steady income stream and notoriety. As a Presbyterian turned Baptist preacher and educator, in the Indian Territory from 1844-1890, Husti-Coluc-Chee drew praise and condemnation for his work among Indigenous communities. Labeled a charlatan and fraud by the Presbyterians, Baptists, and his own daughter in law, Husti-Coluc-Chee navigated between the Semnvole, Mvskoke, AfroIndigenous, and Anglo American worlds with relative ease. His ability to operate as a cultural broker made him a threat to missionaries and policy makers who sought to control Indigenous people and their daily lives in the Indian Territory. His skill as a navigator between racial boundaries challenged Reconstruction Era social attitudes regarding the segregation of the races. My research probes Husti-Coluc-Chee’s actions, the threat he posed to Anglo American educational and religious initiatives in the Indian Territory, and how he controlled his image and actions to his betterment. Husti-Coluc-Chee’s life is a revealing case study in the resilience and ingenuity of Indigenous people. His story sheds light into how many Indigenous individuals and communities rode waves of change and adapted to life in the Indian Territory during Reconstruction in West.

The Reverberating Village Dish: Interpellated Soundscapes and Indigenous Soundmapping in Hannah Caleb’s Testimony, Anthony Trujillo, Harvard University

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, Hannah Caleb, an octogenarian Pequot “Mother of Israel” living in Groton, Connecticut, dictated to one of her kin the powerful experience of how her heart was “tuned to sing the praise of God and the Lamb” (41). It was a song-speech that walked her listeners through a half century of treacherous terrestrial and spiritual terrain that settler Christians had attempted to turn against Indian bodies and ways of knowing. When the transcription was complete, what came out on the page was the notation of an Indian life filled with lament and praise, heartache and delight. But just as much, it was a map. In this essay, I argue that Hannah Caleb’s testimony can be read as a powerful tool for navigating colonial and Indigenous landscapes filled with a cacophony of overlapping sounds, each tethered to different geographical centers. Within these interpellated soundscapes, Hannah Caleb’s song-speech functions as an geo-spiritual positioning device that sonically reorients the world around her Indigenous body which remained tenaciously rooted in Pequot terrain despite over a century of settler intrusion and displacement. The guiding motif I employ as I tune-into Hannah Caleb’s story-song is the circular form of the dish: a two-way sound system that aurally-locates Indigenous bodies within geo-spiritual space while also amplifying the stories and songs that she and a cohort of tenacious Native Christian women used to guide their kin through multiple generations of upheaval.

Re-Weaving an Ecology of Looking: Paiute Basket Weavers and Yosemite National Park, Michael Schrimper, University of Colorado-Boulder

In this essay, I argue that in the early twentieth century Paiute basket weavers in Yosemite National Park use their baskets to alter the park’s visual culture for tribal benefit. Craig D. Bates and Martha J. Lee have argued that Paiute weavers, hired to participate in the park’s Indian Field Days festivities, were being exploited as “ethnic stereotypes” and “living spectacles” meant to complement the natural wonders of the national park. I argue that Paiute basket weavers are not being exploited but instead using their baskets to distinguish themselves from the “natural” or “wild” backdrop of Yosemite
National Park, and turn Euro-American tourists’ attention to technological and visually dazzling products of their own design. Altering what Rob Nixon calls the park’s “ecology of looking,” Paiute weavers both enact and display to Euro-American audiences their active, inventive participation in an ecotourist modernity—for example, holding their baskets while standing alongside U.S. government leaders like the Governor of California. This self-determining action increases the tribe’s relationality with U.S. government leaders as well as the broader Euro-American population. While respecting Joseph Marshall III’s claim that Native art is “not always under Indian control,” I aim to show tribal control and agency in Paiute basket weaving. This is an interdisciplinary project, using theoretical concepts from Indigenous studies, as well as visual and material culture methodologies. As such, I will present using visual aids, analyzing images of Paiute baskets and photographs from the National Park Service’s NPGallery Digital Asset Management System.

Session 9: **New Perspectives on Red Power and Native Activism in the Late 20th Century** *(Rettinger Hall)*

*Chair: Doug Miller*, Oklahoma State University

**Red Power Storytellers: The Autobiographies of the AIM Movement, Tania Balderas, University of New Mexico**

The autobiographical narratives of the American Indian Movement members, Dennis Banks, Leonard Peltier, Mary (Crow Dog) Brave Bird, and Russel Means are the literary reimagining of the oral storytelling tradition in which the storyteller becomes a recorder of history and sharer of community knowledge. These historiographic metanarratives are a first-person modality of what Cherokee literary scholar Sean Kicummah Teuton has termed the Red Power novel. Teuton describes the novels of the Red Power genre as presenting a literary interpretation of the “empirical process of decolonization, in which the interaction between the concepts of identity and experience drives a dynamic of political awakening and cultural recovery” in which identity is not “a self-evident fact of birth”, but rather, “a philosophical issue [that will] help us to understand how domination shapes the Indian world today” (2008, 8). Even though Teuton develops their critical analysis on works of fiction, I believe that the autobiographies I will discuss in this essay fit well within the definition of the Red Power genre with the added crucial element of personal testimony in the form of historiographic metanarrative. As such, the narrators who are active participants in the Native American liberation movement of the 60s and 70s, become at once the storytellers and communal historians that will rescue their comrades in struggle and persecuted members of their communities from historical oblivion. These narratives are also an exercise in the “sophisticated understanding of error”, so we may learn from their shortcomings and question their omissions with the understanding of the enormity of their struggle and the rootlessness of their enemy. Most importantly, their courage to fight an “impossible fight” against the world’s most powerful empire teaches us about a long tradition of resistance while challenging us to consider our responsibility to the decolonizing efforts of those who came before us and those who will come after.


In 1977, Owannah Anderson (Choctaw) was one of a small group of Native American delegates at the National Women’s Conference held in Houston, Texas. While some Native women were hesitant to join the modern feminist movement, Anderson saw an opportunity to build a broad-based and
geographically far-reaching coalition of Native women who could address problems uniquely affecting them. Her new national organization which she called Ohoyo, or “women” in the Choctaw language, spent the following six years using federal grants to produce educational materials around employment, education, and political service. Ohoyo connected both Red Power veterans with everyday Native women across the country in a series of conferences from Tahlequah, Oklahoma to Seattle, Washington. Feminist histories often overlook Native women especially in the era of Second Wave Feminism allowing Indigenous women to be subjected to stereotypes that infer a lack of participation. This paper challenges these assumptions by examining one group of women who embraced the movement but entirely on their own terms. These women created their own cross-cultural Indigenous space with Ohoyo, by combining the tools of Second Wave Feminism and the language of sovereignty. Using organizational newsletters, training materials, and conference transcripts, and refocusing the analysis on Native American women in the years 1977-1983, this paper argues that these women not only shaped the legacy of Red Power, but also women’s rights more broadly.


“Seeing Red” was the first nationally syndicated radio program focused on contemporary Native American issues broadcast from WBAI in New York between 1968–1977. In 2017, Suzan Shown Harjo gifted her archive to the Institute of Indian Arts (IAIA), including the “Seeing Red” radio program archive. Now digitized, “Seeing Red” recordings feature a mixture of Native American music, press conferences, news reports, historical commentary background and important interviews with well-known activists. Utilizing oral history, textual analysis, digital media tools, and archival research, my paper will plot the emergence of “Seeing Red” as a grassroots tool in the context of radio media, the socially and politically turbulent Civil Rights era in America, and Native protest work and its broader connections to American history. I will examine “Seeing Red” as a site of strategic intervention and form of political engagement and community mobilization for Native audiences and allies through its culturally relevant programming. I will further argue that “Seeing Red” can be understood as an articulation of aural sovereignty and survivance in the discursive public space of the radio. Finally, I will call attention to Suzan Shown (Harjo), show co-producer, whose role within progressive American radio ruptured male-dominated media spaces and white-centered male experiences, and continued to break barriers as a lobbyist and activist. Ultimately, “Seeing Red” helps us better understand the current realities of American Indian politics through a historical lens and is of particular importance to Native activist movement historiography because it uncovers new evidence of Native grassroots leadership in the 1970s that worked toward self-determination and sovereignty of Native nations.

The Promises and Complications of Urban Indian Self-Determination: An Examination of Seattle’s 1970 Fort Lawton Takeover, William Sampson, University of Washington

Between the 1970 and 1977, Seattle’s urban Indian community executed one of the most successful acquisitions of city lands for Native peoples living in the Pacific Northwest’s largest city. Native activists targeted Fort Lawton, a dilapidated military base slated by the Department of Defense for decommissioning in 1964, employing numerous tactics to achieve a common goal of creating space for Seattle’s urban Indians to congregate and handle communal affairs. Building on the work of Seattle urban Indian women throughout the 1960s, Native activists advanced their vision with influences from other Indigenous demonstrations like the occupation of Alcatraz and the Fish Wars of the Pacific Northwest, capitalizing on visions of self-determination and intertribalism. Despite this, the vision outlined for the broader Seattle Indian community contradicted that of the city’s original inhabitants: the Duwamish. Federal recognition eluded the Duwamish since their denial of a reservation in 1866, despite being one of the signatory nations in the Treaty of Point Elliott (1855) that effectively founded
the city. Throughout the twentieth century, and particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, the Duwamish actively fought for their federal recognition within their own homelands, putting their own vision of self-determination at odds with urban Indian activists seeking to create space for all Indians in Seattle. Representing the promises, limitations, and contradictions of urban Indian self-determination, the Fort Lawton takeover generated a political process that increased Indian autonomy and authority in Seattle, a process that rested ironically on the continued marginalization of longstanding Duwamish struggles for tribal sovereignty.

Session 10: Uncovering the Capitalist, Legal, and Extractivist Mechanisms of Settler Colonialism (Baskes Boardroom)
Chair: Joseph Whitson, Northwestern University

Fallout From Nuclear Imperialism: The Legacies of Nuclear Testing on Climate Change in the Marshall Islands and Alaskan North Slope, Giulia Caporuscio, University of New Mexico

On July 1, 1946, an atomic bomb was detonated as part of Operation Crossroad, a nuclear testing program operated by the United States government. This began a tradition of testing in the Pacific Ocean that lasted until 1958. The islands where these tests were performed were home to peaceful people, the Marshallese, which the U.S. was supposed to be protecting. Instead, they were used as test sites for 67 bombs, including the most powerful bomb the U.S. ever detonated. Due to the contamination, there was a mass migration, which made Ebeye Island one of the most densely populated places in the world. As climate changes and the oceans rise, the Marshallese are facing another mass migration as flooding makes the remaining islands uninhabitable. In 1958 the Atomic Energy Commission attempted to use atomic bombs to create a harbor in Alaska, under Project Plowshare, that would only function for three months out of the year and went against the interests of the local Inupiat population. Project Chariot and related geological studies in the 1960’s discovered oil fields on Inupiat land. The current interest in drilling in the area threatens the sources of sustenance, income, local culture, and the life of the indigenous communities. The U.S. completely ignored the interests and health of the indigenous people while planning these tests. These and other failures of early nuclear efforts established a tradition of oversight and government involvement that continue to challenge indigenous resilience and adaptation in the face of climate change.

The Right to Returns: Settler Investments in Ho-Chunk and Dakota Dispossession, 1861-1865, Heather Menefee, Northwestern University

This paper offers a case study from a larger project, which presents an economic analysis of settler colonialism in Minnesota in the 19th and 20th centuries. Through records from the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), Ho-Chunk legal testimony, and letters written by Dakota people, I show how new Republican OIA appointees democratized the opportunity for settler investments in US Indian policy after 1860. By commissioning surveys of reservations, licensing new traders without relations to Native communities, and issuing “Certificates of Winnebago Indebtedness” as bonds available to private investors, these agents advanced settler colonial policy in Minnesota. Settlers nationwide invested in Dakota and Ho-Chunk dispossession, leaving a clear record of processes of capitalist accumulation. In conversation with Rev. Dr. Clifford Canku, I interpret the subsequent US/Minnesota-Dakota War in 1862 as a war against both capitalism and genocide. I use previously unexamined OIA records to support Canku’s argument that Indian Removal policies were a form of capitalism, “a frenzied economic venture that cheated and underhandedly dealt with Native American people, and that was the
impetus of why [Dakota people] resisted” in 1862. This research analyzes hundreds of individual economic transactions among settlers along with the legal and economic strategies that Ho-Chunk and Dakota communities used to survive an apocalypse of settler colonialism.

**Transforming Economies of Extraction: Indigenous Language, Story, an Stewardship of Land, Miya Moriwaki, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign**

In their 2020 article “Beyond Wiindigo Infrastructure,” Winona LaDuke and Deborah Cowen engage the traditional Anishinaabe story of the Wiindigo—a spirit figure of “reckless consumption” and “violent accumulation”—as a framing device for their analysis of settler colonial infrastructure. While LaDuke and Cowen focus their inquiry on the material infrastructure of the settler enterprise—pipelines, dams, roads, water systems—my project builds upon this framework to argue for a more expansive reading of “infrastructure,” one that includes language, story, and historical record as forms of intangible infrastructure. Just as LaDuke and Cowen assert that pipes not only transport “toxic sludge,” but water as well, I examine how Indigenous knowledge and story have similarly been subjected to colonial forces of extraction, yet currently lie at the heart of Indigenous efforts to reconstitute relationship to culture, identity, and history. I trace how, within a settler landscape, both land and language are viewed as ownable and patentable resources by analyzing two case histories. The first is the current resistance to a proposed open pit cyanide gold mine on traditional Indigenous homelands in California’s Owens Valley, now poised to challenge the 1872 mining laws from the Gold Rush era of environmental ruin. The second is a narrative of the academic appropriation of Penobscot language and traditional knowledge. I also explore, however, the capacity of Indigenous language and story as the basis for resistance, and the reintegration of language and story as critical in the reestablishment of Indigenous narrative presence and political agency.

**El Pecado Nefando: Prosecuting Sexual Deviance Across Casta Lines in Catille and New Spain During the 16th and 17th Centuries, Micaela Wiehe, Penn State University**

In 1658, an unprecedented sexual scandal broke in Puebla and Mexico City in which over 120 alleged sodomites were arrested, interrogated, and 14 were burned alive. Of these 120, the vast majority of the accused were of indio status or indigenous. In the early Spanish colonial period, sexual crimes, “crimes against nature,” posed a particular threat to the order and perceived stability of the Spanish empire. Furthermore, specifically homosexual behavior challenged not only the holy sacrament of Catholic marriage but also the perceived relationship between gender, race, and colonization. In the last thirty to forty years, historians have begun analyzing the extant archival material related to the understanding, recording, prosecuting, and punishing of sodomy within indigenous populations. Presently, historians are discussing the ways in which the Spanish administration perceived sexual sins, particularly sodomy, among indigenous people in the early colonial period. This project aims to address the following questions within this scholarly discussion. First, what effects did the early ethnographic writings of friars and other missionaries have on shaping the judicial reactions to indigenous sodomites? In addition, how did Spanish perceptions of gender, submission, domination, and colonization in the 16th and 17th centuries shape specific reactions to indigenous prosecution? Ultimately, this research will seek to uncover the many ways in which crimes of sodomy were prosecuted based on geography, race, and class constituting a meaningful contribution to the historiography of sexual sin in colonial Latin America.
Restaurant Recommendations Near the Newberry

3rd Coast Café $$
Casual American fare with a vast menu
1260 N Dearborn Street (.4 miles from Newberry)

Adalina $$$
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Sophisticated Italian bistro with a Michelin-starred chef
912 N State Street (.1 miles from Newberry)

Club Lago $$
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Traditional Italian in a retro tavern setting
331 W Superior Street (.6 miles from Newberry)

Friends Ramen $
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Ramen and Izakaya-style pub plates
808 N State Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Goddess and the Grocer $$
American café with sandwiches, salads, and pastries
1127 N State Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Hendrickx Belgian Bread Crafter $$
(Breakfast and Lunch only)
Cozy bakeshop with sandwiches, soups, and salad
100 E Walton Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Le Colonial Chicago $$$
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Upscale French-Vietnamese fare
57 E Oak Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Luxbar $$
Classic American food and handcrafted cocktails
18 E Bellvue Place (.3 miles from Newberry)

Nico Osteria $$$
Upscale Italian and seafood specialties
1015 N Rush Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Pizano’s Pizza & Pasta $$
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Traditional Italian with deep dish and thin crust pizza
864 N State Street (.2 miles from Newberry)

Seoul Taco $
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Korean and Mexican street food and beer
738 N Clark Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Sprinkles Chicago ATM $$
(Dessert only!)
Cupcake ATM
50 E Walton Street (.2 miles from Newberry)

Tavern on Rush $$$
Upscale steakhouse with handcrafted cocktails
1031 N Rush Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Tempo Café $$
(Breakfast or Lunch only)
Classic café with a vast menu
6 E Chestnut Street (.2 miles from Newberry)

Tzuco $$
(Dinner only)
Upscale Mexican cuisine
720 N State Street (.4 miles from Newberry)

Velvet Taco $$
(Lunch and Dinner only)
Tacos with global flavors, beer, and margaritas
1110 N State Street (.3 miles from Newberry)

Wildberry Pancakes and Café $$
(Breakfast and Lunch only)
Classic American breakfast and lunch
196 E Pearson Street (.6 miles from Newberry)