



D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies

Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies (NCAIS) Graduate Conference

February 10-12, 2023



Lithograph of Osage people visiting Paris in 1827. VAULT oversized Ayer Art Boilly

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, Thakwaki, and Meskwaki Nations. The Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Kiiikaapoi, and Mascouten 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

The NCAIS Graduate Conference sessions are open to all students and faculty at NCAIS institutions. However, the NCAIS Liaisons' Meeting, Graduate Luncheon, and Refreshments & Dinner are limited to student presenters, faculty liaisons, and session chairs. The NCAIS Steering Committee meeting is limited to committee members.

Friday, February 10

2 pm – 4 pm: Optional Tour and Collection Presentation (*Meet in Lobby*)

Saturday, February 11

8:00 am: Registration Open; Coffee and Light Breakfast Available (*Rettinger Hall*)

8:45 am: Welcome and Opening Remarks (*Rettinger Hall*)

9:00 am – 10:30 am: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall, Baskes Boardroom, and B84*)

10:30 am – 10:45 am: Break

10:45 am – 12:15 pm: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall, Baskes Boardroom, B82, and B84*)

12:30 pm – 1:30 pm: Lunch

- NCAIS Liaisons' Annual Meeting (*Wade Conference Room*)
- Graduate Student Luncheon (*B92 and B94*)

1:45 pm – 3:15 pm: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall, Baskes Boardroom, and B84*)

3:15 pm – 3:30 pm: Break

3:30 pm – 5 pm: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall, Baskes Boardroom, and B84*)

5 pm – 6 pm: Refreshments (*Ruggles Hall*)

6 pm – 8 pm: Dinner and Keynote Presentation (*Ruggles Hall*)

Sunday February 12

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

Detailed Agenda

Friday, February 10

2 pm – 4 pm: Optional Tour and Collection Presentation with **Rose Miron**, Director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at the Newberry and **Analú María López**, Ayer Librarian and Assistant Curator of American Indian and Indigenous Studies

Saturday, February 11

8:00 am: Registration Open; Coffee and Light Breakfast Available (*Rettinger Hall*)

8:45 am: Welcome and Opening Remarks, **Laura McEnaney**, Vice President for Research and Academic Programs at the Newberry and **Rose Miron** (*Rettinger Hall*)

9:00 am – 10:30 am: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 1: The Politics of Memory and Remembering** (*Rettinger Hall*)

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

Contesting Memory in Oklahoma: Native and Settler Reactions to the “Indian Centennial of 1948,” **Martha Beliveau**, University of Oklahoma

A Lesser Archival Justice: *Fontaine v. Canada* as Contested Memory, **Sophie Teed**, University of Colorado-Boulder

Where Past Meets Present: Land as a Historical Force and Land Acknowledgements in Canada, **Jayson Gislason**, University of Manitoba

- **Session 2: Examining the Impacts of Colonialism Beyond the Contiguous United States** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Tarren Andrews, Yale University

Ainu Assimilation: Consequences of Western Imperialistic Goals, **Robin Olive Little Jackson**, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

“Life With Extinction”: Selk’nam Life in 20th Century Post-Occupation Tierra del Fuego, **Sebastián López Vergara**, University of Washington

- **Session 3: Space and Place in Museums and Landscapes** (*B84*)

Chair: Kasey Keeler, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Settler Mounds: The Erasure of Indigeneity from Ohio’s Landscape, **Bryce A. Jones**, University of Oklahoma

Decolonizing and Indigenizing Praxis: Collaborating with Descendant Communities to Reimagine the Mesa Verde National Park Museum, *Caitrin Scarlett Engle*, University of Colorado-Boulder

10:30 am – 10:45 am: Break

10:45 am – 12:15 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 4: New Perspectives on US Indian Boarding Schools and Indigenous Education** (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Samuel Truett, University of New Mexico

“We Had Our Culture and Traditions – and It was Just Taken Away”: Family, Gendered Curriculum, and The Outing Program at Steward Indian School, *Annie Delgado*, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Surveilling Sex: Policing the Intimate Lives of Indigenous Peoples on the Colorado River Indian Reservation, *Mary Ludwig*, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Tribal Control: Cherokee Self-Determination in Education, *Teagan Dreyer*, Oklahoma State University

In Pursuit of Educational Sovereignty: A History of Native American Education, 1928-1984, *Nathan Tanner*, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

- **Session 5: Threats to and the Maintenance of Human and Non-Human Relations** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Josh Reid, University of Washington

Sovereign Relational Desire: Cultivating Land, Cultivating the Self, *Janice Feng*, University of Michigan

Unbounded Relationships: The Creation, Maintenance, and Adaptation of Nuwuvi Relationships with Land and Water Since Time Immemorial to 1848, *Paige Figanbaum*, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

The Political Life of Nmé: Tracing Relational Wellbeing in Place, *Natasha Myhal*, Yale University

Mescal, Archives, and Sovereignty in Mescalero Homelands, *Joseph Ukockis*, University of New Mexico

- **Session 6: Reading Gender and Politics in Material Culture** (*B84*)

Chair: Kallie Kosci, Oklahoma State University

A Post-Colonial Re-Examination of American Flag Imagery in 19th Century Lakota Beadwork, *Molly Murphy Adams*, University of Oklahoma

Native Clays and Indigenous Bodies: American Art Pottery, Ethnographic Photography, and White Possession at the Turn of the 20th Century, **Manon Gaudet**, Yale University

Ho-Chunk Political Development in the 20th Century: How the Black Ash Baskets Impacted the Tribal Experience, **Molli Ann Pauliot**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

- **Session 7: Indigenous Ways of Knowing in Health, Performance, and Popular Culture (B82)**

Chair: Kai Pyle, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

Redefining Maya Health: Indigenous Ecological Knowledge and Metabolic Disease Risks, **Bobbie Benavidez**, Northwestern University

Embodied Devotion Through Ritual Cross-Dressing: Queer Indigeneity in the Andean Patron-Saint Fiesta, **Enzo E. Vasquez Toral**, Northwestern University

Reservation Dogs and the Mending of Sacred Ties, **Russell Webb**, Oklahoma State University

12:30 pm – 1:30 pm: Lunch

- NCAIS Liaisons' Annual Meeting (*Wade Conference Room*)
- Graduate Student Luncheon (*B92 and B94*)

1:45 pm – 3:15 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 8: The Cherokee Nation in the 19th Century (Rettinger Hall)**

Chair: Julie Reed, Penn State University

Cherokee Literary Nationalism in the Early American West, **Ben Clingman**, University of Colorado-Boulder

Cherokee Women Slaveholders and the ABCFM, 1817-1860, **Kristina Rogers**, Oklahoma State University

For Prosperity and Happiness: The Cherokee Printing Press and the Fight Against Intemperance, **Chelsea Frazier**, University of Oklahoma

- **Session 9: Re-reading Colonial and Indigenous Texts (Baskes Boardroom)**

Chair: Elizabeth Fenn, University of Colorado-Boulder

Walking Through Time in the Round: The Boban Calendar Wheel and Hernando de Chavez's Aspirations, **Andrea Reed-Leal**, University of Chicago

Indigenous Maternal Archives: Katherine Garret, Pamphlets, and Reading Otherwise, **Mariana Gutierrez-Lowe**, Northwestern University

Haudenosaunee Diplomatic Decision Making at Two Treaties of Fort Stanwix, 1768-1784, **Zoe Waldman**, University of Michigan

How Do You Spell Ojibwe?: Reading Between the Lines in Ojibwe Spelling Guides, **Anna Whitney**, University of Michigan

- **Session 10: 20th Century Stories of Indigenous Communities, Youth, and Families** (B84)

Chair: William Bauer, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Reversing Removal: The Modac Nation of 1909, **Sheldon Yeakley**, Oklahoma State University

The Three Deaths of Arthur Frazier: Questions of Authority and Reality in the Trial of a Santee-Dakota Soldier's Identity after World War I, **Jessica Simmons**, Oklahoma State University

Ideas in Action: Tracing a Lineage of Native Student Activism, **Cate Costley**, University of Colorado-Boulder

3:15 pm – 3:30 pm: Break

3:30 pm – 5:00 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 11: Land-Based Rights and Relationalities** (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Kelly Wisecup, Northwestern University

Canadian Museums for Human Rights and Stewart Redsky's Letter: Compromising Land-Based Indigenous Rights for a Cosmopolitan Ideal of Human Rights, **Ryuichi Nakayama**, University of New Mexico

Reviving Allotment in the #LandBack Era: A Theory of Neo-Liberal Allotment Policy through Artificial, Spatial, and Temporal Enclosures, **Joshua Friedlein**, Yale University

Land Back by Any Means: *Reservation Dogs* and Land Analytics, **Kara Roanhorse**, University of New Mexico

- **Session 12: Considering the Impacts of Colonialism through Violence, Law, and Borderlands** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: John Hall, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Resilience, Resistance, and Revolt: Post-Colonial Views on Conflict in the Borderlands of Interior Southern California, **Joseph B. Curran**, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Reframing Immigration Law in North America in Indigenous Borderlands, **Sandra Sánchez**, Yale University

Missing Persons: Absence and Relation in BIPOC Literature, **Alison Hsiao**, University of California-Davis

- **Session 13: Colonial Narratives and Misrepresentations Across Literature, Tourism, and Biopolitics (B84)**

Chair: Jean O'Brien, University of Minnesota

“Counting Coup on the Text”: Nested Sovereignties and Native Assent in Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Ceremony*, **Scott Nelson**, University of Minnesota

Domestic Exotic/Dispossession and Desire in South Florida 20th Century Tourism, **Emily Velez Neims**, Yale University

The Locus of Colonialism: Political and Relational Bodies, **Hope Ace**, University of Manitoba

5 pm – 6 pm: Refreshments (*Ruggles Hall*)

6 pm – 8 pm: Dinner and Keynote Presentation on “Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories” at the Field Museum by **Doug Kiel**, Assistant Professor of History, Northwestern University, and **Teresa Montoya**, Assistant Professor Anthropology, University of Chicago, in conversation with **Rose Miron** (*Ruggles Hall*)

Sunday February 12

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

Abstracts

Session 1: **The Politics of Memory and Remembering** (*Rettinger Hall*)

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

Contesting Memory in Oklahoma: Native and Settler Reactions to the “Indian Centennial of 1948,” *Martha Beliveau*, University of Oklahoma

On October 14 and 15, 1948, a coalition of Native and Euro-American boosters hosted the “Indian Centennial” in Muskogee, Oklahoma. Celebrating 1848 as the year of an inter-tribal council meeting of the Five Tribes, the Centennial included a parade and crafts fair to commemorate what the boosters framed as the Five Tribes’ hundred years of progress since forced relocation to Indian Territory. In the months leading up to the event, local newspapers narrated the boosters’ preparations for the celebration and how different Native nations—and individuals within those nations—reacted to the Centennial. The Muscogee (Creek) Nation Council and Oklahoma Governor Roy J. Turner publicly endorsed the Centennial, while the governing arms of the Cherokee Nation, Chickasaw Nation, and Choctaw Nation sponsored floats for the parade. In protest, the Osage Nation issued a statement condemning the Centennial as perpetuating a false historical narrative that the Five Tribes were the first Native people to live in the area. Similarly, some Native people from the Five Tribes critiqued the Centennial as an uncritical celebration of the mid-nineteenth century removals of the Five Tribes without considering the widespread death, suffering, and socio-political disruption they incited. While the boosters exhibited a largely uniform triumphal memory, dissenting Native people expressed pluralistic, counter memories. Ultimately, the discourses surrounding the Centennial of 1948 suggest the messiness of authorship, collaboration, and memory. Even further, the “Indian Centennial” illustrates that identity and belonging within the state of Oklahoma were under intellectual construction during the mid-twentieth century.

A Lesser Archival Justice: *Fontaine v. Canada* as Contested Memory, *Sophie Teed*, University of Colorado-Boulder

In 2014, the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement’s (IRSSA) Adjudication Secretariat (Phil Fontaine) and Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) approached the Ontario Superior Court requesting direction on how to maintain the confidentiality of the 38,000 residential school survivors who detailed extraordinary abuses to the IRSSA’s Independent Assessment Process. Fontaine argued that the testimonies must be destroyed; the TRC proposed to protect them in their national archive (NCTR). Justice Paul Perell compromised: ruling that the testimonies must be destroyed after a 15-year-period, during which claimants may retrieve and submit them to the NCTR. Furthermore, he ruled that alleged abusers’ names must be censored from any preserved testimony and all deceased claimants’ testimonies must be destroyed. In 2017 and 2021 the ruling was upheld on appeal by the Supreme Court of Canada, which described it as “a lesser injustice.” Representing the final verdicts in the IRSSA— a class action lawsuit which has been lauded as drawing a close to residential school history and litigation— the *Fontaine v. Canada* cases are poised for academic study. Employing theories of the white possessive and colonial politics of recognition, this paper frames Fontaine within discussions of

Indigenous archival determination. This work problematizes the universalizing frameworks of colonial legal justice that undergird the IRSSA. Examining Fontaine as sites of contested public memory, I argue that the Court's compromise deliberation on deceased survivors' testimonies and abusers' anonymity represents "a lesser archival justice" that undermines Indigenous memory-sovereignty.

Where Past Meets Present: Land as a Historical Force and Land Acknowledgements in Canada, *Jayson Gislason, University of Manitoba*

In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission issued its final report which contained 94 Calls to Action and detailed the lasting impacts of abuse within the concealed history of the Canadian Indian Residential School System. This has renewed conversations in Canada about reconciliation-and efforts to build equity between Indigenous and Settler populations. Part of a response to this shifting environment has seen individuals, and organizations continuing the public process of acknowledging the Land and Treaty in the local area prior to formal events. This paper charts the role land has played through several influential events of Canadian history, examining the relationship between land, colonialism, and natural resources. This investigation is followed by an examination of the politics of Land Acknowledgements, and the epistemological and pedagogical reasons for their use. Then the paper responds to the perspective offered by scholars such as: Joe Wark, Sharon Stein and Melissa Daigle critical of Acknowledgment usage as performative and contributing to feelings of settler innocence. This discussion is contrasted by a brief survey of contemporary examples of Land Acknowledgments used at post-secondary education institutions across Canada. Building on the work of Howard Adams, Aimee Craft and Bob Joseph, the paper argues that Land Acknowledgements can still be effective tools to confront settler ignorance and challenge the public erasure of Indigenous Peoples and their connections to land. Finally, the paper offers a commentary on reconciliation, with an emphasis on the politics of remembering, and current reconciliatory efforts weighed against current urban development, which are analyzed by Indigenous land repatriation cases.

Session 2: Examining the Impacts of Colonialism Beyond the Contiguous United States (*Baske's Boardroom*)

Chair: Tarren Andrews, Yale University

Ainu Assimilation: Consequences of Western Imperialistic Goals, *Robin Olive Little Jackson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

In 1854, Japan experienced an abrupt social and cultural shock following the lifting of Japan's *sokoku* (closed country). Following Commodore Perry's expedition, there was an understanding by Japan's leaders that the Island nation needed to reform and control its image as a colonial power so that it would be perceived as an equal, with the western world. In just five short decades from that expedition, Japan moved rapidly towards modernization to curate its image at home and abroad. This rapid modernization, however, was detrimental for the Ainu, Indigenous peoples of Japan. Like countless Indigenous cultures across the world, the Ainu were soon forcefully assimilated and removed from their homeland in order for Japan to define its identity and borders. I contend that contact with the Americans was responsible for manufacturing the fear of becoming a colonized playground for the western empires and the dread of being seen as weak and racially inferior. Perry's expedition had many profound effects on Japanese culture, most notably on how the Japanese perceived themselves intellectually and socially. By evaluating the connections between Perry's visit and the jarring performative nature of Perry's entrance into Japan, I will debate what elements might have been the

catalyst in the change of Japan's treatment of the Ainu following the expedition and leading up to the 1876, 1893, and 1903-05 World's Fairs'.

“Life With Extinction”: Selk’nam Life in 20th Century Post-Occupation Tierra del Fuego, Sebastián López Vergara, University of Washington

This presentation critically analyzes the deployment of extinction that narrated the so-called disappearance of the Selk’nam people after the late-nineteenth-century colonization of their lands in Tierra del Fuego. It argues that extinction was a regulative discourse that structured Selk’nam forms of life under colonial occupation throughout the twentieth century. I call this “life with extinction” and explain that while colonization and dispossession were invariably violent processes seeking to occupy and transform Indigenous lands and lives permanently, extinction created the logics of a mode of life that negated but did not eliminate the Selk’nam people despite extermination campaigns and proletarianization in Tierra del Fuego. Drawing on photographic records, declassified letters, and testimonials, this presentation traces the contradictory logics of “life with extinction.” First, it contends that extinction names the relations of oppression that reproduced capital accumulation and forced displacement of the Selk’nam people in the early twentieth century. Second, it explains that extinction mediated the stories of life and survival of the Selk’nam that served as critiques of colonial occupation in the subsequent century. Thus, rather than approaching the discourse of Selk’nam disappearance “against the grain” to make visible Indigenous agency and resistance in contemporary terms, my research tells the story of how extinction became a valuable category even for the Selk’nam people to maintain relations with their lands and waters and shape critiques of the occupation throughout the twentieth century.

Session 3: Space and Place in Museums and Landscapes (B84)

Chair: Kasey Keeler, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Settler Mounds: The Erasure of Indigeneity from Ohio’s Landscape, Bryce A. Jones, University of Oklahoma

In 1914, William C. Mills, curator of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, published *Archeological Atlas of Ohio*, in which he mapped known “prehistoric” sites in the state. At the time of the atlas’ publication, Mills believed there to be 4,105 Indigenous mounds in Ohio, but he acknowledged that a number of these structures had already been destroyed. Physical destruction, however, was not the only outcome; settlers sought to symbolically transform Indigenous structures into settler structures, which is evident when analyzing 19th-century county atlases. The destruction and transformation of these Indigenous structures constitutes a key tenet of settler colonialism. Patrick Wolfe calls this type of transformation the “elimination of the Native,” and this reflects the motivations of settler colonialism in creating a permanent settler space. The ways in which settlers have continued to expropriate distinctively Native structures shows their desire to erase indigeneity as part of a larger conversion process whereabout the land itself becomes settler land. Settlers have used Native mounds as resources for agriculture, construction, and infrastructure, as facades and foundations for settler institutions, and as depositories for deceased settlers, claiming responsibility and heritage of these structures.

Decolonizing and Indigenizing Praxis: Collaborating with Descendant Communities to Reimagine the Mesa Verde National Park Museum, *Caitrin Scarlett Engle*, University of Colorado-Boulder

In 2019, Mesa Verde National Park began a collaborative re-interpretation project of a scale never before attempted by a U.S. national park. This collaboration brings together Mesa Verde National Park employees, museum professionals, archaeologists, and members of the twenty-six associated Pueblos and tribes to redesign the museum in the park. I investigate how this redesign affects the entrenched colonial relationships between parks, tribes, and anthropologists. Recently, there have been important shifts from the Department of the Interior to increase Native collaboration in individual parks. My paper asks how these steps could be considered decolonizing moves, using the dialogical process of the Mesa Verde National Park Museum redesign as a case study. Specially, my paper centers on the process of implementing Indigenous theory, decolonizing methodologies, and collaborative museology in a place-based museum. I frame this as the dual processes of decolonizing and Indigenizing praxis. In the case of the Mesa Verde National Park Museum, this entails collaboratively interpreting archaeology and centering Indigenous knowledge and connections to place. I illustrate how Indigenous knowledge and histories, viewed as what Foucault termed “subjugated knowledge,” have been devalued through the US National Park Service narrative and how this may be changing. Through integrating archaeological and Indigenous evidence to create a deeper understanding of the Pueblo past, I argue that the Mesa Verde National Park Museum project transforms the colonial relationships that have long defined encounters between Native and non-Native people.

Session 4: New Perspectives on US Indian Boarding Schools and Indigenous Education (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Samuel Truett, University of New Mexico

“We Had Our Culture and Traditions – and It was Just Taken Away”: Family, Gendered Curriculum, and The Outing Program at Stewart Indian School, *Annie Delgado*, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

In 1887, Richard Barrington and his mother heard that a boarding school would be opening up in Nevada. Originally from California, and a part of the Washoe tribe, Richard and his mother walked to Carson City to camp and wait for the school to open. After his arrival, he and a group of boys met up to go swimming in a pond. They saw a wagon approaching, and the other boys ran, but Richard attempted to hide. Some men caught and threw him in the back of the wagon. Initially, Richard seemed frightened, but soon discovered that the wagon was being driven by W.C.D Gibson and the new Superintendent of Stewart. This story highlights many aspects of the boarding school experience because of the absences within it. Historians and other academics often tell this story of Richard Barrington as a story of his own. While the focal point of the story certainly lies with Richard, this story belongs to his mother as well; and their story is not unique. Government officials kidnapped hundreds of thousands of Native children, forced them into boarding schools, and deprived them of any nurturing. This paper seeks to understand how Stewart forced western ideas of gender on Native children attending the school, how the government and administrators developed this through curriculum and the outing program, and how the students resisted. At Stewart the curriculums forced gender and family roles on students, but were missing the pivotal elements of family, community, and nurturing.

Surveilling Sex: Policing the Intimate Lives of Indigenous Peoples on the Colorado River Indian Reservation, *Mary Ludwig*, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

The Colorado River Indian Reservation, the Fort Mojave Indian School, and the Colorado River Boarding School provided settings for the Office of Indian Affairs to police Indigenous sexuality and gender roles and enforce patriarchal settler norms during the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. American agents pried into the intimate lives of the Mohave and Chemehuevi of the Colorado River Indian Reservation and criminalized their sexual norms and behaviors on the reservation and in boarding schools. The idea that Indigenous sexuality must be surveilled and altered comported with generations of settler custodial beliefs that regarded Indigenous sexuality and practices as inferior. Officials insisted on overseeing and punishing Indigenous People's private decisions when they left the reservation and boarding schools. Indian agents implemented a penal regime based on reformation, protection, and punishment. Indian agents pried into the intimate lives of Indigenous Peoples to reform their relationships, protect them from their desires, and punish them when they failed to conform to American expectations. However, the Mohave and Chemehuevi continuously challenged this regime of oversight and engaged in relationships that flouted American norms. These romantic bonds reaffirmed Indigenous community ties and undermined the agents' assimilationist agenda.

Tribal Control: Cherokee Self-Determination in Education, *Teagan Dreyer*, Oklahoma State University

Despite the numerous works on the Native American boarding school experience there is a gap in literature in the schools that became important parts of Native communities. While research on schools that defined the boarding school experience such as Carlisle Indian Industrial School have been crucial in understanding the development of these schools and the failure of assimilation-based education, institutions such as Sequoyah Schools in the Cherokee Nation have seemingly been left behind. This paper will look at the Sequoyah's beginnings in 1871 as a Native orphan asylum, its period under federal control beginning in 1914, and focus on how it was contracted by the Cherokee Nation in 1985. Within this scope it is the condition and attitudes towards Sequoyah Schools alongside Native American activism in the 1960's, educational reforms, and mass closures of federally ran schools that will be evaluated. To explain this there will be a careful analysis of publications by Sequoyah Schools itself and newspapers within the Cherokee Nation to focus the narrative of this boarding school in connection to one tribe. The impact of federal policies such as the Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 will also be analyzed in connection to Native education and Sequoyah Schools specifically. What will also be considered is the ability of Cherokee Nation to govern themselves and how the connection to the tribe's choice to contract a former boarding school to promote tribal self-determination through education.

In Pursuit of Educational Sovereignty: A History of Native American Education, 1928-1984, *Nathan Tanner*, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

The troubling history of Indian boarding schools does not end in 1928 with the release of the Meriam Report. This fact has always been painfully clear to Native peoples but has largely been neglected by historians of education and the academy in general. While the Meriam Report highlighted numerous systemic problems with boarding schools, many continued to operate well into the 1980s. Instead of totally ending assimilative schooling experiences for Native children and youth, then, this paper demonstrates that the report led to the construction of myriad schooling configurations that

proliferated throughout the 20th century, most of which continued to enforce assimilation as official education policy. In addition to engaging the political and socioeconomic contexts of Native schooling during the mid to late-20th century, this paper demonstrates that the educational opportunities for, and the architecture, finances, and governance of schooling that enrolled Native children and youth did not markedly improve until the social movement for self-determination in the 1960s and for Red Power and sovereignty in the 1970s. Ultimately, it was Indigenous-led social movements that created higher quality and more culturally inclusive educational conditions for Native peoples. As Native peoples developed stronger tribal governments and inter-tribal social coalitions across the United States—often in response to and with the goal of protecting themselves against federal termination during the Cold War—they were able to force the federal government to honor its treaty responsibilities to fund and assist educational opportunities run by and for tribal nations and their progeny.

Session 5: **Threats to and the Maintenance of Human and Non-Human Relations**

(Baskes Boardroom)

Chair: Josh Reid, University of Washington

Sovereign Relational Desire: Cultivating Land, Cultivating the Self, *Janice Feng*, University of Michigan

In this essay I draw on archival research to explore how Indigenous women engaged with material culture practices, especially agricultural labor, to resist and refuse growing settler-colonial encroachment in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New France. While the colonial agents were simultaneously dispossessing Indigenous land and intervening in Indigenous gender relations by domesticating women and turning men into farmers, I argue that continuing to cultivate land became a crucial means for Indigenous women cultivate their selfhood, as well as communal and cosmic attachments. I argue that by cultivating land, Indigenous women were simultaneously cultivating their selfhood and desire, thereby actively resisting the colonial dispossession and elimination of Indigenous peoples. Such desire in turn enabled their continuous cultivation and caretaking of land when both the gendered division of labour and land itself were under attack. Indigenous peoples, especially Indigenous women, cultivating land, which was a gendered communal practice, was a crucial means through which they cultivated and maintained their selfhood. Such attachment—desire—was kindled by the land itself in the first place, and it was through cultivation that such desire was sustained through war, epidemic, dispersal and displacement, conversion, and dispossession. I theorize this form of desire and desiring as both sovereign and relational: taking shape through embodied labor and communally, it in turn sustained and invigorated the community against settler-colonial dispossession. Such desire, formed under duress, also becomes a powerful means of resistance and anti-colonial world-making.

Unbounded Relationships: The Creation, Maintenance, and Adaptation of Nuwuvi Relationships with Land and Water Since Time Immemorial to 1848, *Paige Figanbaum*, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

The encroachment of settler nations altered Nuwuvi Peoples' culture, politics, economy, and the ways they lived on the land. This essay explores how Nuwuvi (Southern Paiutes) created, adapted, and continue to maintain their relationships with land and water. Previous scholars discussed Southern Paiutes creating boundaries to avoid non-Native society. This essay reinterprets previous scholars' argument of an intercultural boundary between Southern Paiutes and settler societies to center Indigenous perspectives. This work centralizes Nuwui's adaptive methods of maintaining relationships

with land and water, studying the significant ecological changes in the Great Basin. I explore how land and water provided knowledge and resources to Southern Paiutes to adapt and resist Spanish and American colonial structures. Settler nations' encroachment on Nuwuv's lands brought major change. However, even with these changes, Southern Paiutes implemented adaptive strategies to continue their relationships with land and water. The innovative ways Nuwuv maintain relationships with land and water include agricultural technologies, songs, ceremonies, and trading networks. To approach this topic, I pose the following questions: how do Southern Paiutes create, maintain, and adapt their relationships with land and water? How and why did Settler invasions – Spanish, Mexican and American – alter the Nuwuv's relationships with land and water? This paper emphasizes decolonized methodologies to centralize Nuwuv's relationships with land and water. This work explores how Nuwuv retained and demonstrated their sovereignty even when facing great devastation because of Spanish, Mexican, and American acts of deportation and expulsion.

The Political Life of Nmé: Tracing Relational Wellbeing in Place, *Natasha Myhal*, Yale University

In April 2021, a Michigan U.S. Fish and Wildlife team caught an estimated 100-year-old female Lake Sturgeon in the Detroit River. The team estimated that the female likely hatched in the 1920s when Detroit became the fourth largest city in America. This female sturgeon successfully avoided nearly a century of policies, led by Euro-American interventions, that destroyed their environment. Similarly, Michigan Ottawa communities beyond the Detroit city limits were impacted by federal policies, such as the 1887 Dawes Act, that created land allotments and were forced onto reservations. This removal away from their ancestral fisheries along the Grand River severed their relationship with nmé (Lake Sturgeon) and other non-humans—creating a physical fissure, a spiritual separation, and a moral dilemma between the Michigan Indigenous communities and their non-human relative. This paper will examine the historical context of nmé, as intertwined in politics, ecology, and health, in the Great Lakes from 1850-present. I will examine what was “left” and assess how correspondence, photographs, and newspaper articles capture Ottawa-nmé relations in the Great Lakes (Stolar 2009). I will weave together present day and local environmental history with the wider forces that shaped it, discussing the impact of coloniality on Ottawa people and lands during the mid-19th through early 20th century. This paper will propose a relational construction of Ottawa health that ties together a long history of experience with place, one's relationship with more-than-humans, and how these relations undergo powerful transformations.

Mescal, Archives, and Sovereignty in Mescalero Homelands, *Joseph Ukockis*, University of New Mexico

This paper reconsiders settler-inflected narratives of southern Ndé (Apache) history from the perspective of the mescal plant. Mescal, from whom Mescalero Apaches derive their name, makes brief appearances in travel narratives, military reports, naturalist guides to the Chihuahua Desert, and newspapers. Settler knowledge about the plant produced in the nineteenth century frequently came from scientists and explorers taking part in the international boundary survey, which shows the two-pronged nature of ecological and military conquest in the Southwest. These depictions undermined and erased Mescaleros' relationship to the plant by projecting a human-nature dichotomy that emphasized mescal as a commodity and an exotic desert species to be studied. In the settler imagination, Apaches had always been a rootless, warlike people who preferred to steal from the hard work of settlers over developing the “self-sufficiency” that supposedly described the true heirs of Apachería. This was blatantly untrue, as trade predicated on local relationships helped to sustain both settler and Ndé

groups. Moreover, various sacred mountains, as places of refuge, contained in their peaks and canyons plant and animal life that had always sustained them. Rather than a failure by Ndé to adapt, periodic efforts by the U.S. military to remove Ndé groups from the Sierra Blanca and Guadalupe Mountains were responsible for endemic starvation that shaped the course of U.S.-Ndé diplomacy. At the same time, like many other Ndé relationships to non-human beings, such as the various sacred mountains that provided food, water, and refuge, mescal both confounded authorities and eluded their control.

Session 6: **Reading Gender and Politics in Material Culture** (B84)

Chair: Kallie Kosc, Oklahoma State University

A Post-Colonial Re-Examination of American Flag Imagery in 19th Century Lakota Beadwork, Molly Murphy Adams, University of Oklahoma

The sudden profusion of American flag imagery in late 19th century Lakota beadwork resonates as a perplexing anomaly in contemporary collections of Indigenous American art that has previously been interpreted as patriotic fervor or ignorant mimicry. The temporary adoption of flag imagery in beaded art forms among this relatively small group in the American northern plains ca. 1875-1900 is well-documented, as is the near complete absence of flag symbols in all other American Indigenous art. This abundance of pseudo patriotic visual material is reexamined utilizing frameworks of post-settler colonial theory and Indigenous Studies. I will interrogate potential rationales for the presence of flag motifs in beadwork and examine problematic legacies of the early methodology, philosophy, and practices of Ethnology and Anthropology disciplines. The impact of this academic inheritance on the study of Lakota beadwork and culture includes a purposeful stripping of agency of Indigenous makers, especially women, in the influential interpretations and research performed by scholars. By exploring concepts of mimicry, mockery, cultural slippage, and active borrowing of symbols of power I reexamine the motivations of Lakota beadworkers as they navigated 19th century settler colonialism as well as the practical, social, and spiritual pressures on the makers and wearers of these artworks. These visual cultural reactions are interpreted with an aim to reassert and recenter the work, agency, and culture of Lakota women artists and the very real-world consequences this symbolic borrowing brought upon Lakota people during a time of catastrophic change.

Native Clays and Indigenous Bodies: American Art Pottery, Ethnographic Photography, and White Possession at the Turn of the 20th Century, Manon Gaudet, Yale University

Within the first three decades of the twentieth-century, both the Rookwood Pottery Company and the Department of the Interior used anthropological photographs of Indigenous peoples to sell land. In the first case, feldspar, kaolin, and silica unearthed from Ohio clay deposits were formed into elegant ceramic bodies painted with the named and unnamed busts of Indigenous men, women, and children who sat for an earlier anthropologist's camera. Both Indigenous land and bodies were made portable as decoration for the homes of white settlers. In the second case, a 1911 land sale poster made this land—anthropomorphically pictured as De Lancey Gill's portrait of Yankton Sioux tribe chief Padani-Kokipa-Sni—procurable through the 1887 Dawes General Allotment Act. Viewing private property ownership as a viable route for assimilation, the federal government dissolved communal reservations while simultaneously opening up ninety-million acres of land for white settlement. This paper considers how both poster and pot reveal a correspondence between the alienability of land as natural resource and the exploitation of the Indigenous subject. It interrogates how seemingly decorative and disposable objects mediate the settler's relationship to colonized land, and how they uphold the settler-colonial

project as an intimate, quotidian common sense. Moreover, these case studies demonstrate how artists and consumers reckoned not with an ideology of terra nullis, but with the inalienability of North American land and its Indigenous stewards. These property lots and pots are not just any land transformed into private, domestic possessions. What does it mean that their designers and artists proclaim them to be specifically “Indian” land?

Ho-Chunk Political Development in the 20th Century: How the Black Ash Baskets Impacted the Tribal Experience, *Molli Ann Pauliot*, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Black ash baskets are intertwined with the Ho-Chunk story. Historically Ho-Chunk black ash basket production is tied to material cultural development, the tribal economy, Ho-Chunk entrepreneurial ventures, political interplay with commerce, and business development within the Ho-Chunk Nation. Ho-Chunk people believe that the black ash basketry was a spiritual gift offered in a dream to a Ho-Chunk woman in need. The gift was meant to provide a trade commodity to the woman to care for the spirit of her departed loved one. The black ash basket developed into an economic resource that drove the tribal economy for over seventy years in the twentieth century. There are two stories to be told concerning selling Ho-Chunk black ash baskets. The first is the Winnebago Handicraft Cooperative, a group of weavers organized through the church and accepted assistance from local non-Ho-Chunks in the Black River Falls/Neillsville area. Any Ho-Chunk weaver was free to join the coop, participate in their rules, and pay their dues. The second group of weavers was independent sellers viewed as entrepreneurs. The second group of weavers had stands and sold independently, not sharing their profits or providing a percentage to anyone. These two business concepts indicate the historical issues in working with or in opposition to government forces or those outside the Ho-Chunk community. Successful business owners became leaders in the tribal political formation as the tribal government was formed. In examining the historical record, this paper connects the importance of the black ash basket to the Ho-Chunk.

Session 7: Indigenous Ways of Knowing in Health, Performance, and Popular Culture (B82)

Chair: William Bauer, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Redefining Maya Health: Indigenous Ecological Knowledge and Metabolic Disease Risks, *Bobbie Benavidez*, Northwestern University

Although Indigenous people account for roughly 5% of the global population, they experience disproportionately high rates of obesity and the related metabolic syndrome (MetS). MetS is characterized as a cluster of metabolic risk factors such as excess body fat around the waist, increased blood pressure/blood sugar, and abnormal cholesterol or triglyceride levels that contribute to non-communicable diseases like Type 2 diabetes mellitus (T2DM) and cardiovascular disease (CVD). In the Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico, indigenous Maya populations have suffered from a rapid and severe rise in the burden of obesity, diabetes, and other metabolic conditions. Over the past few decades, there has been an 10% increase in diabetes prevalence and 36% increase in obesity rates in rural Maya villages. The obesity and diabetes boom in Indigenous communities has been largely attributed to genetic factors, socio-economic transitions, and a shift towards sedentary lifestyles. However, some have

argued that “cocacolonization,” or increased consumption of soft drinks and junk foods introduced by tourism and other economic forces in the Yucatan Peninsula, is a leading cause of obesity and MetS. This paper aims to examine local perceptions, experiences, and interpretations of access to diet-related Indigenous knowledge, and the potential to protect against the metabolic health impacts of market integration (ie. tourism) in rural Yucatec Maya communities. This will help clarify culturally salient dietary practices, such as food choice and availability, and the correlation between favorable developmental trajectories and metabolic disease risks.

Embodied Devotion Through Ritual Cross-Dressing: Queer Indigeneity in the Andean Patron-Saint Fiesta, *Enzo E. Vasquez Toral*, Northwestern University

The Andean patron-saint fiesta has been widely considered a syncretic, religious, cultural expression of Indigenous and Spanish influences. Danzas (dance-dramas) are ritual performances that represent devotional offers within fiestas to the patron-saints being celebrated. In the ritual of danzas—particularly in their gendered costumes, masks, and dance steps—embodiment is the central register from which dancers perform devotion. In this paper, I draw from Andean Indigenous ways of knowing on gender and embodiment to propose forms of queer Indigenous expressions that emerge when queer and trans performers are the ones who perform in danzas. I draw from archival and ethnographic accounts to complicate the simple definition of fiestas as syncretic products of colonization by using the example of the Tunantada Fiesta, a Peruvian fiesta where ritual cross-dressing has been central to danza performance. Instead, I propose that embodiment has sustained fiestas across time and that queer and trans individuals who perform in them, regardless of their self-identification as Indigenous or mestizo individuals, draw from Indigenous epistemologies that are often silenced through local narratives of hybridity, syncretism, and mestizaje. In looking at the intersections between queer and Indigenous epistemologies, I expand on the idea that Indigeneity is a performative process, as recently suggested by Native and Indigenous Studies scholar Lani Teves. In so doing, I argue that a performance of queer Indigeneity takes place when members of the LGBTQ community navigate conservative spaces such as fiestas by relying on embodiment to subsist in them.

Reservation Dogs and the Mending of Sacred Ties, *Russell Webb*, Oklahoma State University

There is a tenor of spiritual and mystical revolution present in Harjo and Waititi’s brilliant representation of the modern indigenous experience in the FX original television series *Reservation Dogs*. This series delves into many things, but one of the most significant areas that is explored in the series is how contemporary populations of native people approach the divine or the sacred. This is represented in the transmission of oral tradition that is present in the series. As the series itself functions as a kind of modern oral tradition. The series creators, Sterlin Harjo and Taika Waititi are both Indigenous, but from different traditions. Waititi is of Maori decent and grew up in New Zealand. While Harjo is a member of the Seminole Nation and was born, and lives, in Northeast Oklahoma which is the area the series centers around. This area of Northeast Oklahoma has always been rife with stories of the little people, Deer Woman, and tales of the Tall Man, to name a few. I have heard all of these tales in person many times. I grew up in this same region of Oklahoma and can attest to the mystical vibrance that is very real for many people living in the area, including myself. It makes sense to me then why Harjo chose this place as the setting for this series. Harjo’s work here represents the beauty and versatility of an oral tradition that is still breathing and full of life in the hills of Eastern Oklahoma. *Reservation Dogs* is a brilliant amalgamation of this living, breathing, spoken tradition that has been circulating and evolving

here in Northeast Oklahoma since relocation occurred. This paper will evaluate this mystical/spiritual paradigm that is being portrayed in the series, while also, drawing connections to prominent Indigenous philosophers, such as Vine Deloria Jr. For Deloria, the sacred, the mystical, and the mythic, according to him, were all very real, but not observed as being real in the modern world. He believed that collectively people have become too secularized to notice or experience these kinds of spiritual or transcendental type experiences. Whereas, during precolonial times up until the late 19th century, people like Black Elk, an Oglala Lakota medicine man, likely experienced this spiritual current of experience on a regular basis. In other words, Deloria believed that this modern world has become devoid of magic and mystery. What this paper suggests is that yes, this is true, the world has lost this dimension of experience to some degree, but it is coming back in new and exciting ways. The series *Reservation Dogs* displays this truth in a beautifully woven tapestry of the modern Indigenous experience. It is a harkening back while also being a step into new dimensions of collective awareness. A new paradigm seems to be formulating or has the potential to formulate. This process is evidence of a mending of sacred ties taking place within these communities and elsewhere.

Session 8: **The Cherokee Nation in the 19th Century** (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Julie Reed, Penn State University

Cherokee Literary Nationalism in the Early American West, Ben Clingman, University of Colorado-Boulder

This paper examines Western Cherokees' complex relationship with textuality and the written word. The Western Cherokee Nation had emerged, by the early nineteenth century, as one of the pre-eminent powers of the trans-Mississippi West. The massive influx of Anglo-American settlers in the aftermath of the War of 1812, however, forced Western Cherokees to adapt new strategies to defend their land and sovereignty. Between 1815 and 1828, they created one of the first Indigenous archives, containing correspondence between U.S. and Cherokee leaders. Much of the value of these letters lay in the legal commitments they detailed: time and again they were held up by Cherokees as irrefutable proof of their right to their land. Beyond this, Western Cherokees presented their literacy to Anglo-Americans as evidence of their "modernity" and "civilization," and thus their legitimacy as a sovereign nation. They did not, however, uncritically adopt Anglo-American literary culture. As the 1820s progressed, Western Cherokees rapidly adopted Sequoyah's syllabic writing system and increasingly emphasized their literacy in the Cherokee language as central to their identity. Thus, what began as a pragmatic legal strategy and a somewhat performative act of "civilization" became something much more radical: the written word, in English and especially in Cherokee, was central to expressions of Western Cherokee Indigeneity and formed the basis of an emergent Western Cherokee literary nationalism.

Cherokee Women Slaveholders and the ABCFM, 1817-1860, Kristina Rogers, Oklahoma State University

In 1817, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) began operating a mission within the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee Nation asked them to build a mission school for Cherokee children. The ABCFM was a missionary organization that was headquartered in Boston and sponsored missions both amongst Native American people and abroad. Between 1817 and 1860, the ABCFM operated in the Cherokee Nation and they had slaveholders as members of the church and their mission schools. Their first Cherokee Christian conversion was a Cherokee slaveholder named Catherine Brown who was baptized in 1818. Through 1860, Cherokee women slaveholders continued

to be active members of the ABCFM and these women made up a majority of the slaveholding members. This paper explores the connections between the women slaveholders and the mission church. Beginning in the 1840s, the ABCFM received mounting criticism from abolitionists in the North about how they continued having Cherokee slaveholding members of their mission church and schools. While a majority of Cherokee church members were not slaveholders, the continued participation of slaveholders angered abolitionists. “Cherokee Women Slaveholders and the ABCFM, 1817-1860” explores the intersections between Cherokee women slaveholders, white missionaries, and abolitionists. These Cherokee women slaveholders played a critical role in why the ABCFM never adopted an official stance against slavery before the Civil War. This paper builds on the historiography regarding Cherokee slavery, Cherokee women, and missionary work within the Five Southeastern Nations in the nineteenth century.

For Prosperity and Happiness: The Cherokee Printing Press and the Fight Against Intemperance, *Chelsea Frazier*, University of Oklahoma

Principle Chief of the Cherokee Nation, John Ross, in 1847, stated that in conjunction with an increase in support of temperance societies and more citizens of the nation turning to the Gospel that the tribe would become a “prosperous and happy people.” However, this larger support of temperance and the Gospel, did not occur quickly. During the 1820s, the Cherokee Nation went through many changes that included the creation of the Cherokee syllabary, the purchase of a printing press, and passage of a national Constitution. Despite these changes, which strengthened Cherokee Nationalism, the tribe still dealt with the “evils... and conduct of the drunkard.” Throughout the nineteenth century the Cherokee Nation used the printing press to help report on the status of the tribe. This paper, a portion of my larger dissertation, examines the role of the Cherokee printing press in advancing national reform movements, specifically focusing on the fight against intemperance. Through an examination of documents in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, *The Cherokee Advocate*, and pamphlets published by Mission Hill Press in Indian Territory, this paper will place the printing press at the heart of advancing temperance within the Cherokee Nation in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it concludes that the Cherokee printing press played a crucial role in advancing not only Cherokee Nationalism, but also expanding awareness to the need for reforms within the tribe.

Session 9: Re-reading Colonial and Indigenous Texts (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Elizabeth Fenn, University of Colorado-Boulder

Walking Through Time in the Round: The Boban Calendar Wheel and Hernando de Chavez’s Aspirations, *Andrea Reed-Leal*, University of Chicago

In 1545 the texcocan señor, Don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuilotzin, died from the plague alongside thousands of other indigenous peoples. For the prior decades, succession conflicts, the Spanish arrival, and diseases threatened the continuity of the texcocan lineage. Knowing that he would soon die, the tlatoani prepared a will to name his nephew—and son of his half-brother Pedro de Alvarado Coanacohtzin—Hernando Pimentel as his successor. Anticipating his death, don Antonio Pimentel understood that textual and pictorial documents were necessary for the continuation of the texcocan lineage in the new colonial administration. Amid many textual and pictorial documents from the time of don Antonio Pimentel, we find the Boban Calendar Wheel. Now in the John Carter Brown Library, the codex includes a symbolic representation of the months and days of the Aztec solar year in round, historical scenes represented vertically, and descriptions in alphabetic writing. Scholars have long studied the production of pictorial documents during the governments of both Antonio Pimentel and

Hernando Pimentel. However, the Boban Calendar Wheel has never been considered seriously as their contemporaneous. The present article offers an iconographic and historical analysis of the Boban Calendar Wheel as a document produced alongside other mid-century texcocan codices. At the top of the historical scenes, two figures stand out: don Hernando de Chávez and don Antonio Pimentel. Little is known about Hernando de Chavez, however. According to the 1539 Inquisitorial case of don Carlos Ometochtli, both men were alcaldes simultaneously; nonetheless, no other colonial source mentions Hernando de Chávez's participation in the political conflicts of the 1540s, making the Boban Calendar Wheel of paramount importance.

Indigenous Maternal Archives: Katherine Garret, Pamphlets, and Reading Otherwise, *Mariana Gutierrez-Lowe*, Northwestern University

Silence and violence permeate the account of Katherine Garret's death, even as she enters the colonial archive through her own writing in her "Dying WARNING and EXHORTATION... Left under her own Hand" (1738). Garret was executed on May 3, 1738, after being convicted of infanticide. Scholars in Native Studies, Early American Studies, and other related fields explored questions of genre in Garret's "Dying Warning," particularly its ability to delay her execution for six months (Schorb 2008). One of the characteristics that escapes scholarly analysis is Garret's motherhood. In this paper, I argue that this gap reflects settler violence in the colonial archive that attempts to foreclose Indigenous reproductive futurity. Instead, I read to recuperate Garret's maternity. Brianna Theobald remarks that "colonial politics have been—and remain—reproductive politics" (2019). I examine Garret's account and its framing in the archive alongside two pamphlets:—"Indian Mothers Save your Babies" (1914) and "Indian Babies: How to Keep Them Well" (1916), published by the Department of Interior and aimed to teach Native women how to "mother." With these readings, I mean to demonstrate the continued denigration of Indigenous maternity for land theft and assimilation. Drawing from Saidiya Hartman's critical fabulation (2008) and Lisa Brooks' reimagining of "Native space" (2018), this paper reframes Garret's "Dying Warning" and the pamphlets through the lenses of motherhood and care. Ultimately, I highlight possibilities for providing care to narratives and objects amid the colonial violence and silence of the archive.

Haudenosaunee Diplomatic Decision Making at Two Treaties of Fort Stanwix, 1768-1784, *Zoe Waldman*, University of Michigan

A cultural history of treaties in eastern North America between the 1750s and 1790s, my dissertation reconstructs substantial treaty councils and congresses by examining how the meaning of these events changed for multiple participants across the decades-long conflict over territory, authority, and autonomy. My dissertation argues that shifting landscapes, including place-based realities, developing race and gender categories, and an increasing focus on written documentation, impacted how Native American speakers and delegations, traders and settlers, and imperial, provincial, and federal officers expressed and wielded their authority at these events. I consider written materials generated by European and American participants to be "public transcripts" that concealed "hidden transcripts" of Native participants' persistent power, diplomatic decisionmaking, and their resistance to settler colonial processes throughout the region. For this conference, I propose that I focus on Native participants' decision-making at the Treaties of Fort Stanwix between the Haudenosaunee and the British Empire (1768) and the Haudenosaunee and the United States (1784). Participants surveyed boundary lines, determined land cessions, and defined the spatial limits of lands reserved to Native nations at these events. These treaties together demonstrate how people in early America negotiated claims to geographic space and how their conceptions of space enabled them to project authority over others. Haudenosaunee speakers controversially expressed control over other nations' lands to resist their own

dispossession. At the later council, they also used American participants' uncertainties about federal versus state sovereignty to shape the proceedings.

How Do You Spell Ojibwe?: Reading Between the Lines in Ojibwe Spelling Guides, *Anna Whitney*, University of Michigan

Working with the collections at the Newberry library, this project investigates ways of teaching and learning Ojibwe (in particular, the reading, writing, and spelling of the Ojibwe language). What we find is that the earliest instructional, type-set texts on Ojibwe are steeped in the imperial project: reading and writing in Ojibwe was a mere steppingstone to reading and writing in English and, eventually, becoming fully assimilated. Investigation of primary texts reveals the assumptions that went into the production and use of those texts, including the audience. Texts found dual functionality by both introducing Ojibwe speakers to colonial, Christian themes *and* by satisfying English-speakers' curiosity about Indigenous languages and cultures. To further complicate an otherwise historical picture, many of these methods of teaching and learning are examined as they continue into the present. For example, pronunciation guides based on English words were once used such that Ojibwe speakers would necessarily learn English alongside reading and writing—now, pronunciation guides based on English words are crucial to the books and dictionaries used in language revitalization. While this project begins in 1828 (long before Edward Sapir or Franz Boas were theorizing the languages of the Indigenous Americas), it traces assumptions clear through the following two centuries, interrogating the ways in which colonialism is baked into linguistics as well as the broader scholarship of teaching and learning languages.

Session 10: 20th Century Stories of Indigenous Communities, Youth, and Families (B84)

Chair: William Bauer, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Reversing Removal: The Modoc Nation of 1909, *Sheldon Yeakley*, Oklahoma State University

Arriving in Indian Territory in 1873 as prisoners of war the removed section of the Modoc nation confronted life in Indian Territory some 1,800 miles east of their ancestral lands in the Klamath Basin of the California and Oregon border. Unlike many of the Indigenous groups subjected to removal, the U.S. government passed a bill argued for by Senator Charles Curtis which granted the Modoc the right to return to their Western homelands in 1909. This reversal of removal encapsulates a fascinating series of intersecting rhetoric of settler motivations and Indigenous peoples' lives. The reassignment of the Modoc back to the Klamath Agency near their original homes seems like a benevolent transition away from the overt settler colonialism of the nineteenth century. Yet, upon an examination of the new context in the fledgling state of Oklahoma the same settler colonial logic that motivated the Modoc's initial removal underlay its reversal. A recent boom in lead and zinc mining in Northeast Oklahoma pioneered by such mineral magnates as the Guggenheim family dramatically increased the demand for the lands of the Modoc and neighboring resident nations under the Quapaw Agency. Relying on a variety of primary accounts of this event this paper reveals how reversing removal represented both the rare opportunity for Indigenous people to return to their ancestral lands, and the continued efforts of the U.S. to seize and allot Indian Country.

The Three Deaths of Arthur Frazier: Questions of Authority and Reality in the Trial of a Santee-Dakota Soldier's Identity after World War I, *Jessica Simmons, Oklahoma State University*

Arthur Frazier, an Indigenous soldier of Dakota descent, fought in the French Argonne during the Great War. His family received word of his death abroad, and they buried him in 1921. However, the Frazier family heard the description of a shell-shocked soldier suffering from amnesia whom they believed described Arthur. Upon their meeting, the Fraziers claimed the soldier as their lost son and brought him into their home. The family as well as the Legion and Veteran's Bureau took steps to determine the identity of the body previously buried and to confirm the identity of the soldier now living with the Fraziers. The resulting trial made it as far as *The New York Times*. Drawing from Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve's published family narrative *Finishing the Circle* as well as contemporary media, this presentation analyzes the conflicting narratives and perspectives surrounding the Frazier-Lopez trial and seeks to place this compelling mystery in the broader context of the immediate post-war experience of Indigenous families and the politics surrounding the burial and commemoration of the dead. It argues that financial gains from the soldier's potential veteran status did not motivate Hannah and Charles Frazier when they claimed him as their lost son. Instead, the desire for a living son, even if a surrogate son, drove the family to care for the man who suffered from tuberculosis. In *addition*, this presentation will explore questions regarding authority and who could determine personal realities in post-war South Dakota.

Ideas in Action: Tracing a Lineage of Native Student Activism, *Cate Costley, University of Colorado-Boulder*

Michael Benson looked out at the Native students assembled before him. "We want everyone to have a part and a say in this conference," the young Diné man told his audience in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1969. "But after this conference is over, we want everybody to act. It cannot be like it has been in the past; lots of words, but no actions." That summer, Benson made good on the commitment to action. Returning to his home in the Navajo Nation, he and an expanding network of high school and college students launched a multi-pronged campaign to expose unjust treatment of Native people on and near the reservation. Boldly and controversially, they challenged existing relations of power and demanded change. This paper traces the emergence of a robust Native student movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Educational programs and conferences for Indigenous youth—such as the one Benson attended in Washington—provided an intellectual and institutional foundation for activism. These spaces offered students new academic frameworks and knowledge, as well as new connections to each other. In a critical pivot, Diné participants then translated their learning into grassroots mobilizations. They founded groups, printed pamphlets, and protested the discrimination they witnessed in their home communities. Ultimately, I argue that through direct action and the use of legal and political tools, this dynamic coalition of activists achieved significant and lasting victories for Diné people in the Navajo Nation and its border towns.

Session 11: Land-Based Rights and Relationalities (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Kelly Wisecup, Northwestern University

Canadian Museums for Human Rights and Stewart Redsky's Letter: Compromising Land-Based Indigenous Rights for a Cosmopolitan Ideal of Human Rights, *Ryuichi Nakayama*, University of New Mexico

In 2014, Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) was inaugurated in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Supposedly CMHR functions to paint Canada's self-image as a progressive liberal state. Designed by New-Mexico-based architect Antoine Predock, the building of CMHR, abstract translucent wings sitting on top of massive "roots," visualizes the universalized notion of human rights grafted onto local history and culture of Manitoba. In 2007, right after his plan became the finalist, a member of Shoal Lake #40 band Stewart Redsky requested Predock to change language "water for healing" in his narrative of symbolism for the "Garden of Contemplation" inside the CMHR. Due to Winnipeg's conservation policy, the band had been denied their right to construct a bridge and roads for their village on the shore of the Shoal Lake. How does Redsky's request of seemingly minor change of language in CMHR's architectural narrative shed light on accommodations of land-based Indigenous rights in favor of a self-claimed progressive liberal state? This paper regards Redsky's intervention into Predock's abstract regionalism as his and his community's refusal to get the community's predicament painted over with a narrative of universal human rights as well as to provide tacit approval to the Canada's progressive liberal self-image. Because of physical and symbolical site-specificity of Predock's architecture, CMHR unavoidably revealed irreconcilability in an attempt of grafting universalized notion of human rights to a local/national identity of a settler state. Redsky's letter highlighted such irreconcilability through his intervention into a supposedly cosmopolitan institutional space for human rights.

Reviving Allotment in the #LandBack Era: A Theory of Neo-Liberal Allotment Policy through Artificial, Spatial, and Temporal Enclosures, *Joshua Friedlein*, Yale University

This paper is an analysis of the interactions between the private land conservation movement and the #LandBack movement in the United States. It will examine the phenomenon of Indigenous land rematriation through networks of private land conservation—specifically, land rematriation which involves the imposition of a conservation easement on the rematriating land. Building on theoretical frameworks of artificial, spatial, and temporal enclosures of Indigenous land and sovereignty, this project will demonstrate a connection between contemporary land conservation policy in the era of #LandBack and Allotment land policy following the enactment of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. As the #LandBack movement has permeated settler culture, it has been appropriated and gained conversational inclusion within environmental spaces. In this way, #LandBack has become domesticated and trapped within a theoretical enclosure. By interrogating that enclosure, this project will demonstrate how it creates tangible enclosures of land and sovereignty, and will connect it to Tuck and Yang's framework of Settler Moves to Innocence. This project will position the theoretical enclosure of #LandBack as a neoliberal allotment policy. By conceptualizing it in this manner, the dyad will become evident: the projection of pastness upon Indigenous relationality with land, and the enabling of settler entities to virtue-signal their support of #LandBack and Indigenous sovereignty while still banking economic and tax benefits. Thus, this paper concludes that rematriation under the umbrella of neoliberal conservation politics is a further evolution of assimilationist policy within the U.S. settler colonial project.

Land Back by Any Means: *Reservation Dogs* and Land Analytics, *Kara Roanhorse*, University of New Mexico

The popular tv series *Reservation Dogs* speaks to Indigenous storytelling in a different scope following the lives of four Native youth people located in a fictional reservation town in Muscogee territory. This paper examines land analytics and the crises of land through the tv series *Reservation Dogs* as related to decolonial spatial geographies remapping storytelling rooted in an Indigenous presence. If land is a resource and a territory, how might Indigenous feminists reconsider the stakes of land and social relations like Mishuana Goeman's concept of "(re)mapping settler colonial logics" and Laura Harjo's understandings of Mvskoke futurity rooted in kinship, community, and the land. I argue for an analysis of "Reservation Dogs" through an Indigenous feminist lens to reconceptualize land as a political right while bridging concepts of gender, sexuality, futurity, and Muscogee history as articulated and demanded by the Indigenous youth of our generation. Land is central to *Reservation Dogs* and its stories which questions settler-colonial logic's tendency to erase Native presence on the land into static geographies of empire. Land, as not a thing nor merely a territory, is a social relationship requiring political, legal, and cultural relationships and care on Indigenous terms. As we consider *Reservation Dogs* and the #LandBack movement's land back camps as what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls an "abolitionist geography," Indigenous world-making re-negotiates the plurality of Indigenous life and accountability to and with the land and all its relations. Like in *Reservation Dogs*, Indigenous young people demanding Land Back with new land imaginaries and geographies.

Session 12: Considering the Impacts of Colonialism through Violence, Law, and Borderlands (*Baske's Boardroom*)

Chair: John Hall, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Resilience, Resistance, and Revolt: Post-Colonial Views on Conflict in the Borderlands of Interior Southern California, Joseph B. Curran, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

This research builds upon results from my 2021 NCAIS Fellowship at the Newberry Library and applies a post-colonial theoretical framework to investigate how Indigenous groups navigated contested spaces in the borderlands of inland Southern California. Specifically, this project charts the resilience of Indigenous communities and spectrums of resistance around Spanish and Mexican outposts and settlements in the San Bernardino Valley, Mojave Desert, and Lower Colorado River Basin from 1775 until 1848. Thus, this study centers on two pivotal events of the region. The first is the attempted settlement of two towns on the Colorado River that resulted in an uprising of the Quechan and the expulsion of the Spanish from the region. The second is the establishment of the San Bernardino de Sena Asistencia and the subsequent destructions of the outpost by local Guachama peoples and raids by extra-local Indigenous groups from the Mohave Desert and Colorado River. By focusing on these events, this research investigates how the Indigenous peoples of the regions negotiated within their own society and among other groups a changing world through resistance to, adoption of, or re-defining of colonial technological systems brought by colonization. The methods of this study are built on multiple lines of evidence including archival, ethnohistoric, ethnographic, experimental archaeological, and Indigenous-centered community archaeology approaches. The goal of this study is complexify Indigenous-colonial histories of North America through the lens of material culture by illustrating the multitude of interactions and meanings behind resistance of Indigenous peoples to colonization.

Reframing Immigration Law in North America in Indigenous Borderlands, Sandra Sánchez, Yale University

On June 2, 1924 the Indian Citizenship was passed, providing U.S. citizenship to all Native individuals "born within the territorial limits of the United States." Seemingly in contrast to the restrictive

immigration laws passed days prior in the National Origins Act, the 1924 Indian Citizenship act sought to bind the legal status and recognition of Native identity to U.S. territorial claims and introduced a host of confusion for tribal communities along both the U.S.-Mexico and U.S.-Canada borders. This paper attends to the fields of Borderlands studies and Immigration history to link scholarship on the transnational settler production of exclusion and deportation laws in the immediate decade after the passage of the 1924 act. Particularly, this study offers a comparative study of tribal legal activism against border enforcement as questions of nationality, blood-quantum and status sought to regulate Indigenous bodies within the same legal apparatus producing anti-Asian and other quota immigration laws. Pointing to cases of Native individuals detained by Canadian and U.S. officials in the north, and individual encounters with border patrol along the U.S-Mexico border, this paper underscores how shifting categories of exclusion and legality across the border regions of North America impacted multi-national tribal communities. Thinking critically about the relationship between settler legal institutions in North America, my work seeks to reframe histories of immigration by contending with the legal possibilities and consequences of U.S. citizenship for Native people.

Missing Persons: Absence and Relation in BIPOC Literature, *Alison Hsiao*, University of California-Davis

My article mobilizes missing persons as a relational analytic to consider intersections in BIPOC communities' experiences with state violence as represented in literature. I argue that missing persons offer insight into patterns of state violence and emphasize overlapping ways of being and shared experiences of loss and transformation. My project contends that these insights can reorient current solidarity efforts by decentering overdetermined racial boundaries and instead foregrounding material experiences of racial capitalism and strategies of contending with the colonial state. To that end, I bring (Cheyenne/Arapaho) Tommy Orange's *There There*, Helena María Viramontes' *Their Dogs Came With Them*, and Lê Thi Diem Thúy's *The Gangster We're All Looking For* into relation with urban planning and refugee legislation. I close-read the legislation with literature to investigate how the law governs and determines liability for disappearance, how communities redress this harm, and how law is invoked or refused in communal day-to-day experiences. The characters in the literature live with missing persons as background noise. Though they do not directly acknowledge them, their memories of missing persons frame their perception of the world; the uneasiness and unknowability of repeated loss is embedded within their beliefs and folklore, impacting their definitions of family, and reframing their connections to generations that came before and come after. I read Orange's novel alongside fiction by Viramontes and Thúy to understand Native communities' experiences with missing persons relationally with other communities' losses, and to reveal missing persons as integral to the racial capitalism sustaining ongoing US nation-building.

Session 13: Colonial Narratives and Misrepresentations Across Literature, Tourism, and Biopolitics (B84)

Chair: Jean O'Brien, University of Minnesota

“Counting Coup on the Text”: Nested Sovereignties and Native Assent in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony*, **Scott Nelson**, University of Minnesota

This essay attempts to advance Native American literary analysis by applying theories of sovereignty which have proliferated within the field of Native American and Indigenous Studies in the past decade. Drawing from Audra Simpson's concept of “nested sovereignties,” I argue that Native authors disrupt

the integrity of settler sovereignty by appropriating a Western literary form to assert epistemic autonomy. Moreover, creative production within the colonized literary space of the novel behaves as an investment in Indigenous futurity, what Scott Lyon's metaphorically terms an "X-mark." To demonstrate this, I look to Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977). Common interpretations propose that the novel hinges on a conflict between settler and Laguna Pueblo culture. However, this focus limits interpretations within a multicultural ideal which inherently rejects Indigenous sovereignty. Rather, I argue, the novel's conflict is best apprehended through a Laguna Pueblo philosophical framework, as one between the creative and destructive forces of storytelling. This reorientation demonstrates how *Ceremony* is an assertion of epistemic and creative sovereignty "nested" within the colonized space of the novel form. Further, the conclusion—in which creative, life-giving, storying momentarily prevails—mirrors the novel itself, in that it is a successful investment in the ongoing contest among Native American and settler sovereignties. My hope is that this essay contributes in a small way to a broader conversation about where the field of Literary Studies continues to fall short in regard to Native American literature, and perhaps offer a model for how we can remedy these shortcomings.

Domestic Exotic/Dispossession and Desire in South Florida 20th Century Tourism, Emily Velez Nelms, Yale University

Throughout the 20th century in southern Florida, a proliferation of roadside attractions framed Indigenous populations through a lens of otherness, most prominently Seminole and Miccosukee communities. Domestic Exotic documents this tourism industry as essential in developing the region's infrastructure, economy, and psyche-sensation as an accessible vacation destination for white travelers within the United States. Roadside attractions took form as Native American tourism villages, burial mound excavations, African safaris, as well as Polynesian dance experiences. Through the presentation of touristic photography, accession files on the Seminole collection in the Yale Peabody archives, alongside architectural and landscape document sets, relationships can be seen between the dispossession of land and the creation of a tourism economy which displayed the very people who were removed from those lands. Select cultural attractions are contextualized under modernist narratives, through the commonality that their primary exhibit was that of a primitivist driven narrative. With this analysis of image, tourism, and the built environment, I am less interested in producing a fixed historiography of a region. Rather I would like to provide a new lens through which to understand the formation of southern Florida, from the draining of the Everglades to the construction of the Henry Flagler Estate and the relationship of infrastructural decisions to performance economies. I would like to explore the forces, both political and structural, that helped to shape the seductive imaginary of the south Florida coastline, as well as illuminate several avenues of Indigenous autonomy in the face of cultural consumption.

The Locus of Colonialism: Political and Relational Bodies, Hope Ace, University of Manitoba

This text is a language of possibility to redefine and imagine Indigenous futurities outside of our political Indigeneity that continues to operate through marking our bodies by the colonial narratives spun to disappear us. I offer a coming back to our bodies as fluid and enduring within and existing outside of the settler state. I examine the concept of body-logic throughout my analysis of the Indigenous political body as they have become a material site for the effects of colonialism. After working through this theoretical understanding of the creation of political bodies and why these determinations are upheld through biopolitics, I explore futurities. I seek for this text to contribute to the ongoing discourse of decolonization and the humanization of Indigenous bodies. In this paper, I

will examine how political bodies are also restricted to specific spaces through the creation and naturalization of racialized space. This demonstrates the reconnection and reverberation of our relations, power, and knowledge systems. I offer the immediacy of decolonization practice that evokes a coming back to self through reflection and the remembrance of relationality and pleasure that can mark the beginning of Indigenous futurities that begins at the body. I want to provide a pathway for the journey of the self-reclamation of our bodies as we begin to witness and understand them as sovereign relational beings entangled in webs of connection.