



D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies

Newberry Consortium in American Indian Studies (NCAIS) Graduate Conference

February 22, 2020



Two watercolor paintings by Kiowa artist Silver Horn, VAULT[®] oversize Ayer Art Hawgone Silver Horn, Newberry Library

The Newberry Library is situated on the aboriginal homelands of the Council of the Three Fires: the Odawa, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi Nations. Many other nations including the Myaamia, Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Thakwaki, and Meskwaki peoples also call these lands 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 our responsibility to acknowledge this historical context and build reciprocal relationships with the nations on whose lands we are situated.

Schedule at a Glance

Saturday, February 22

8:30 am: Registration Open, Coffee and Light Breakfast Available (*Rettinger Hall*)

9:15 am: Welcome and Opening Remarks (*Rettinger Hall*)

9:30 am – 10:45 am: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall and Baskees Boardroom*)

10:45 am – 11am: Break

11am – 12:15 pm: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall and Baskees Boardroom*)

12:30 pm – 1:30 pm: Lunch

- NCAIS Liaisons Meeting (*Wade Conference Room*)
- Graduate Luncheon (*Classrooms B91, B92, B94*)

1:45 pm – 3 pm: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall and Baskees Boardroom*)

3 pm – 3:15 pm: Break

3:15 pm – 4:30 pm: Concurrent Sessions (*Rettinger Hall and Baskees Boardroom*)

4:30 pm – 5:30 pm: Refreshments (*Ruggles Hall*)

5:30 – 7:30 pm: Dinner (*Ruggles Hall*)

Sunday February 23

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

Detailed Agenda

Saturday, February 22

8:30 am: Registration Open, Coffee and Light Breakfast Available (*Rettinger Hall*)

9:15 am: Welcome and Opening Remarks (*Rettinger Hall*)

9:30 am – 10:45 am: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 1: Indigenous Innovation within Settler Colonial Systems** (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Kelly Wisecup, Northwestern University

Searching for Water on Dry Land: Ecological Degradation and Biopolitical Displacement in the *Indigenous Farmers of Tultepec vs. Spanish Rancher Covarrubias* Map, **Risa Puleo**, Northwestern University

The Brants Reconsidered: Indigenous Resistance to Settler Colonialism, **Aaron Luedtke**, Michigan State University

Christianity and Removal: The Influence of Missionaries in Choctaw Society, **Brooke Hadley**, University of Oklahoma

“Prosperity and Fair Fame”: The Cherokee Fiscal-Monetary State in the Nineteenth Century, **Misty Peñuelas**, University of Oklahoma

- **Session 2: Cultural Oppression, Resilience, and Revitalization in the Twentieth Century** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Jenny Davis, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

Their Culture Against Them: The Assimilation of Native American Children Through Progressive Education, 1930-1960s, **Jamie Danielle Henton**, Penn State University

Differential Effects of Culturally-Based Policy, **Sonja Castañeda**, University of Chicago

Utilizing Archival Materials in Muscogee Language and Culture Revitalization, **Melanie Frye**, University of Oklahoma

10:45 am – 11 am: Break

11 am – 12:15 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 3: Intervening in Settler Colonial Memory and Dominant Narratives** (*Rettinger Hall*)

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

Lono, Cook, and Cannibalism, **Samantha Maza**, University of Chicago

The Dakhóta Diaspora and the U.S. Civil War, **Balraj Gill**, Harvard University

Edward Curtis's "The North American Indian": Aesthetic and Ethnographic Evolution of Scholarship, **Heather Sheets Hanlon**, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Blood and Performance: Vernon Bellecourt and the *First Encounters* Exhibition of 1992, **Robert Little Jackson**, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

- **Session 4: Rethinking Scholarly Interpretations of Removal and Allotment** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: William Bauer, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

The Longer Story of Choctaw Removal, **Edward Green**, Penn State University

"An Indian is a Person": The Removal and Separation of the Ponca, **Savannah J. Waters**, Oklahoma State University

The Politics of the Metropole: Scientific Racism, Evangelical Protestant American Christianity, and the Dawes Act in the Late Nineteenth Century Reform Era, **Stetson Kastengren**, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

12:30 pm – 1:30 pm: Lunch

- NCAIS Liaisons Meeting (*Wade Conference Room*)
- Graduate Luncheon (*Classrooms B91, B92, B94*)

1:45 pm – 3 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 5: The Power, Experiences, and Action of Native Women within Colonial and Imperial Structures** (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Mary Jane McCallum, University of Winnipeg

Mediators from Michilimackinac: Indigenous Women and the Limits of American Hegemony in Nineteenth-Century Northern Michigan, **Michael J. Albani**, Michigan State University

Choctaw Women as Slaveholders in Indian Territory, **Kristina Rogers**, Oklahoma State University

Imaging and Imagining Maya Women in Nineteenth-Century Yucatán: The Huipil as a Constructed Symbol of Indigeneity, **Samantha Davis**, Penn State University

I Know You Are, But What Am I: Gender Recognition and the Lack Thereof in *Buckskin Cocaine*, **Courtney Lynn Whited**, Oklahoma State University

- **Session 6: New Approaches to Material Culture Research in Indigenous Studies** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Phil Deloria, Harvard University

Created Today: Changes in Materials as Access to Cultural Resources are Hindered, **Molli A. Pauliot**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Lost and Found: Anna Belle Mitchell, Jane Osti, and the Revival of Cherokee Pottery in Oklahoma, **Roxanne Beason**, Oklahoma State University

Transnational Affective Mapping/The Map of Touch, **Cordelia Rizzo**, Northwestern University

3 pm – 3:15 pm: Break

3:15 pm – 4:30 pm: Concurrent Sessions

- **Session 7: Violence, Assimilation, Identity, and Kinship Across Colonial Empires and U.S. Nation-Building** (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Richard Boles, Oklahoma State University

Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in Louisiana, 1699-1824, **Leila K. Blackbird**, University of Chicago

From “Indio Christiano” to “Indian Slave”: Indigenous Identity on the Fringes of Empire, **Samantha R. Billing**, Penn State University

Redefining the Upper Missouri River Region in the Antebellum West, 1828-1862, **Jen Andrella**, Michigan State University

The Posey Wars: A Case Study in Religious Settler Colonialism, **Reilly Ben Hatch**, University of New Mexico

- **Session 8: Native Sovereignty, Resistance, and Community Building** (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Josh Reid, University of Washington

Displaced Unions: The Wyandotte, Delaware, and Peoria Indian Nations After Removal, 1867-1924, **Sheldon Yeakley**, Oklahoma State University

Where “Community Radio” Begins and Ends: The Politics of Indigenous Broadcasting in Guatemala, 1959-2019, **Polly Lauer**, Yale University

Ganienkeh, Out of the City and Off the Reservation: The Making of An Indigenous Space, 1974-1978, **Amanda Johnson**, Oklahoma State University

Energy Security and “Water Defence”: The Challenges of Company-Community Conflict in Canada, **Obasesam Okoi**, University of Manitoba

4:30 pm – 5:30 pm: Refreshments (*Ruggles Hall*)

5:30 – 7:30 pm: Dinner (*Ruggles Hall*)

Sunday February 23

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

Abstracts

Session 1: **Indigenous Innovation within Settler Colonial Systems**

Chair: Kelly Wisecup, Northwestern University

Searching for Water on Dry Land: Ecological Degradation and Biopolitical Displacement in the *Indigenous Farmers of Tultepec vs. Spanish Rancher Covarrubias* Map, Risa Puleo, Northwestern University

In this paper, I recover the presence of the lake and the shape of Anahuac, the Nahuatl name for the Central Mexican Valley, which means “Place Surrounded by Waters,” on the *Farmers vs. Covarrubias* map in the Newberry Library’s collection. Drawn by an Indigenous mapmaker and inscribed by a Spanish court official, the map settled a legal dispute between a township of Indigenous farmers as they contended with the expansion of a rancher’s sheep beyond his property line. The *Farmers vs. Covarrubias* map speaks to the economic, social, and environmental transformations taking place in the valley in the transition between *encomienda*, *merced*, and missionary modes of early Spanish occupation, including the irrigation of a lake, the influx of invasive species, and the destruction of a food supply and a way of life in conflict with animal domestication. Working against the art historical trend that considers similar maps and paintings, I introduce the context of governmentality to read the *Farmers vs. Covarrubias* map as an index that translates an archive built into the land in the form of Indigenous land and water management practices. These systems were in the process of being overwritten by Spanish herding practices and would result in the drainage of the lake over time. The *Farmers vs. Covarrubias* map demonstrates the flexibility with which Indigenous mapmakers used pictorial Nahuatl as a strategy to navigate juridical, physical, and representational space. The map articulates the effects of territorial development on the ecological balance held on the land before and after conquest and represents an enactment on sovereignty that is validated by a Spanish court.

The Brants Reconsidered: Indigenous Resistance to Settler Colonialism, Aaron Luedtke, Michigan State University

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, few Indigenous people wielded the power or influence of the Mohawk siblings Joseph and Molly Brant. Descended from a prominent Haudenosaunee family, the Brants grew up at the confluence of Indigenous and British colonial worlds. The Brants’ stepfather Nickus was an important intercultural broker who often entertained British imperial authorities as guests in his home. Growing up with such exposure to European influences, the Brants developed and evolved an understanding of British notions of land usage and private property. This paper explores the lives of siblings Joseph and Molly Brant to explain how Indigenous adaptations to European concepts of land ownership and usage were used to create strategies of persistence throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Brants, like their stepfather, served as critical intercultural brokers, leveraging their Iroquois cultural authority to gain access to British administrators who sought desperately to maintain what they believed to be a crucial alliance with the Haudenosaunee in the wake of inter-imperial uncertainty and incessant warfare. After the Revolution, Joseph Brant managed to briefly unite numerous Indian nations throughout the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes region into a diplomatic confederacy that emulated the League of the Six Nations to deal with the land-hungry United States, especially in issues of land cessions and territorial boundaries. In the last

decades of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth century, Joseph and Molly moved their Mohawk community to Upper Canada where they utilized their influence and power to thwart the effects of settler colonialism and Indigenous dispossession.

Christianity and Removal: The Influence of Missionaries in Choctaw Society, *Brooke Hadley*, University of Oklahoma

The paper I propose for this event discusses missionary intervention in the Choctaw Nation in their ancestral homelands and how Christianity shaped the Nation after removal to Indian territory in modern-day Oklahoma. Missionaries first entered the Nation in 1818 under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a Presbyterian mission society. The ABCFM sent Reverend Cyrus Kingsbury as their first representative in the Nation. He became close with the mixed-blood leaders of the Nation and soon became involved in the political struggle among the Choctaws. Missionary presence and adoption of Christian doctrines created tensions on pre-existent divisions in the Choctaw Nation during a time of immense political upset. This was a time when Choctaws should have been uniting as a force against the United States, which was transitioning from assimilationist policies to policies of removal. In 1830, the Choctaw Nation was coerced into signing the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, which ceded their homelands in modern-day Mississippi for lands to the west in modern-day Oklahoma and Arkansas. Methodist missionaries among the Choctaws were pleased by this outcome because they had no physical missions in the Choctaw Nation and could therefore follow the Choctaws easily to their new country. The Presbyterian missionaries, on the other hand, had eight established missions in Choctaw territory, which would no longer be of use once the Choctaws were removed. Nevertheless, both missionary groups followed the Choctaws west of the Mississippi River, and were eventually accompanied by Baptist and Catholic missionaries. It was in this new land that Christianity truly took hold on Choctaw society and political structure. Choctaws used Christianity to bolster their sovereignty and community, while creating a distinctly Choctaw Christianity.

“Prosperity and Fair Fame”: The Cherokee Fiscal-Monetary State in the Nineteenth Century, *Misty Peñuelas*, University of Oklahoma

On November 5, 1851, the Cherokee National Council admonished the Cherokee “People,” reminding them that “the prosperity and fair fame of the Cherokee Nation demanded the early payment of the outstanding debt which has so long repressed its energy and prospects.” An increasingly insistent Council urged the Cherokee “people” to agree to “the retrocession to the US, of...the ‘Neutral land’ purchased under the treaty of 1835-1836.” Even before public consent had been secured, the Council planned to invest the “sum obtained therefor” in “safe and productive State or US stock” and the “interest thereon” applied semiannually to pay the “National Debt now outstanding against the Cherokee Nation, in the order in which it has been incurred, till the whole of the said debt shall be paid.” Dazzled by the “fair fame” of the progressive Cherokee state, most scholars have shown little interest in the public debt created to pay for it. The records of the Cherokee National Treasurer confirm, however, that the Cherokee ruling elite developed a sophisticated fiscal-monetary state during the long nineteenth century. In this essay, after a brief account of the Treasury’s evolution and operations, I will examine archival evidence showing how the Cherokee elite created and sustained their welfare state almost entirely on fiat currency, that is, one based only on an “act” of the government. Indeed, the “fair fame” of the Cherokee welfare state was not in their institutions, but rather, as I will argue, in the innovative fiscal-monetary state they erected to finance them.

Session 2: Cultural Oppression, Resilience, and Revitalization in the Twentieth Century

Chair: *Jenny Davis*, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

Their Culture Against Them: The Assimilation of Native American Children Through Progressive Education, 1930-1960s, *Jamie Danielle Henton*, Penn State University

The failure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to successfully assimilate Native Americans, especially Native children, through education tactics such as boarding schools led the Bureau to shift its policy in the mid-twentieth century toward ostensibly pro-Indian education reform. From the 1930s through the 1950s, BIA reformers pursued progressive education that they believed would use Native American traditions and culture to educate and mold Native students into modern contributing American citizens. To appeal to students, the BIA commissioned a series of educational materials, primarily children's books, designed to use Native culture to teach children how to adapt to life in modern America. Despite the BIA's decision to move away from assimilation tactics and incorporate Native culture into the classroom, white officials still manipulated and Americanized Native culture. "Their Culture Against Them" investigates how BIA commissioned materials that undermined Native culture and promoted whiteness in Navajo, Sioux, and Mississippi Choctaw communities, under the false pretenses of uplifting and celebrating Native traditions. This work extends the discussion of Native American assimilation and education in the mid-twentieth century through a thorough investigation of education materials, and the Native response to education policy. The paper analyzes a collection of primary sources ranging from assimilation-driven education materials, like *The Indian Life Readers Collection*, along with written documents from the National Congress of American Indians. While literary and anthropological scholars have addressed these materials, there has been a minimal scholarly historical investigation into their use and the wider context of the mid-twentieth century.

Differential Effects of Culturally-Based Policy, *Sonja Castañeda*, University of Chicago

I evaluate a large NSF-funded study in Alaska that finds culturally-based education narrows the achievement gap between Native and non-Native students. I scrutinize subgroup outcomes and find additional effects related to cost differentials, district heterogeneity, and cultural region. Over the past two decades, culturally-based education policies and programs have been adopted across many different educational contexts in the United States. A large NSF-funded study considered one such policy that focused on twenty majority Native rural school districts (~20,000 students) in Alaska, where comprehensive cultural standards were implemented across all rural schools. The study found a reduction in the achievement gap between these districts and the twenty-eight districts in which Native students constitute a minority of the student population. I replicate this finding then scrutinize outcomes for regional and cultural subgroups, incorporating state-derived cost differentials by district. Corresponding to the treatment period, benchmark scores show a narrowing in the gap between majority and minority Native districts. I also find higher costs are associated with greater gains overall during the period in question. However, smaller relative Native population (greater heterogeneity) is strongly correlated with higher test scores and greater improvement. I trace the unexplained difference between scores for heterogeneous and homogeneous districts and find evidence that this is driven by failure to consider cultural differences between students when developing cost differentials. I conclude with a discussion of cultural incongruence (non-physical distance from the cultural of schooling) and why this may have a greater effect on responsiveness to culturally-based education policy and programming than geographic remoteness. This area of research begs further exploration, given that culturally-based policies and programs are most often aimed at permeating homogeneous environments in which marginalized individuals and groups struggle most.

Utilizing Archival Materials in Muscogee Language and Culture Revitalization, *Melanie Frye*, University of Oklahoma

While attending the NCAIS Summer Institute at the Newberry Library in Chicago I was able to find various materials from various aspects of Muscogee (Creek) culture and history. In this paper I discuss specific materials that were found, and how they can be utilized in language and cultural revitalization for my Muscogee people. This paper is broken up into three sections, which are Muscogee language, culture, and history. The language section discusses how most of the language materials were developed by missionaries, and it discusses two examples of missionaries discussing translation into the Muscogee language. Then I utilize other documents that discuss how the Muscogee alphabet has changed over time. The culture section focuses on two autonomous towns of the Muscogee Confederacy. The first one being Kasi'hta (Kvsehtv), which focuses on their migration story. In this part I discuss language and other aspects of culture that are mentioned throughout the story. The second town is Taskigi (Tvskeke) is utilizing a document from the American Anthropological Association. Lastly, the history section focuses on two advertisements in the Muscogee language for a business that was owned by a non-Indian man named C.W. Turner. This section will discuss his ads and his life in Indian Territory. Utilizing the Acts and Resolution of the Creek National Council's extra session from January 1895 will help me discuss him being hired as a financial agent for the Muscogee (Creek) Nation. Then I discuss how these items can be utilized in language and culture revitalization for the Muscogee Creek people.

Session 3: Intervening in Settler Colonial Memory and Dominant Narratives

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

Lono, Cook, and Cannibalism, *Samantha Maza*, University of Chicago

In 1779, Captain Cook was killed in Kealahukua Bay. His corpse was cooked to preserve his bones, a typical burial practice that began rumors of cannibalism from the islands of Hawai'i. This practice, typically reserved for those of high importance, helped solidify accounts that the Hawaiian people perceived Cook as a deity. Two hundred years later, during the 1990s, two anthropologists would analyze these events. Sahlins and Obeyesekere's respective books, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, For Example* (1995) and *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (1992), debate the conception of Cook being mistaken for a god. Revisiting this dialogue provides a methodology to approach Indigenous forms of knowledge formation.

The Dakhóta Diaspora and the U.S. Civil War, *Balraj Gill*, Harvard University

In this paper, I examine the making and the memory of the Dakhóta diaspora. The year 1862 marked the beginning of the modern Dakhóta diaspora emanating out of what has been variously called an Indian outbreak, Sioux massacre, Dakota conflict, Sioux uprising, Dakota uprising, Little Crow's war, Dakota war, and U.S.-Dakota war. It took place over six weeks between August and September. A mix of crop failure, the depletion of Dakhóta game by settlers, ongoing treaty violations, late payment of annuities, no access to credit in the Lower Sioux Agency to buy food, and ensuing hunger created the conditions for the war. In the immediate aftermath, the United States executed thirty-eight Dakhóta men under an executive order issued by President Abraham Lincoln, while Congress exiled Dakhótas from their homeland. The questions that keep arising in various works on the executions is how could Lincoln allow the mass execution of Dakhótas just six days before signing the Emancipation Proclamation? Why are those executions not remembered as part of Lincoln's legacy in the way that the Proclamation has been? What are the implications of severing the memory of Dakhóta people and places from U.S. national memory and histories? Using Dakhóta and settler sources, I will address these

questions, arguing that the executions and exile—and their forgetting—are tied to nineteenth-century Republican ideas and practices around land and labor.

Edward Curtis’s “The North American Indian”: Aesthetic and Ethnographic Evolution of Scholarship, *Heather Sheets Hanlon*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Edward S. Curtis’s twenty volume “The North American Indian” depicts Native American life in the early 1900s. It has been critiqued on artistic and ethnographic spectrums. This historiography explores scholars’ changing perceptions of this project. Initially received as a novel, beautiful, and even patriotic depiction of a struggling race, the collection went into obscurity after Curtis’s death and was ‘rediscovered’ in the 1970’s. Re-contextualized in a time of growing civil rights, reconsidered upon discoveries of photos being contrived by Curtis, and misunderstood as third parties used images out of context, new reviews and responses became paramount. Institutions and artists are now surrounding Curtis’s project with Native voices, ushering dialog on the merits and problems of his art, research, and impact. While “The North American Indian” is problematic, the attempt to create value through representation is a method still needed today. Scholarship about Indigenous life and artists is sparse in comparison to other fields. This speaks to the continued institutionalized oppression of Native people in the United States. When initiatives for representation employ more Indigenous people and include Indigenous contemporary life, more relevant historical information can codify a more accurate narrative of Native life in America.

Blood and Performance: Vernon Bellecourt and the *First Encounters* Exhibition of 1992, *Robert Little Jackson*, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

At the Science Museum in St. Paul, Minnesota, Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement, came to protest the arrival of *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States: 1492-1570*, a hallmark exhibition dedicated to the Quincentennial anniversary of Columbus’s “discovery” of the Americas. The retelling of Vernon Bellecourt’s protest was of a culture railing against the biased and fraudulent story of Columbus being a heroic and courageous man. To Bellecourt, the false narrative was the fictional discovery of the Americas and Indigenous peoples that was repeated endlessly since 1492. Vernon’s physical presence at the museum became the part of the discourse that represented the reality of the Columbus narrative that all Indigenous peoples suffer from today. The gestures that Bellecourt engaged in during his protest, performed an historic and powerful interconnected narrative, meant to re-perform both symbolically and culturally over that established Columbian narrative. To enable a better understanding of Native protest as art with the dimensions of Native protest and protest methodologies, in this study for my thesis research, I intend to explore facets of the historical narrative that had been a part of all Native American culture via ceremony since 1492. This paper will locate *First Encounters* within a long tradition of interrelated Native protests and performances that took place on the Quincentennial of Columbus’s arrival in Native land.

Session 4: Rethinking Scholarly Interpretations of Removal and Allotment (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: William Bauer, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

The Longer Story of Choctaw Removal, *Edward Green*, Penn State University

Historians have long considered Indian removal to be a product of Andrew Jackson’s Presidency (1829-1837). They point to the Indian Removal Act (1830), the Cherokee’s legal struggles, and their final violent expulsion from Georgia. In these renderings, the story is quick, violent, and most of all

successful. At all levels, this is a story of a developing conflict between the federal government and Native peoples, with both sides given an unanimity of purpose and desires. This project takes a radically different understanding of removal, challenging both the limited temporal bounds and the general focus on the Cherokee tribe. It examines the Choctaws' experience in Mississippi, the first tribe that Jackson sent men to negotiate with for their homelands. The locality of the process is stressed: neither federal agents nor Choctaws pursued a consistent policy through the process. Removal was messier, convoluted, and at times contradictory, all as a result of the decentralized policies of the federal government and the Choctaws' efforts to mitigate them. By emphasizing the essential individuality of experience, a number of stories of removal emerge, each demonstrating the real experiences of violence, but also successes. Choctaws mitigated, repelled, or made the best of removal, proving themselves adept at managing the ambitions of U.S. agents and manipulating them to their own desires. Many of these stories are drawn from the testimony that the Choctaw provided in the land commissions of the 1830s and 1840s.

“An Indian is a Person”: The Removal and Separation of the Ponca, *Savannah J. Waters*, Oklahoma State University

The home of the Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma is located in present-day White Eagle, in north central Oklahoma. The United States federal government forcibly removed the Ponca from their homelands of Nebraska near the Niobrara River to Indian Territory, just as they did to many other Indian nations who now call Oklahoma, home. This research project attempts to examine the history of the Ponca tribe's removal to Indian Territory in the late 1870s. I argue that Ponca removal was exceptional and that it highlights Indigenous cultural accommodation of American ideas. The forced relocation impacted Euro-American and Ponca understandings of land, sovereignty, identity, politics, law, and social norms. The Ponca removal directly resulted in the development of two branches of the Ponca that now have homes in Nebraska and Oklahoma. Building on the work of James H. Howard, Kenneth R. Jacobs, and Joe Sarita, this project seeks to emphasize the uniqueness of the Ponca relocation. The historiography of Indian removals is primarily focused on tribal nations from the northeast and southeast with some details of removals west of the Mississippi, such as the Nez Perce and Navajo. The addition of the Ponca provides a fuller representative history of relocations of Indigenous nations in the United States. The sources used in this project include government documents, archival materials, oral histories, and oral traditions. Importantly, this work strives to amplify Ponca voices in their own history.

The Politics of the Metropole: Scientific Racism, Evangelical Protestant American Christianity, and the Dawes Act in the Late Nineteenth Century Reform Era, *Stetson Kastengren*, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

A debate over the influence, or lack thereof, of race science theories on the late nineteenth century reform era of federal Indian policy informs the study of the policy itself. Reginald Horsman asserts that theories of race science were used to justify American expansion across North America and were therefore present in late nineteenth century debates on federal Indian policy. Francis Paul Prucha contends that a Christian belief in the unity of humankind and ethnographic theories of social evolutionism prevented the “friends of the Indian” from entertaining these theories. A discursive examination of the transcripts of debates and speeches held at the Lake Mohonk Conference reveals an amalgamation of the two theories that problematizes the notion that they existed in two distinct categories. This amalgamation occurs because the two theories shared the same premise: American Indian cultures were inferior and deserving of erasure. This paper sets out with two interconnected goals: to emphasize this amalgamation's influence on the passing of the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887,

and to historicize Patrick Wolfe's theory of settler colonialism in the context of the late nineteenth century by using this amalgamation of race science and social evolutionism to locate and examine the logic of elimination that undergirded the structure of elimination i.e., the Dawes Act.

Session 5: The Power, Experiences, and Action of Native Women within Colonial and Imperial Structures (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Mary Jane McCallum, University of Winnipeg

Mediators from Michilimackinac: Indigenous Women and the Limits of American Hegemony in Nineteenth-Century Northern Michigan, Michael J. Albani, Michigan State University

After the Treaty of Ghent (1814) and the Treaty of Springwells (1815) ended the War of 1812, the United States government claimed control of *Anishinabewaki*, the homeland of the Odawa, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi peoples that would eventually become the state of Michigan. Many scholars assert that 1815 initiated a period of unyielding decline for the Anishinaabeg in which the spaces they inhabited fell under American dominion. However, this paper argues that well into the nineteenth century there remained peripheral zones where Americans continued to rely on kinship connections with Indigenous women who acted as cross-cultural mediators. At Michilimackinac, a region situated in the straits separating what are now Michigan's upper and lower peninsulas, the stories of five Indigenous women in particular demonstrate the early limits of American hegemony in the remote territories it claimed as well as the abilities of Indigenous peoples to resist the most destructive consequences of American state formation. This paper reconstructs the lives of Elizabeth Mitchell, Magdelaine La Framboise, Jane Schoolcraft, Agatha Biddle, and Susan Davenport using surviving writings and correspondence along with government records and treaty documentation to understand the ways in which they achieved levels of power and influence that, in many ways, exceeded those of their white fur trader husbands. In such vaunted positions, these women managed to retain aspects of their Indigenous identities and remain safe in an era when the United States government was attempting (but not succeeding in certain places) to remove Native Americans from the American Midwest.

Choctaw Women as Slaveholders in Indian Territory, Kristina Rogers, Oklahoma State University

This paper focuses on Choctaw people as slave owners in the mid-nineteenth century in Indian Territory. It will particularly focus on the ways in which Choctaw women participated in the institution of slavery as the primary slave owners. Through an examination of slavery, this paper will show the similarities and differences between the ways in which Choctaw men and women, and white men and women participated in the institution. Analyzing the ways in which Choctaw women were slave owners, the paper will illuminate how slave ownership was a way for some elite Choctaw women to maintain or even increase their "traditional" sources of power even as the settler state worked to eliminate this power from Choctaw women. In many respects Choctaw society was still a matrilineal society, and Choctaw slavery exemplifies one way in which women maintained their traditional sources of power in a changing world. Historians have analyzed the ways in which American Indians participated in chattel slavery in the nineteenth century. Historians have also looked at the ways American Indian women adapted to pressures that the United States pressed on them through "civilizing" programs that aimed at eliminating their female authority and power. "Choctaw Women as Slaveholders in Indian Territory" will bring these two histories together, and show how gender impacted the ways that Choctaw women practice slavery. The paper will rely on Native American and African American voices to illuminate this history.

Imaging and Imagining Maya Women in Nineteenth-Century Yucatán: The Huipil as a Constructed Symbol of Indigeneity, *Samantha Davis*, Penn State University

From the perspective of nineteenth-century travelers, identifying a Maya-descended woman seemed easy enough in their travels around Yucatán: one simply looked for the *huipil*, the traditional Yucatec Maya woman's dress. Travelers wrote about, photographed, and collected huipiles, inscribing Yucatec Maya women as exoticized and sexualized representatives of Maya culture. Yet this attempt to observe and construct a feminine sphere of the "Maya world" via huipiles presumed a cohesive ethnic identity that did not exist: the Maya never formed an empire and lacked cultural cohesion via a single religious, linguistic, or political project. Maya women (and Maya men via their female kin) instead made and accessed the huipil to articulate belonging in communities that emphasized local governance, culture, and religion. This paper uses early photographs, daguerreotypes, and stereoscopies that document nineteenth-century Yucatec Maya dress to explore the layering of identity, femininity, and locality. On the one hand, these images are part of a continued non-Maya effort to objectify, exoticize, and sexualize Maya women and girls using masculine imperial categories, removing them and their art from its local Maya context. Yet they also document and display transient textiles and the women wearing them. By placing travel narratives in conversation with material culture and oral histories, this paper re-centers Yucatec Maya women and their huipiles, unravelling imperialist narratives of dress and gender, to identify a hybridity of gender drawn from Maya and non-Maya influence.

I Know You Are, But What Am I: Gender Recognition and the Lack Thereof in *Buckskin Cocaine*, *Courtney Lynn Whited*, Oklahoma State University

In developing her theory of the coloniality of gender, Maria Lugones argues that gender—as a socially-constructed masculine/feminine binary—exists solely for white, settler bodies. Indigenous and black bodies, on the other hand, are seen through the lens of sex, which, though likewise socially constructed, is deemed an element of the non-human whereas gender is a key element of the human. In this paper, I show how Erika T. Wurth's female-coded characters in *Buckskin Cocaine* attempt to enter the category of "woman," and, more importantly, how the way they attempt to gain entry is inherently harmful to their bodies and minds. I then demonstrate how Wurth's male-coded characters—in their own efforts to claim masculinity—refuse to recognize the women as such, instead oversexualizing and, thus, dehumanizing them. Significantly, my paper expands Kristen Simmons's understanding of "settler atmospherics," or "the normative and necessary violences found in settlement—accruing, adapting, and constricting Indigenous and black life in the U.S. settler state," to include the literal toxicity that comes with performing femininity and that disproportionately affects Indigenous womxn and womxn of color. By combining Lugones's understanding of gender as a colonial tool of domination with Wurth's *Buckskin Cocaine*, I am able to reveal the specific repercussions Indigenous womxn face when either conforming or not conforming to gender expectations. As such, my paper engages in conversations about what it means to be a "woman;" what it means to be a "womxn;" and whether or not either category has a place in Indigenous Feminisms.

Session 6: New Approaches to Material Culture Research in Indigenous Studies

(Baskes Boardroom)

Chair: Phil Deloria, Harvard University

Created Today: Changes in Materials as Access to Cultural Resources are Hindered, *Molli A. Pauliot, University of Wisconsin-Madison*

American Indians' cultural adaptation is perpetuated within material objects. Cultures are resolute throughout history as environmental shifts and colonialism occurs around them. This change was constant in Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) history in the 1800s. In 1874 the U.S. government failed for the fifth time to move a resistant band of Ho-Chunk from Wisconsin to Nebraska. Through social, political, familial, geographical, and economic challenges Ho-Chunks subsisted. Oral histories and connections to their ancestral homelands was fundamental to survival within Ho-Chunk Indigeneity. Tools, implements, weavings, adornments, and clothing in Smithsonian collections illustrate this material progression. The policies that influenced cultural shifts will be examined and connected to cultural lessons and materials as the environment surrounding the Ho-Chunk changed during European expansion.

Lost and Found: Anna Belle Mitchell, Jane Osti, and the Revival of Cherokee Pottery in Oklahoma, *Roxanne Beason, Oklahoma State University*

The tradition of Cherokee pottery is often considered to be a diminished and 'lost' art. Most documentation of Cherokee potters only refers to the potters of the Southeastern United States Region of the Mississippi River Valley, Georgia, and South Carolina. According to these sources, most Cherokee potters are female, and several of them are described as "the last Cherokee potter." Practicing potters in the South are in a constant narrative flux of 'reviving' the Cherokee pottery tradition, in which hand-built earthenware is made up of coiled and shaped riverbed clay stamped with a relief shape or designed pressed by a carved wooden paddle. However, Cherokee ceramicists in both the Southeast and Oklahoma have been continuing the allegedly 'lost' Cherokee tradition of pottery for generations. For example, Anna Belle Mitchell, who passed away in 2012, was known for reviving the tradition of Cherokee pottery in Oklahoma after the Cherokee removal on the Trail of Tears in the early nineteenth century. Mitchell's pupil, Jane Osti, still works in and teaches Cherokee pottery techniques in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Explaining the significance of carrying on the Cherokee pottery tradition, Osti has stated, "Pottery is one of the greatest historians... I know that oral traditions are wonderful, but pottery can tell us the story of our people." Scholars have framed Cherokee pottery in terms of lost-and-found revivalist artmaking since the beginning of the twentieth century, even though it is a continuous tradition. The preservation and practice of Cherokee pottery in Oklahoma by artists like Mitchell and Osti shows that the art form is resilient rather than a revival. This paper draws from my larger thesis project, which opens a discourse about the continuous misrepresentative pedagogy of 'revivalist art' in post-colonial Native American art.

Transnational Affective Mapping/The Map of Touch, *Cordelia Rizzo, Northwestern University*

I hold that embroidering the names and stories of the disappeared in white handkerchiefs, as is the style of the Embroidering for Peace Initiative in Mexico, is a kind of mapping. Mexican Indigenous textiles, in the style of San Andrés, Larráinzar, in Chiapas or like the blouses of Santa Maria Tlahuitoltepec, in Oaxaca, also function as a sort of maps. The embroidered handkerchiefs are simple cartographies to the relatives of the disappeared, because they orient the makers affectively, and eventually spatially. Holding

the cloth to sew prompts a process where the embroiderers entertain images of the ways and spaces and places where they must search for their loved ones. My hypothesis is that touch, through craft, is a way of knowing space and place. I pieced different types of cloth together a simple device I call *The Map of Touch/Transnational Affective Mapping*, to guide a sensorial meditation and test this hypothesis, which stems from seven years of participant observation with the Embroidering for Peace Initiative in Monterrey, Nuevo León. I support the first preliminary testing of the exercise with Diana Taylor's observations on how Indigenous mapping practices imply embodied engagement, Jill Lane's concept of deep time, and Margaret Pearce's work on Native American mapping as storytelling. The objective of exploring *The Map of Touch/Transnational Affective Mapping* at the moment is to inquire into Indigenous ways of knowing to form an epistemology of touch. My aim is to describe the value of feminist and anticolonial tactics of political empowerment and action where Indigenous ways of knowing reverberate. This is research for my dissertation research project in Performance Studies at Northwestern University.

Session 7: Violence, Assimilation, Identity, and Kinship Across Colonial Empires and U.S. Nation-Building (*Rettinger Hall*)

Chair: Richard Boles, Oklahoma State University

Entwined Threads of Red and Black: The Hidden History of Indigenous Enslavement in Louisiana, 1699-1824, Leila K. Blackbird, University of Chicago

Contrary to nationalist teleologies, the enslavement of Native Americans was not a small and isolated practice in the territories that now comprise the United States. This paper is a case study of its history in Louisiana from European contact through the Early American Period, utilizing French Superior Council and Spanish judicial records, Louisiana Supreme Court case files, statistical analysis of slave records, and the synthesis and reinterpretation of existing scholarship. It primarily argues that it was through anti-Blackness and anti-Indigeneity and with the utilization of socially constructed racial designations that "Indianness" was controlled and exploited, and that Native Americans and their mixed-race Black-Native descendants continued to be enslaved alongside the larger population of Africans and African Americans in Louisiana. Lacking a decolonized lens and historiography inclusive of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples, the American story ignores the full impact of white settler colonialism and historical trauma.

From "Indio Christiano" to "Indian Slave": Indigenous Identity on the Fringes of Empire, Samantha R. Billing, Penn State University

In 1775, King George III of England issued a proclamation in response to the growing problem of Indigenous slavery in the Greater Caribbean. Spanish accounts described how entire communities of "Indios Christianos" were captured by the Miskitu (a group indigenous to Central America) and sold as slaves to English settlers in Jamaica and along the Caribbean Coast. The British king reacted by making it illegal for anyone to buy or sell these Indigenous captives. The Spaniards, however, had been trying to remedy this problem for decades. Beginning in 1709 and continuing for over fifty years, Spanish monarchs, church officials, and local governing bodies planned and actively tried to execute a complete extermination of the Miskitu. This paper explores a specific example of an Indigenous-controlled slave trade of other Indigenous peoples and its consequences. It analyzes the ways in which Indigenous identity was manipulated and renegotiated as Indigenous actors crossed the imaginary frontier between Spain and England's imperial holdings in Central America. "Indios Christianos" were transformed into "Indian slaves" by leaving Spanish America and entering into the British Atlantic world. The Miskitu, who controlled this borderland region, were likewise ascribed various identities by Europeans because of their role in this slave trade. I argue that Indigenous behavior and the social role Native groups

played in either helping or hindering European colonial endeavors greatly impacted the ways in which European powers chose to define them.

Re-defining the Upper Missouri River Region in the Antebellum West, 1828-1862, *Jen Andrella*, Michigan State University

This presentation will draw on the research from the first chapter of my dissertation, “When the War Raged On: Montana Territory, the Politics of Authority, and National Reconstruction,” which centers Montana as a case study to explore the significance of the northern plains as an understudied aspect of nation building during Reconstruction. This chapter focuses on the upper Missouri River region in the pretext of the Civil War and conceptualizes the “Antebellum West” as a lens of inquiry. Since the mid-seventeenth century, the upper Missouri was a *Native ground* where Native American communities determined socio-economic relations and the conditions of the fur trade. The transition from the fur trade to a mining economy resulted in new federal land policies that reflected changes in northern plains resources, property, and authority. The marriage of Alexander Culbertson and Natawista (Kainai-Blackfoot) provides a strong example of this shift. Although their marriage affirmed the recognition of integrative kinship networks and the role of women in facilitating trade, Culbertson’s familial connections also led to his assignment to negotiate the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty and the 1855 Blackfoot Treaty on behalf of the United States. The burst of such policies in the 1850s signals a turning point where federal leaders determined it necessary to incorporate the upper Missouri region into the republic. In the context of the Antebellum West, the process of territorial expansion converged with assertions of nation-building on the path to disunion.

The Posey Wars: A Case Study in Religious Settler Colonialism, *Reilly Ben Hatch*, University of New Mexico

When Mormon pioneers occupied southeast Utah in 1880, their primary objective was to develop friendly relations with the Utes, Paiutes, and Navajos in the region. For several decades, they were largely successful in their task. In 1915, however, a sheep herder who worked for the local stake president was robbed and murdered on the Ute Mountain reservation in southwestern Colorado. A young Ute named Tse-Ne-Gat became the primary suspect of the federal Marshal, who raised a posse that included many of the Mormons, to capture the accused “renegade.” A battle resulted, and the situation was only resolved after the Chief of Staff of the United States Army persuaded Tse-Ne-Gat to surrender. The accused youth was put on trial, but was ultimately acquitted, much to the dismay of the San Juan Mormons. Later, in 1923, when other Utes of the same band killed some Mormon cattle, the settlers quickly formed their own posse, incarcerated many of the Utes in a compound in Bluff, and killed William Posey, who was considered the ringleader of the “bad Indians.” This paper uses the Bluff and Posey Wars to investigate the complex relationship between Mormon settlers and their Ute neighbors at a time when the federal government pressured both peoples to assimilate into the American mainstream. It investigates Mormons’ motivations to develop relationships with Indigenous peoples and why those relationships broke down at the beginning of the twentieth century. Ultimately, my research shows that Utes in San Juan not only faced federally-managed assimilation programs at the turn of the twentieth century, but also the efforts of local Mormon settlers who believed that Indigenous removal was doctrinally justified and who joined forces with the government, despite previous antagonism, to work for the physical and cultural elimination of Indigenous peoples in Utah.

Session 8: Native Sovereignty, Resistance, and Community Building (*Baskes Boardroom*)

Chair: Josh Reid, University of Washington

Displaced Unions: The Wyandotte, Delaware, and Peoria Indian Nations After Removal, 1867-1924, Sheldon Yeakley, Oklahoma State University

1867 marked the final treaty-based removal for several Native nations living within Kansas Territory. Confronting yet another forced migration, the Wyandotte, Delaware, and Peoria peoples faced unique challenges to their rights as sovereign nations. The Wyandotte's long-lasting inter-tribal political connections and the Peoria's new-found multi-tribal confederacy aided their assertions of political autonomy; while the Delaware combated pressure from the Cherokee Nation to cede tribal sovereignty and fully incorporate as Cherokee citizens. This study will demonstrate how these little-discussed peoples actively practiced survivance through a variety of political unifications despite the varied and perpetual effects of displacement. Under the overarching paradigm of settler colonialism, most studies of Indian Removal and its aftermath have centered either on the years of treaty-based removal, from 1830 to 1871, or have focused on the further capture of Indigenous lands through the Dawes Act. John P. Bowes, Frederick E. Hoxie, and Joseph C. Genetin-Pilawa have all made significant contributions in this regard. Yet, these studies are limited. Settler colonialism focuses too heavily on the legal fight over Indigenous lands. As such, few scholars have examined how Indigenous peoples already dispossessed of their territory maintained their sovereignty. By providing a comparative case-study of these nations, this paper will construct a refined vision of settler colonialism and demonstrate how these displaced nations exercised sovereignty not centered on landholdings but upon their own political structures.

Where “Community Radio” Begins and Ends: The Politics of Indigenous Broadcasting in Guatemala, 1959-2019, Polly Lauer, Yale University

This paper historicizes contemporary fights between Indigenous radio stations and the state in Guatemala, as well as among the stations themselves. Complicating the meaning of “community radio,” it provides an analysis of how “community” has been claimed by various Indigenous interest groups and how “radio” has changed with policy and digital media. It follows the experience of specific K'iche' radio stations in the central highlands of Guatemala, where noncommercial, non-governmental broadcasting has been harnessed by multiple groups within majority Indigenous communities over time, including catechists, guerrillas, evangelists, and organizers. Since the Guatemalan armed conflict (1960-1996), many local stations have been physically and economically targeted by the government, accused first of being “subversives” in the Cold War and now of being “pirates” in the twenty-first century. This paper explores how this violence and its justifications have changed over time, comparing forms of state repression experienced by Indigenous stations and of resistance enacted by Indigenous broadcasters. Additionally, it argues that state control of broadcasting has fomented conflict between these various Indigenous groups, who have battled one another for access to the air and community authority.

Ganienkeh, Out of the City and Off the Reservation: The Making of An Indigenous Space, 1974-1978, Amanda Johnson, Oklahoma State University

In the spring of 1974, on the heels of Wounded Knee and the Red Power movement, a group of approximately one hundred Six Nations men and women mostly from Canada's Caughnawaga Reserve laid claim to a New York state-owned and abandoned wilderness girl's camp near a place called Moss

Lake. In an effort to prevent fighting between reservation “traditionalists” and “progressives,” this predominantly Mohawk community of families created an exclusively Indigenous space that physically and culturally excluded non-Indigenous people. Calling it Ganienkeh, or “land of the flint,” these men and women crafted a communal community that focused on revitalizing the Mohawk language and the Longhouse spiritual practices and ways of being. While other activists in the previous decade launched cultural renewal initiatives and staged public protests, the creation of Ganienkeh is unique and worthy of study for a number of reasons. Using the Newberry Library’s Arthur Einhorn Mohawk research collection, various Native newspapers, newsletters, and interviews, this paper provides an example of an Indigenous people who asserted sovereignty by ignoring colonial borders, and rejected both an urban experience after laboring as New York City iron workers and a reservation life that they argued had been polluted by alcohol and violence. Acting as a sovereign people with the support of the Six Nations Council Fire, the Ganienkeh people successfully negotiated a unique permanent Indigenous settlement with the State of New York that still exists in 2019.

Energy Security and “Water Defence”: The Challenges of Company-Community Conflict in Canada, *Obasesam Okoi*, University of Manitoba

The development of the Energy East pipeline—the largest oil pipeline project ever proposed in Canada—and its impact on Indigenous water systems, suggests that differences in values, interests and priorities often define the dynamics of conflict between energy corporations and local communities who depend on water as a source of life. Given the direct relevance of water to local communities, dozens of First Nations activists in Treaty 3 territory in northwestern Ontario decided to march along the proposed Energy East pipeline route to oppose the project and protect their water sources. The Water Walk, organized by Grassroots Indigenous Water Defence, covered 125 kilometres of the proposed Energy East pipeline route. First Nations activists have raised concerns that TransCanada’s plan to convert the natural gas pipeline to transport oil to the East Coast would endanger dozens of waterways across Treaty 3 territory. Despite the threats that energy development poses to Indigenous water systems, water-related conflicts between energy corporations and local communities have received very little academic attention. The proposed paper will examine the challenges of company-community conflict by focusing on Water Defence (through protests and demonstrations against Energy East pipeline project). The objective of this study is to explore the nature of company-community conflict through a content analysis of the reported incidence of resistance against companies related to water issues, how communities construct their struggle, and the types of concerns reported. The study will draw on the framework of pragmatic nonviolence to analyze the impact of Water Defense in resolving company-community conflict resulting from unjust economic practices on Indigenous territories.