Frances Abele, Carleton University

Settler Colonialism and Commissions of Inquiry: Access and Legitimation

In Canada, commissions of inquiry have on occasion provided to previously disenfranchised groups, unusual access to public speaking, and to public decision-making. This paper will consider how commissions of inquiry have regulated, probed, and sometimes ordered relations between Indigenous peoples and the settler state. Nineteenth century commissions of inquiry both in England and in Canada were important to state formation, the mediation of social and economic conflict, and the appropriation of lands in the colonies: there were six commission of inquiry on Indian affairs in late nineteenth century Canada. The last, biggest commission of inquiry on Indigenous affairs, the 1992-1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, is considered in this context.

James J. Allegro, The College of William and Mary

Alexander the Great, Classical Humanism, and the Colonization of America and Ireland

This paper adds to recent scholarship asserting the significance of English humanism as an intellectual framework for promoting the establishment of settler colonies in North America and Ireland during the late Tudor and early Stuart periods. It emphasizes the role of one strain of humanism defending the state's right to seek glory and conquest to protect itself from foreign invasion by arguing that humanists envisioned Atlantic colonization as a pre-emptive strike against their European and Mediterranean enemies. Viewing the extension of commerce as critical to the defense of freedom and virtue, humanists argued that overseas colonization furnished the Crown with the wealth and resources necessary to wage a successful war against Spain, as well as provided a defensive buffer zone between Christian Europe and encroaching Islamic states such as the Ottomans.

Classical history furnished a vital promotional strategy for establishing this argument. Through historical anecdotes and commentary, humanists promoted the idea of England as the heir to a new *Pax Romana* in the Atlantic. Particularly, English writers appropriated Alexander the Great's life and career to depict Atlantic colonization as a patriotic act that glorified the state by keeping it safe, free, and wealthy. Humanists employed Alexander's example to instruct colonial governors in republican virtues and to organize prospective colonists into citizen-militias. Alexander's example further established a code of conduct for governing newly conquered subjects and provided a template for defining the line between civility and savagery. Famous comparisons between the indigenous peoples of North America and "Indians," or the Irish and "Scythians," derived in part from attempts by humanist authors to apply pre-existing categories of historical conquest onto the geographies and cultures of America and Ireland.

Jeannette C. Armstrong

'Early Relations between the Okanagan and Settler: A Missed Opportunity for a Civilized Colonial Process'

The Okanagan, in the Southern Interior of BC, Canada, saw the first explorers come into the valley in 1811. Over the next 50 years, the establishment of trade posts in Okanagan Territory brought fur traders into direct contact with the people. The early Fur Trade period established an interdependent reciprocative dynamic between the Okanagan and the Fur Traders, many of whom were of Irish or French descent. The practice of politically calculated inter-marriages of daughters of Chiefs to members of other Chief's families to accomplish political stability and peaceful trade with neighbouring tribes was extended to include strategic marriages of Chief's daughters, nieces and granddaughters to fur trade personnel. These women, fluent in English, French and Chinook, the trade language, were instrumental in communication between their Okanagan relatives and their husband's business. My paper's draws on collaborative research with Dr. Lally Grauer on historical relations between Okanagan women and early settlers and settler women of the Okanagan. Our research will publish a collection of writings of both early settler women and Okanagan women revealing a very different view than has been provided by male dominated historical accounts of that period. Their writings reveal a strong communication network of contact with each other and much more reciprocity in social, cultural and economic interactions strengthening ties between the Okanagan and the Settlers rather than the division and hostility commonly portrayed. It was a dynamic which changed rapidly in the ensuing 50 years of government exploitive "Reservation" imperatives generating the colonial discords persisting to the present. My own Okanagan and Irish ancestry leads me to grieve the missed opportunity for a healthier colonial process had the British Colonial government encouraged the early contact experience of reciprocity and equality.

Wayne Atkinson, University of Melbourne

Tracking the Origins of Settler Colonialism in Australia through the Lens of the Cummeragunja Reserve (1888-2006)

In developing a theoretical framework for 'Settler Colonialism' Morris-Suzuki describes it as a social and political process, the key characteristics of which are the appropriation of Indigenous lands and resources and the management and control of Indigenous peoples by the settler colonial state (Morris-Suzuki 1994). In the Australian context, Jeremy Beckett uses the term 'Internal Colonialism' to describe this process, which he argues is driven by ideologies of racial superiority and the practice of systematic discrimination. Settler or Internal colonialism as this paper will argue is based on a mindset of racial and cultural superiority that becomes institutionalized and manifests itself throughout the structures of the settler state (Beckett, 1987:185–7).

Integrating this approach to an analysis of the Australian context will engage a framework that accounts for mechanisms deployed by the Australian state to differentially regulate the lives, movements, and beliefs of Indigenous Australians, and to segregate the Indigenous population on reserve lands so that the land could be transplanted by members of the settler state. The mindset of settler colonialism will be used to analyze the way setter colonialism was used by the British in Ireland, North America and Australia to support its policies of dispossession, segregation and control.

The paper will examine the path of Settler Colonialism and the reserve system from its origins in seventeenth Century Ireland under the Act of Settlement, 1652, to its implementation in the United States and Australia under the Indigenous Regulatory Acts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. From this analysis it will be argued that by the time the reserve system reached Australia, trialed and erred as was in those other jurisdictions, it was indeed a well oiled tool of colonization that went hand in glove with settler colonialism. It was the means by which Indigenous people were removed from the land, and the premise on which the transplantation of settlers and the settler state took place.

Wayne Atkinson and **John Chesterman,** University of Melbourne

Human Rights and Indigenous Rights in Australia'

This paper explores the extent to which Indigenous Australians have come to enjoy the human rights that other Australians take for granted. We argue that while Indigenous Australians won civil and political rights by the 1970s, social indicators reveal that Indigenous people's enjoyment of social and economic rights is severely limited. Moreover, when one takes the view that Indigenous rights also constitute the human rights of Indigenous Australians, then the human rights status of Indigenous Australians is even more dire. Australia's opposition to the draft United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* is instructive in this regard, as are the recent domestic developments in the fields of self-determination and native title. The paper will examine these recent developments (which include the abolition of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, and the stalling of the reconciliation movement), and will pay particular attention to the Australian High Court's rejection of the *Yorta Yorta* native title claim (in which Dr Atkinson was one of the unsuccessful claimants). The Australian High Court's decision in 1992 to recognise native title (in the *Mabo* case) promised a profound change in mindset regarding Indigenous rights in Australia. But as the *Yorta Yorta* case, and the Yorta Yorta people's subsequent dealings with government show, that promise has not been fulfilled.

David Attwell, University of York

JM Coetzee and the Idea of Africa

Does JM Coetzee's fiction have a place in African literature? Given its provenance (at least until 'Elizabeth Costello') the answer must be yes. But behind this question lurks a more uncompromising one: How does JM Coetzee's fiction represent African humanity? The question is on many a reader's lips, but it is often pre-empted by the self-conscious positionality and metafictionality of the writing. The paper explores the implications of this pre-empting, but it also discusses several seemingly uncharacteristic moments, when Coetzee's protagonists do address themselves to a unified idea of 'Africa'. The function of these moments seems to be precisely that they facilitate the self-reflexive turn; Coetzee is using 'Africa' to bring out the peculiar quiddity of his writing.

Margot Backus, University of Houston

*Trans*colonial*america*

Duncan Tucker's 2005 film, *Transamerica*, was met with enthusiasm by a mainstream American audience apparently hungry for depictions of transgendered protagonists that move beyond the sassy snap queen of, for instance, *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil*, the sensationalism of *The Crying Game,* and the transgendered tragedy of *Boys Don't Cry*. Two groups of viewers, however, met the film with considerable misgivings. The transgendered themselves were, understandably, concerned about seeing themselves represented by Felicity Huffman, a non-trans actress, while political progressives viewed the film with suspicion for some of the same reasons that leftists criticized *The Crying Game,* for using a sensationalized focus on gender so as to blot out or exoticize other terms of difference, especially, in the case of *Transamerica*, racial difference.

Transamerica has been critiqued for what some progressive critics have seen as its romanticizing treatment of Native Americans in the person of Calvin, the Native American love interest played by Graham Greene. Calvin's indifference to the male-to-female transgendered Bree's minor remaining areas of physical gender nonconformity has been taken as subscribing to the "noble savage" school of sex/gender politics. The film's critics have read the screenplay's provision of a Native American suitor as bolstering Bree's femininity through an essentializing representation of indigenous men as inherently more open-minded than European-American men. This charge would be credible if the inclusion of a Native American character were otherwise unmotivated. Greene's character's inclusion can be understood, however, as one element of a larger representational pattern in the film calling attention to historical connections between a range of abjected racial and sexual identities in the United States. These abjected identities are a legacy of this society's settler colonial origins and, when viewed comparatively, they supply evidence of heteronomativity's centrality to ongoing processes of settler-colonial appropriation in the United States.

In a pivotal scene in *Transamerica*, the bookish and usually introspective Bree elaborates an extended analogy between transgendered Americans and Native Americans, an analogy that also frames Leslie Feinberg's classic 1993 trans *Bildungsroman*, *Stone Butch Blues*. The audience for the anthropologically-inclined Bree's extemporaneous lecture on colonialism and the transgendered is a teen-age homosexual prostitute whom she has rescued from the New York City lock-up, more or less at her therapist's insistence, because Bree is his genetic father. This scene renders explicit what the rest of the film more subtly dramatizes: that glbt modes of social and biological reproduction, as enacted in Bree's mentoring of her homosexual birth son, have the potential to disrupt the logic of settler colonialism. Within the settler colonial order, as I have argued in my first book, the patriarchal nuclear family serves as a key locus for the reproduction of heterosexuality and for the simultaneous transmission of misappropriated property as well as class, cultural and racial entitlements. In the America that Bree and her queer and incestuously abused son traverse, the logic of settler colonialism, which inexorably if invisibly shapes the social order they are both attempting to negotiate, is virtually coextensive with the logic of heteronormativity. The film's depiction of their successful crossing of the continent, a crossing made possible for both of them only through their mutual support, and with Calvin's help, can be read as a robust call for new forms of political

alliance organized on the basis of a more explicit recognition of the ways in which American society is organized privately as well as publicly so as to perpetuate processes of settler-colonial appropriation.

Sibo Banda, University College Cork

Colonialism and the Legal Politics of Jurisdiction in Malawi: Past, Present and Future

Malawi is a territory that is treading an uncertain path in its quest to weave a post-colonial narrative of its colonial legal experiences with the common law and particularly in relation to the notion of property. The last couple of decades have witnessed the flourishing of post-colonial narratives that re-account the encounter between metropolitan law and the customs and practices of the 'other' in specific territories. The story that emerges from these 're-accountings' generally contribute to a 'sketching' of a generalised and uniform picture about the use by the metropolitan power of the common law and its array of technical tools to selectively incorporate and discard 'progressive' and 'regressive' parts of the 'customs and 'practices' of the other.

Post-colonial narratives are purposely political and ethical and have the objective of correcting past and continuing injustice. While these general sketches of common law practices are invaluable as tools for 'consciousness' and 'outing', each territory requires a coherent and localised/particularised narrative if the political and ethical project is to succeed at the juridical level. I suggest that a key feature of attaining a 'successful outcome' for the political and ethical objective of the narrative lies in the identification and the outing of the foundational judicial moment that confirmed the authority of, and enabled, the common law to eclipse the customs and the practices of the other. In this paper I suggest that Malawi's colonial High Court case of *Rev. Yesaya Mwase* as the pivotal judicial moment. The case mirrors the generalised sketches of the common law but also constitutes and encapsulates a localised/particularised moment. It simultaneously symbolises the cultural, political and legal omnipotence of the metropolitan power and the infirmity of the colonised.

Tracey Banivanua-Mar, La Trobe University

The 'Bunyah Black': Fear and loathing on Queensland's racial borderlands

In the late 1880s, in the Bunya district of the British settler colony of Queensland a man, who became known in the Brisbane press as the 'Bunya Black', roamed the area with a freedom that terrified white residents. Accused of taking missing tools, stock, and food, perhaps his greatest crime, or 'depredation' as they were described at the time, was that he proved impossible to arrest and even more impossible to define. Nobody was sure whether he was Aboriginal or one of the thousands of indentured western Pacific Islanders being brought to the colony to establish Queensland's thriving sugar industry. But definition would prove crucial to resolving the debates that arose over whether the warrant for his arrest should sanction his detention dead or alive.

As this paper will consider, the Bunya Black represented much more than a petty thief. Fears over his presence, mirrored a number of similarly anxious moments in Queensland, where the need to categorize and contain colour, and black colour in

particular, was seen as fundamental to the economic, biological and spacial health of the colony. Moreover, what arguably exacerbated settlers' fears in this case, was the well-known status of the Bunya Mountains and the Bunya district as a thriving social space and trade-corridor for Indigenous peoples in southeast Queensland. That is, it was land that was clearly spoken for. This paper will take a close look at the ways in which categories of race shifted in this settler-colonial context as part of a dynamic process that was critically linked to administrative, legal and non-legal violence. The paper will highlight in particular, the inter-constitutive play between discourses of race, violence and the extension of proprietorial claims on the land.

Adam Barker, University of Victoria, British Columbia

In the Eyes of the Colonizer: The Colonial Underpinnings of Canadian Settler society

Canada is often perceived – both from without and within – as a peaceful nation. However, historical study demonstrates that the relationship between Settlers and Indigenous peoples in the territory of Canada has been and continues to be largely defined by violence and domination that are both overt and subtle, individually-based and systemic. Yet there are examples of Settler peoples who have forged alternative, respectful relationships with Indigenous peoples, demonstrating that the problem goes deeper than a simplistic 'clash of cultures'. By engaging seriously with the Settler identity of mainstream Canadians, I attempt to answer the question: why do so many Settler people think and act in a colonial fashion? Drawing from diverse Indigenous responses to colonial action – from Albert Memmi in 1950s Africa to Taiaiake Alfred in contemporary Canada and America – as well as the self-critical reflection of several 'unsettled Settlers', I intend to create a comprehensive description of the Settler Canadian 'colonial mentality'. Situating the Canadian state as a locus of hybrid-colonialism – simultaneously concerned with the acquisition of space and the abstract production of power and control – I identify Settler people as perpetually colonizing, and perpetually re-colonized as well. Serving an overarching ideology of control, I identify three factors within the colonial mentality as self-reinforcing motivators to colonial action and imperial allegiance: greed, fear and ignorance. Ultimately, it is my hope that this description may be used in gaining a deeper understanding of why colonialism persists as a powerful motivating ideology for Canadians, leading to insights that can help end imperial domination of Indigenous and other marginalized peoples within the Canadian state.

Clare Barker, University of Leeds

Negotiating 'different importances': Indigenous alternatives to Pākehā health practices in New Zealand Māori fiction

In *Disability, Family, Whānau and Society* (1994), a collection of essays on disability and health issues in New Zealand, Hine Timutimu-Thorpe notes that within the dominant settler culture exists a pervasive 'failure to acknowledge Māori ethnicity and culture in health, education and community services'. As a result of this, '[t]he choice for many families is to opt into Pākehā-style services or to do without' The discrepancy between Māori and Pākehā conceptualisations of health issues, including disability, care, and interdependence, and the failure of existing services – hospitals, psychiatric practitioners and social work – to cater for the needs of the indigenous

population of New Zealand, are documented convincingly in three fictional texts by New Zealand Māori writers – Keri Hulme's *the bone people* (1983) and Patricia Grace's *Potiki* (1986) and *Dogside Story* (2001).

This paper argues that not only do these texts address the 'different importances' of Māori and Pākehā on matters of health and illness, performing a politicised critique of New Zealand social formations and services, but through their representation of protagonists with disabilities, they offer alternative indigenous epistemologies of health that value the 'special knowing', as Toko in *Potiki* terms it, associated with illness and embodied difference in Māori culture. The opportunities and challenges that Toko's impaired mobility, his mother Mary's learning difficulties, Simon in *the bone people*'s muteness and Te Rua's amputation in *Dogside Story* offer their communities reinforce the central presence of Māori in New Zealand by occasioning the demonstration of the adaptability and sustainability of Māori cultural formations within the nation-space. They also begin to reconceptualise notions of care in terms of interdependence and mutual support that are potentially inclusive of all New Zealanders.

Anna Boswell, University of Auckland

Shifting perspectives of the frontier: revisionist approaches to the *History of the War in the North of New Zealand*.

Settler colonialism is predicated on acts of violence towards native peoples. In countries like Aotearoa New Zealand, conflict associated with the frontier period has historically been dealt with by the majority settler population in romantic terms; the conflict has been invoked as supplying the necessary foundation for the forging of the nation, and its military dimensions have been highlighted to dignify violence perpetrated against a respected foe. According to James Belich, the most prominent revisionist historian of frontier conflict in Aotearoa New Zealand, these longstanding conventions served to mask the need for review. Belich's *The New Zealand Wars* (1986) announced a groundbreaking recovery of 'the other side of the frontier', emphasising indigenous resistance and agency; in relation to the conflict fought in the 1840s in the Tai Tokerau/Northland region, Belich's study is viewed as being 'so dramatic that Maori are now said to have won a war they had previously lost' (Williams 2002, 158). This paper examines Belich's analysis of the Northern war and considers its relationship to the key text which under-girds it, the *History of the War in the North of New Zealand* (1862) written by Pakeha-Maori settler F.E. Maning. The paper argues that although Maning's text may seem problematic as a historical resource—blurring, as it does, boundaries between fact and fiction—it clearly shows that Maori understandings of frontier violence are incompatible with the Eurocentric conventions of military history on which Belich's study continues to rely. Reading the *History* as a narrative of indigenous agency and resistance in terms considerably more forceful than those admitted by Belich, the paper seeks to retrieve some of the alternative conceptions of frontier conflict which are suggested in Maning's subversive text.

Penny Boumelha, University of Adelaide

A Nation of One's Own: Survivals and Settlers in Fin-de-Siecle Utopian Fiction

Utopian (and dystopian) fiction has evident appeal to writers and readers in a period of significant reflection on fundamental features of social organisation. In late nineteenth century Britain, when public debates and moral panics about gender roles, sexuality, migration, and disease were often grounded in a pervasive anxiety about 'degeneration', there was a good deal of utopian writing. In particular, it was widely taken up by writers concerned (in one way or another) with changing gender roles, women's rights, and relationships between family and wider social organisation.

This paper explores some of the narrative assumptions and strategies to be found in these texts, and their ideological significance, in the context of theoretical and critical traditions of engagement with the utopian. It is concerned with the blended and emergent forms that characterise utopian writing in the *fin de siècle* period, and with the way in which particular narrative structures embody understandings of historical processes of change. Activist and evolutionary paradigms of change are identified in some specific texts of the period, and associated with their deployment of various tropes of locality (including persistence, transformation and settlement). Two novels representing Ireland as the site of social and physiological transformation in an all-female utopia are discussed. It is argued that issues of gender contribute significantly to the ambivalence that troubles the imagining of community in late nineteenth-century utopian narrative.

Clare Brandabur, Doğuş University, Istanbul

Israel: Colonial Settler State? from Maxime Rodinson to Ward Churchill

In his 1979 book *Israel: Colonial Settler State*, the late French Marxist Maxime Rodinson asked a key question about the nature of Israel. As Robert Young and others have shown, it is settler colonialism which is intrinsically genocidal since its aim is to replace the indigenous population with settlers from the metropolis. In the case of Israel, the settlers are drawn not from some single metropolitan center but from the Jewish population worldwide, both Sephardim and Ashkenazi. But the intention to displace the indigenous population completely was clear from the beginning, witness statements from Zionist leader Theodor Herzl, Ben Gurion, and many others. However, though Rodinson recognized the settler-state variety of Israeli colonialism, he withheld condemnation of the genocidal implications, much as Benny Morris, in his book on *The Origins of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* fails to condemn the massacres uncovered by his own brilliant revisionist histories, even faulting Ben Gurion for his failure to completely empty Palestine of its native peoples in 1948.

This paper will pursue the genocidal ramifications of Israel's settler-state origins, drawing on such post-colonial sources as Robert J.Young's definitive work on *Postcolonialism*, Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine,* and Ward Churchill's *A Little Matter of Genocide.* It is Ward Churchill who states unequivocally that Israel is actively engaged in genocide against the Palestinian people. This study will help to explain why Israel has consistently subverted every "peace plan" suggested by the UN, the EU, the "Quartet," or the US (the so-called "Road Map"). It will also review briefly several proposals for an amicable solution developed by the Palestinians which (though completely excluded from the

discourse on the Israeli/Palestinian problem) offer courageous and highly practical guidelines (including the right of return of the refugees) for a solution in which two peoples would share one land.

Robin Jarvis Brownlie, University of Manitoba

"Others or Brothers?: Competing Settler and Anishinabe Racial Discourses in Upper Canada"

This paper juxtaposes settler texts and Anishinabe counter-discourses in order to examine the interaction of ideas about race, colonization, and settlement in the formative period of Upper Canada. The newcomers who formed settlements in Aboriginal lands north of the Great Lakes represented a heterogeneous group with differing class, ethnic, and religious affiliations – they were Scots, Irish, English, and American-born; Catholic and Protestant; middle-class and working-class. These distinctions, and further divisions among the categories, divided them in important ways. An analysis of the texts they produced – newspapers, published letter collections, novels, and autobiographies – permits a consideration of difference among the settlers themselves and of the role of racial discourses in constructing a common"white" identity. An exploration of narratives concerning First Nations people can provide a basis for understanding not only constructions of "Indianness," but also images of "whiteness" that served, over the course of time, to unify formerly disparate settler groups and create a common identity for the new settlements. One of the distinctive features of Upper Canadian racial constructions is the use of "Indians" as a primary racial other in the development of notions of whiteness, in contrast to the US, where African-Americans were placed in this role. At the same time, settlers in Upper Canada were intent on encouraging further immigration and had to maintain a sense of their own security among Aboriginal peoples. These considerations militated against the most unfavorable characterizations of local groups, and seem to have produced an alternative strategy that preserved "Indians" as a negative referent in racial representations, while avoiding the spread of anxiety about their proximity. In the colony's newspapers, this was managed by recirculating negative American depictions of "Indians" and simultaneously publishing reports on nearby Aboriginal groups that made them appear harmless. Meanwhile, the local Anishinabek were well aware of the power of images and racial ideas, and worked to counter them with approaches drawn from traditional Aboriginal diplomacy. In their sermons, writings, and speeches, they sought to build bridges of understanding by constructing self-images that equated "Indians" and "whites," stressing commonality and similarity over difference. Pointing to their history as British allies and to the cooperative efforts of Euro-Canadian and Anishinabe missionaries, the Anishinabek suggested a racial order based on equality and common purpose rather than conflict and defeat. By constructing a shared history and a shared masculinity, these men endorsed a common, cooperative future.

Jane Carey, University of Melbourne

'Woman's Objective-A Perfect Race': The Women's Movement, White Australia and the Articulation of Race, 1900-1940

This paper examines some of the new roles being claimed by white women in the settler-colonial project in Australia in the early twentieth century. Focussing on the activities of the National Council of Women, the country's largest women's group, it explores how ideas about race and nation, particularly the desire for a strong white population, animated many of these projects. Such ideas have usually been associated with moves to limit white women to their domestic and reproductive roles, to their status as 'mothers of the race'. However, these racial discourses were also appropriated by elite women to support their reforming campaigns and argue for an larger public role for themselves. Compared to the relatively limited attention paid to the 'Aboriginal problem', the women's movement became intensely interested in the problems of white racial health. Their campaigns for kindergartens, domestic science, sex education, public health services and even general hygiene, all emphasised the importance of white racial improvement for national progress.

These discussions are significant beyond the women's movement alone. They point to the ways in which discourses of whiteness formed a major field of racial discussion in Australia more broadly. The extent to which such ideas were taken up by white women activists indicates their ubiquity. Such trends were not limited to Australia, however, settler-colonial contexts were perhaps particularly conducive to such formulations. Since the 1970s historians have looked largely, if not exclusively, towards white western constructions of 'others' to understand ideas about 'race.' What I wish to suggest here is that such an approach is not always sufficient. Overlooking these discussions of whiteness means losing sight of one of the key domains in which ideas about race were being articulated. Understanding racialisation, I suggest, requires that we pay closer attention to these kinds of conversations.

Bridie Chapman, Temple University

Resettlement in the American West: Figures of Irish Immigrant Colonization and the Rural Ideal in Mary Anne Sadlier's *Con O'Regan*

The 1856 Irish Emigrant Aid Convention of Buffalo New York set forth a plan for resettlement of Irish immigrants from Northeast American urban centers into today's American Midwest. The plan never gained financial or institutional backing but was an important precursor to the more successful Irish Catholic Colonization Society of 1879. Influential Irish-immigrant novelist Mary Anne Madden Sadlier supported the aspirations of the Buffalo Convention. Her novel, *Con O'Regan; or, Emigrant Life in the New World*, was written in connection with the movement.

This essay evaluates the ways in which Sadlier expresses support for colonization in *Con O'Regan*. It asks how this strategy for immigrant survival and prosperity suggests either cross-ethnic transformation or a turn to the past offering an ideal that mirrors images of a lost homeland. It considers questions regarding the following: the presence of Native Americans on the grounds the group wished to resettle, the ways Ireland as 'mother country' is depicted in her prose, the manner in which urban America is set against the rural West, how that rural ideal is compared with her depictions of Ireland, and the consequences implied by this colonization for both Irish immigrants and other Americans. Moreover, the essay discusses the novel's articulation of the relationship between mid-nineteenth century famine generation

diaspora to America and the potential dislocations resulting from Irish immigrant resettlement in a utopian American West.

Abdelkader Cheref, University of Exeter

Settler Colonialism and Francophone Literature in Algeria: Albert Camus and Assia Djebar

When the French National Assembly (Parliament) passed a law on February 23, 2003 stipulating that French Colonialism had been but a positive endeavor, and the former colonies should rather celebrate the constructive effect of the French grand 'mission civilisatrice', most former colonies discarded such an claim.

If Algeria, just like Ireland for instance, is a perfect illustration of a colony whose patterns of settlement and cultural legacies 'fall somewhere between the abstract paradigms of settler colony and colony of occupation' (Ashcroft 2000), one has to address the emergence of colonial literature as a cultural extension of the métropole (Camus) but post-colonial literature in Algeria should rather be considered as native resistance and survival (Djebar).

Bearing in mind that the French relentlessly developed their most articulate and comprehensive discourse of settler colonialism in Algeria, this paper aims to explore Albert Camus *The Plague*, a novel set in Oran, Algeria and which totally ignores the existence of the autochthones. And Assia Djebar *L'Amour, la Fantasia* (*Algerian Cavalcade*) which calls attention to the atrocities committed by the settlers and their obsession to cleanse the country from its indigenous population, and that is in the name of 'civilization'.

Because language had a bearing for both sides, a 'battle of languages' was bound to happen, but it was certainly imbalanced (Omri 2005). The colonial apparatus supported French, and the local languages (Berber and Arabic) were dismissed.

Eventually, we will ask ourselves whether these two works of fiction can be dismissed as purely 'artistic' texts with no historical significance, or whether they indeed contribute to our understanding of history - settler colonialism. What forms of sensibility and language does Djebar (as a woman) develop to express her own particular situation and concerns? How can these two works flesh out reparation and reconciliation?

John Collins, St. Lawrence University

A Dream Deterred: Palestine from Total War to Total Peace

With the benefit of hindsight, we can now see Zionism's settler-colonial project as a successful attempt to displace the question of European anti-Semitism onto the Palestinian Arabs, setting the stage for the ongoing conflict in Israel/Palestine. In the aftermath of Israel's creation and the dispossession of the Palestinians during the *nakba* (catastrophe) of 1947-49, the newly-created United Nations launched a massive (and still-existing) bureaucracy, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), as compensation for the Palestinians' lack of

state power. This choice sealed the fate of generations of Palestinian refugees who would be left 'exposed and alone under statist and clinical scrutiny' (Paul Virilio).

In this, as in so many ways, the Palestinian experience would prove prophetic. With the help of Virilio's work on the development of warfare and sovereignty, the post-*nakba* saga of the Palestinians appears as a microcosm of a much wider global process through which the logic of *deterrence* came to eclipse the practice of politics. The existence of the "ultimate weapon" provided the ideological and emotional context for a shift from *total war* (politics pursued by other means, in Clausewitz's classic formulation) to a regime of *total peace* (war pursued by other means). The blurring of the line between militarism and humanitarianism, subject of so much critical scrutiny in recent years, has its roots in the emergence of a regime for which the Palestinian refugee 'problem' was an early test case.

In this sense, the postwar international security order of 'mutually assured destruction', combined with the economic power of the new Bretton Woods institutions, ensured that while the American racial underclass was having its dreams 'deferred' (in the words of Langston Hughes' famous 1951 poem), the peoples of the 'third world' were having their political dreams *deterred*.

Dara Culhane, Simon Fraser University

Christmas Cakes and Tailor Made Suits: Indian Drinking and the (In)dignities of Law

From 1884 to 1962, the *Indian Act of Canada* prohibited the possession and consumption of alcohol by 'Registered Indians'. 'Non-Indians' who supplied alcohol to 'Indian' were subject to criminal charges, fines and jail sentences, rendering alcohol simultaneously a material, symbolic, legal and embodied space—deeply racialized and gendered—where settler colonialism was practiced and experienced in Canada. Rationalizations for these laws have shifted over time between crude scientific racism and social Darwinism, pseudo-scientific theories about metabolic differences in alcohol absorption rates, neo-Darwinian notions of maladaptive cultures of poverty, and psycho-social arguments about relationships between traumatic experience and alcohol consumption. Traces of various historical theories survived the repeal of legal prohibition, and they continue to combine and recombine, forming diverse configurations in contemporary cultural and political representations of First Nations in Canada, and Indigenous/colonized peoples around the world.

This paper presents two 'small stories' told by an elderly First Nations man about his memories of drinking during prohibition, and his reflections on the laws and their effects on himself, his family and community, and relations with non-Indigenous settlers. Drawing on interdisciplinary theoretical debates surrounding the potential of storytelling, narrative and performance to create and engage political critique, I show how these stories offer a window onto complex and nuanced settler/Indigenous relations as experienced by people in everyday life. I argue that such stories offer counter-hegemonic discourses that contribute to contemporary debates about memory, affect and political possibilities in contemporary conditions of neo/postcolonial life.

Ann Curthoys, Australian National University

Why Did the British Authorities Hand over Aboriginal Policy and Lives to the Settlers in the Australian Colonies?

This paper considers the relationship between the history of colonization and dispossession, and the granting of self-government to the Australian colonies. The larger project on which the paper is based aims to bring together two hitherto largely separate historiographies; one on the reasons for responsible government, and the other on Indigenous history. While the literature on the granting of responsible government is very considerable, none considers in any depth (and many do not consider at all) the Aboriginal policy dimension and implications of the transfer of responsibility for Indigenous policy from the metropole to the settlers. Much of it was written before the extensive work on Aboriginal history changed Australian historiography from the 1980s, and even when written later, is rarely written with Aboriginal history in mind. Conversely, Aboriginal historiography has generally focussed *either* on British imperial policy *or* on individual colonial government policies; even when a work covers both, it has discussed very lightly if at all the transition from imperial to settler control.

The paper asks "Why did the British authorities hand over Aboriginal policy and lives to the Settlers in the Australian Colonies?" While it is clear that in the 1850s the larger imperial goals (retaining the allegiance of the settler colonies) meant the fate of native peoples lost significance, we do not understand very well just how, when, and why this happened. More specifically, why did the British authorities build support for and protection of Indigenous peoples into the Western Australian constitution in the late 1880s, but not do so for the eastern colonies earlier, in the 1850s, when the frontier violence and general depopulation of the 1840s was still so fresh in memory, and indeed in some areas continuing? In attempting to answer these questions, the paper considers British policy towards self-government in settler colonies generally.

Stacey Renee Davis, Evergreen State College

Nineteenth-Century Forced Settler Colonialism: French Political Prisoners in Algeria

Shortly after his December 2, 1851 *coup d'état* ending France's Second Republic, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte shipped nearly six thousand of his political opponents to Algeria. For the French president who would shortly declare himself Emperor, this mass deportation rid France of the most vocal small town republicans, including men who had taken arms in the failed insurrectionary attempt to thwart the *coup*. French colonial administrators in Algeria, however, envisioned these deportees as the seeds of a new rural, agricultural colonialism. In particular, the colonial governor worked hard to transform the political prisoners into Algerian farmers: he moved them to vacant, half-built villages originally intended for poor Parisian migrants; he developed a scheme in which prisoners could win freedom and, eventually, agricultural land, through hard work; finally, he planned to ship free of charge the prisoners' families to Africa to join them in their new colonial home.

My paper, based on documents at French colonial and military archives as well as on prisoner letters and memoirs, examines this failed experiment in forced settler colonialism in light of four competing realities: the colonial administration's desire throughout the 1850s to populate with small-scale European farming communities

vast swaths of the Algerian plains only recently wrested from native Arabs and Berbers; the central Parisian regime's relative disinterest in the colony and distrust of Algeria's growing urban communities of European migrants; Louis-Napoleon's obsession with his ability to pardon erstwhile political opponents; and the prisoners' own strong collective identity and their consistent rejection of attempts to turn them into permanent Algerian settlers. By shedding light on French ambivalence towards its North African colony at mid-century, and the diverse perceptions of Algeria held by common French citizens and administrators alike, this paper adds a new facet to the comparative study of nineteenth-century European settler colonialism.

Daniel Carey, NUI, Galway

Colonial Encounters, 1590-1625: Refiguring Landscape, Remythologising Territory

I want to look at the early modern norm of regarding the ideal occasion of colonial settlement as occurring through occupation of terra nullius - unclaimed or ostensibly unoccupied land (for which see Thomas More or Francis Bacon). Where the land was occupied and resistance a feature of colonial occupation, an intriguing process occurred in figures such as Spenser and Purchas; namely to figure the ocasion as an encounter with the land itself and/or to remythologise the landscape.

Corinne Dempsey, University of Wisconsin

Hiding Heterotopias: Hindu Settler Makeovers and Takeovers of North American Sacred Space

Hindu 'settlers' in the U.S. inhabit, like settler colonizers, fraught spaces between systems and ideologies, often through efforts to gain legitimacy through new landscapes. Since Hinduism intrinsically orients itself to land, ascribing divine power to South Asian topography, communities who successfully relocate must somehow sanctify new terrain. By discussing two examples of this dynamic, one pluralist and other colonialist, my paper explores relationships between settlers, land, and religious rhetoric, excavating layers of irony and colonial power inversion in the process.

First, a rural New York temple reflects conventional strategies for claiming and sanctifying land. Here, conceptions of sacred terrain ensure a 'heterotopic' vision that confounds totalizing discourses. On one hand, temple authenticity arises from claims for exclusive/eternal land ownership and identification with ancient India. For example, landscape features mark how temple deities anticipated the temple's arrival and a nearby creek and environs are renamed Ganga (Ganges) and Kashi (Banaras). Yet temple property maintains its own, layered, 'indigenous' sacrality. Native Americans and products of farm labor are understood to have prepared the grounds with sacred efficacy, as well.

The above interplay contrasts with a Hindu community whose resemblances to settler colonizers are legion. Between 1981 and 1985, mostly white devotees of Indian guru Bhagwan Rajneesh employed intimidation and violence to displace Antelope City members in eastern Oregon. They overran the city council, bought up houses and businesses, and renamed streets and the city itself. In an effort to swing county elections for increased land rights, their 'Share-A-Home' campaign imported 4,000

homeless from around the country. Absolutist us/them ideologies - inevitably diffused in conventional diaspora contexts - afforded wealthy Rajneeshees the arrogance to colonize and exploit under the banner of spiritual healing. Eventually, settler-devotee ambivalence over ideological contradictions emerged in light of an increasingly oppressive - and silently remote - guru 'metropole'.

Dermot Dix, Headfort School, Kells, Co. Meath

A Settled Question?: Charles, Lord Cornwallis and the lessons of the loss of Britain's first colonies of settlement.

This paper takes as its starting-point the first crisis of British settler colonialism: the 1780s War of Independence in Britain's American colonies. To explore the reverberations of this event and its impact on imperial thinking and strategies, I examine the letters of Charles, Lord Cornwallis, the losing general at Yorktown (the battle that led to the loss of Britain's prized American colonies of settlement) but also the British general-administrator who rode the storm of Ireland's 1798 Rebellion and who steered the act of Union through the doomed Irish Parliament in 1800. Cornwallis's letters contain revealing opinions: disillusioned with both of America's divided settler groups (Loyalists and Patriots alike), he also held a generally poor view of Irish Protestants for what he saw as their misguided treatment of the Catholic population.

The questions this paper seeks to address are: What lessons did those at the heart of empire, like Cornwallis, draw from the American context, and did these lessons help shape the response to 1798? Did the loss of America thus in some sense affect directions taken by the Irish (both settler and 'native') and their rulers into the nineteenth century? Did these late eighteenth-century crises affect the ways in which the very identity of the British Empire was imagined in the century that followed? Can it be said that a policy choice was being considered between an empire of settlement and one consisting largely of conquered alien peoples?

John Docker, Australian National University

The Honourable Colonizer: From Greek and Roman Antiquity to Early Modern English Humanism

In the first part of this talk I refer to key examples in Herodotus' *The Histories* and Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* of what can be considered, in terms of Raphaël Lemkin's originating definition, to be genocide, which occurred during war and conquest and as part of the establishing and maintenance of empire. In the second part I discuss attitudes and values in relation to empire in Tacitus' *Agricola* and *Germania*, and their enduring legacy in world history. In the third part I discuss how an appreciation of Tacitus helped shape future developments in the manifold ways that European colonizers, from early modern times onwards, justified their colonizing projects, including in terms of international law.

I argue that Herodotus and Thucydides establish history as a mode of ethical reflection that all future thinking about colonization, conquest, and empire in the European classical and neo-classical tradition had to engage with: no easy task, given

the moral weight of their reflections is opposed to colonization and empire.

How Tacitus attempts to meet the challenge of this critical tradition will have fateful consequences for Western history. In these terms, while I evoke tensions in Tacitus' *Agricola* and *Germania* in relation to subject peoples, I compare Tacitus largely unfavourably with his great Greek predecessors. He helps create for the future of Western colonizing what I will refer to as the discourse, sensibility, and consciousness of the honourable colonizer. My argument is that the honourable colonizer is an extremely important discursive figure in European and Western history in enabling colonization, with the best and most sensitive and highest of intentions, to occur and keep occurring; intentions that apparently transcend the particular consequences for those being invaded, colonized, and dispossessed.

The framing questions I explore in this talk are: given the challenge posed by Herodotus and Thucydides to those who favour colonization and empire, how could one be an honourable colonizer? Can one be an honourable colonizer?

David Doolin , University of Hawai'i

Diamond Head: A View of Settler Colonialism

Renaming and reassigning a particular usage to an area of land is one aspect of the work perpetuated by colonial settlers that systematically overlooks, pays short shrift to, or commodifies a host culture, while maintaining a specific vision of a place, often to cater for an endemic tourist industry. In understanding this process of how a particular imagined scene is created by a literal view being offered (for a "small fee"), that concurrently seems to facilitate a disregard for the indigenous population, one might assess what has become one of the more famous "*tourist"* sites and symbols of Hawaii.

Diamond Head has become one of Hawaii's most iconic landmarks, expounded by the virulent tourism apparatus that maintains the idea of "settler colonisers come to stay," with the renaming, the reassigned usages, and the manipulation of vistas. Situated on the edge of the popular tourist enclave that is Waikiki and offering today, an (arguably), very specific scene to the west, of Waikiki and downtown Honolulu, there seems to be a particular vision being offered to the mainly tourist visitors that trek to the look out on the top of what has become known as Diamond Head Crater, Diamond Head Trail, Diamond Head State Monument or Park.

By speaking to the appropriation, renaming, and reusing, by settlers in Hawaii, of this site that is known to the Hawaiian people as Lē 'ahi, Diamond Head tells a particular story for a specific audience while seemingly eliminating the place of the Hawaiian people in that landscape. While speaking to these aspects of naming, using, and particularly viewing from Diamond Head, which inform a particular aspect of colonization, I would also like to briefly offer a reconceptualization and suggest some first steps in offering an alternative experience that may go some way towards addressing that which has been left out, left unseen and left unspoken to those who will ascend in order to see!

Anita Durkin, University of Rochester

‘The Agonies of Remembrance’: Narrative, Memory, and Identity in *Edgar Huntly*

Published in 1798, Charles Brockden Brown’s gothic novel, *Edgar Huntly*, suggests the impossibility of a settler colonist establishing a settler identity. In this novel, the frontier functions as both a space of incessant memory where two sleepwalkers, Edgar, an ‘American’, and Clithero, an ‘Irish’ immigrant, literally re-enact their pasts, and as ‘virgin land’, the void that Edgar’s paternalistic and imperialistic British mentor, Sarsefield, envisions. In these paradoxical representations of the American wilderness, Brown subsequently suggests the dual allegiances of the settler colonist who is called by his imperialistic ‘father’ to encounter the forest as a blank space, an area of non-remembrance, even as the forest becomes the scene in which the settler-as-sleepwalker acts out memory. Moreover, throughout the novel, Brown’s language clearly equates movement over geographical space with movement over narrative space, such that traversing the wilderness implicitly functions also as an act of narration, of telling and retelling. In this sense, Edgar’s and Clithero’s movements throughout the forest imbue the space with memory, and in so doing, evidence the kinship between the two settlers and Old Deb, an American Indian woman, who likewise continually tells her stories and thereby counters Sarsefield’s imagining of the land as uninhabited and past-less. Intriguingly, then, Brown’s novel, in its equation of narration with imperialistic movement over ‘virgin land’ suggests the irresolvable identity crisis of the settler colonist: while called at once to solidify an imperialistic identity in order to justify his movement over geographical space, a solidification that calls for a national literature to define and codify that identity, the settler colonist, in writing his narrative, in moving over land saturated with memory, cannot extricate himself from the past, cannot, that is, either separate himself from his imperialist ‘father’ (Sarsefield) nor his native ‘mother’ (Old Deb).

Penelope Edmonds, University of Melbourne

White Spaces? Racialised Geographies, Anglo Saxon Exceptionalism, and the Location of Empire in Britain’s Nineteenth-Century Pacific Rim Cities

Many writers have charted the various manifestations of whiteness. For some, whiteness is a strategy of authority, or it may be experienced as terror, while for others, bodies are configured as white. Can settler-colonial space be coded white? This paper interrogates the rendering of Britain’s mid nineteenth-century Pacific Rim colonies, British Columbia and Victoria, south eastern Australia, and their cities as white spaces. The paper problematises easily applied ideas of whiteness by instead looking to a developing and pervasive Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism during the nineteenth-century. Further, the paper asks whose city was white? And, where was the location of empire? Melbourne and Victoria were not white as many wished and imagined but were instead new, hybrid sites. Rather than places of dominance and control, these cities were sites where Britain struggled to command its own narrative identity.

Catriona Elder, University of Sydney

Resettling the Settler: Non-Indigenous Belonging, Colonialism and Reality Television.

This paper undertakes a comparative analysis of some of the mechanisms by which settler colonial, narratives of belonging to the land in Australia, the United States and Canada have been produced in the early twenty-first century. In particular it analyses the complex processes by which non-Indigenous peoples construct a sense of connection with at least some acknowledgment of the different links Indigenous peoples have to the land. Yet non-Indigenous peoples' ideas about connection and belonging often also deny the power or rights that accompany Indigenous peoples' originary and original sovereignty. Using historical reality/re-enactment television programmes – *The Colony* (SBS (Australia) 2004), *Outback House* (ABC (Australia) 2005), *Frontier House* (PBS 2002), *Colonial House* (PBS 2004), and *Pioneer Quest: A Year in the Real West* (Canada 2000) - this paper focuses on non-Indigenous peoples 'mechanisms for the acquaintance of space' in relation to Indigenous peoples. The paper explores both how the participants' in the re-enactment and the viewers think about familiarity and alienation when engaging with a different (historical) nation-state.

Katherine Ellinghaus, Monash University

Jim Crow in the Southern Hemisphere: Transnational Ideologies of Miscegenation in Australia, 1880s-1920s.

This paper is concerned with the intricate permutations of racial thinking in outposts of the British Empire. Drawing from my previous comparative work on interracial relationships in Australia and the United States, it utilises a transnational methodology to examine the influence of the United States, a settler society which had actively rejected its connections to Britain, on Australia, a settler society with strong ties to 'home'. Despite white Australia's sure sense of its place in the Commonwealth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, in its dealings with the indigenous peoples of the continent it often, as historian Marilyn Lake has pointed out, looked to the United States for ideologies with which to understand its conflicted race relations. This paper broadens Lake's focus on the intellectual influences of Australia's 'founding fathers' to focus on the popular sphere, and more specifically on the absorptionist policies of the twentieth century. Drawing from the world of the Jim Crow South as well as the American Indian 'frontier', white Australians of all backgrounds were able to reassure themselves as to their comparatively greater balance of racial power and simultaneously evoke rapes, lynchings, captivity narratives and vigilante action. This paper explores how the United States, with its large African American population, informed Australia about how to subdue and control its much smaller Aboriginal population. Significantly, it did so frequently when white/indigenous sexual relationships were the topic at hand. It is no surprise that Americanisms are most evident in the language and discourses associated with cross-cultural sexual relations and people of mixed descent. Thus evoking Ann Stoler's 'intimate sphere', I explore how the United States' understandings of miscegenation travelled the far reaches of empire.

Julie Evans, University of Melbourne

Law, Race, and 'The Frontier' in Settler States

The quest - relentless, urgent, and absurd - to establish the legitimacy of the colonial enterprise makes law's relation to colonialism particularly compelling in demonstrating and explaining the comprehensive discrimination experienced by Indigenous peoples and this discrimination's enduring resistance to reform. In the settler-colonial context, this paper focuses on the frontier as both notion and actuality, in order to discuss two aspects of my broader research on law and colonialism. First, I outline a schematic model that reconnects international and domestic law, commonly conceived as jurisdictionally distinct, and thereby reassess the narrow nationalist framework within which the notion of the frontier is usually understood. Second, I examine certain so-called frontier experiences in British settler colonies, commonly viewed both as exceptional and as confined to an interstitial period of pre-colonial lawlessness, in order to demonstrate their significance in constituting and sustaining the national sovereignty and rule of law claims of the colonizers, both at home and abroad. The paper therefore homes in on the transfer and transformation of sovereignty in settler states as a means of elaborating the mutual constitution of law and nation more generally.

Eleanor Finger, University of Melbourne

Indigenous Women and Assimilation in Australia and Prairie Canada, 1880s-1950s

In this paper I am interested in looking specifically at how colonial administrators imagined the activities of housework and housekeeping to be operating as assimilative tools within institutions for young Indigenous women. In particular, I would like to examine and compare how these activities were imagined within institutions established for Indigenous children in prairie Canada and New South Wales, Australia. I shall argue that, despite the different structure and administration of assimilation policies in the two colonial sites, a closer examination of the space of the institution reveals that staff and administrators employed strikingly similar discursive constructs when discussing domestic training and institutionalisation of young Indigenous women.

Tadhg Foley, NUI, Galway

How Settler Colonialism Was Theorised in the Nineteenth Century

The word 'colonialism' was very rarely used in the nineteenth century and its derogatory usage seems to be no older than post-World War 11. What is now called 'settler colonialism' was known in the nineteenth century as 'colonization'. From the foundation of the National Colonization Society in 1830, which propagated the ideas of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, colonization was theorized and justified, by the hired prize-fighters of empire, using the new 'science' of political economy, totally in economic terms.

Though a modern colony was defined as a *territory* rather than a *people*, there was frequent semantic slippage, as is obvious even in the most influential formulation of all, that of G.C. Lewis in his *Essay on the Government of Dependencies* (1841). 'A colony', he wrote, 'properly denotes a body of persons belonging to one country and political community, who, having abandoned that country and community, form a new and separate society, independent or dependent, in some district which is wholly

or nearly uninhabited, or from which they expel the ancient inhabitants'. Mercantile depots, charter colonies, and dependencies of various kinds were excluded from this definition; the only proper colonies were settler colonies and this profoundly affected the official understanding of colonization and the relationships between the imperial centre and the colonies.

The discourse of colonization should be carefully distinguished from that of colonialism. The economic, and to a lesser extent, the political, social, and cultural destiny of the 'colony' (meaning the colony of settlers), was virtually the only focus of the discourse of colonization. Indigenous peoples, whose fate impinged infrequently on the theorists of empire, were seen variously as natural hazards, impediments to the march of empire, potential 'labour', candidates for rescue from 'savagery' and 'barbarity', or as souls to be saved.

Colonization was conceptualised in terms of the relationships between population and capital. 'Mother countries', like Great Britain, it was argued, had an excess of labour and capital but a severe shortage of land, whereas colonial territories had an abundance of land but a debilitating shortage of labour and capital. Fortunately enough, labour and capital, unlike land, were mobile factors of production and their movement to the colonies was assumed to be profitable to the economic interests both of the 'home' country and the colony. The National Colonization Society promoted practical colonization, deployed economic concepts in its understanding, and, by advocating the sale of colonial land, introduced the market to the colonial enterprise.

To achieve its economic objectives, the idea of colonization was to 'plant' new English nations abroad ('plantation' was an earlier name for colonization), so the colony had to be the faithful 'representative', a child of the 'Mother Country', complete with family resemblances. The National Colonization Society promoted 'systematic colonization' rather than sporadic and random emigration. It complained that colonization was once a noble, even heroic, activity engaged in by the highest in the land; now the colonies were used, in the words of Charles Buller, for 'shovelling out paupers', or as dumping grounds for criminals. But with the emigration of, overwhelmingly, members of the lower classes and with convict colonization, the new English nations would scarcely be clones of the original stock but rather what one authority called a 'monstrous family'. To ensure proper colonization, what the Society advocated, as against this horizontal segment of plebeian British society, was the emigration of a vertical cross-section, ideally including representatives of all classes. This had important implications for eventual colonial self-government.

Karl Froschauer, Simon Fraser University

Hydroelectric Development in Northern Canada: Attempted Mega-project Marginalization of Aboriginal Peoples and their Jurisdictional Resistance

Informed by the insights of Aboriginal sociologist Cora Voyageur and Brian Caillou (2003), this paper argues that Aboriginal peoples were by no means passive figures in Canada's history and economy. Rather, Canada's Aboriginal peoples have "made valuable contributions to the economic development of Canada." Therefore, when government officials attempted to exclude and dispossess Aboriginals through development of major northern hydroelectric projects, they resisted. For example,

when officials in the federal and Quebec governments and in Hydro Quebec excluded Aboriginals from decisions about the James Bay hydro project, the Cree and Inuit resisted. This paper will demonstrate how the Cree, like Aboriginal peoples before them, have used the political arena and the courts (e.g., Malouf court injunction) to resist such mega-project marginalization and economic expropriation. Generally, this case, and similar cases of resistance on the Nelson River (Manitoba) and Churchill Falls (Labrador) have led to governments now consulting Aboriginal people before developing such projects.

Candace Fujikane, University of Hawai'i

From 'Migrant' to 'Settler': Naming Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i

As indigenous peoples around the world continue to fight for their rights to their ancestral lands and self-determination, Native Hawaiians are engaged in their own struggles for national liberation from US colonialism. Ethnic histories written about Asian Americans in Hawai'i, however, demonstrate an investment in the ideal of American democracy that is ideologically at odds with indigenous critiques of US colonialism. Instead, they erect a multicultural ethnic studies framework that ends up reproducing the settler claims made in white settler historiography. In a landmark keynote address delivered in 1997, Native Hawaiian nationalist Haunani-Kay Trask specifically identified Asians in Hawai'i as settlers who benefit from the colonial subjugation of Hawaiians.

Trask's work points out new directions for foundational as well as recent studies of settler states. Settler studies scholars themselves have been highly ambivalent about articulating the roles of 'migrants' in settler states. Because Asians in non-Asian settler states have been historically subjected to state racism, scholars like David Pearson use what he calls an 'analytic triangle' of 'aboriginal/settler/immigrant' to represent 'immigrants' as occupying a third space that exempts them from colonial responsibilities. Pearson's logic in constructing such a triangle is premised on his conception of the United States as a 'post-settler locale', a conclusion derived from his assumption that the 'place of aboriginality' in the United States, 'given the scale of competing ethnic categories, has a far more muted presence'. In this way, settler studies scholars' privileging of multiculturalism perpetuates the 'vanishing Indian' thesis as Native peoples are represented as 'disappearing' into a 'multicultural' nation.

Directed by the work of Trask and other Native scholars who critique the US settler state, I examine Asian settler colonialism as a constellation of the colonial ideologies and practices of Asian settlers who currently support the broader structure of the US settler state. I expand upon the work being done in settler studies by analyzing the historical and political specificities of a settler colony where some Asian settler groups have come to share colonial power with white settlers.

Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Yale University

Tradition Invented and Preserved: The Scottish South, Slavery, and Singing Psalms

Traditions, represented as the most antique of folk ways, do not pass down intact through generations; rather, each generation forges them anew. In the colonial and national U. S. South, the Scots-Irish, or Ulster Scots, who moved first from the

Lowlands to Ireland and then to America, left behind the cultural memory of the Irish plantations, but they preserved a Scottish culture that they passed on to those whom they encountered in the New World in the first half of the eighteenth century. Their African slaves spoke Gaelic in North Carolina, and Lowland heritage persisted in a syncretism between African, Native American, and European cultures that blossomed in religious practices.

This paper will trace Scottish colonial settlers' culture over two and one-half centuries, as Gaelic-speaking slaves and their masters moved west into Indian Territory. African American Alabamians, Muscogee Creek Indians in Oklahoma, and white Baptists in Kentucky today all practice a form of 'line singing' learned from their Scottish ancestors and Scottish missionaries and traders. In Scotland, the lining-out of psalms is preserved in the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Despite the fragmentation of denominational practice, slavery, and the persecution of Native Americans, the Scots' way of singing survived and sustains those who practice it. Scots' heritage is a complex tale of shared historical experience, isolation by chance and by choice, and multi-denominational determination to maintain distinctiveness.

Most white Southerners of Lowland Scottish descent remain unaware of this Lowland heritage and the intermixing that sustained it. Instead, in the twentieth century, Southerners of Ulster Scots descent began to redefine—really to re-remember—themselves as Highland Scots. Choosing the most colourful traditions available to them, they pretended to be Highland Scots, replete with kilts, annual Highland Games, and off-key bagpipe players pumping out "Amazing Grace" at funerals. An artificial, invented past has obscured the common past that settler Scots passed on to their slaves, to those whom they conquered, and to their own descendants.

Lally Grauer, University of British Columbia, Okanagan

Shared and Silenced Histories: Hester Haynes White and Marie Houghton Brent

Hester Haynes White and Marie Houghton Brent were both daughters of Irish settlers, John.Carmichael Haynes from County Cork and Charles Frederick Houghton from County Kilkenny, who acquired land in the Okanagan in the early 1860s. The two women began a correspondence in 1940, when White was researching for an article on the life of her father, and it continued over the next twenty years into the old age of both women. Both Hester White and Marie Brent were interested in Okanagan history and published articles in local newspapers and the annual reports of the Okanagan Historical Society. They encouraged each other as writers and historians in the midst of domestic obligations, and, in the case of Brent, some poverty. This paper will explore the complex identification, support, difference and silence their publications and letters suggest. Although Marie Brent proudly claimed her Okanagan heritage—her mother, Charles Houghton's Okanagan wife Sophie N'Kwala, was the grand-daughter of Chief N'Kwala, and Brent had been brought up in the Okanagan traditions by her great aunt Teresa Laurent—she suggests as much pride in her pioneer father who colonized Indigenous lands as Hester White does in hers. White mourns the disruption and loss of Okanagan ways through settlement, but rationalizes the role her father played in the drastic reduction of reserve lands. She is silent about how her own father lived with an Okanagan woman when he first arrived

in the southern Okanagan and never publicly acknowledges her step-brother and sister who were born of that union.

Jennifer J. Gustar, University of British Columbia Okanagan

Complex Connectivity: Patricia Grace's *Dogside Story*

The bicultural (Maori–Pakeha) nature of New Zealand culture has had a profound impact on its literature. This paper engages both my 2003 interview with Patricia Grace and her 1999 novel, *Dogside Story,* a novel which explores the unique situation of the Maori in relation to settler colonialism at the turn of this century. Arun P. Mukherjee has expressed dismay that the 'foundational' texts in postcolonial theory can routinely efface the specific cultural differences that arise in postcolonial writing: '[t]his slippage in the discourse of postcolonial theory [is its] . . . greatest weakness'. I begin to address this weakness by attending to the specific cultural contexts of Grace's writing as she articulates them. John Tomlinson writes, 'globalization is an empirical condition of the modern world: what I shall call complex connectivity. . . . globalization refers to the rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterizes modern social life'. Tomlinson's tropes move us to think about the ways in which knowledge of our world is being mediated not unilaterally, but through an 'ever-densening network'. This suggests to me that hybridity may no longer be an adequate trope to a complex understanding of indigenous writing in the context of settler colonialism. I engage in a dialogue with Grace and her work, in order to argue for an approach that foregrounds the author's own positioning and commitments, especially as she speaks to the force of indigenous culture and tradition on her writing, as opposed to the notion that her writing represents a 'hybrid' of European/Pakeha influence and indigeneity.

Keith Hallett, Melbourne University

Evangelism, Land Acquisition and Mixed Motives in Northern New Guinea 1875 -1900

The Methodist mission to New Britain [in Northern New Guinea] was founded in 1875 and was the first permanent European settlement in the region. The mission's founder, the Reverend George Brown, and his sponsor, the Australian Methodist Conference, envisaged it as an evangelical enterprise. Although the mission must be studied in the context of nineteenth-century colonialism, its evangelical motives led to some accommodation with the local community. This paper argues that the mission provides evidence of a more benign form of settler colonialism, which stands in contrast to the German colonies of the later nineteenth century, especially in the area of land acquisition. The paper will be based largely on the documentary evidence of Brown's journals and the context of the German, and later Australian colonial policies.

Salah D. Hassan, Michigan State University

Refugee Return: Palestinian Politics and Diaspora Theory

If the UN partition plan gave international legitimation to the founding of Israel in historic Palestine, numerous subsequent UN resolutions on Palestine have provided a basis for Palestinians to seek redress within the framework of international law. To a certain degree, the mountain of UN resolutions in support of Palestinian rights indicates the significant responsibility that the UN assumes with regard to the injustices experienced by the Palestinians since 1948. This sense of historical responsibility is especially evident in connection with Palestinian refugees, who were forcibly displaced by Jewish settlers in the new state of Israel. During the first Arab-Israeli war, following the partition of British mandate Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel, approximately 750,000 Palestinians (almost half of the Palestinian population) were forced to leave their homes. Since that time, Israel has promoted an aggressive policy of expropriating Palestinian land. This paper focuses specifically on Israel's creation of a Palestinian refugee community and the emergence of Palestinian right of return politics. I am especially interested in the ways that right of return is tied to theories of diaspora.

Deana Heath, Trinity College Dublin

Re-Assessing the 'Coloniality' of Settler Societies: Challenging the Problem of 'Ambivalence'

What could be termed the *ambivalency* of settler colonies—of their complicity in colonialism even in the face of the most strident resistance to it—has posed immense challenge for scholars of colonialism. How are we to make sense of a form of colonialism in which resistance could never be directed at an object or discursive structure which could be seen as entirely external to the self, and which hence produced not only an ambivalent and contradictory anti-colonialist resistance, but a colonial subjectivity in which resistance cut across the individual subject? The difficulty of grappling with such complexities has led to the virtual exclusion of settler colonies from postcolonial studies, which has served not only to render the idea of anti-colonial resistance as synonymous with exploitation colonies, but to enforce the very binaries of colonialism (self/other, colonizer/colonized, modernity/tradition) that postcolonial approaches have endeavoured to erase.

But as postcolonial theorists have demonstrated, ambivalency was also a tension in the domain of non-settler colonies, among not simply the colonized (who sought both to appropriate and resist colonialism) but also among the colonizers (who sought both to advance the 'civilising mission' of colonialism but feared losing their own colonial 'distinction' in the process). How, then, did the forms of ambivalency differ between settler and conquest colonies, and what does this reveal about the 'coloniality' of settler colonies? This paper aims to explore such questions through examining how a particular settler colony, namely Australia, and a conquest colony, India, responded to attempts by Britain, beginning in the late nineteenth century, to institute a censorship system throughout the British empire to regulate the trade in 'obscene' publications. Placing two distinct types of colonies within the same analytical framework as their metropole and exploring how and in what ways a particular metropolitan disciplinary project was transformed in both contexts will, I aim to demonstrate, offer new insights not only into the hierarchies of production, power and knowledge that constituted colonial regimes, but into the nature of settler 'coloniality'.

Jonathan Highfield, Rhode Island School of Design

Driving the Devil into the Ground: Settler Myth in André Brink's *Devil's Valley*

In *White Writing*, J.M. Coetzee writes that 'This landscape remains alien, impenetrable, until a language is found in which to win it, speak it, represent it'. Finding a language with which to speak the land has been an important part of the construction of settler colonies worldwide. In André Brink's novel, *Devil's Valley*, a failed historian travels to a remote part of South Africa to investigate a settlement of Afrikaners who broke off from the Great Trek and settled in an isolated valley. Brink's creation of a place outside the narrative of post-apartheid South Africa, and even outside of most of the events of the twentieth century, allows a glimpse into the attempt to find an authentic earth-bound language.

In the Devil's Valley, the settlers create religious customs and mythologies which attempt to place them in the land from the beginning of time. The more Brink's narrator attempts to uncover the history of the settlement through conversations with its inhabitants, the more contradictory the account of the settlement's founding and development become. The outsider's arrival becomes the catalyst that leads to the destruction of the settlement, as the stories the inhabitants have told themselves are revealed to conceal the genocide, sexual assaults, and miscegenation which formed the community. As the myths which bind them to the land unravel, the land itself seems determined to destroy the community.

I will explore the way that settler myths are amalgams of the stories told to justify invasion and the local stories the invaders attempted to displace. Brink's imagined landscape of racist superiority offers glimpses of the haunted legacies settler communities must wrestle with in the attempt to find a language which provides them access to the land.

Holly Hobbs and **Marcus Ó Conaire,** University of Missouri

British Film and Imperialist Nostalgia: Settler Colonialism in Ireland and Kenya

One cannot discuss settler colonialism without confronting its continued and problematic romanticized portrayal in film. While the romanticization of the colonized world is readily evident and well deconstructed within Hollywood film, these same legacies within British film, however, often remain largely unchallenged. Within this discursive framework, this paper seeks to address the continued romanticization of settler colonialism in British film within both the Irish and Kenyan contexts—two of the largest settler colonies—illustrating the continued Rousseavian conceptualizations, overt exoticization, and nostalgiac longing evident within them. In addressing this continued portrayal—which includes a discussion of the ways in which these films continue to be actively marketed as commodities within mainstream popular culture—this paper will utilize several key films, discussed within the greater framework of comparative analysis, in order to ultimately illustrate that the romanticization of settler colonialism in British film remains a socially acceptable way in which to express a subtle, yet powerful, imperialist nostalgia. Finally, this paper will provide a brief survey of Irish- and Kenyan-made films that centrally serve as methods of tropological revision and resistance.

Heather A. Howard, Michigan State University

Oh Canada! Your Home on Native Land: Indigenous Voices, Shared Landscapes and the Reconfiguration of Citizenship

Drawing on research conducted primarily in Toronto, this paper examines the reconceptualization of citizenship formulated at the intersection of Native and non-Native practices in processes of urbanization and community-building. In the last fifty years since Native people have moved to the city in significant numbers, I argue that their presence has had an impact on shaping the idea of 'good' citizenship. In particular, Native people have challenged Torontonians and Canadians more broadly to re-align their understandings of relationships to the land in the shared space of the urban setting, and in terms of experiences of multiculturalism. These challenges have taken a range of forms. In the 1950s and '60s, for example, these included resistance by a burgeoning urban Native middle class to the direct and explicit imposition of dominant models of citizenship. In more recent years, increased attention to Native land claims in urban areas has prompted the strategic reformulation of essentialist concepts of Native identity in terms of the urban landscape. For instance, activists have adapted indigenous philosophies, such as Anishinaabe bimaadiziwin (living a good life) usually associated with living in harmony with the natural world, to the built environment of the city. Whereas dominant discourses of citizenship tend to revolve around the individual's roles and rights in relation to society, Native models focus on the integration of individual and societal responsibilities. Moreover, the praxis and transformations described in this paper are never divorced from their political economic contexts. Thus, while this paper adds to subaltern theory about citizenship through case studies that highlight indigenous alternatives, it is also grounded in a political economic analysis.

Stephen Howe, University of Bristol

The Colonist's Anticolonialism? Attitudes to Empire in Settler Societies.

I thought of calling this paper 'Essex Man goes global?' A title like that would be excessively flippant, and possibly offensive to some. But it would have gestured towards two intriguing phenomena in the history of settler colonialism. One, that those who migrated to the 'classic' British colonies of settlement, from New England to New Zealand, have been shown to have come disproportionately from the counties around London, with Essex indeed the most dramatically overrepresented place of origin. Two, that the historical literature on settler societies, which has overwhelmingly depicted them in a hostile light, has attributed to them characteristics very like the modern British caricature of 'Essex Man': philistine, bigoted, and cantankerous, lacking in both social morality and the social graces, stubbornly chauvinistic and imbued with plebeian racism, but also self-reliant, upwardly aspiring and comparatively egalitarian.

I intend here to do something a little more serious than simply playing with such images and stereotypes. 'Settler attitudes to Empire' would evidently embrace three, distinguishable if intertwined, kinds of issue:

i) Stances toward the fate of their own society - in its relations both to

indigenous peoples, and to colonial ‘mother countries’;

ii) Attitudes to the overruling or sponsoring empire (mostly British, in the cases I’m looking at);

iii) Attitudes to imperialism or colonialism in general.

The paper is, therefore, broadly conceptual and historiographical in focus. It addresses questions like:
What distinguishes a settler from a migrant? How should we differentiate a settler society from a society that has some settlers? What are the differences between settler colonies and other kinds of colonialism, or indeed other kinds of settlement? How should we evaluate Michael Mann’s and others’ controversial recent arguments on the links among settler colonialism, democracy, and genocide? And, to echo the title question of Mahmood Mamdani’s equally controversial Cape Town inaugural lecture a few years ago, when does a settler become a native – or indeed vice versa?

Frederick E. Hoxie, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign

‘Challenging the State: American Indians and the Empire of Liberty’.
‘A Bitter and Endless Persecution’: The Career of James McDonald, the First Indian Lawyer

The first American Indian to practice law in the United States was born in Hinds County, Mississippi Territory in 1801, the same year Thomas Jefferson became President of the United States and Napoleon Bonaparte consolidated his rule in post-revolutionary France. Like those two more famous leaders, McDonald seemed a man of the new century, born to a promising future. By the standards of his community he was wealthy. McDonald was the son of a white (Scot?) trader and a Choctaw woman named Molly who owned both land and slaves in the rapidly-developing cotton and cattle country of the American southwest. McDonald was also well-educated. His mother enrolled him as a child in a mission school near modern Jackson, Mississippi but in 1813 she took the extraordinary step of sending him east to Baltimore, Maryland where the Yearly Meeting of Friends took responsibility for his upbringing. Within a decade he had been educated in the classics and been admitted to the bar. By 1823 he had returned home ready to set up a law practice in the new state capital of Jackson.

In the first years after his return to Mississippi, McDonald’s prospects seemed good. Leaders of the United States and the Choctaw tribe sought his counsel. He appeared to embody the promise of the new American nation: articulate, multilingual and eager, he was comfortable in eastern government offices and drawing rooms and in the forests of his native Mississippi. “What is an American?” the writer Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur had asked in an essay written in the wake of the American Revolution. It would be easy to imagine that McDonald represented one answer.

But McDonald’s life marked a very different course than what Crevecoeur or the Indian youth’s Quaker sponsors might have imagined. Frustration and defeat swiftly followed his early achievements. He found no steady position with either the Choctaws or the American government; his law practice never flourished. And rather than being celebrated by his fellow Americans as the embodiment of a new national identity—an amalgamation of the best of Native and European traditions—he met

almost universal rejection. In the end he watched helplessly from the sidelines as aggressive settlers and their representatives bullied outraged Indian leaders, threatening their former neighbours and allies with destruction if they did not abandon their ancient homelands and move beyond the settled borders of the United States. 'The clouds appear to be gathering from every quarter and ready to burst over every fragment of the Indian race', McDonald wrote from his home in Mississippi in 1826. 'I see applications to congress from half the states in the union for the extinguishment of Indian titles to land—and to my mind it looks like a bitter and endless persecution'. Soon all the young lawyer's worst fears had been fulfilled. The Choctaws and most neighbouring tribes were expelled from Mississippi and McDonald died in obscurity. How could so desperate a situation have descended so quickly on the new American nation? And what meaning would this traumatic chain of events have for the continent's indigenous peoples, both those like McDonald's kinsmen who were marched west to make new lives in Arkansas and 'Indian Territory' and those from other tribes who watched the nightmare unfold? This paper will explore these questions and consider the legacy of early Native critics of the American legal system in both the nineteenth century and beyond.

Odoziobodo Severus Ifeanyi, Enugu State University of Science and Technology

Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Resistance: A Study of the Liberian Civil War, 1989-2005

This paper aims at exploring the nexus between settler colonialism and the attendant resistance from the indigenous people. Ideally, settler colonisers come to stay. They seek to replace native people on, or at least, displace them from their land or control and dominate them. Characteristically, the outcome is a conflictual coexistence through which indigenous and invasive societies historically transform one another.

The paper argues that the Liberian situation correctly depicts what happens in such cases when new comers try to dominate or displace the indigenous people or lord it over them. The paper argues that the indigenous people would naturally resist such moves which in most cases are usually a superior force. The outcome is usually disastrous and if not controlled, may lead to war.

Using the Liberian case, the paper explores a situation as this. What happened actually in Liberia was a situation where the freed slaves settled in Liberia, Americo-Liberians, believed in the racist notion of the West at the time that Africans were inferiors. They took full advantage of the situation to view the indigenous Liberians as 'unfit' human beings to live with; hence, they segregated themselves from them by establishing their own communities. This action laid the foundation for the policy of political and economic exclusion of native Liberians from the affairs of the country, a policy that would later result in civil conflict.

The paper notes that the Liberian civil war claimed thousands of innocent Liberian lives, including women and children. It not only created social, economic and political decay and ethnic tensions, but sadly, thousands of children were also turned into child soldiers, who have no understanding of the many grizzly crimes they had committed against their own people. The war has been the result of economic and political exclusion policies implemented by the Americo-Liberians , since their arrival in

Liberia in 1822. This political strategy turned the ethnic groups against each other, whilst the aspiring political leaders capitalized on the situation for their selfish advantages.

After the exploration of the despicable relationship between the settler colonizers and the indigenous people, the paper discovered that none of the parties to the conflict gained from the ensuring conflict. It therefore recommends peaceful coexistence among settlers and the indigenous people anywhere, any time, as the only sure means to meaningful development.

Chief Ron Ignace, Skeetchestn First Nation (Secwepemc)/Simon Fraser University

Canadian Aboriginal Languages and Public Policy: A Sober Assessment

The vast majority of Aboriginal languages in Canada are in an endangered state, some are on the verge of disappearing. As Aboriginal peoples, we have been fighting to stem the tide of the loss of our languages through practical ways of keeping them alive, in the face of a legal and political landscape which celebrates English/French bilingualism and multiculturalism involving immigrant languages, but which disadvantages and ignores the protection of indigenous languages. This paper will consider the past and existing legal environment faced by indigenous languages in Canada, in comparison with legal protection measures of indigenous languages in other parts of the world. One point of consideration is whether legal measures can guarantee the revitalization of critically endangered languages. In addition, the author will draw attention to some unique issues involving the protection of knowledge encoded in endangered Aboriginal languages. In order to protect both the style and content of knowledge entailed in languages from appropriation by settler society, the legal and political systems within the dominant society, but also within Aboriginal Nations, must pay attention to the very protocols and forms of discourse engendered in Aboriginal languages.

Marianne Ignace, Simon Fraser University

Keeping Canadian Indigenous Languages Alive: An Ethnographic Reflection

With some thirty indigenous languages, British Columbia/Canada is a place of enormous linguistic diversity amidst the English monolingualism of settler and immigrant society. Due to calculated political oppression and the invasion of English into all spheres of communication, most of these indigenous languages are in a state of extreme endangerment, with only a handful of elderly speakers remaining. While statistics about the current state of languages point to the sad trends of decline in the number of speakers,, little attention has been paid to the ethnography of language decline and revitalization. Based on ethnographic and linguistic research, as well as the author’s own experience of indigenous language use in the family and community, this paper will discuss the ways in which members of indigenous speech communities experience the contemporary decline of their languages, live in the face of the overwhelming dominance of English, while attaching deep cultural and spiritual values to their languages in the face of enormous difficulty in the practical revitalization or sustenance of indigenous language speech habits. Last not least, revitalization and maintenance efforts in Aboriginal communities exist and persist in

spite of the everyday stresses and trauma associated with death, suicide and violence, an issue which language planners and educators often do not take into account.

Diana Jeater, University of the West of England, Bristol

'Too many Inkosis': The Shift from Nguni Settler Colonialism to Dutch Settler Colonialism in Eastern Zimbabwe, 1895-1909

During much of the nineteenth century, the Ndau people of the Chimanimani mountains, in what is now eastern Zimbabwe, were subjects of the Gaza Empire. The Gaza Empire was a Zulu offshoot from South Africa; its people intermarried with the Ndau, seized their cattle and levied heavy tribute. Towards the end of the century, the Gaza Empire disintegrated and a new set of colonising settlers from South Africa, speaking Dutch rather than Zulu, moved in as the new overlords. This paper examines how the local people responded to the new settlers, demonstrating that white colonial settlers were not initially experienced as being fundamentally different from black imperial settlers. There were no existing rules about how people should interact in these new circumstances, or how they should communicate with each other. However, there were plenty of previous experiences to draw upon. Unless circumstances forced a reassessment, people tended to assume that the world was working in ways that they already understood. They continued to produce, trade and make alliances according to what seemed to them to be their best chances of success. They used languages that they had already found to work as a means of communication. Beliefs and stereotypes about other communities, whether within or between ethnic/racial groups, framed and limited their contacts. People remained largely within their own worldviews, and assumed that the others were operating on broadly the same principles, within the same cosmology and jurisprudence. Relationships with the incoming white groups were initially treated as normal interactions, based on past experience of how incoming colonisers behaved. However, some whites fitted these existing models better than others. The paper shows how missionaries, traders and administrators all, in different ways, both reproduced and challenged existing ideas about settler overlords.

Barry Alan Joyce, University of Delaware

Colonial Settlement and the Appropriation of Sacred Places in the American Southwest

Waves of colonizers have swept over the Southern Arizona landscape for thousands of years, leaving behind a multiplicity of settler narratives that recount the 'conflictual coexistence' negotiated between colonizers and the indigenous populations. Most colonizers become settlers who in turn face new waves of colonizers intent upon challenging the hegemony of the newly minted 'indigenous' population. Others, such as the fourteenth century Hopi or nineteenth-century miners, instead move on, continuing their migrations. All are transformed by the experience. An intriguing phenomenon of this process is how each of these colonizing populations and their corresponding settler narratives often 'gather' around or intersect at a select group of 'sacred' sites in the Southwest.

Two locations in Southern Arizona speak richly to the processes of colonization and transformation, as well as contested control of these sites. Both are located in the

Sonoran desert, within an area stretching from Phoenix, Arizona southward to the Tohono O'Odham Indian Reservation near the Mexican border. The first is Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, which features a unique, four-story pre-Columbian 'Big House'. The second is the Spanish colonial baroque mission church of San Xavier del Bac—called the 'white Dove of the Desert', located within the Tohono O'odham reservation. Catholic and O'odham concepts of the sacred are vibrantly given voice at San Xavier del Bac, where images of I'itoi and the shrine of San Xavier appear together, both respected and honored as sacred signifiers. The 'ruins' of Casa Grande, however, are hotly contested. Hopi Indians consider Casa Grande to be a sacred ancestral 'footprint', located along one of their northward migratory clan routes from Mexico. Some O'Odham Indians consider the site to be ancestral—but many do not, instead ascribing to the Hopi narrative. Mormon settlers entering the area in the nineteenth century appropriated the ruins into their sacred narratives from the Book of Mormon to explain the existence of such pre-Columbian architecture. Today, anthropologists and New Age adherents alike request access to the site, forcing government administrators into difficult decisions concerning interpretation, preservation, access and control.

Historically, the claims to 'ownership' of such sites by the many colonizer/settlers of the Southwest have been asserted through various means: declaration of 'first rights', exclusive claims to authenticity, cultural hegemony, political/military appropriation, and citizen access. Such attempts to monopolize their meaning and power run contrary to the role these sites have played in transforming the cultural narratives of each group of colonizers over the vast scope of Southwestern migration history.

Katie Kane, University of Montana

Genocide, Settler Colonialism, and the Choctaw Donation to Irish Famine Relief

Both the Irish Famine and the death and starvation of the Native peoples of the Southeast areas during their "removal" from the lower part of the continent of North America (the United States of America) are genocidal events essentially connected to a colonial project of settlement and both cases of mass killing that remain in a state of ideologically motivated historical repression in their respective home countries.

This paper will do the work of historicizing the event of the donation of $170 dollars collected by members of the Choctaw nation (one among the five nations—the Chickasaw, Cherokee, Seminole, and Creek—"removed" from their homeland in 1830 by federal legislation and military force) in a multimedia format, which will include newspaper articles from the 1847 editions of the *The Arkansas Intelligencer* that document the donation, letters from the Irish Relief Committee held in the National Library of Ireland, and modern documents from the Choctaw Tribal government and the Irish government that make clear how important the Trans-Atlantic connection continues to be in the present.

The paper will additionally argue, following David Stannard's work that there is a need in American historical and cultural scholarship for focused and committed attention to genocide that predates the twentieth century and that, further, acknowledges the deep roots such mass killings have to settler colonialism. In addition, in presenting information on the late twentieth century recognition of the

nineteenth century solidarity work of the Choctaw, I hope to explore the claims made by Paul Gilroy in his latest book *Postcolonial Melancholia* wherein he argues for new modes of trans-local, grass-roots, and activist forms of solidarity that, in recovering and developing under-recognized forms of social justice and democratic action, can make contact and wrestle with the violences that continue to characterize the actions of those states which have historically emerged out of Western colonialisms.

Tim Keane, National University of Ireland, Galway

Thomas Moore and Anti-Colonial Resistance: The Case of *Memoirs of Captain Rock*

Critics throughout much of the twentieth century have tended to neutralize Moore's political significance by concentrating on his *Irish Melodies*, usually limiting even that discussion to the sentimental. The ease in which he moved throughout the English aristocracy, and the close friendship with prominent politicians (Lord John Russell was to be his literary executor), undoubtedly would suggest an obstacle if one was to examine Moore as a revolutionary artist of resistance. A close reading of *Memoirs of Captain Roc*k demands just such an assessment.

Embracing the popular genre of the 'pious family biography', Moore brings to life the fictive 'Captain Rock', under whose name a loosely organized system of agrarian violence disturbed both the Irish countryside (from Cork to Galway) and the British government. In creating a history of the Rock family that coincided with English colonialism, and in ample borrowing from prominent British histories themselves, Moore challenges the dominant reading of Ireland by painting Irish insurrection as a natural response to British oppression.

More important than the narrative, is the structure and Moore's interaction with the text. Moore uses two voices in his *Memoir*: Captain Rock and an unnamed English 'editor' (who found himself in Ireland leading a proselytizing mission). In reading Moore's journal and letters, it is clear that he discussed the writing of the text with many friends, politicians included, as he desired the work to aid the Parliamentary debate on Catholic Emancipation. Yet he allowed a fictional 'Captain Rock' to author it, and even kept up the illusion with his publisher and other correspondents. Moore allowed the feared agent of violent anti-colonial resistance to address an English public directly, if not in an attempt to persuade them of his decency, then to challenge the dominant perceptions of the Irish and Irish nationalism. The text, as well as its material production, performs an act of mimicry that disrupts the authority of Empire in Ireland, and demands that the 'Irish question' finally be answered sufficiently. The fact that the 'editor' returns to England espousing the tenets of Irish nationalism (and returned proselytizing mission), highlights the menacing potential of mimicry.

Shayne Kearney, University of Wollongong

The Quest for Hawaiian Sovereignty: by her daughters, Queen Lili'uokalani and Haunani-Kay Trask

The settler colonisation of Hawai'i by the United States of America, beginning with the deposing of Queen Lili'uokalani on January 17 1893 and the eventual annexation

of Hawai'i on July 7 1898 continues to be a contentious issue for modern-day Indigenous Hawaiians.

The evangelical missions, and in particular, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionaries have been recorded historically as having influenced the traditional Hawaiian culture through implementation of Christianity, Western ideologies and behavioural codes. Throughout the Oceanic region, a commonality of the mission endeavour was the strong relationship built between the chiefs and the missionaries. It was vital to their survival and success. This was also a feature of the Hawaiian missionisation process. Their legacy continues today with the significant presence of Christianity within Hawai'i and is a testimony to their diligence and the influence they held within the Royal family. The faith and trust Kamehameha I and his successors placed with these men and women contributed to the loss of the ancient kingdom.

This paper proposes to examine the role the American Board of Missions played in that downfall of the Hawaiian Kingdom through its advice and influence on the last Queen, by considering Lili'uokalani's literary account *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen.* It will assess Christianity's continued impact through the literary works both critical and creative of Haunani-Kay Trask such as *Light in the Crevice Never Seen*, *Night is a Shark-Skin Drum*, and *A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*. Although these women were born over one hundred years apart, they share the same anger, frustration and dream.

Ben Kiernan, Yale University

Genocide in Settler Colonies: Case Studies of Common Themes on Five Continents, c.1565 to 1910

This paper briefly surveys some ideological themes common to the genocide and extermination of indigenous peoples in settler colonies across the globe over three and a half centuries, c.1565-1914. The cases examined include English colonial Ireland in the late sixteenth century, Virginia and New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth, and four nineteenth-century examples: the genocides of Native Americans in the United States, and Aborigines in colonial Australia, and the extermination of Arabs during the French conquest of Algeria from 1830 to 1875, and of Khmers during the rival Siamese and Vietnamese conquests of Cambodia in the 1830s and 1840s. Finally the paper will consider the German genocide of the Herero and Nama people of Southwest Africa during the early twentieth century. This survey will show that persistent themes common to all these cases include not only mass killing, racial or religious prejudice, and preoccupations with territorial expansion, but also, cults of antiquity and agrarianism influential in settler regimes and among colonists. All these themes, however, are also important features of other genocides that do not involve settler colonialism.

Eiko Kosasa, Leeward Community Colleges

US Imperialism: The Settler Occupation of Hawai'i

This paper argues that Lenin's analysis of the proletarian internationalism and his strategies for overturning Tsarist Russia provide invaluable insights for addressing U.S. settler colonialism in Hawai'i. Hawai'i, an independent kingdom with treaty and diplomatic relations with the United States, was overthrown by the U.S. in 1893, annexed in 1898, and given statehood status in 1959, all against the wishes of the Hawaiian people. The islands served and continue to serve strategically as an American military colony, monitoring the interests of its Pacific neighbors including Russian, Japan, and China.

According to Frantz Fanon, a foreign governing system always divides the population of a colony into two political categories: the indigenous people(s) and settlers. In Hawai'i, then, Asian Americans along with white Americans comprise the settler population. Settlers are politically distinct from Hawaiians, the indigenous people of the islands. This distinction is crucial to understanding and eventually overturning the colonial situation. Hence, previous research on the histories of non-white ethnic communities in Hawai'i and their experiences of white racism and struggles for equality, while significant, are not primary to an analysis of the U.S. occupation of Hawai'i. Focus on assimilation, racism, and immigration must shift to an examination of colonialism and imperialism.

Lenin rethought the significance of the proletarian internationalism and offered it as a strategy to overturn settler Tsarist Russia by asking Russian proletariats to understand the significance and role of colonized peoples. His work continues to offer insights. Like Russia, the United States confiscated indigenous lands and subjugated indigenous peoples. Like Russia, it is an imperialist predator—preying on people within and outside its territorial borders. This paper will demonstrate that Lenin's analysis of the proletarian international offers us a way to understand and overturn U.S. settler colonialism in twenty-first century Hawai'i.

Karen K. Kosasa, University of Hawai'i

Searching for the 'C' word: Museums, Art Galleries, and Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i

For Hawaiian scholar, poet, and nationalist, Haunani-Kay Trask, it is 'imperialist privilege' and 'American ignorance' that allow settlers to reside in Hawai'i without understanding its colonial history, the oppression of the indigenous population, and the expropriation of indigenous land. Not knowing this 'other" history is a way for settlers to maintain their innocence by clinging to a whitewashed history in which Hawaiians are misrepresented as embracing American culture and a Western lifestyle.

This presentation is about searching for references to colonial history in the spaces of museums and art galleries in Hawai'i. At issue are ethical and pedagogical questions. Are cultural organization obligated to educate the public about settler colonialism and the political differences between the indigenous population and settlers?

In *Museums and Communities,* an important anthology published in 1992, editor Ivan Karp describes the crucial role played by museums. Drawing from the theoretical work of Antonio Gramsci on the role of institutions in civil society, Karp explains that most museums function to 'legitimate the existing social order' and naturalize its

social hierarchies. Museums are thus preeminent sites of hegemony. They also have the capacity to represent alternative views and challenge accepted ways of understanding historical truth.

It is difficult in Hawai'i to find the word 'colonialism' in the didactic materials in exhibitions. Undoubtedly, this textual absence is an index of the effectiveness of settler colonialism to disguise itself as American democracy. Within the last few years there has been an attempt by some cultural institutions to acknowledge the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the beginnings of colonial history in compelling ways. I will describe some of these initiatives along with efforts by artists to foreground colonialism in provocative, temporary exhibitions, and briefly mention comparative didactic materials in museums in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the continental United States.

Stephan Laqué, University of Munich

Colonialism and Cotes du Rhône: The Myth of Settling in France in Popular English Fiction

In my paper I want to consider the ways in which settling and colonialism have become pervasive – and disconcertingly prestigious – gestures of transcultural contact *within* Europe. In recent years, the British craving for all things French has produced a plethora of novels on emigration from Britain to France which amount to something like a new sub-genre in English fiction. These novels reflect an ongoing vogue of moving to the continent which is largely motivated by a touristic desire for changes in climate, life-style, food and surroundings in general. However, the bestselling novels by Peter Mayle (*A Year in Provence* (1989), *Toujours Provence* (1991)) and Stephen Clarke (*A Year in the Merde* (2004), *Merde Actually* (2005)) do not paint a picture of simple and pragmatic relocation, but of an act of settling and, indeed, of colonisation. When Mayle and Clarke depict the 'noble savagery' of the French and of their institutions, the decision to live south of the British Channel is no longer confined to the thrill of the exotic or an immersion in a foreign culture, but is represented as a hegemonic contest. A lot of European travel writing on destinations in Europe has been and still is indebted to the writing conventions of imperialism; a debt which reaches even further in the writing on tourist settling which my paper will be looking at. This gesture turns rural (and to a lesser extent metropolitan) France into a space of colonial conflict where processes of dislocation, of the construction of the colonial other and of cultural adaptation are staged.

Lee-Von Kim, University of Western Australia

Revisiting the 'uneasy conversation': The Diasporic and the Indigenous in Postcolonial Australia

This paper will examine how Australia, a former settler colony that has often occupied a marginal position within the field of postcolonial studies, might offer new and productive trajectories through which the postcolonial might be reconsidered. In particular, I will investigate how the relationships between diasporic and indigenous subjects in Australia have been theorized, and the implications these might have for rerouting debates about national identity and belonging in Australia and elsewhere.

I wish to revisit what Ann Curthoys (2000) has described as the 'uneasy conversation' between diasporic and indigenous groups in Australia and consider how the intersection of diasporic and indigenous groups might challenge white/black and settler/migrant dichotomies. In postcolonial studies, theories of indigeneity and diaspora have usually occupied separate and distinct fields of inquiry. I argue that this separation of the indigenous and the diasporic in the Australian context is itself a legacy of British settler colonialism that requires further scrutiny. While I do not wish to elide the significant differences between indigenous and diasporic groups, I would like to propose that theorising the possible connections between the two has the potential to disrupt the dominant power structures in which indigenous and diasporic subjects are discussed only in relation to the white majority. I will conclude by arguing that greater scrutiny of settler colonies and the legacies of settler colonialisms might lead to new directions in postcolonial studies.

Cordula Lemke, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Staging Ossian: Internal Colonisation in the Novels of Walter Scott

In this paper I want to show how, in the nineteenth century, the Scottish Lowlands attempted to construct a Scottish national identity by adopting a colonising stance towards the Highlands. However, what the Highlands offered for appropriation turned out to endanger rather than strengthen the whole project.

Nineteenth-century Scotland saw the invention of a nation. After the union of parliaments in 1707, Scotland merged with England; but never completely. The Scots were always intent on drawing lines, erecting walls, emphasising difference. England was perceived as a colonial aggressor. By then, the Scottish Lowlands were largely influenced by English culture and their feeling of difference resulted from a fear of domination rather than of cultural incompatibility. In their search for a decidedly Scottish identity, the Lowland Scots looked towards the other side, the Highlands. The Highlands, formerly an object of contempt and abuse, were now exploited to create an emphatically 'Scottish' culture. An important step was James Macpherson's 'translation' of the Scottish epic poetry of the Highland bard Ossian. The appropriation of Macpherson's Ossian by the Edinburgh literati led to a romantic Highland mania which Walter Scott, the president of the Highland Society, exploited to refashion the image of the Highlands.

Walter Scott's novels stage the internal border between Lowlands and Highlands. Depicted as both noble savages and epitomes of Scottishness, the Highland characters opens up a liminal space of contesting identities, where the borders of Scottish national identity are negotiated and instituted in performative acts. Focussing on the Waverly novels, I want to investigate how the Highland clichés championed by the inventors of an Ossianic tradition was appropriated to oppress the Highlanders and ran counter to the initial project of creating a unified and unifying Scottish identity.

Laura E. Lyons, University of Hawai'i

Land Grab: Agricultural Labor and Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i

As Haunani-Kay Trask and others argue, control over land is crucial to the cultural survival of indigenous people and to the exercise of their right to self-determination. In nineteenth century Hawai'i, some of the best lands taken from Native Hawaiians were transformed into sugar and pineapple plantations, creating vast wealth and power for the white oligarchy. Those plantations required an enormous supply of labour, which largely came from other countries—China, Japan, Portugal, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines for example. Agricultural labour, then, stoked settler colonialism. Significantly, many leaders within current state institutions trace their history back to the plantation system and claim their stake in Hawai'i precisely through a history of working the land, a claim that ignores and too frequently erases the prior rights of Native Hawai'ians.

In the past decade, the Hawa'iian Islands have witnessed the rapid demise of large scale agricultural production with the pull out of sugar and the scaling back of pineapple operations. As Henri Lefebvre notes, however, the importance of land and land ownership do not disappear just because agricultural production is eclipsed by other capitalist modes. In this paper, I compare media coverage of the 2006 closing of the Del Monte pineapple operations in Hawai'i, which ended employment for over 776 worker (many recent or first generation immigrants), and coverage of the state's attempts to deal with homeless on the beaches and parks. Such a comparison reveals how one of the tenets of settler colonialism—namely, that rights accrue to those deemed to make the land productive in the most crass capitalist terms—continues in remarkably bald forms. While state officials are working with union representatives to preserve plantation housing for the Del Monte workers in recognition of the workers' relationship to the land and 'their way of life', the homeless who live in tent communities on the beach or in parks (many of them Native Hawai'ian) have been criminalized: their homes are often destroyed by the authorities and frequently they are locked up or warehoused in industrialized areas. Whereas the pineapple workers' labour, though ended, renders them as having a 'productive' relationship to the land, the efforts of the homeless to survive, raise families and build communities on the beaches and parks—in one of the most expensive real estate markets in the US and in the face of ever dwindling state assistance—casts them as a blight on the landscape, damaging the state's tourist image. The different treatment these two groups receive demonstrates the privileges still afforded agricultural labour and the devastating results settler colonialism continues to have on Native Hawai'ians.

Karen Lysaght, University College Cork,

Living in a Nation, a State or a Place? The Protestant Gentry of Contemporary County Cork, Ireland.

The communal narrative of the Irish state defined the criteria for membership of the nation in opposition to the characteristics of the Irish gentry class, whether their Protestantism, Anglicised lifestyles and external focus on Britain and its Empire. The result ensured that while all Protestants engage with the institutions of state, their inclusion in the nation proved much more difficult to negotiate, and for those with a gentry background would appear an impossibility. This paper argues, in contrast, that the remnants of the Protestant gentry class successfully insert themselves into an alternative conception of the Irish nation which draws directly upon the longevity of their family association with specific localities in the Irish landscape.

Graham MacPhee, West Chester University of Pennsylvania

Kruger on the Liffey: Race, Place, and Nation in Joyce and Arendt

> For Ireland's cause and Kruger's land right they gallantly fight!
> Arthur Griffith, 'Ballad of the Transvaal Irish Brigade' (1900)
>
> —A nation? says Bloom. A nation is the same people living in the same place.
> James Joyce, *Ulysses*
>
> South Africa's race society taught … that the historical process is [not] necessarily 'progressive', for if … 'economic history once taught that man had developed by gradual steps from a life of hunting … to a settled agricultural life', … [then] the story of the Boers clearly demonstrated that one could come 'from a land that had taken the lead in thrifty and intensive cultivation … [and] gradually become a herdsman and a hunter'.
> Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*

The connection between modern racism and colonialism has been an important axiom for postcolonial studies, which has focused on the interconnections between ideologies of science and progress and the evolutionary basis of modern 'scientific' racism – that is, it has tended to focus on metropolitan racial discourse. However, according to Hannah Arendt, one of the most important and most overlooked aspects of modern racism is the anti-progressive or 'mythic' tendency that she identifies in the settler colonialism of the Boer republics. For Arendt, what underlies the power of the Boer racial and national model, and thus its suitability for export to other emergent nationalisms, is its mythic abnegation of the specificity of spatial proximity and temporal simultaneity – its refusal of the experience of co-existence, of the 'same people living in the same place'.

Elleke Boehmer's recent study *Empire, The National, and the Postcolonial* has sought to dislodge the dominant metropolitan-periphery paradigm in favour of a more 'decentered network' of 'interrelating margins' (2002, 6). Thus, rather than seeing racism as simply a function of metropolitan discourse, or nationalism as simply a peripheral response to imperial control, she suggests the need for understanding how different colonial locations influenced and interacted with one another in often contradictory ways. One of the most prominent of the 'marginal interrelations' she considers is the identification of Irish nationalism with the Boer republics during and immediately after the second Anglo-Boer war. As she observes, if the Boer republics presented for a brief time a stirring image of anti-imperialist resolve, they also articulated a model of national belonging that violently suppressed the specificity of spatio-temporal experience – in which the limits of 'race' and 'nation' are always cancelled and contradicted, even while being reasserted – by the projection of a mythic past.

This paper will draw on the work of Hannah Arendt to explore the figuring of this particular 'marginal interrelationship' in the Cyclops section of Joyce's *Ulysses*. I

will argue that Joyce's text has an important affinity with Arendt's analysis not simply because it invokes the national and racial myths of the Boer republics in the context of Ireland, but also because it triangulates them with the frustration of national aspirations in Central/Eastern Europe and the anti-Semitism that fuelled its pan-ethnic movements. The paper is intended to contribute to the dialogue at the conference about Ireland's dual role as a 'site' and 'source' of settler colonialism.

Angeline M. Madongonda and **Chipo Chirimuuta**, Midlands State University Zimbabwe

Indigenous literature and Settler Colonialists: Re-interpreting the Place and Development of Indigenous Literatures under Colonial Rule

Settler colonialism had a profound effect on indigenous literatures and it continued to determine the place, role and development of this cultural phenomenon. It destroyed the complexion of indigenous literatures and invariably changed almost every sphere of its people's lives. It is the contention of this paper that while the emergence of colonial settlers created an environment for the development of written indigenous language systems, it stifled its natural development and isolated it from the social, economic and political trends of the people's existence. Indigenous literature in its undisturbed nature was rooted on the premise that it assisted the people in creating their own ways of confronting, managing and overcoming challenges in their lives. However, the literature that emanated from the handshake with colonial settlers was that which invented and shaped an Africa useful to the imperial and capitalistic ambitions. An indigenous literature invented for colonial settler purpose would no doubt never manage to service the interests of the indigenous communities. This paper thus attempts to engage in a discourse on the nature and role of indigenous literatures as well as the impact of colonial settlers on it. The research will be based on early indigenous literature in comparison to that which was encouraged and offered by settler colonialists.

Michael McAteer, Queen's University Belfast

W.B. Yeats, Ireland and Anti-Colonialism.

This paper examines questions of race and the global framework of Imperialism within the idea of settler colonialism through the figure of W.B. Yeats. The example of Yeats presents a series of complex questions that point up the instabilities of the native-settler paradigm within Ireland in the early twentieth century. Since Conor Cruise O'Brien's *Passion and Cunning* (1965), Yeats's writing has produced remarkably divergent interpretations of its political significance. These have included Edward Said's sympathetic configuration of Yeats as anti-imperialist, and Seamus Deane and Spurgeon Thompson's identification of his 'garrison mentality'. More recent readings have been dominated by the largely progressive image of Yeats evident in R.F. Foster's official biography, while the charge of Fascism has re-emerged with force in W.J. McCormack's *Blood Kindred* (2005).

Here I consider the extent to which Yeats's representations of native Irish culture through his poetry, drama and essays were recalcitrant to the forms of modern liberal democracy. Attention is drawn to the essays 'Dust Hath Closed Helen's Eye (1899),'

'If I Were Four and Twenty (1919),' and 'On the Boiler (1938)' in tracing the development of Yeats's sense of native Irish culture. I examine the ways in which the doctrine of race that is made explicit in the last of these essays develops out of the Romantic idealisation present in the first. Considering this against the charges of "garrison mentality" or fascism levelled at the later Yeats, I discuss the ways in which his notions of race might be conceived as anti-colonial, particularly in the light of its elaboration in relation to Indian mysticism. The delayed publication of 'Easter 1916,' the 1921 revision of *The King's Threshold* and the 1938 performance of *Purgatory* with *On Baile's Strand* are touched upon in this regard.

Ann McGrath, Australian National University

The Irish, the Aboriginal Australians, and their Children

Australian historian of Ireland, Patrick O'Farrell, pointed out the assimilationist tendencies of the Irish in Australia, especially via their habit of intermarriage with other British ethnic groups. He also noted that, compared with other settler colonisers, Irish were the group more likely to cohabit, acknowledge and rear children with Aboriginal women. There are also many examples to the contrary, where, in order to hide their paternity, Irish Catholic pastoralists banished the offspring of their Aboriginal mistresses. This paper considers examples of some Irish settlers and cases of intermarriage in late nineteenth century and first half of twentieth century Australia. Using the example of the 'stolen children', in particular children of mixed Aboriginal/Irish heritage, it questions why the topic of human reproduction is often neglected in studies of colonialism, sexuality and gender. By considering issues such as cultural education, parenting styles and socio-cultural futures, and Indigenous reactions to state policies in the past and present, this paper hopes to shed some new light on the role of both marital arrangements and reproduction in settler/coloniser nation-building. Indigenous interpretations, including those delivered via visual art, film, museum installations and other mediums, will also be discussed.

F. C. McGrath, University of Southern Maine

Settler Nationalism: Ulster Unionism and Postcolonial Theory

Despite the capacity of postcolonial theory to accommodate a wide variety of situations, one area of postcolonial experience still has not received much attention--the experience of non-hegemonic settler colonies, that is settler colonies that did not in the end succeed in dominating native populations politically or culturally. Analysis of the unionist community in Northern Ireland offers a number of refinements to postcolonial theory at the same time that it demonstrates how postcolonial theory can enrich our understanding of non-hegemonic settler populations such as the Ulster unionists.

Like colonized natives, settlers like the Ulster unionists exist on the margins of two cultures, that of the colonized natives and that of the colonial power, but their relation to these two cultures differs from that of the natives; it is characterized by a double ambivalence–one toward the native culture and one toward the colonial metropole. This double ambivalence makes them doubly hybrid as well. In addition to feeling doubly alienated, marginalized and hybridized, settlers also fear betrayal on both

sides--they fear absorption or domination by the native culture and society and they fear abandonment by the colonial power.

The hybridity of Northern Irish Protestants alienates them from mainstream British culture in significant ways. For example, Ian Paisley's Biblical interpretations of Ulster politics and history illustrates a number of the same postcolonial features that Homi Bhabha observes in India's reception of the English Bible, including estrangement, mimicry, resistance, miscognition, and incommensurability.

Unlike the nationalist narratives of native resistance to colonial power, settler narratives typically are parasitic upon rather than in opposition to the hegemonic narratives of the colonizer, yet they also undergo the same type of splitting, difference, and deferral as native nationalist narratives. Like the anti-colonial Irish nationalist narrative, the unionists' parasitic version estranges itself from the colonizer's master narrative to the extent that the British barely recognize it as part of their own history. The annual marching season most fully articulates the parasitic master narrative of Ulster Protestantism, and the underlying historical narrative is typical of colonial situations: the past is re-membered, greatly simplified, restaged, and refigured.

The same colonial situation produces both native nationalism and settler nationalism, and they are both subject to similar colonial contradictions. Frank McGuinness's play *Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme (*1985) superbly captures many of the colonial contradictions of unionist culture and shrewdly depicts Protestant unionism as the mirror image of Catholic nationalism.

Recognizing settler nationalism as a legitimate part of postcolonial studies opens up the possibility of exploiting the in-betweenness of settler cultures. Emphasizing this in-betweenness, and thus its structural similarities with native nationalism, suggests that settlers are likely to find more in common with the natives they see themselves in opposition to rather than with the colonizers they identify with.

Crystal McKinnon, University of Melbourne

Fighting to Fight Again: Contemporary Indigenous Musicians Resisting Australian Settler Colonialism.

In Australia, the process of settler colonialism aims to erase Indigenous peoples and their respective cultures. Through acts of resistance, Indigenous people have survived, and are continuing to survive, settler colonialism's ongoing structures. One of the key ways in which this resistance has and is occurring is through various contemporary musical genres. Contemporary music has enabled communication, community building and formulations of culture and identities to be articulated and shared. Most important, perhaps, is the simple statement 'we are here', both explicitly and implicitly, in spite of the processes and structures of settler colonialism. I will share some recent interviews conducted with contemporary Indigenous musicians, and draw upon key themes and narratives which illustrate Indigenous resistance to settler colonialism. I will maintain that Indigenous singer songwriters have been a key cohesive mechanism of the collective Indigenous resistance, and that their presence

within the ongoing structure of settler colonialism in Australia sends a powerful message of resistance and survival.

Claire McLisky, University of Melbourne

(En)gendering Faith?: Missionary Performances of Masculinity and Femininity on the Settler-Colonial Frontier at Maloga Mission, 1874-1888

This paper explores the gendered subjectivities of two missionaries – Daniel and Janet Matthews. Married in 1873, these Wesleyan Non-conformists co-founded Maloga Mission the next year, on a plot of their own land on the northern banks of the Murray River in New South Wales. Though they can in no sense be considered 'typical'of Christian missionaries to Australia in the late nineteenth century, the Matthews make particularly compelling subjects for a study of gendered settler-missionary subjectivity. Like many of their peers, Daniel and Janet performed their middle class gendered subjectivities both consciously and unconsciously – as examples intended to instruct Aboriginal residents in the practice of 'civilised' masculinity/femininity, as well as in their day-to-day relationships and interactions. Both subjects and spaces on Maloga were envisaged and identified by the missionaries explicitly in terms of gender. As husband and wife, and as co-workers under God, the couple shared an intense and sometimes strained relationship that impacted on the mission as a whole. In this highly pressured and volatile context, it was seen as imperative that the Christian missionary preserve, at all costs, his or her classed, raced and gendered self. In an attempt to understand the complicated power dynamics involved in their relationship, I chart both subtle and significant shifts in their relationship over this fourteen year period. The instances where Daniel and Janet recorded differences of opinion – on matters of faith, management and practice – allow us to examine the sometimes acute differences in their subject positions, and also those differences which cannot be explained by class, race, faith or gender alone. Understanding 'who' these missionaries were – where they came from, how they saw themselves, and how they interacted with the world around them will, I hope shed light on the relationship between settler colonial structures, and subjectivities. While Daniel and Janet Matthews' had set up Maloga in order to provide a 'Christian' alternative, or even a challenge, to the brutality of settler colonial rule, it is arguable that their mission – like so many 'Humanitarian' projects – ultimately worked to entrench, rather than to undermine, the imperialist and eliminative logic of settler colonialism and its genocidal effects on the Indigenous peoples of Australia.

L. Jane McMillan, St. Francis Xavier University

Koqqwaja'ltimk: Treating Justly Mi'kmaq Justice – Mi'kmaq Responses to Settler Colonialism

This paper examines the principles and concepts of Mi'kmaq folklaw, and Mi'kmaq legal consciousness, chronicling the concepts, symbols, and methods, of Mi'kmaq justice over time, from early contact, through colonization, to the present. The main thrust of this research examines Mi'kmaq responses to settler colonialism legal through an investigation of the local lived law of the Mi'kmaq. Social constructions of legal consciousness, referring to how people come to think about, understand, create, and act upon, formal and informal laws that define social relations in everyday life,

were examined using field based ethnographic methodologies. Research indicates the Mi'kmaq have competing discourses ranging from, the utility of pre-contact social order traditions, to sophisticated power struggles over identity and treaty rights, to the validity of distinct and separate justice systems in fulfilling the goals of self governance. These discourses are framed in concepts such as authenticity, continuity, tradition, cultural appropriateness, distinctiveness, community empowerment, harmony, forgiveness, and healing which are then translated into community based justice processes used to resist participation in Canadian justice systems as well as enhance Indigenous sovereignty. This research provides insight to the impact of colonization on Mi'kmaq dispute management culture. The stories told by the Mi'kmaq participants in this research illuminate all manners of conformity, contest, and resistance, as they combat the alienation and marginalization of their culture within and between their communities and the larger Canadian society. The constitutions of legal consciousness are historically situated, fluid and dynamic processes, often contested, within and between societies, as individuals and collectivities give meanings to their juridical experiences and beliefs, and thus provide information for analysis of the sources of solidarity, crisis, conflict and contradiction within the production of Mi'kmaq culture. This paper will highlight several Mi'kmaq innovations in community based justice processes.

Elizabeth Mead, University of Tasmania

The Motherland Trope in Peter Carey's *True History of the Kelly Gang*

Alan Lawson has suggested that settler societies "are suspended between 'mother' and 'other', simultaneously colonized and colonizing." Implicit in his statement is the notion that in colonial narratives race is always shadowed by gender. Specifically, the familiar "virgin acres" trope makes explicit the formative relationship between patriarchal and imperial power – to be "virgin" is to be devoid of sexual agency, and of aboriginal territorial rights. However, a more complicated picture emerges in a nation like Australia, where "aboriginal" rights are capitalised and "reconciliation" threatens to dissolve colonial distinctions between self and other, mine and yours.

My paper uses Peter Carey's Booker Prize-winning novel *True History of the Kelly Gang* as a starting point for considering the ideological significations of the motherland trope in settler discourse. As a site of nationalist desire, the motherland vacillates between indigenous and imperial identification; it resists its own genealogies of power. *True History* is a particularly useful conduit to questions of settler identity in both Ireland and Australia: at its centre is Ned Kelly, Irish outlaw and Australian cultural deity. In this text, the motherland trope emerges in the historical moment of Irish settlement, in the triply inscribed trauma of imperial, indigenous and diasporic displacement. As a fiercely contested site of gendered and racial legitimacy, it offers a means to imagine a more subversive sexual landscape in which neither mother nor land is virginal.

John Patrick Montaño, University of Delaware

'Dycheyng and Hegeying': The Material Culture of the Tudor Plantations

The Tudor attempts to plant civility in Ireland are an important moment in the history of settler communities. Historians have long associated with violence and dispossession, but from the beginning planters and settlers also looked to transform both Ireland and the Irish. Beginning with Gerald of Wales the disorders of Irish society were associated with the fragmented political system, the seemingly incomprehensible customs in place for inheriting land and authority, and the highly mobile pastoral economy. The Normans were convinced that the lack of fixed tenures, the absence of primogeniture, and the limited numbers of towns and permanent places of residence were the causes of the disorder and that English law, agriculture, and a more permanent material culture were essential to the creation of order and civility in Ireland.

The paper is part of a project on the relationship between cultivation and culture in Tudor Ireland. It will focus on how architecture and the organization of landscape were used as instruments to demonstrate the civility and order the new settlers were aiming to establish. Using the official demands for towns, the detailed orders for the size, shape, and building materials for homes and other buildings, the emphasis on walled settlements, and the construction of repositories for the written records designed to make the new order permanent and verifiable I hope to show how the reordering of the built environment was central to settler culture. Indeed, settler holdings outside walled towns were required to have fences, hedges, and ditches in order clearly to demarcate their property and to undermine the traditional movement of herds of animals central to the pastoral economy of the Irish. Similarly, there were proposals for bridges and roads in order to control travel and to restrict the movements and mobility of the native inhabitants. All of this was intended to indicate the spread of civility, order, and control.

Caitlin Murray, University of Melbourne

Unsettled Minds: Medicine, Madness, and the Colonial Project

Aboriginal people were integrated into the New South Wales psychiatric system from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Asylum doctors recorded the medical histories of Aboriginal patients alongside those of other inmates in large, leather-bound volumes. Many of these case records provided the inspiration for a series of articles on the subject of ‘Aboriginal insanity,’ which appeared in conference proceedings and medical journals from the late 1880s through to the 1920s. Layered on top of the intensely personal stories found in case books, these articles allow us entry into the world of colonial medical ideas about race and madness – ideas which were deeply embedded in contemporary attitudes and dominant scientific discourses.

My paper is concerned with the meeting of colonised and coloniser on the pages of lunatic asylum case books. It is also addresses the medical literature that gave meaning to these encounters. Both sets of texts raise rich lines of enquiry about the relationship between medicine, madness and colonisation. How did the medical fraternity interpret Aboriginal insanity and how did these interpretations change over time? How did ideas expressed in the medical literature relate to actual treatment? Can the actions and behaviours of individual Aboriginal patients be read as resistance to colonial rule? Are asylum doctors implicated in controlling resistance by pathologising certain behaviours? And can medical interpretations of Aboriginal

insanity be seen as legitimising the project of empire building, settlement and colonial rule? Considering the contested nature of madness, whereby biological explanations vie with theories of social contructedness, the answers to these questions are not simple. My paper will explore these questions in order to draw out the intersections between madness and race in the Australian settler-colonial context.

Amanda Nettelbeck, University of Adelaide

'Fellow subjects' or 'a nation at enmity with ourselves'? Policing Indigenous People on the Australian Frontier

Until recently, settler Australia has not generally been conceived of as a conquered country: the military were rarely used against indigenous people and, by the 1840s at least, it was settled policy that they had legal status as British subjects. Over the past three decades this national narrative of benevolent colonization has been challenged by a considerable body of historical literature that has examined the reality of frontier conflict between settlers and indigenous people in colonial Australia. Less discussed have been the actual policies and practices that Australia's colonial governments developed to secure and control frontier districts. This paper will examine some of the ways in which Australia's' frontiers were monitored through the use of Mounted Police. In principle, the role of the police was to extend the protection of the law to all subjects of the province, including indigenous people. In practice, frontier police were required to secure pastoral expansion in the face of indigenous resistance to it. This gap between the principle of law and the reality of indigenous resistance posed a recurring difficulty, both to the police posted to frontier districts and to the governments that instructed them: when, and under what circumstances, could Aboriginal peoples be regarded as 'fellow subjects' or as 'a nation at enmity with ourselves'? This question was approached by colonial governments with a flexible, sometimes contradictory set of practices, such that the police's declared duty 'to preserve the peace by preventing violence' often meant enlisting violence to impose peaceful settlement.

Javier Valiente Núñez, University of La Coruña

Internal Colonialism in the Americas and the Lakota and Mayan Fight for Freedom: The Emergence of a Native American Liberation Theology and Philosophy in *Black Elk Speaks* and *I, Rigoberta Menchú*

Published in 1932 and 1982 respectively, *Black Elk Speaks* and *I, Rigoberta Menchú* are two landmarks of the literary genre known as 'Native American testimonio'. The term 'Native American testimonio' is used in order to refer to those works where there is a Native American testimonial subject or informant who gives an oral testimony to an editor, compiler or mediator. This, in turn, will use the testimonial subject's oral deposition as the basis for his book, which is always written in the first person and will also include some fictional elements. This paper will discuss the Lakota and Mayan struggle against internal colonialism from the perspective of the critico-theoretical frameworks known as liberation theology and philosophy in order to show that *Black Elk Speaks* and *I, Rigoberta Menchú* actually theorize the emergence of a Native American liberation theology and philosophy in the Americas. Gustavo Gutiérrez's pioneering theorization of a liberation theology for Latin

America, Roy I. Wilson's reflections on the possibilities of a Native American liberation theology in the USA and Paulo Freire's considerations on a pedagogical philosophy of liberation for the oppressed peoples of the world will be used in order to illustrate how *Black Elk Speaks* theorizes a Native American liberation theology and philosophy that cannot possibly be successful since it still lacks an orthopraxis and a pedagogical organization of socio-political resistance. Jon Sobrino's insightful theological reflections on the fundamental category of liberation, Eleazar López's considerations on the birth of a Native American liberation theology in Latin America and Giulio Girardi's theorization of a revolutionary pedagogical philosophy for the oppressed will illustrate how *I, Rigoberta Menchú* theorizes a liberation theology and philosophy where there is a successful orthopraxis and a good organization model of socio-political resistance. This paper will therefore try to demonstrate how *Black Elk Speaks* and *I, Rigoberta Menchú* present two different stages in the theorization of a Native American liberation theology and philosophy in the Americas that become resistance platforms against the exploitation, oppression, genocide, and torture carried out by the internal colonialism of the American and the Guatemalan government.

Ciaran O Neill, University of Liverpool

A 'Sound English Education': The Spectre of Empire in the Education of the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900

The majority of work done on Catholic education in nineteenth century Ireland has focused either on the struggle for state funding for popular and widespread secondary education or the campaign for a dedicated (and recognised) Catholic University. This emphasis has obscured the influence wielded by the major private Catholic colleges of the period. Such colleges, while hardly constituting an identifiable Public School system, were consistently accused by sections of the Nationalist press in Ireland of providing an 'Empire-orientated' education for their boys- or at least one that did not conform to the increasingly popular cry for legislative Independence and a de-Anglicisation of Ireland. Such criticism was based on the superficial adoption of English customs and practices by those institutions, and the fact that they often explicitly advertised that the education they provided was one suited to advancement within the British Empire. This paper will examine the imitation of Public School education in the Catholic Colleges responsible for the education of the Catholic elite in Ireland. It will argue that in the late nineteenth century, imitation of the customs of English Public Schools such as Eton, Rugby and Harrow was widespread across Great Britain and Ireland and that the philosophy adopted by Clongowes Wood, Blackrock College and Castleknock College, among others, can only be understood within this paradigm.

Fiona Paisley, Griffith University

Toy Skeletons: The International Politics and Street Protest of Anthony Martin Fernando, Aboriginal Australian Activist and Commentator in Interwar Europe

Already a middle aged man, in the early years of the twentieth century Aboriginal activist and traveller Anthony Martin Fernando left Australia in protest of the treatment of his people by white settlers, by the judicial system, and by government officials. Over the next four decades he lived and worked in various

European countries where he continued to protest Aboriginal status and conditions whenever and wherever he could. We know about Fernando's life of protest through a series of archival moments: for example, as a prisoner of war in Austria during World War One, as an interviewee of a Swiss newspaper, as a petitioner of the League of Nations, and later, as a street activist picketing Australia House and as a voice of resistance speaking defiantly from the dock at the Old Bailey.

This paper considers the many ways in which Fernando's life of protest in exile confronts our assumptions about the history of Aboriginal protest in the twentieth century, both in terms of its mobility and asserted cosmopolitanism, and in his determination to internationalise the question of indigenous rights. At the same time, it points to the continuity between his calls for land, education and employment and those made by previous and contemporary Aboriginal spokespeople as they sought to negotiate a viable and just future for their people. In particular, this paper sets out to interrogate the discourse of genocide mobilised by Fernando as he sought to impress upon his largely white audiences the urgent need for of support for a concerted, world intervention into Australian settler colonialism.

Patricia Palmer, University of York

Staking a Claim: The Staked Head as Boundary Marker

In the spring of 1642, during the Confederate War, a company of Old English Royalists laid siege to a 'collony of English' at Ballinekilly Castle in Co. Kilkenny. As the contest intensified, the besieged flung out into the camp the heads of some of the besiegers whom they had killed, and the besiegers staked up in like manner some of the heads of the besieged in the sight of the castle. These heads - recorded in Temple's *The Irish Rebellion* – pitched across a no-man's-land and mutually staked within sight of the other, demarcate more than just a circuit of atrocity: here, the severed head, that supremely liminal object, is itself a boundary marker.

My paper will explore the use of heads staked on all of the eminences of state power -- from Dublin Castle to the 'lane of heddes' erected by Humphrey Gilbert during the rebellion in 1570s Munster -- as totems enunciating a language of colonial terror and as the baleful markers of territorial possession. And, through a reading of that strange sub-genre of bardic poetry that might be referred to as 'the poems of the beheaded', it looks at the challenge to that discourse mounted by bardic poets apostrophising the severed heads of defeated patrons, poems which give apostrophe - the figure of fantastical reanimation - a contestatory, postcolonial valence.

Jan Parmentier, Ghent University

Settlers at the Cape: Material Culture of a Frontier Society in a Comparative Perspective during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

In this paper we have the intention to analyse the material culture of the European settlers in the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope and we want to compare this aspect with the material culture in Western Europe. We will look at the material culture of this colonial society in Southern Africa as an indicator of the settlers' way

of life and try to explain to what extent it differed from the life pattern in their original home countries.

The Cape colony did not start as a settlement to attract a lot of immigrants. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) chose Table Bay in 1652 as a main port of call for the replenishment of ships on route to and from the East Indies. The Company gradually designed there a town as a strategic and vital stronghold for the protection of their overseas empire. Linking the Atlantic with the Indian Ocean it proved a very valuable asset for every European nation with interests in trading with Asia. Nevertheless during the first decades of the eighteenth century Cape Town slowly emerged a town with more than 250 dwellings, streets and public buildings as reflected in several Dutch travel accounts. Besides, due to the actions of Governor Simon van der Stel the colony expanded territorially in the 1670s and 80s into the country side (Stellenbosch and Drakenstein). He changed the policy of the VOC concerning immigration and managed to attract some Huguenot families. Further the colonial community expanded by the settlement of former soldiers and mariners in the service of the Company as free burghers.

Within this framework we have investigated records in Cape Town and The Hague to get a picture of the living standard in this settlement. Juridical archives, correspondance and records of the orphanages are our main sources for this analysis in a comparative perspective

Cóilín Parsons, Columbia University

'Scotch settlers who know nothing': The Search for Antiquity in the Ordnance Survey

As John O'Donovan began his progress around Ireland in 1834 to 'settle' the orthography of Irish placenames, he met, after just six days on the road, a clergyman from Lisburn. Revd. Mr. Thompson, though complimentary of the work of the Ordnance Survey [O.S.], complained that in the index map of Co. Antrim 'there are…parishes which contain several gentlemen's seats, which do not appear on the Index Map at all'. This is no mere oversight on the part of the O.S.; it points the way to a practical ambivalence in the maps and accompanying memoirs towards the legacy of British settlement in Northern Ireland.

My paper will draw on both maps and the O.S.'s written record (letters and memoirs) of the counties of Down and Derry to suggest that the O.S. follows John Speed and William Petty in, perhaps inadvertently, diminishing the impact of British settlement on the physical and cultural landscape of Northern Ireland. In reaching towards a notion of etymological accuracy in the settling of placenames the O.S., and O'Donovan in particular, overlooked and at times erased what they saw as non-indigenous inhabitants. As much as O'Donovan's attitude towards what he sometimes called 'aborigines' was troubling, his attitude towards settlers was often dismissive and contemptuous.

The evidence from the maps and written archive together allow us to question map historian J.B. Harley's claim that 'cartography remains a teleological discourse, reifying power, reinforcing the status quo, and freezing social interaction within charted lines'. Irish maps never, in fact, succeeded in reifying power, and the early

O.S. maps are no different. The particular linguistic and archaeological demands of mapping in Ireland resulted in this colonial cartographic project finding itself in a position of erasing the traces of settler colonialism. Mapmaking became an excessive enterprise—it exceeded its limits as a cadastral survey, and its reach into history and archaeology had consequences that appear to expose the fragility of, rather than reinforce, the status quo.

Simon J. Potter, National University of Ireland, Galway

Broadcasting and the British Settler Empire, 1939-1945

During the Second World War, radio seemed a key means to promote greater knowledge about and understanding among the component parts of the British Empire. Large public broadcasting authorities in Britain and the settler colonies could reach audiences around the British World *via* long-range shortwave transmissions and recorded programmes sent by mail, carrying messages about the war effort and bringing assurances of support or exhortations to greater effort: the feature *Canada Carries On*, produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation for a British audience, is a good example of this. Moreover, public broadcasting authorities increasingly worked together, themselves part of a common imperial war effort: close cooperation existed between the broadcasting units sent to the Middle East by the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the New Zealand Broadcasting Service. By the end of the war, voices from around the British World were regularly heard in Britain and the settler colonies. The paper will look at the Canadian Leonard Brockington's broadcasting tour around the British World under the aegis of the British Ministry of Information, and at the BBC's use of dominion presenters in its *Radio Newsreel* programme, heard throughout the empire. It will argue that the Second World War should be seen as the highpoint for cooperative broadcasting in the British World, providing an arena in which ideas about British identity in settler colonies were expressed and challenged.

Mark Quigley, University of Oregon

'Anseo': Policing the Gaelic Subject in *Twenty Years A-Growing*

This paper examines the ways in which Muiris Ó Súilleabháin's celebrated Blasket autobiography might be read as a record of Gaelic assimilation and internal surveillance and colonisation. In an effort to trace the ways in which the legacy of settler colonialism continues to shape the narrative structures and political practices of postcolonial nationalism, the paper considers the implications of the modern autobiographical subjectivity enunciated through *Twenty Years A-Growing* and the ways in which that coincides with efforts to enclose the formerly recalcitrant spaces of the gaeltacht within the disciplinary regimes of the emergent postcolonial state. That process occurs at the most basic levels of form and the language of expression in *Twenty Years A-Growing*. Unlike Tomás Ó Criomhthain's *An tOileánach* which paved the way for subsequent Blasket autobiographies, *Twenty Years A-Growing* embraces the confessional form of modern autobiography and was construed in terms of an anticipated (and highly successful) English translation well before the autobiography's actual publication in either language. Considering *Twenty Years A-Growing* in the context of the other primary Blasket autobiographies from Ó Criomhthain and Sayers, the paper reads Ó Súilleabháin's journey from the Great Blasket to Dublin and onward to

garda service in Connemara as a narration of the assimilation of Gaelic alterity by the postcolonial state. As the only untranslated Irish word in *Twenty Years A-Growing*, the "anseo" expected as a response from the new garda recruits in Dublin encapsulates the way in which the Irish language is enlisted by the new state as a mode of definition and discipline rather than as a mode of communication or cultural engagement. This coincides with the text's account of Ó Súilleabháin's deployment to Connemara and the suggestion that the residents of the gaeltachtí will be compelled to rehearse the sort of self-regard and internal surveillance common to the modern autobiographical form and modern regimes of state discipline alike.

Leslie Robertson, University of Windsor, Ontario

Supernatural BC: Colonial Narratives and Gestures of Reconciliation in a Canadian Coal Mining Town.

Older European residents of a coalmining town in British Columbia have been socialized into a legend about a nineteenth-century curse, cast on their valley by a neighbouring First Nation community. In 1964, the town sponsored a curse-lifting ceremony, inviting traditionalists to get rid of the story by supernatural means. In this paper, I trace European residents' interpretations of the legend and the ceremony from different locations vis-à-vis the Canadian state. Fieldwork was conducted in the midst of modern treaty talks and a government issued statement of reconciliation. In this context, the curse story and stories about the curse-lifting offered alternate analytic views on colonial processes and beliefs.

Olwen Rowe, NUI, Galway

Mestizaje and Its Symbolic Limbo: Liminal Spaces in María Baranda's *Tales of Loss*

The official discourse of *mestizaje*, a utopian blending of indigenous and Spanish races and culture, was formulated following the Mexican Revolution in 1910. The new Mexican, the *mestizo*, became a powerful symbol for the new Mexican Nation. While celebrating an indigenous past it also embraced the culture the Spanish settlers had brought with them. William Rowe and Vivian Schelling describe *mestizaje* as a discourse 'denoting racial mixture' which 'assumes a synthesis of cultures where none is eradicated'. However, this idealistic discourse often conceals acculturation and extinction for the indigenous peoples and their cultures. As critics of Mexican politics and culture have argued, the epic notion of the *mestizo* is ultimately racist. While the indigenous past was celebrated in the museums and official discourse, the contemporary reality of indigenous communities is far from ideal. Despite the effort of integrationists the discourse of *mestizaje* left large portions of the population in a symbolic limbo.

María Baranda, in her long poem in three parts, *Fábula de los perdidos*, translated into English as *If We Have Lost Our Oldest Tales*, finds the poetic medium an exciting and disturbing means of exploring this symbolic limbo, this liminal space where the discourse of *mestizaje* breaks down, despite moments of intense beauty. While astoundingly syncretic and synthetic, *Fábula* refuses the utopian myth of *mestizaje*, and turns to other mythologies, most notably the Mayan *Popol Vuh* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, in order to articulate images of profound loss.

Marlowe G. Sam

Okanagan Peoples Resistance: Recovery and Restoration of Land and Culture

I will present a paper on the resistance, recovery and restoration efforts of the Okanagan people counteractive to European colonialism. Resistance to colonialism by the Okanagan Peoples, in the form of active militancy, has continued for almost two centuries. Early twentieth century land and resource use policies led to the degradation of the water systems in the greater Okanagan territory, and subsequently negatively impacted the social, cultural, political and economic institutions of the indigenous populations. Dams nearly extirpated the huge salmon runs on the Columbia River and its tributaries, drastically reducing the primary sustenance and trade good of the Okanagan people and interfering with their cultural ties to the salmon harvest. Language loss occurred through forced acculturation and religious indoctrination practices instituted by missionaries and government agencies. Cultural loss occurred primarily through the outlawing of traditional spiritual practices early in the twenty-first century. Language recovery efforts of the Okanagan traditional knowledge keepers in the last few decades were successful for a rebound in language use. Restoration of resources has also been an ongoing endeavour and is moving forward in collaboration with and through the support of local land conservancy groups. An example is the collaborative project between the Okanagan Nation Alliance, the Colville Tribe, of which I am a member, and the Canadian Department of Fisheries and Oceans to restore the sockeye salmon fishery in the Okanagan River system. Restoration of the Sockeye, by raising and releasing fry into the river system resulted in the restoration of the salmon release and feast ceremonies to the culture of the Okanagan. The effects of colonialism in the traditional territories of the Okanagan had devastating repercussions yet recovery and restoration projects in the Okanagan are models that have shown positive results.

Doreen Schmid

Snapshots: Original Sin in India and Other Colonized Edens

The long occupation of British colonialists in India has been well documented in colonial and postcolonial studies. The colonial wife's ambiguous role in colonialism, however, one of simultaneous privilege and disenfranchisement, is less well studied. My presentation weaves together history, theory, and fictional narrative in an analysis of photographs of late colonial-era wives in British hill stations in northern and southern India.

How photography was used to inscribe and translate these women's stories underlines the importance of the medium in documenting the colonialist narrative. This examination of what photographs of social life in these outposts reveal about colonial culture includes an Irishwoman's relationship to empire--how a former colonial subject assumed the role of the colonizer and inscribed her life upon the cultures she inhabited; the colonialists' appropriation of Nature in occupied cultures and how they codified and transported it; how the division between indigenous and “civilized” cultures advanced imperialist agendas.

The colonial wife was a symbolic casualty of the costs of imperial power, and she occupies a significant, although relatively unexplored, chapter in colonial history. She was simultaneously embraced as emblematic of the England left behind and resented for her intrusion into a male, militarized colonial culture. She embodied her culture's unsolved problems in empire-building, and its encoding of an unrecoverable—perhaps never actual—masculinity. The extent to which she can be implicated as a collaborator in the structures of colonialism has not been thoroughly investigated from an academic or creative perspective. The hybrid form that I have employed for this investigation allows for a composite portrait of the role of these women in colonial history and borrows from the sociologist Avery Gordon's desire to 'make the fictional, the theoretical, and the factual speak to each other'.

Ben Silverstein, University of Melbourne

Indirect Rule in Australia: A Case Study in Settler Colonial Difference

In 1925, the Adelaide-based Aborigines' Protection League proposed the establishment of an Aboriginal state to be located in Arnhem Land, and to be governed by an Aboriginal government according to traditional law and custom. Five years later, the Victorian Aboriginal Group, based in Melbourne, proposed the appointment of trained anthropologists to work with Aboriginal people, separate Aboriginal courts. Both these proposals, though differing in their aims and success, are influenced by the same technique of colonial rule – indirect rule.

Indirect rule was creatively used to deal with the difficulties of colonialism in Africa, where the colonial state dealt with resistance by managing the articulation of two overlapping and intertwined economies: one the native peasant economy, and the other the settler or colonial capitalist economy. It functioned to administer the native peasantry through what were considered to be 'native institutions'. In a settler colony such as Australia, on the other hand, there was no desire to manage the indigenous economy; rather, the imperative was to eliminate it.

In this paper I will look at two Australian humanitarian proposals – from the 1920s-30s – which I argue were heavily influenced by indirect rule, as case studies to examine the process of translation of structures of colonial rule around the Empire from franchise to settler colonies. Through this process, a form of settler colonial difference is articulated, as the philosophies of indirect rule are transformed to meet the different logics of colonial expansion.

Woodruff D. Smith, University of Massachusetts Boston

The Respectable Settler

The proposed paper arises from a chapter in a book I am writing about respectability as a global cultural phenomenon of the nineteenth century. The central point of the book is that 'respectability' should be taken, not as a vague attitudinal referent, but rather as a comprehensive, very distinct, and highly exportable cultural pattern and a significant element in the construction of modernity. One of its prominent features was the use of manifest practices of morality as criteria for esteem along a dimension that cut across other social hierarchies. Respectability was constructed in the late

eighteenth century as a map of the newly-recognized 'modern'. Although adopted consciously by groups and individuals, it was not an explicitly ideological formation. It served, however, as a crucial framework for political discourse and action.

One of the contexts in which respectability played a central role was in colonies and on frontiers. In consonance with the theme of the conference, the paper will examine ways in which respectability was consciously adopted and employed as a cultural pattern among white colonial settlers in Australia in the nineteenth century and in German Southwest Africa (Namibia) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the former case, particular attention will be paid to Irish settlers; connections will be made to the uses of the culture of respectability in the United States and in Ireland itself. The paper will discuss ways in which respectability was employed by settlers to construct an effective counter to imposed metropolitan hierarchies (quasi-aristocratic in Australia, bureaucratic in Southwest Africa), to lay out class positions and modes of registering social mobility, to create a local (and in Australia, eventually a national) identity based on values that countered 'wild colonial' images common in Europe, and to establish a cultural map for plotting relations with indigenous people.

Robert Spiegelman

'Victorians' Gone Wild: A Forgotten Glimpse of Transnational Ethnic Cleansing

This case study in idiosyncratic settler colonialism recovers an unduly forgotten 1874 Victorian-style buffalo safari across America's Great Plains. John Adair, a legendary Irish evicting landlord, and his New York wife, Cornelia Wadsworth Ritchie, a daughter of landed elites, set out to bag a buffalo trophy (as species-extinction looms); but, failing this, wind up consoled by the real 'Bonanza' – ownership of the Texas Panhandle's founding Cattle Empire. This paper details and deconstructs their untold transatlantic saga by exploring linkages between their 'wannabee'-Victorian style, landed elite status, and indigenous dispossession. John is the driving force behind Donegal's infamous Derryveagh Evictions of 1861; Cornelia hails from an elite Western New York family that reaped the 1779 dispossession of the Iroquois Confederacy by Revolutionary War generals of Irish descent, Sullivan and Clinton; and their mini-empire is made possible by Major Ranald Mackenzie, a Scotch-Irish descendant who drives Plains Indians from their last free refuge – the Adair's ranch-to-be. Their victims are compressed into reserves or driven across oceans by 'assisted relief' schemes to Australia.

This ensemble has been splintered among academic niches or hyper-localized as tourist curiosities; its elements have been footnotes to mutually-excluding 'Old West', postcolonial New York and Irish histories. At once biographical and structural, the paper lays bare a unique, transnational nexus of military conquest, settler colonialism and indigenous dispossession that links Ireland, America and Australia. It links the ethnic cleansing of their native peoples; the speculative appetites of anxiety-driven agrarian elites, starving to reap investment opportunity; the rationalization of indigenous dispossession as morally obligatory; and the complicity of some dispossessed peoples in dispossessing similarly situated others.

The Adair's ride and reap this history's whirlwind. Requiring a stroke of luck to maintain a privileged, landed lifestyle; they end up succeeding, suffering, and causing pain on a (global) scale far grander than their forbearers.

Jane Stafford, Victoria University of Wellington

Prefaces to Settlement: George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* and Textual Confusion

The preface to Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology & Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealanders, as furnished by their priests and chiefs* (1855) is an strange document, oscillating between scholarly erudition, Christian evangelism, relativist tolerance, pragmatic statecraft and a civilised disgust for the savage. This paper argues that the ethnographical collection of traditional material was an intrinsic part of the settler project, but that it was one in which appropriation and denigration coexisted confusedly with scholarly sympathy and an openness to transformative experiences and alliances. Examining the role of Grey's 'native agents', informers and interpreters in light of the energetic participation of Maori in the culture of literacy and print, the paper locates the sources of these confusions in the multiple constituencies that entered the act of collecting. As governor, Grey was the voice of empire, but conflicting and alterior voices manifested themselves in his hybrid texts.

In contrasting Grey's 1854 preface with that of the 1885 edition of his work, I trace the trajectory of settler rhetoric, from the embattled and personalised relationships of the mid-nineteenth century to the more staged tones of late settler society, where heroic poses and manufactured histories became the markers of a modern society in which Maori were deemed to exist only as sentimentalised memory.

David E. Stannard, University of Hawai'i

Settler Colonialism and Genocide Denial

Some criminal transgressions are so extreme that they have come to be regarded as crimes against humanity. That is why, in December of 1948, the United Nations General Assembly voted unanimously to ban and to punish genocide. Since then numerous acts of genocide have been perpetrated throughout the world. None have been punished under the auspices of the genocide convention. The fundamental reason for this inaction resides in the pledge of the convention's signatories to take action against genocide whenever and wherever it may occur. In the modern world of realpolitic this is rarely convenient, a fact that bodes ill for the possibility that anything will be done to prevent or to punish genocide in the foreseeable future.

But what about the past? Although the UN originally noted that genocide was a practice that stained "all periods of history," it has become conventional to regard virtually every mass killing prior to the Holocaust as something other than genocide—including the tens of millions of deaths that resulted from settler colonialism. Among the reasons for this categorical genocide denial is the fact that in most cases the perpetrators of those crimes were the founders or the colonial pioneers of the most powerful nations in the world today. But ancestors of the victims of those human annihilations also exist today—almost invariably occupying the lowest and most

oppressed rungs on the economic and social ladders of the nations that were built on the bodies of their forebears.

For the past two decades or so a few scholars and activists have contended that much colonizer mass killing throughout the globe, at least since the early sixteenth century, constituted genocide. Point by point most genocide deniers have conceded the argument—except for the important criterion of intent. In my paper at the Galway Conference on Colonialism, I will demonstrate that both the historical record and contemporary legal principles regarding intent support a definition of genocide for the pre-Holocaust suffering of countless indigenous peoples in the Americas, Africa, Australia, Oceania, Asia, and Europe, including Ireland.

In contrast to future preventable mass killings there is nothing that can be done for past victims of settler colonial genocide. Neither, of course, can anything be done for victims of the Holocaust. But Holocaust denial is universally condemned—and in much of Europe is criminalized—because it is an insult and an offense against humanity and because denial potentially undermines the universal commitment to 'never again'. That also is why politically motivated genocide denial regarding events prior to the Holocaust, as well as mass killing involving non-Jews during the Holocaust, mandates equally committed opposition and condemnation.

Sunera Thobani, University of British Columbia

Welfare in a Settler Society

The post-war development of the welfare state in most of the hyper-capitalist world, including Canada, has been widely defined as a watershed. Marking a turn away from the social Darwinist ethos of the laissez-faire system towards a more humane and compassionate capitalism, the welfare state is said to be defined by the ideals of collective social responsibility for all members of the polity, including the most vulnerable among them. This paper makes the case that the transition to the welfare state greatly aided the ideological representation of the Canadian nation-state as a liberal-democracy with a universally accessible social safety net, and not a settler society deeply shaped by the racial hierarchy which characterized the colonial order. I argue that as the welfare state constituted itself as 'compassionate', it exalted Canadians as possessive of the same qualities and their families as modern, and hence, deserving of social entitlements. The Aboriginal family, in contrast, was defined as a threat to modernity, as well as to the nation's welfare. I examine how the marking of Aboriginal women as deficient mothers and a threat to the well being of their children, and the removal of Aboriginal children by the residential school system and the child protection services of the welfare state, became crucial to the reproduction of the colonial relations that underpin the Canadian nation-state.

Spurgeon Thompson, Cyprus College

Partition Literature and Settler Class Colonialism in Cyprus and Ireland: A Comparative Inquiry

Two islands at the edges of Europe, partitioned North from South, divided into a minority and majority by religion and political disposition, both still presenting open

"problems" descending from several hundred years of settler class colonialism, Ireland and Cyprus share a broad basis for comparative study. This essay attempts to examine two main problems of representation arising in the context of each: 1) the literary subject crossed by, ordered and transformed by its encounter with the binary oppositions that characterize settlement and partition in both countries, and, 2) the manner in which texts representing this problem become legible as national allegories and figure a trajectory of larger social transformation (at the level of language as well as culture). For when the postcolonial Irish or Cypriot subject transgresses the boundaries of settler class, state, community, gender, family, or ethnicity it becomes a condensed site of contradiction, often leaving open or evading the interpellating procedures of official discourses. This 'personal' (or micrological) site of contradiction, once made legible as allegory, can be seen as constituting a larger field of culture. And because allegory as a genre always doubles its object—leaving behind as a remainder a very different text than the original it figures—these 'national allegories' manage to suspend or hold open the same oppositions that vex their subjects—only at the level of representation itself. My aim in this talk, then, is to call attention to the manner in which 'partition literature' in both Cyprus and Ireland presents us with powerful moments of opposition to subject-ordering state nationalist procedures of division and binarisation.

Charlotte Townsend-Gault, University of British Columbia

Xa':ytem: Feeling the Fantasy

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Xa':ytem, an elevated site in the traditional territory of the Sto:lo people of the Fraser valley in British Columbia, is marked today by a large granite boulder, variously a Transformer Rock or a glacial erratic. The cosmological significance of this rock, for the Coast Salish people and their predecessors, is said to account for the minimum 9,000 year history of the site.

Now the subject of occasional and restricted archaeological investigation, the contemporary reconfiguring of the rock and its surrounding space as both a newly designated Canadian National Heritage Site and, simultaneously, a Sto:lo interpretative centre, appeals to public and funders alike by emphasising cultural difference and temporal duration. These are common strategies where outstanding land claims are at issue in British Columbia, as elsewhere. It will be suggested that at *Xa':ytem* they invite a specifically materialist response since duration and difference are expressed here as a felt engagement with pre-industrial technologies and a connection with place that is insisted on affectively. As such the site engages the public in a renewed, and recursive, materialist definition of difference, contributing to the constantly renewable fantasy surrounding Indigenous cultural production in neo-colonial settings.

This paper emerges from observation, and visitor participation at the site, over a five year period. It draws on the revived interest in sensory studies by Constance Classen, David Howes and others, and on the work of Elizabeth Povinelli on the inversions of 'recognition' in the settler colony of Australia which offers provocative comparisons with inter-ethnic relations in western Canada.

Haunani-Kay Trask, University of Hawai`i

Settler Colonialism in Hawai`i

After nearly 2,000 years of self-governance, Hawai`i was colonized by Euro-American capitalists and missionaries in the nineteenth century. In 1893, the U.S. military invaded our country, overthrew our government, and secured an all-white planter oligarchy in place of our Native Sovereign, Queen Lili`uokalani.

Without popular vote, and against unified Native resistance, Hawai`i was annexed by the U.S. in 1898. Dispossession of our government, lands, and Native citizenship made of us a colonized people.

Today, modern Hawai`i, like our occupier, the United States, is a settler society. In our subjugation to American control, we have suffered what other dispossessed people, such as Palestinians and the Irish, have suffered. Our country is occupied by a colonial power whose every law, policy, cultural and institutional behaviours entrench foreign ways in an indigenous archipelago.

Now, Asian and white settlers number over a million, tourists number over seven million. Our indigenous population, by contrast, is a declining 250,000.

In response to American imperialism, and against great odds, Hawaiians began a resistance movement in the 1970s with occupation of U.S. military bases, a demand for the legalization of our Native language, and a political struggle for the return of our stolen lands and waters.

My intention is to speak to this historic uprising against American colonialism and to explain how and why indigenous self-determination—in our country and on our Native land—is the only alternative to American occupation.

Ganesh Trichur, St. Lawrence University

Political Hinduism as Social Self-Protection

This paper will engage with social movement forms in India after India became formally part of the British Crown following the 1857 insurrection, particularly the trajectory of political Hinduism since the mid-nineteenth century and will consider how this perspective may be useful in understanding contemporary forms of ethnic, interdenominational, and communal violence.

Stephen Turner, University of Auckland

Bad Faith: Trust and Settler Governance

This paper explores the challenge to the secular settler nation-state posed by the ‘first law’ of New Zealand Maori, which I argue is a matter of faith, or trust in governance. Freedom in the sense of self-expression, determining oneself in and through the act of expression, is basic to well-being. Given the merger of national identity and economic opportunism in the settler history of New Zealand, however, self-expression is reduced to criticism and culture for the nation’s sake – the bad or weak faith of settler governance and state biculturalism. The logic of ‘inclusive exclusion’, or compulsory

nationalism, ensures that Maori must be Maori for the nation's sake, so that non-Maori can consider themselves equally 'at home' in an officially bicultural nation. I understand New Zealand identity in terms of the nation-to-be and its yet-to-be-realised economy, which I trace from the projected place of New Zealand Company advertisements in the mid-nineteenth century to the branded place, today, of New Zealand Inc. The historical merger of the identity of place and the economic initiative of settlement describes the short history of the second settlers and the logic of globalisation that brought them, or pushed them, to New Zealand. The logic of a longer local history than that of the second settlers, or more particularly of culture that is not in the first instance national, creates a problem of trust in government, or governance – a problem of government or governance *as* a trust, a social contract in both a legal and economic sense. This trust as contract is something in which people must have faith, more or less, as a condition of their own conception of flourishing. It is this faith that drives the politics of indigeneity and generates the mixed jurisdiction of New Zealand, which in practice operates as one country with two laws.

Maeve Tynan, Mary Immaculate College

Metaphor and Metamorphosis: Walcott's Poetic Transports

The term 'settler colonisation' implies a process whereby white colonialists forcibly exerted dominion over foreign lands through conquest and ideological control, displacing the indigenous peoples and/or foisting their culture and language upon them. This paper puts forward the idea of the Caribbean as both an instance and an interrogation of the assumptions inherent in the term 'settler colonialism', examining the modes by which a mixed race diaspora came to displace and be displaced in the island archipelago. Whether arriving in chains or by their own free will these transplanted peoples were faced with the challenge of creating a satisfying cultural home in a region where the 'worst features of colonialism throughout the globe would all be combined in one region'. Their languages and cultures dissolving over a chain of miles in the crossing of the notorious 'Middle Passage' the newly introduced slave population, and indentured servants who came in their wake, were forced to learn the language and culture of the master, their own being subject to a process of deliberate erasure. Charting the evolution of the voyage motif in the poetry of Derek Walcott, this paper examines how this trope rehearses these crossings in an attempt to alleviate the sense of displacement they engender. Examining the transformative nature of such voyages on both the culture of the colonizer and colonized this paper employs theories of creolization to account for the mode in which what is created in the Caribbean that is neither indigenous to the region nor identical with its counterpart in the culture of origin. Walcott's poetics offer an enabling alternative to resistance literature, his reading of the process of 'acquiescence, repetition and change' highlighting a mode of creative contention and interaction that is made possible within a context of subordination.

Katrin Urschel, National University of Ireland, Galway

'Fresh Woods' and the 'Gilded Cage': A Diachronic Approach to Ethnicity and Gender in Irish-Canadian Women's Writing

My paper centres on a comparison of two Irish-Canadian women writers, Rosanna Eleanor Leprohon and Frances Greenslade. Both Catholic and born in Canada, their texts feature contrary positions on Irishness and imperialism, Catholicism, Canada's indigenous peoples and multiculturalism. While Leprohon wrote novels and poems in the nineteenth century, and is celebrated for her promotion of a 'national' literature in Canada, Greenslade's travel narrative *A Pilgrim in Ireland: A Quest for Home* (2002) is written from an autobiographical and post-colonial perspective, and is concerned with an exploration of her ethnic homeland. The comparison of these two writers is especially fruitful because it not only allows an assessment of settler colonialism at two different stages in Irish and Canadian cultural history, but also directly confronts Ireland's paradox as both a colonial and an imperial nation. Furthermore, it illustrates how ethnic and gender identities are linked.

I employ critical analysis and post-colonial theory to explore the tensions between the nineteenth-century colonisers' urge to indigenize themselves in Canada and the contemporary desire for origins on the part of the settlers' descendants. Leprohon and Greenslade represent these paradigms in their writing. My emphasis is on the conceptualisation of ethnicity, race and nationhood in Canada with special regard to the Irish and First Nations. Irish settlers took part in the nineteenth-century imperial endeavour and, in order to 'civilize' their new home country and provide it with power, had to rid themselves of their European ethnic belonging. Hence the Irish inclusion in Canada's 'Anglo-Celtic' majority who do not see themselves as ethnic. Since this self-concept does not correspond to the exigencies of today's multicultural societies which postulate a resurfacing of ethnicity, I plead for a careful handling of the terminology and categorisation used in race and ethnicity discourse.

Lorenzo Veracini, Australian National University

What is a Settler Society?

The history of settler colonial formations intersects a number of historical phenomena: the variety of different colonial articulations, for example, or the evolving tradition of utopian imaginings pertaining to agrarian and communitarian or socialist idylls – examples of 'modernising' and transformative activity associated with making 'wastelands' bloom, and, more generally, the history of migrant societies (and of forced migrations), the histories of European settlements, the expansion of capitalist orders, etc. Whereas noticeable and inclusive literatures dealing with the issues mentioned above are easily accessible, a comparative historiography of settler colonial traditions has not yet consolidated.

This paper attempts an outline of what can be ultimately understood as an autonomous political trajectory. Consistently with a long lasting intellectual tradition reflecting upon the nature and scope of settler colonial endeavours, it defines settler colonial experiments by referring to what these episodes had explicitly intended not to be: not an Old World style and conflict ridden circumstance burdened by history and sectarian and/or sectional contradictions, or a neo-European seigneural or neo-feudal polity where substantive sovereignty would ultimately rest with the colonising metropole, not a 'tropical' colonial locale, where subordinate and generally unfree indigenous or imported labour could be supervised by colonial agencies, not an 'Oriental' despotic circumstance; etc.

John Wagner, University of British Columbia

Dreaming the Okanagan: Landscape Aesthetics as an Instrument of Internal Colonization

In this paper I describe historic and contemporary patterns of colonization in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia, emphasizing the ways in which settler culture has led to the production of a landscape aesthetic that reproduces colonization as iterative cultural practice. I also emphasize the ways in which this particular landscape aesthetic is dependent on the economic and symbolic meanings of water in Okanagan settlement history. Early European settlers such as Thomas Ellis, a young Irish immigrant, arrived in the area in the 1860s, displacing indigenous Okanagan communities as they utilized the area's grasslands for cattle ranching. It was irrigated fruit orchards, however, not ranches, that came to dominate the settler economy by the turn of the century. Although the Okanagan is one of the driest regions in Canada, a series of large lakes fed by mountain streams stretch a hundred miles along the valley bottom. The images of the Okanagan that were used to sell fruit and attract new settlers emphasized the lush, oasis-like qualities of orchard and lake set among a dramatic, arid and mountainous backdrop. Today that same imagery is used to sell the area to tourists and to a new wave of settlers, many of whom come here to retire. As land prices escalate and orchards become less economically viable, they are supplanted by wine tourism vineyards, restaurants and hotels. Orchardists whose ancestors arrived in the valley as colonists only three or four generations ago, thus find themselves colonized in turn by today's more affluent settlers. Despite the vast differences of scale between historic and contemporary patterns of colonization, both are informed by a landscape aesthetic now deeply embedded in the settler culture of the region.

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The Case of Mauritius

The Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, 1,850 square kilometres, subtropical, fertile and well watered, though known to the Portuguese from 1503, remained uninhabited until occupied in 1638 by the Dutch East India Company, which however had little success in exploiting its agricultural potential and in 1710 abandoned it. Between 1715 and 1810 Mauritius, renamed the Isle de France, was a French possession. In 1810 it was seized by Britain and remained a British colony until independence in 1968. The last forty years of the French period were the most formative. This period and it influences would receive my attention. The French introduced slaves, mainly from Madagascar, some from the East Indies. Planters developed agriculture more successfully, especially cultivating sugar and pepper. It was the merchants of Port-Louis, a fine natural harbour, who made the colony by far the most important French colony after Saint-Domingue. By 1811, Port-Louis had a very flourishing maritime trade with Asia as well as France; it had paved streets designed on the grid pattern and lined with fine public buildings; it had an imperial lycee and other public institutions serving an increasingly sophisticated colonial society. The Isle of France had a botanic garden and a printing press which were probably the earliest in the southern hemisphere. Its population, in excess of 50,000, was increasingly mixed, with free

Coloureds almost as numerous as Whites. Under British rule the French remained dominant in the sugar industry and in commerce; the French language was much more in use in polite circles than English while a French patois remained the lingua franca; the Napoleonic code still had force of law, albeit supplemented by English law; Catholicism was until the 1840s universally the popular religion. The large influx of indentured labourers from India in the middle years of the nineteenth century and attempts at anglicisation by British administrators did not fundamentally change the French ethos of Mauritian society. Though the new Asian immigrants rarely embraced Catholicism, they learnt the French patois. Small numbers of Chinese arrived in the 1920s and became assimilated. By the time British rule ended, the composition of Mauritian society was complex. There were the 'French', a small tightly-knit community but bonded by a common religion to the Coloureds, now known as Creoles, descendants indeterminately of Malagasys, Mozambicans, Malays, Indians and French. Two thirds of the population were 'Indians', descendants of the indentured labourers and of free immigrants; even more heterogeneous than the Creoles. One in four was a Muslim; a few were Christians; most were Hindus. But the French patois remained the lingua franca; French was the language of the popular press even though English was the language of instruction in secondary schools. Early history is reasserting itself. In recent years France has renewed her interest in Mauritius; France, not Britain, is now Mauritius' chief trading partner; Air France flights from Paris now go direct to Mauritius instead of via the neighbouring French island of Reunion.

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Anti-Colonial Colonialism: The Fenian Invasions of Canada

While anti-colonialism has been extensively studied in post-colonial studies, for the most part it has concentrated its attention on the kind of anti-colonialism displayed by the independence movements after World War II. These movements usually consisted of struggles, peaceful or violent, by indigenous populations against the colonial regime and the colonial settler population, as for example in the case of Algeria. The influence of Franz Fanon has ensured that this has become the dominant way in which people now think of anti-colonial struggle.

However, this was the particular form of twentieth century anti-colonialism. Many anti-colonial struggles in earlier centuries were conducted by the settler populations themselves—beginning with the American War of Independence, the South American revolutions of the early nineteenth century, as well as rebellions in Ireland, notably the United Irishmen's of 1798. Conditions changed in the later nineteenth century, however, so that (with the exception of Ireland) the complaint of colonial settler populations was often rather that the imperial government was insufficiently imperialist, lacking enthusiasm for territorial expansion, and too concerned with the rights of the indigenous peoples.

In this paper, however, I wish to focus on a different case, that of the Irish settler populations. Relative indifference by the British government towards Irish dissent and the conditions in Ireland in the 1840s changed significantly in 1858 when James Stephen founded the Irish Republican Brotherhood in Dublin, committed to win Irish independence through violent insurrection, and John Mahoney founded a branch of

the Fenians in New York the following year. This marked for the first time the internationalisation of violent anti-colonial struggle, as a result of which Irish populations in North America and Australasia began to threaten with British government with a global colonial alliance. In my paper I wish to examine the international activities of the Fenians, particularly the Fenian invasions of Canada in the 1860s, to demonstrate the ways in which Irish anti-colonial struggle conducted on an international basis impacted on British political perspectives and offered a new model of anti-colonial strategy.