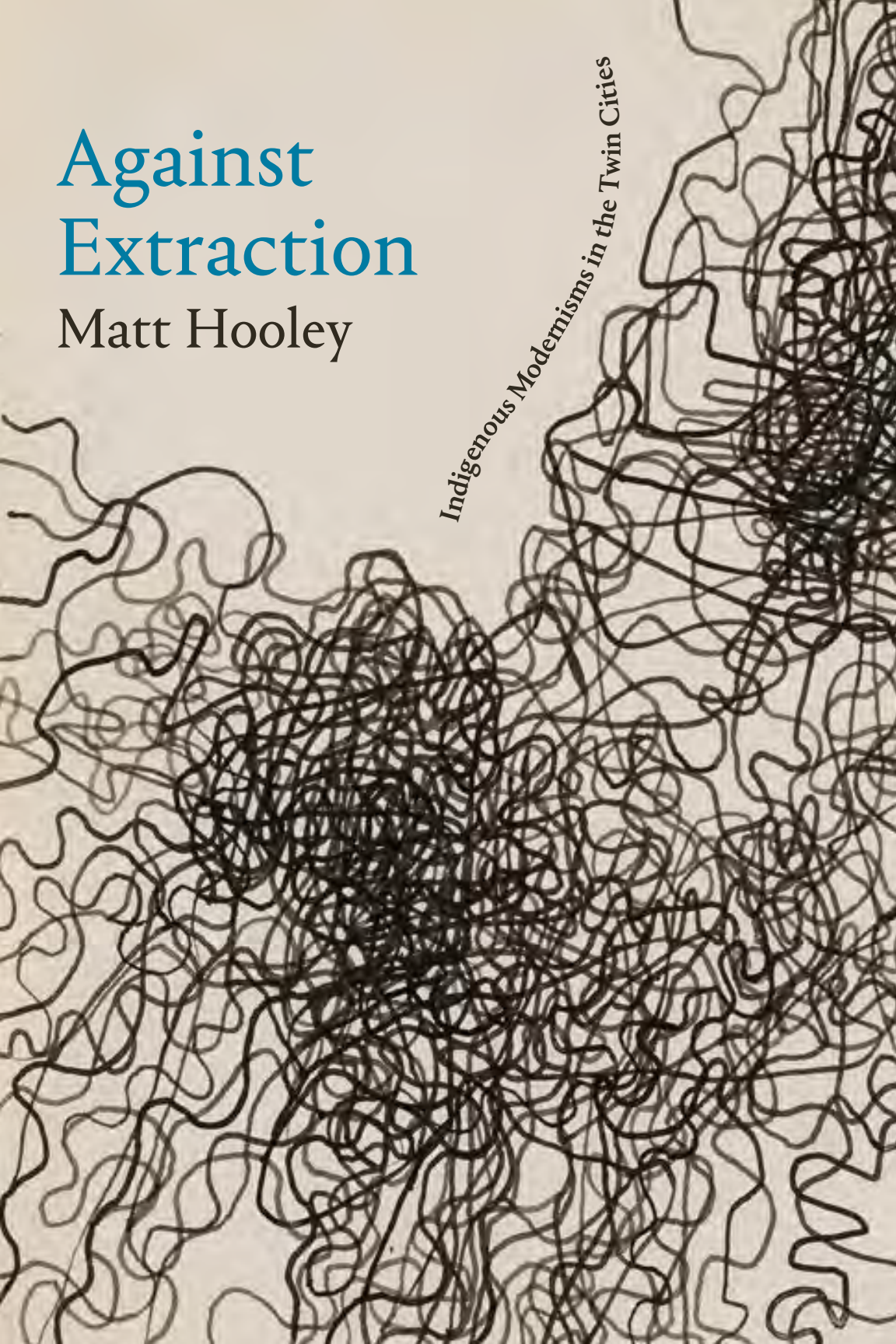
Against Extraction

Matt Hooley

Indigenous Modernisms in the Twin Cities



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Cover art: George Morrison (1919–2000), *Untitled (Dayton, Ohio)*, 1960. Brush and black ink on paper, 16 ½ × 13 ⅞ in. Courtesy of the Estate of George Morrison / Briand Morrison.

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P.1. George Morrison, *Collage IX: Landscape*, 1974, wood, 60 ⅛ × 168 ½ × 3 in. Minneapolis Institute of Art, the Francis E. Andrews Fund, 75.24. Reprinted courtesy of Briand Morrison.

Prologue

Collage: Landscape

In 1965, George Morrison started making landscapes out of driftwood. He gathered wood from Atlantic beaches near Provincetown, Massachusetts, where he rented a studio on breaks from teaching at the Rhode Island School of Design. He looked for scraps of wood grayed and weathered by the sea to the brink of abstraction, but that also bore some trace of human use or attachment ("bits of paint, half worn off," "rust stains or colors soaked in," "the top of an old scrub brush").[1] Morrison began each landscape, which he also called "wood collages" and "paintings in wood," by fitting together a few pieces in the bottom left corner of the frame that, along the broken lines of driftwood edges, gathered out into massive sweeps and rivulets of fragments to fill frames up to fourteen feet wide and five feet tall. Setting off the top quadrant of each collage, a single, twisted but unbroken line—a horizon line—is the only gesture spared from the turbulence of fracture and motion that characterizes the landscapes.

Morrison was born in 1919, in a house near the shore of Lake Superior, a member of the Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa.[2] He was sent to a boarding school in Wisconsin, attended and graduated from the Minneapolis School of Art, and in 1944 moved to New York, where he made and showed work alongside Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Joan Mitchell, Robert Motherwell, Mark Rothko, and Franz Kline. During the years he lived on the East Coast, Morrison was excluded from exhibitions of "Indian art" that were coming into fashion in the US art market. In 1948, the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa rejected his work, noting that it "was not painted in the traditional manner of your forefathers." And even when the Philbrook

eventually did accept Morrison's work in 1964, the curator wrote to Morrison that she "was aware that [Morrison was] . . . not an artist in the 'Indian style.'"[3] Although this question of whether his work belonged in the category "Indian art" did not preoccupy Morrison, it is one that continues to dominate criticism of his work.[4] One reason, perhaps, is that Morrison began making driftwood landscapes just as he decided to move back to Minnesota in 1970 to join the faculty of the country's first American Indian studies program at the University of Minnesota, a move, he wrote, that was inspired by an "Indian connection . . . [and] the need to put certain Indian values into my work."[5] His move to the Twin Cities (Minneapolis/St. Paul), for which the driftwood landscapes became an avatar, is often interpreted as a pivot from an abstract period to a politically and ideologically situated one—a homecoming that structures a narrative of development in the life of a path-making Indigenous modernist.

Questions about the Indigenousness of art often displace questions about the Indigenousness of the places where that art is made and shown. It is a critical habit that has unfortunately structured much of the history of the interpretation of Morrison's work. Writing against that habit is one reason I wanted to write this book, to ask: How can we read art and place together under conditions of ongoing colonialism? Can practices of cultural interpretation denaturalize the coloniality of place and at the same time show how Indigenous art-making is always also Indigenous place-making? While these questions motivated this book, it is still important to me that the book not be mistaken as an attempt to resolve them. Therefore, before I turn to the central arguments and archives in the introduction, I want to use this prologue to stage these questions—not to answer them but to hold them open. This prologue is an experiment in writing the politics of art, Indigeneity, and land together that I hope will also function as an invitation for others to join in the urgent decolonial work of continually rewriting the entangled histories of place- and art-making to which each of us is connected.

Extraction and Cultural Interpretation

When Morrison returned in 1970, the Twin Cities seemed to be remaking itself. A city whose political and economic life had always centered the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers and the milling industries those rivers powered, was emptying itself into suburbs. Strategically devalued Black, Brown, and Indigenous neighborhoods were obliterated by a new interstate system as the

manufacturing jobs on which those neighborhoods economically depended were replaced by the rise of a finance and retail economy increasingly situated in the suburbs. The Twin Cities' transformation is a familiar story of "urban crisis" in the United States, but one that hinged in more immediately identifiable ways than it did in other US cities on the unresolved contradiction of the social and jurisdictional form of the city that depends on the recurrent displacement and absorption of Indigenous people and land relations. In the 1960s and 1970s, the contradictions of Indigenous displacement and absorption was most famously manifest in the rise of the American Indian Movement.[6] Like other urban anti-racist and decolonization movements, AIM demanded equal access to employment, health care, safety, and education. What distinguished AIM's insurgency, from Alcatraz Island to the National Mall in Washington, DC, was the way it used occupation as a style of protest in order to denaturalize the settler city as a primary or coherent social and jurisdictional form. In one sense, the history of that denaturalization begins in the Twin Cities, where AIM started as a cop watch system, a street patrol, two Indigenous schools, and a local health care and legal support system before it became a national organization.

Only a few months after Morrison arrived in Minnesota, AIM occupied the Naval Air Station in Minneapolis: an unused military facility associated with Fort Snelling, the original colonial installation in Minnesota situated on a Dakota sacred site and adjacent to Wita Tanka, or "Pike Island," where thousands of Dakota people were held in a concentration camp in 1862. Like the concurrent occupation of Alcatraz, the Naval Air Station occupation was premised on a common provision of US treaties (in this case, the 1805 Treaty of St. Peter) that afforded for the return of unused federal land to Indigenous people. AIM demanded that the Naval Air Station be redeveloped as an Indigenous school, a demand that city and federal officials immediately rejected.[7] However the broader effect of AIM occupations like this one was to demonstrate the spatial and historical incoherence of the jurisdictional form of the settler city itself, to indicate its internal and irreparable broken edges, and to insist that those edges—never the spaces of vacancy or pathology the city made them out to be—were sites of abiding political motion.

As soon as Morrison arrived in the Twin Cities, he became an active member of AIM. At the same time, his driftwood landscapes were embraced by the cities' most powerful settler corporations and cultural institutions. He sold driftwood collages to the Minneapolis Institute of Art (MIA), General Mills, Honeywell, and Prudential—all organizations whose wealth depended on the seizure and extraction of Indigenous life and land.[8] He had a solo show

at the Walker Art Center, a gallery named and funded by lumber baron T. H. Walker, and received public art commissions for a wood statue exhibited in a skyscraper named for the French explorer René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, and a granite collage built into a pedestrian mall named for Jean Nicolet, the French explorer sometimes credited with "discovering" the Great Lakes. How these corporations and institutions misread Morrison's work, and why they were interested in using that work to attach themselves to a narrative of the frontier past and neoliberal future of US colonialism, gets to questions at the heart of this book about how colonialism attempts and fails to control the meaning of art, about how colonial political and aesthetic forms are produced by the management of belonging, and about how we can clarify the always-material, always-ecological stakes of struggles around aesthetics and power, colonialism and decolonization. At a moment characterized both by insurgent assertions of urban Indigenous space and by systematic disinvestment from the cities' central Black and Indigenous neighborhoods, settler corporations and institutions leveraged a particular and violently constrained idea of the "Nativeness" of Morrison's art to facilitate a transformation of the spatial and economic order of the city. Here, Nativeness was not understood as a radical counterclaim to the operation of US colonialism but rather as a minority cultural aspect of it. I argue that, as such, colonial institutions misinterpreted Morrison's work and its relation to modern Indigeneity by obscuring the aesthetic and political invention to which that work was actively committed.

The first landscape Morrison sold after moving back to Minnesota is titled *Collage IX: Landscape*. The piece is made of driftwood that he brought from the Atlantic coast, and that he collected from the "alleys and backyards" of his neighborhood in St. Paul.[9] Like all of his collages, it is a study of material in social and historical relation. Morrison immersed himself in the process ("the chance element") of "taking driftwood or discarded wood and playing one piece against the other."[10] The patterns of "color, shape, and texture" that emerge are functions of Morrison's own manipulation and of the possibilities or limits of attachment manifest in each piece. Those patterns are ornate, massive, and mutating, and they express within the piece's huge frame a multidimensionality of motion beyond the vertical and horizontal, a coruscation of density, gesture, and reference. The complexity of this effect is intentional and has to do with how the wood pieces-in-pattern express a present of exposition and, like a shoreline, gather the residue of moving histories of growth, harvest, commodification, shipment, use, and disposal that mingle below and beyond that present. For Morrison, those histories were insistently environmental

and social, and they generate an animating tension that never resolves into familiar postures of presence or absence, location or loss.

Collage, for Morrison, is both a response to the formal operation of colonial extraction and a practice of ecological invention. In a formal sense, Morrison's interest in collage is plainly unrecuperative. The pieces of driftwood he used are not joined to represent or restore what of them was lost to extraction, and in this sense *collage* does not refer to a total effect of fragments rearranged into pattern. In Morrison's work, collage is better understood as attention to the formal and affective generativity of wood worn—in odd angles and unnatural lightness, and in subtly incurvate or arching sanded surfaces—to extractive remains. It is a practice that collects both wood arrayed in a fluid pattern and the interstitial spaces between each piece, and thereby creates a formal tension between what, of each piece of driftwood, it is and is not possible to connect. Morrison remembered the history that preceded the wood's inclusion in the collage ("There was an interesting history in those pieces—who had touched them, where they had come from") and its eventual decay ("The wood won't last forever, I know that").[11] Thus we can read the gaps between driftwood pieces as a space not of loss but of organic exchange—where, within the collage, the pieces literally gather and decay together.

If, for Morrison, collage is a way of gathering with and among the absent, the other primary formal framework of the piece—landscape—is a rethinking of the sociality of setting. The term is one that Morrison hesitated around or qualified when he talked about the collages. "I think a respectful, knowledgeable person," he reflected, "would know that they're paintings in wood, landscapes."[12] Later, he added: "I imagine that people see the wood first. They don't look at it as a landscape painting, though it's subtitled *Landscape*. They may not even see the horizon line at first. The initial appeal comes from the wood itself, from the tactile surface."[13] In a colonial context, as W. J. T. Mitchell notes, landscape is "a medium" and a making, an enclosure fantasy. Landscape is the imagination of space primally unclaimed but through whose mixing of proximity and spaciousness property is remade as an effect of seeing, "'the dreamwork' of imperialism."[14] In Morrison's collage, these dynamics are referenced and actively thwarted. For Morrison, landscape is also a medium and is concerned with how art participates in the politics of space. But whereas imperial landscape derives a rhetoric of control out of a construction of spatial ideality ("the antithesis of 'land'"), Morrison's landscape problematizes interpretive control by revealing the generative indistinction between space and land. As he points out, the experience of observing the collage is one that frustrates the acquisitive choreography of spectacle: "They

don't look at it as a landscape." Rather, the force of the collage is affective. The piece draws the observer to it, to touch it, in "an appeal," as Morrison points out, that "comes from the wood itself." The effect, then, is not the abstraction of or from an idea of land but a feeling of being overcome by the materiality of land, even in the moment of observing the collage in the gallery. Morrison's landscape makes land and, as such, resets the terms of its encounter beyond interpretation, closer, perhaps, to something like the terms of relation.

The MIA purchased *Collage IX: Landscape* in 1975, the year after it completed a massive, $30 million expansion to its main building. Designed by the renowned Japanese architect Kenzo Tange, the addition was intended to modernize and expand the museum's founding democratic concept: a public exhibition space joined to an art school and a theater. As a part of that expansion, the museum updated its curatorial scheme, adding the department first called Primitive Art before it was renamed Art of Africa and the Americas, in which *Collage IX: Landscape* would be exhibited. The MIA is situated in a neighborhood that became the vibrant center of Indigenous life and organizing in Minneapolis in the aftermath of postwar white disinvestment. Originally, it was land seized from Dakota people in the mid-nineteenth century by settler John T. Blaisdell.[15] Blaisdell sold the lumber and eventually some of the land itself to Dorilus Morrison, a man who started the city's first industrial sawmill and eventually became Minneapolis's first mayor. Dorilus Morrison made a fortune milling lumber harvested from all over the state, including from thousands of acres of pine forest he bought himself—land that had been acquired through a treaty with Ojibwe leaders in 1837 whose terms (e.g., the provision of Ojibwe hunting and fishing rights) were never upheld by the United States.[16] In 1911, Dorilus Morrison's son, Clinton, donated the land the family bought from Blaisdell to Minneapolis for the construction of a museum whose founding principle, characteristic of early twentieth-century progressivism, was (in the words of its first director, Joseph Breck) to liberate the museum from the model of "'the storehouse' [or] . . . 'prison of arts'" and to "extend no less cordial a welcome to the humbler amateurs than . . . to 'carriage folk.'"[17]

Like the other corporations and institutions that acquired George Morrison's collage landscapes in the early 1970s, the MIA is an effect and a technology of extraction. Here and throughout this book, extraction is a cultural and an ecological concept; it signals both how forms of colonial belonging proliferate around Indigenous land dispossession and how those forms remake themselves through the management of ecological meaning. Thinking about the MIA through the lens of extraction is less about singling out

that institution—or even the institutional form of the museum—than it is about showing how colonial cultural forms that organize the politics of belonging function as thresholds of the constant transformations of land, capital, and power on which the broader operation of US colonialism depends. For instance, the museum's self-concept as a public institution is only possible through a recurrence of Indigenous alienation: of the land under the museum, of the trees and water through which Dorilus Morrison made a fortune, of the civic investment that city officials directed to a colonial museum in an Indigenous neighborhood instead of the Indigenous school that AIM asked to be installed on the abandoned naval air station. And each such recurrence elaborates its publicness in a particular way, as a derivative of what Dene scholar Glen Coulthard calls "persistent" colonial accumulation, as a primal symbol of colonial occupation (what Jean O'Brien calls "firsting"), and as a threshold from or into which Indigenous life can be categorically excluded or assimilated.[18] Thus the museum, like other colonial institutions, transforms multiple spatial, economic, and political operations of extraction into a differential experience of access. For those it reproduces as subjects of extraction, it makes access (to land, to capital, to the public, to knowledge of what is excluded from the public) available and ideologically defining. For the people and the ecological relations it reproduces as objects of extraction, it makes being available to access ontologically defining.

The MIA's acquisition of *Collage IX: Landscape* helped define Morrison as an Indigenous modernist for the art world and for the Twin Cities in part by exhibiting the piece in the Primitive Art and then Art of Africa and the Americas department. By curating the work in this way, the MIA used Morrison to institutionalize a relationship between modernity and Indigeneity that erases the specificity of Indigenous claims to land. In the shift from Primitive Art to Art of Africa and the Americas, the MIA replaced a violent temporal (anachronizing) universalization of Indigeneity with a spatial (globalizing) one—a tactic Joanne Barker terms the "racialization of the Indian," in which "the notion that indigenous peoples are members of sovereign political collectivities is made incomprehensible . . . [by] collaps[ing] indigenous peoples into minority groups that make up the rainbow of multicultural difference."[19] The fact that Morrison was a member of a tribal community whose expropriated land was the economic precondition for the MIA (itself also physically built on seized Dakota land) is transformed by a curatorial gesture that locates the museum in a global landscape of difference rather than evince the political contradictions of its spatial and temporal location. For Barker, "racialization" means replacing the treaty relationship between tribes and other nations

with a political minority status, theorized in the Marshall Trilogy as a condition of "wardship."[20] And as she and other Indigenous studies scholars have pointed out, that erasure is not singular but recurrent. It recurs whenever colonial structures are thrown into crisis, expand, or remake themselves, what Patrick Wolfe defines as the "structure not . . . event" of settler colonialism.[21] Barker's use of "racialization" in this context is comparative—in which Indigeneity stripped of its sovereign claim to land seems to make it comparable to positions of political minority already naturalized within US racial capitalism as landless and nonsovereign. However, the way colonial institutions used Morrison's collages at this moment of urban transformation invites an elaboration of this theory of racialization to understand how the colonial construction of modern Indigeneity as landless also served the intrinsically anti-Black discourse of civic revitalization.

In the aftermath of suburbanization, civic and business leaders invested in sites like the MIA and Nicollet Mall as spaces to return public interest to the downtown. In such spaces, Morrison's collage landscapes—works whose aesthetic interest in fragment and pattern were misconstrued as thematizing political unity from individual difference—were exhibited as avatars of a new urban, multicultural public life.[22] Here I am interested in how a discourse of the public "life" Morrison's collages were used to ornament operated in the city both metaphorically and literally on the level of biology and ecology. As in other gentrifying cities, Twin Cities officials relied heavily on metaphors of health (lifeblood, vitality, and growth) and damage (blight, disease, decay) to advertise and fundraise for investments like the MIA expansion and the Nicollet Mall renovation. As in other cities, that rhetoric was deployed on behalf of a revitalization that produced new forms and distributions of environmental violence outside of revalued urban spaces. Because expressed interest in renewed urban spaces was economic, revitalization in the Twin Cities depended on a classic neoliberal model of financing and governance. Remaking retail and cultural spaces "to bring life back to the street" depended on tax incentives and regulatory easements that concentrated profit around a few corporations and redistributed environmental vulnerability to poor and rural communities around the state and city.[23] Today the catastrophic toxification of the state's soil and water as a result of manufacturing, mining, and toxic dumping by companies like 3M and Honeywell—who directly invested in and benefited from the cities' revitalization—are only beginning to be understood.[24]

Within the cities themselves, the ecological logic of urban revitalization also depended on the "dysselection" of Black life as the governing concept of

public life.[25] That dysselection was literalized when white federal, state, and city officials routed the new interstate connecting Minneapolis and St. Paul (I-94) through the Rondo neighborhood—the largest and most cherished Black neighborhood in St. Paul.[26] The destruction of 650 Black homes and over 100 Black-owned businesses in the name of heightened cultural and economic exchange between Minneapolis and St. Paul concretized the necropolitical logic of the cities' public life. In the aftermath of the police murder of Philando Castile in 2016, anti-racist protesters trenchantly marked the legacy of this concept of public life by stopping traffic on I-94, exactly at the site where the Rondo neighborhood once stood.[27]

Writing against Resolution

This prologue is an attempt to think about a work of art and a city together, to track the ways they are connected by genealogies of life and space in motion. At the same time, it is an effort to avoid repeating the reduction of both art and the city to and by colonial practices of interpretation, valuation, and recovery—the way the meaning of Morrison's life, his work, and Indigenous people in Minnesota, for instance, have been managed through the cultural economies of extraction that I have outlined. In this sense, to think about art and place together is primarily an incitement to reading and writing differently. How do we think and write about—which is to say around or among—forms linked by moving histories of colonialism and decolonization, seizure and endurance, domination and repair?

In this book, I try to hold open the question of how to write about art and place together by attending to convergences of culture and power that do not resolve to ready formations of identity, jurisdiction, or discipline. I bookmark these convergences with the word *against*: an ambivalent term that signals the trenchant opposition to US colonialisms that characterizes all the texts I write about, and the inescapable sense of proximity—the spatial, ideological, and social friction—that is a condition of production of decolonial art and organizing. It is also a term that expresses key methodological features of Morrison's collages, including their attention to generative possibilities of the meager, fraught, and collapsing spaces where ideas and materials in proximity are transformed but never resolved.

Writing-against as a mode of collaboration with difference is also important to me, a non-Indigenous person writing about Indigenous land and art. In one sense, it marks a familiar, and perhaps facile, aspiration to conditional

alignment: that my writing can join the writing and organizing I describe in this book in opposing the legal, cultural, environmental, and political extraction that drives US colonialisms. But perhaps harder and more useful is the sense that this book is a challenge to account for the spatial, economic, and political proximity between the ideas and histories that have made me and the Indigenous land, people, and texts I consider here—a proximity uninvited by Ojibwe and Dakota people, and one structurally predisposed, as a function of colonialism, to my benefit. One reason to write this book is to ask if that proximity can mean something other than extraction, and that is also something other than resolution: if what can be made in that proximity can have meaning that does not just accrue to non-Indigenous people, and if what can be unmade are inherited ideological and disciplinary dispositions that understand proximity as something to be claimed or defended against.

Introduction

Where Extraction Takes Place

When the City of Minneapolis was officially recognized by the Minnesota Territorial Legislature in 1856, Franklin Avenue marked its southern border. Stretching east from a lake, Wíta Tópa, across the city to Haha Wakpa, the Mississippi River, it was a thoroughfare made to set the new settler city off from the surround.[1] Franklin Avenue was an infrastructure of colonial transit in both an economic and a phenomenological sense: a threshold that gave the city shape by managing the flow of people and capital along and across it. Within a few decades, as new industries and communities grew around it, Franklin Avenue, like Minneapolis's other oldest streets, no longer marked the city's outer limit. The city's edges became the grid of its central neighborhoods. But unlike those other old streets, Franklin Avenue never stopped being a borderland.

I.1. (above) George Morrison, *Untitled*, 1975. Minneapolis American Indian Center. Photograph: Jaida Grey Eagle. Reprinted courtesy of Jaida Grey Eagle.

Today, Franklin Avenue runs like a seam between communities that, anywhere else in the Twin Cities, would be more strictly segregated. Wealthy white and middle-class neighborhoods press against established queer, Indigenous, and Black neighborhoods, all shored against the southern edge of the city's financial district. For a century and half, it has been a street where immigrants, laborers, racialized and relocated people have lived and refused to become absorbed into the homogenizing cultural economy of the settler Midwest. Along or near Franklin Avenue, the city's most powerful engines of cultural assimilation—the Minneapolis Institute of Art, the Walker Arts Center, the University of Minnesota—stand in dissonant proximity to remarkable formations of anti-assimilatory community organizing like the United States' only urban housing project with an Indigenous preference, Little Earth, the largest Somali American community nicknamed "Little Mogadishu," and, for a while, the majority-Indigenous Franklin/Hiawatha houseless encampment. As a place where people have so steadfastly refused to reduce their lives to the meager fantasies of settler racial and economic incorporation, Franklin Avenue has always vexed and still yet vexes the cadastral fantasy of the stable form of the Twin Cities itself.

In 1975, Franklin Avenue also became the site of George Morrison's largest wood landscape, an 18-by-99-foot mural on the exterior of the newly built Minneapolis American Indian Center (MAIC). In many ways, the funding and production of the mural were part of federal and local governmental efforts to assimilate the vibrant urban Indigenous community of the Twin Cities into a regime that Jodi Melamed calls "liberal multiculturalism."[2] In the aftermath of relocation, and amid the rise of Indigenous decolonial radical movements like the American Indian Movement (AIM), funding for the MAIC came from sources including the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, which sought to redirect community organizing efforts against the violences of capitalism and systematic land seizure via the promise of benevolent inclusion into colonial economic and cultural modernity.[3] On a local level, the MAIC was part of the development of what Minneapolis calls the "American Indian Cultural Corridor" along Franklin Avenue, which includes offices for the Native American Community Development Institute and the American Indian Industrial Opportunities Center. From the standpoint of federal and local colonial officials, transforming the street on which AIM started into a "corridor" for inclusion into capitalism and multiculturalism was both about executing what Melamed calls the "counterinsurgency against the robustly material anti-racisms of the 1960s and 1970s" and about closing down the

social and jurisdictional opening those revolutionary movements opened within the form of the city itself.[4]

However, neither this political economic context nor even the concurrent academic institutionalization of Native American and Indigenous studies (NAIS), which also motivated the production of Morrison's mural, comprehensively encompasses the social or aesthetic meaning of the piece. I argue that the mural—an example of the approach to Indigenous modernism I theorize in this introduction—antagonizes colonial fantasies of cultural inclusion and political coherence at the same time it generatively remembers the continuities of Indigenous life and land those orders obscure. The mural holds open the space of unsanctioned gathering, organizing, and invention that is characteristic of the borderland history of Franklin Avenue that the form of the colonial city constantly works to disavow or forget. Made of stained cedar boards, the piece is distinguished by five clusters of intersecting chevrons joined to each other by fields of further, emanating chevrons. The mural overflows with movement and pattern, yet it also reflects itself exactly across both horizontal and vertical axes. The wood's variegated color produces a sense of depth and softness that contrasts the stern glass and concrete surfaces of the building that frames it. Morrison did not officially title the piece, but he later wrote that he wished it were called *Turning the Feather Around*—a reference both to a feather's barb and rachis structure that inspires the chevron formations and to the way the assemblage creates "the illusion" that the "chevrons are turning around."[5] Like his driftwood landscapes, the sense of motion that animates the MAIC mural is not progressive but rather a function of how the piece holds and circulates vectors of pattern in tension, never resolving them. The mural seems constantly to be turning into itself: a fractal dimensionalization of space and an opening of and out of the rudiments of surface. In aesthetic terms, the MAIC mural offers a theory of irresolution that defies totalizing concepts of composition or scale, a kind of spatial surrealism that abrades the logics of inclusion and multicultural belonging with which the Twin Cities tries to enclose it.

In 1975, when Morrison's mural was finished, the Twin Cities were thick with political change and contradiction. As I described in the prologue, what brought Morrison back to Minneapolis and St. Paul was the rise of new forms of Indigenous organizing, including AIM, the creation of the Native American studies program at the University of Minnesota, and educational and community-building organizations like the MAIC and the Survival Schools.[6] At the same time, like many other American cities, the Twin Cities were

in the midst of a devastating physical and economic reinvention under the terms of neoliberalism, including new forms of public investment in infrastructures of white indemnity (e.g., mass incarceration, the interstate system, and the suburbs) and the privatization of health care, education, and housing. In this context, Morrison's mural is a work of Indigenous cultural production that exists in unsettled relation with the Twin Cities; with the land and life the Twin Cities extracts in order to exist; with enduring and shifting constructions of Indigeneity; and with the Indigenous people who came to the MAIC looking for sociality, for work, and for care. Precisely because the mural refuses the racializing and institutionalizing sequestrations of Indigeneity enunciated by colonial disciplinarity or jurisdictionality, it is a piece whose meaning the Twin Cities does not control—a piece that, at the center of a colonial city, marks the kinetic and proliferating limits of colonial spatial and political coherence.

This book centers works of Indigenous cultural production that, like Morrison's *Turning the Feather Around*, refuse and deconstruct the promises of belonging, peace, immunity, and protection associated with incorporation into modern colonial formations and cultural practices. These are works that antagonize the formal, affective, and historical coherence of forms like the colonial city from positions that can appear at first politically ambivalent, compromised, or undetermined. Ultimately, however, they are works that theorize and intensify the failures of colonial political and cultural systems with rigor and inventiveness even when it seems that affirming those structures is the only alternative to unabating conquest. In this book, I use the term *Indigenous modernism* to index these works, the expansive traditions of tribal cultural production of which they are a part, and their shared investment in holding Indigenous space and thought out against US colonialisms in ways that are analytically and socially generative.

As I elaborate in this introduction, I understand the critical significance of this term, Indigenous modernism, in two senses. First, I argue that these texts theorize their own relationship to colonial modernity and specifically to the always environmental and social operation of power in the US context. These are texts that create new ways to read and understand the violence of colonial political and cultural worlds, including how fictions of development, social belonging, spatial expansion, and historical progress are created through the processes I bookmark as extraction and the infrastructural distribution of interiority. These processes animate a fundamental quality of US colonial structures, which is that they do not produce anything other than the conditions for their own violent reproduction. Extraction is not

just the precondition for colonial worlds; it is its governing logic and only outcome. The structures and even the ideas colonialism seems to make anew are never anything other than the infrastructural redistribution of seized life and land under the rubric of interiority. Put differently, the texts I associate with the term *Indigenous modernism* show where—which is to say, under what conditions—extraction takes place.[7] Here, I use *where* as a nominal relative to describe the conditions in which colonial formations seem to occur, or take place, as historically and materially coherent even as they are only ever the effects of the seizure and the illusion of succession (the taking, displacement, or replacement) of Indigenous life and land.

The second critical contribution these texts make is a generative challenge for disciplinary frameworks of cultural and historical analysis that are themselves the effects of extraction.[8] The works I center in this book all bear a real and ongoing relation to land and to the Indigenous communities that the modern formation "the Twin Cities" extracts to exist. Even as we might be given to describe these texts therefore as "from" or "about" that colonial jurisdictional fantasy "the Twin Cities," as occurring within constructions of temporality defined by US historiography, or as expressing a stylistic or political disposition resonant with certain versions of US or global modernisms, they also always vex and exceed these frameworks. They sustain continuities of spatial, historical, and aesthetic meaning that the premises of colonial jurisdiction and discipline are designed to foreclose, and, as such, they participate in a critical (re)generativity, a remembering of where, with what land, extraction takes place.

Of the colonial constructs against which these texts are composed, the form of the city in particular complicates the task of situating the relation of these texts to land within colonialism studies, environmental humanities, and NAIS. Within colonialism studies and the environmental humanities, my attention to the archival relation to place and power indicated by the formation "the Twin Cities" prompts questions about whether it might be mistaken as a city too remote or too small to stage a general critique of colonial extraction.[9] Here the mistake would be to assume that the impression of its provinciality is either unintentional or real. The texts I consider in the chapters that follow all demonstrate how the illusion of being inapposite to colonial power is itself a colonial tactic and an effect of the cities' repression of global political antagonisms. In other words, these texts show that what has made the Twin Cities seem forgettable within critical or historical accounts of global power is precisely how the formation operationalizes the forgetting of both what it displaces and its own mechanisms of displacement. This illusion

of obscurity, this mendacity of settlement, is one way that archival power organizes colonial worlds generally.[10] And it is one way that the form of the Twin Cities is in fact intimately connected to histories of colonialism that, via the formal politics of liberal humanism, unfold in supposedly unremarkable places everywhere.[11]

That this illusory provincialism marks an integration of the Twin Cities into global power also presents a considerable analytical challenge. How do we attend to the actual political and cultural histories of this place without inverting that provincialism into a new historiographical exceptionalism? Here, at the same time that it generates a critique of global power, the Indigenous modernist disposition *against* colonialism also illuminates histories of decolonial cultural production that are incommensurable and materially specific to the land the Twin Cities extracts.[12] That is, while these texts reveal the Twin Cities to be a formal replication of colonial power, they bear a relation to the Twin Cities as elaborations of decolonial traditions whose political and social horizons are more specific and more expansive than global, comparative analytics can register. As they antagonize settlement, these texts open space for organizing with land itself, thereby joining histories of decolonization from the Dakota Uprising to AIM to the uprisings following the murders of Jamar Clark, Philando Castile, George Floyd, Daunte Wright, and Amir Locke, among others. Thus, the critical disposition *against* resonates with what Leanne Betasamosake Simpson and Glen Coulthard call "grounded normativity," where opposition and proximity are always both expansively social (a "fierce and loving mobilization" of decolonial organizing) and specifically grounded (an "intimate relation to place").[13]

That Indigenous modernist texts ground a critique of abstract colonial cultural and jurisdictional formations with material and generative relations with land is one way they engage what Raymond Williams calls the "problem of perspective" inherent to the colonial city form: the way the city produces the sense of its coherence and discreteness via a false antonymy to land (or "country"), and that this antonymy is itself an effect of extraction.[14] That is to say, the texts at the center of this book respond to this problem by showing how the city and Indigenous art produced there *are* land. That they are made of and make land means that literary historical assessments of their political or spatial belonging are qualified in ways that are always more material and more expansive than colonial disciplines or jurisdictions can express.[15] Thus, rather than understanding these texts' relation to the Twin Cities as their participation in a cosmopolitan, nationalist, or global modernism, we might more accurately think of them in terms of a modernism, among other things,

of the prairie, of rivers and of the convergence of the Wakpa Mnisota and Haha Wakpa rivers in particular, and of the Indigenous people and living intellectual traditions that sustain and are sustained by that land.

Positioning these texts' intervention within colonialism studies and NAIS, however, this critical rematerialization of the city risks overstabilizing the relation between Indigeneity, art, and land in the context of extraction. While the form of the Twin Cities occupies Dakota land specifically, its extractive operation is not geographically or historically limited. Because Indigenous people from everywhere make life and art in the Twin Cities, their cultural production contributes to remaking land everywhere they are from. The formal and jurisdictional expression of occupation ("the city") is not identical to the scope of extraction or of Indigenous modernist (re)generativity, and thus the seemingly straightforward archival conceit that organizes this book—Indigenous texts produced in or about the Twin Cities—also refers to ongoing histories of extraction and (re)generation that unfold in the United States and all over the world.

Therefore, rather than attempting anything like a comprehensive account of Indigenous modernism in the Twin Cities, this book focuses on a single arc of texts composed by Anishinaabe writers and artists in or about—which is to say, against—that formation. This is, on one hand, an archival delimitation symptomatic of my own training, and one that should not be read as the suggestion that these texts could stand in for Indigenous modernist cultural production in the Twin Cities generally or for the relation between Isáŋyathi Dakota art and organizing and the land the Twin Cities occupies specifically. On another hand, it is a choice meant to underscore the expansiveness of Indigenous creativity that challenges how colonial jurisdictional limits structure cultural archival conventions. For Ojibwe writers and artists displaced to a colonial city, built on Dakota land, making and interpreting art elaborates what Robert Warrior calls "intellectual sovereignty" as a materially salient and politically and spatially creative practice. Reflecting on Vine Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins*, Warrior describes the politics of Indigenous cultural and critical production as inextricable from histories of struggle against colonialism: "Contemporary American Indian politics would have to grapple, [Deloria] argued, with a situation that made demands that required the creation of new categories of existence and experience."[16] Warrior continues, "what is now critical for American Indian intellectuals committed to sovereignty is to realize that we, too, must struggle for sovereignty, *intellectual sovereignty*, and allow the definition and articulation of what that means to emerge as we critically reflect on that struggle."[17] Although I elaborate the relation

between Indigenous modernism and sovereignty below, Warrior's account usefully stresses the way intellectual sovereignty is necessarily responsive to the historical contingencies of struggle and is intrinsically inventive rather than normative. These axioms should also extend to the ways we interpret modern Indigenous texts and prompt us toward analytical postures sensitive to multiplicity and heterogeny of art practices whose intellectual, political, and material generativity exceeds the spatial and imaginative delimitations implied by the colonial city form.

The remarkable critical force of the work of the five Anishinaabe literary and visual modernists I consider in this book is a function of how they are ambivalently positioned against colonial formations, like the Twin Cities, that normalize extraction. The material and political conditions for the production of their work is neither reducible to nor extricable from the histories of colonial jurisdiction, discipline, and culture through which we are given to interpret urban Indigenous cultural production. This is an ambivalence that I read not as a failure of these texts to have achieved a stable separatism from colonial formations, but as a demonstration and intensification of the failure of those formations to realize their totalizing extractive project. Within Indigenous literary studies, one way of theorizing this kind of critical force, born in the blur of opposition and proximity to colonial power, is via Scott Lyons's formulation of the "x-mark."[18] In strictly historical terms, Lyons's term references the way some Indigenous people signed treaties: by signing Xs in the space those treaties gave them to attach their names to documents that, for instance, often enacted the dispossession of their land and communities. Lyons argues that in the ambivalence and obliqueness of that gesture, "a contaminated and coerced sign of consent made under conditions that are not of one's making," Indigenous signatories developed a generatively nontransparent modality of political and social intention against the colonial terms and demands "signing" supposedly consents to.[19]

X-marks are not, or not only, signatures in a colonial jurisprudential sense because they refuse the reduction of politics to the form of the individual subject that treaties as genres require. X-marks are rhetorical enactments of Indigenous world-making that, Lyons argues, are predicated on practices of human and epistemic motion, the production of difference, and continuities of relation that are durable and irreducible to colonial law. On the page of the treaty, x-marks are aporias. They are demarcations of acknowledgment of the impossible and incoherent terms of colonial agreement—namely, the violent fantasy that the question of land might be decided according to liberal distributions of interiority (e.g., the subject, the jurisdiction, the resource, the

protected or unprotected noncitizen, the cultural artifact). X-marks refer to and throw into relief the impossible conditions of their production. They are signs that irrepressibly shimmer between word and visual art and that point out but never agree to the theatricality of the colonial bargain as a political document or to colonial belonging as a political outcome.

More than a work we might situate in the history of the Twin Cities or in the history of a given disciplinary canon, I read Morrison's mural on the exterior wall of the MAIC as an x-mark. It is a piece that directly acknowledges the political and disciplinary terms of its production but refuses to reconcile or reduce its meaning to those terms. In doing so, it holds open a living and unsettled space of Indigenous social and intellectual production on Franklin Avenue, a gesture that holds in irresolution the geopolitical meaning of the cities that surround it because the aesthetic and political coherence of the colonial city in general always depends on the closure, the extraction, of the meaning of Indigenous life and land. In his autobiography, Morrison thinks back on and worries about the piece, how it will last and how it will be kept. He specifically worries about how its meaning might be kept from collapsing into the MAIC and the economy of political interest of which it, as an aspect of the city's material and cultural infrastructure, is necessarily linked: "Now the mural needs refurbishing. People don't seem to care about the Indian center. They probably just think the mural is the side of the building. They don't understand that it originated as a work of art. . . . I'd like to put in spotlights and have a plaque made for the mural that states it is an original work of art. It would be nice to call it Turning the Feather Around. A mural for the Indian."[20] What "art" means for Morrison here is the way the piece is irreducible to and yet inextricable from the building, the cities, the capricious and devastating shifts of interest intrinsic to the politics of liberal multiculturalism, and even—held in that loving but oblique prepositional intention "for"—discourses of Indigeneity mobilized within academic and insurgent organizational contexts like AIM. Like the x-marks Lyons understands as gestures of Indigenous world-making that is never settled, Morrison's mural is a site of unfinished relation as long as it is held open by and to Indigenous interpretation.

US Cultures of Extraction

As an analytic, Indigenous modernism is concerned with ordinary colonial formations. In other words, it is concerned with the forms and structures integral to the specific political project of colonialism but that also seem to

host the temporal, spatial, and social experience of everyday life in the United States. Formations like the city, or the Twin Cities, seem to answer ordinary questions including where or when we came to be here, and how we came to be together; they are formations whose limits and whose histories give shape to our experiences, even when we disavow or disidentify with them. One premise of this book is that such formations are never stable or autonomous, as they advertise themselves to be. The jurisdictional boundedness of the Twin Cities, the way its carceral, cultural, and economic power gives it shape, is never fixed because it always depends on the ever-intensifying extraction of Indigenous land and life. In the chapters that follow, I account for this quality of colonial formations by approaching them as systems of distribution, as infrastructures that move and manage people and land as the conditions of production of the illusion of colonial state and cultural coherence. Colonial infrastructures are protean; they obtain through transit and constantly reinvent and reproduce themselves in order to secure the steady expansion of state power. When thinking about the colonial formation "Minnesota" (as in the first chapter's consideration of William Warren's life and work), it is useful to recall that the systems that distribute political, cultural, and carceral power—the capitol, the university, and the state prison—were established prior to the state itself. This is not because these structures enacted a singular, originating distribution of power, but because they function as infrastructures through which the state, by defining and managing distributions of power, culture, and violence, can constantly reinvent itself.

In the course of writing or analyzing the history of formations like "Minnesota," one risk is that history itself becomes an infrastructure that administrates distributions of cultural meaning such that colonial extraction is normalized or obscured. This is a risk that Michel-Rolph Trouillot underscores when he argues that historical narratives that fail to attend to the "conditions of [their] production" render history an instrument for making historical "silences."[21] "Any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences," he writes, "the result of a unique process, and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly."[22] To the question of how to write about Indigenous literary history in particular, most of the disciplinarily conventional formations around which we narrate history (the nation, the city, the period, the racializing economics of authorship and commodity intrinsic to the book market) actively obscure the systems of resource extraction that are their precondition and terms of production. In this context, one aim of this book is to indicate what kinds of "bundles of silences" colonial temporal, jurisdictional, and discursive formations are and, in the course of

their unbundling, invite other relations among narrative, history, and power. To do so, I use two methodological concepts to help expose the conditions of production of the colonial and cultural formations against which Indigenous modernist texts are written and read: *extraction history* and *distributions of interiority*. In the chapters that follow, each of these concepts contributes to the way I demonstrate how Indigenous texts antagonize and exceed the administrative control of ordinary colonial infrastructures, including narrative conventions of cultural history writing integral to environmental humanities, modernist studies, and, to some extent, NAIS.

What I mean by *extraction history* differs in two ways from environmental history in how it understands what historical narratives of human and ecological interaction explain and what kinds of relations they make possible. First, extraction histories describe how the production of history is environmental. Where environmental histories leverage in/distinctions between humans and nonhumans (as subjects or objects of historical processes) toward analyses of political or ecological change, extraction histories ask what material processes produce the categorical distinctions through which history, power, and the environment are enacted. Broadly, *extraction* refers to removal, seizure, and separation as acts of interpellation into systems of resource management, including those dedicated to energy and commodity development, political domination (war, enslavement, incarceration), and social control (cultural institutions, health and social services). Rather than understanding extraction as a secondary process or an aspect of colonialism, a premise of this book is that extraction is the way that colonial worlds and the hierarchies of power on which they depend are created. Extraction is not something humans do to resources; it is how the categories "human" and "resource" are made and managed.

In this sense, extraction marks a disciplinary convergence between Black, Indigenous, and colonialism studies' analyses of colonial forms as effects of the seizure of life and land. Extraction histories attend to what Sylvia Wynter calls the "negative aspect of the dialectical process" of colonial constructions of the human, whereby what Zakiyyah Iman Jackson describes as "the violent imposition and appropriation . . . of black(ened) humanity" is necessary to sustain the form's illusory political coherence.[23] Similarly, my approach to extraction history is shaped by scholarship that challenges the coherence of settlement as a spatial form. Instead of tracking colonial expansion via the production of territorial forms, I look to work that reads those forms as nothing other than the conditions for further land seizure—what Glen Coulthard calls "dispossession," and Edward Said calls "possession."[24] And

because extraction histories assume the instability both of colonial forms and their relation to power, they do not identify a particular form (territory or the human) as an explanatory point of origin.[25] That anything can be extracted indicates the volatility of colonial orders but not anything about the grounded and/or embodied relations extraction targets.

Attention to this convergence does not generate an encompassing theory of power. Extraction history is a method, a way of deconstructing categories through which colonialism regulates human and other-than-human relation. It is a method informed by materialist critiques of what Elizabeth Povinelli calls the binary of "Life and Nonlife" as well as of the conditions of analytical access that binary implies.[26] As scholars like Povinelli, Jane Bennett, and Donna Haraway rethink how "vitality" and matter are organized, they also reimagine the terms and outcomes of environmental scholarship—what Haraway indexes with the multivalent concept of "trouble"; what Bennett stages in a pivot from "demystification" to the critical disposition of "being caught up in" the world; and what Povinelli marks via three "figures . . . who exist in between two worlds of late settler liberalism": the Desert, the Animist, and the Virus.[27] Unlike materialisms that establish rigidly noumenal ontological schemes, these thinkers cultivate responsive methods that understand relational and analytical processes as coevolving.[28]

At the same time, as Kim TallBear points out, new and speculative materialist revisions of what Mel Chen calls "hierarchies of animacy" tend to overwrite Indigenous approaches to ontology and relation.[29] Doing so has particular stakes for Indigenous, literary, and environmental criticism in that it creates a dilemma in which "the relationless depth of objects" becomes "incommensurable with" deconstruction.[30] This is a dilemma irrelevant in Ojibwe theoretical traditions that understand texts as coextensive with but not reducible to human liveliness. What Ojibwe people call *aadizookanag*, sometimes translated as "sacred stories," are texts grammatically marked as animate (e.g., as opposed to *dibaajimowinan*). As Margaret Huettl writes, aadizookanag derive from and are "enacted through" human relations with land.[31] What English imperfectly names "sacred" indexes their ontological inextricability and irreducibility to the world of human elaborated meaning. That aadizookanag antecede and are reproduced with difference by Anishinaabe people is not a contradiction but a threshold of relational generativity that can also guide materialist analyses beyond a real/discursive binary.[32]

The extraction histories that organize this book's chapters understand the making and interpretation of Indigenous texts as integral to the making and interpretation of Indigenous land. Here, deconstruction and materialism are

still essential tools for demonstrating the instability and violence of abstractions like the human, territory, and resource. However, because extraction histories center the relations between Indigenous texts and land, Indigeneity rather than species, object, or epoch organizes the book's contribution to the environmental humanities. As a consequence, extraction histories produce analyses that are not meant to be evenly accessible or redeeming—an interpretive horizon that poses an alternative to political universalizations that sometimes structure disciplinary justifications of environmental humanities as the principal disciplinary form with which to organize analyses of human and other-than-human worlds.

The second distinction between what I call extraction histories and canonical environmental histories is that extraction histories expose how, under US occupation, extraction is cultural. By centering the fluid and enduring relationship between extraction and culture, I want to reframe the question of what it is US colonialism destroys and what it produces. What Patrick Wolfe calls "the logic of elimination" offers a widely accepted answer to this question: "The logic of elimination not only refers to the summary liquidation of Indigenous people, though it includes that. In common with genocide . . . settler colonialism has both negative and positive dimensions. Negatively it strives for the dissolution of native societies. Positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base . . . settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event."[33]

Although usefully clear as a diagramming of US domination, "the logic of elimination" conceptualizes colonial violence and production through binaries that it never deconstructs. As a theory of what is destroyed, it depends on a stable ontological opposition between "people" and "land base" that prefigures a sequencing of invasion. Indigenous people are eliminated before settlers "access . . . territory," before those settlers erect "a new colonial society on expropriated land."[34] As a concept of what is produced, the "logic of elimination" naturalizes the colonial fantasy that settlement is stable, permanent, and successive. I am not proposing here that Wolfe argues that what he describes as the binarizing internal "logic" of settler colonialism is real but rather that, even in the name of analytical description, the premise of any colonial interiority (epistemic, social, spatial) is specious. As Jean O'Brien observes, it is also for this reason that the logic of elimination provides no useful basis for the "historici[zing] of Indigenous resistance and survival."[35] Thus, rather than frame US colonialism as elimination succeeded by "colonial society," my interest in extraction draws attention to the volatile and contradictory relation between destruction and production: not a binary

or any "structure," but an unstable threshold that colonialism administrates to obtain. In this sense, in shifting from elimination to extraction, I want to draw attention to the fact that although production is always the stated justification for colonial destruction, what is actually produced is nothing other than systems for the distribution of further destruction. Nothing succeeds extraction.

In social, political, and economic terms, systems that distribute and manage colonial destruction are called *whiteness*, *power*, and *capital*. But it remains an ongoing challenge for scholars of colonial power to describe how we experience or participate in colonial destruction in cultural terms. What this book calls *US cultures of extraction* joins scholarship that attends to thresholds of human and ecological destruction as sites that determine how knowledge and aesthetics work in the US context and that reproduce through colonial disciplinary traditions including literary history, ethnography, and environmental history. By identifying culture as the structure that distributes and manages colonial destruction in epistemic and aesthetic terms, I invoke it both as "a thing in itself" and as an imperial methodology.[36] Culture in the US context is an enactment of extraction and a way of turning extraction into knowledge, and in both senses it resolves contradictory colonial demands for unceasing destruction and unequivocal belonging. Thus, the primary distinction between the analytic I am calling *US cultures of extraction* and the logic of elimination is a refusal to naturalize the politics of survey intrinsic to colonial culture. This requires stressing both the fallacy of Indigenous political vacancy and the instability and fictiveness of colonial cultural forms that cannot exist without the reproduction and administration of that vacancy. Those forms that extraction constitutes are effects of seizure and of subject- and object-making, effects of what Jodi Byrd calls "transit," where "U.S. empire orients and replicates itself by transforming those to be colonized . . . through continual reiterations of pioneer logics."[37] In order to attend to the violent transit that characterizes colonial forms and the transit they enact (their transitoriness and transitivity), I examine them here and throughout this book not as forms as such, but as tenuous and volatile *distributions of interiority* whose apparent stability ought to be understood as a recurrent effect of vast networks of seizure.

Each of the chapters of this book offers an extraction history of a colonial formation—removal, the domestic, ruin, rights—whose conditions of production are the extraction of Indigenous land and life. Those formations (only) reproduce extraction, which means that they seize and distribute land and they sustain and distribute ontological and spatial orders that make

extractive formations seem cultural—which is to say, like sites of social and epistemic creativity and attachment. I use the term *interiority* to index this inverse fetishization, in which (to corrupt Marx's famous formulation) material relations of extraction assume, in the eyes of colonial subjects, the fantastic form of a relation between people.[38] Here, the term *interiority* has an ambivalent genealogy, rooted equally in colonial theories of ideology and space.

In one sense, interiority is the principal constituent of forms that order colonial ideology under liberalism: what John Stuart Mill calls "inward domain of consciousness," in order to distinguish free subjects from "savages" and "slaves."[39] For Mill, interiority is also a problem of colonial governance. His basic formulation of liberty—that free subjects should be regulated only to the extent that they harm other free subjects—cannot be simply extended in the context of colonialism because rulers and colonized people "are not part of the same public."[40] In this sense, interiority is also the political association of free subjects or of "dependencies . . . of similar civilization," an association he describes as "a smaller community sinking its individuality . . . in the greater individuality of a wide and powerful empire."[41] Interiority characterizes free subjects and their "sinking" into a "greater" political order. Lisa Lowe describes this aspect of liberalism as a formalism that enables "expansion" at the level of the subject and polity.[42] Through what she calls "an economy of affirmation and forgetting," principles like liberty attempt to reconcile contradictions of status and governance by "accommodat[ing] existing forms of plantation slavery and colonial occupation, while providing rationales for the innovation of new forms of imperial sovereignty."[43] Liberalism takes shape with colonial expansion by incorporating subjects "capable" of interiority and by defining interiority as the capacity for incorporation.

Interiority is also how the United States makes territorial forms and administers their expansion. In her history of the Department of the Interior, Megan Black argues that the interior was never a simple territorial demarcation of national belonging but a method of expansion: a way "to wrest domestic meaning from foreign space" and "to domesticate the nation's settler expansion."[44] Like liberty for Mill, the US interior is a form that reconciles contradictions intrinsic to colonialism, including the contradictory relationship between the foreign and domestic that the apparent autonomy of the territorial US obscures. The Department of the Interior was established in the aftermath of the Indigenous land seizures of the Indian Removal Act and the Mexican-American War in order to produce a spatial sense of the national "public domain" by managing that land and the Indigenous people displaced from it. The interior marked the threshold of uncertain and imminent national

belonging, where foreign became domestic through extraction. A "natural resource bureaucracy," the department developed territorial surveys to facilitate settler access to Indigenous land and people in addition to a system of agencies to regularize that access: the Forest Service, the Bureau of Mines, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Bureau of Indian Education, and the Indian Health Service.[45] As Black observes, the department used these same mechanisms of conceptual and administrative expansion to make and manage global "mineral frontiers" throughout the twentieth century and into the present.

Interiority recurs when colonial structures attempt to reconcile contradictions of belonging via incorporation and expansion. In the context of US political philosophy and geography, interiority is a formalism that is always material, an effect and a precondition of colonial distributions of life and land. For cultural history, the same is true, and tracking the material, extractive conditions of production that colonial forms obscure is one of two principal aims of each of the chapters that follow. But Indigenous modernist texts are not only interested in the critique of colonial worlds; they are also, as I describe in the next section, gestures of creativity and remembering that work beyond the categorical delimitations of interiority and with relation to pasts and futures undefined by extraction. In other words, in addition to asking how colonial worlds reproduce extraction, these texts ask: If we refuse to allow analyses of Indigenous cultural production to aggregate to and stabilize colonial disciplinary, temporal, and jurisdictional formations, what other histories does it become possible to tell? What modalities of spatial and social being can we make room for when our cultural histories begin by deconstructing the categorical and infrastructural distribution of interiority that sustains extraction? Can such cultural histories help restore a socially and epistemically generative indistinction between art and land around which we might imagine new practices of decolonial interpretation? Can interpreting text and land beyond the formal protocols of colonial seizure cultivate a politically generative indistinction between reading and decolonial organizing?

Indigenous Modernism

In this book, *Indigenous modernism* refers to practices of critical and creative attention that Indigenous texts turn toward situated social and material histories shaped by US colonialism. Rather than another modernist canon, Indigenous modernism bookmarks the many ways such texts expose the

conditions of production of colonial modernity while sustaining creative continuities of land and life irreducible to modernity's defining terms and methods. My aim is to open up the kind of interpretive relations that might be signaled by the juxtaposition of these two words: refusing both the ideas that *Indigenous* indicates a qualification or subset of modernism, or (via an analytical reversal qua settler colonial studies) that modernism would only be centered or stabilized as an object of critique. Instead, Indigenous modernism signals a contradiction that colonial modernity incites but never resolves because the disciplinary and jurisdictional formations through which it would try to do so always already bear a relation to Indigenous land and life as effects of extraction. Remembering those relations is the creative work of the texts I read, work that extends beyond the extractive mandates of form- and object-making.

Following scholars in Indigenous and colonialism studies, I understand the work of Indigenous modernism to be at once deconstructive and generative. Deconstructive in the sense that tracking histories of extraction through which land and life are refashioned into distributions of jurisdictional and disciplinary interiority throws into relief the fictiveness and volatility of colonial orders—the way those orders are effects of the occlusion, the "unknowing," and the dispossession of the lifeworlds they destroy in order to take form.[46] For literary studies—and particularly for readers interested in attending to the coloniality of disciplinary forms as they read—attending to the formal and cultural operation of colonial extraction invites a useful set of questions that we can turn to texts and interpretive methods. Rather than asking, for instance, where or when modernism is or what it includes, we might ask what land and life are the political, economic, and cultural forms to which modernism responds made out of; what trajectories of seizure are sustained by the disciplinary forms we use to organize texts as modernist; and what histories of material and epistemic confusion are normalized by accepting such forms as stable, accumulating, or coherent?

In another sense, Indigenous modernism indexes a generativity that jurisdictional and disciplinary forms fail to reconcile to colonial orders of power or meaning. Despite the dematerializing, extractive, and occluding formalisms of US colonialisms, Indigenous land remains and is creatively cultivated through the production and interpretation of Indigenous texts, an idea Mishuana Goeman's study of the aesthetics and politics of gendered Indigenous geographies conceptualizes as "(re)mapping." Goeman's parenthetical prefix suggests that the material generativity of Indigenous art does not need to depend on fantasies of separatism but is a matter of attending to relations

proximate but not reducible to colonial forms—"geographies that sit alongside" colonial space and time "and engage with them at every scale."[47] For Goeman, Indigenous texts remember and recover spatial relations in spite of the constraints of colonial formalisms. They "produce wider realities," articulate transgenerational continuities of care, and "map our future."[48] The (re) in (re)mapping suggests the recursivity of "storied" relations both in a material sense of the worlds Indigenous stories make and in an epistemic sense: the way Indigenous analyses of US colonialisms are never fixed, are always growing more complex and more precise. As Indigenous people respond to that unstable array of colonial expressions of power, they remake and renew relations with each other, with others in solidarity, and with the land itself through analysis.[49]

Among George Morrison's late works, I am particularly drawn to his 1975 MAIC mural for precisely the ways it seems to look back at, problematize, and generate alternatives to many of the ready disciplinary rubrics through which we are given to read it. It is a piece whose analysis chafes against modernist and even certain Indigenous studies' approaches to situate or explain it, and that seems in some ways unwilling to be an object of analysis at all. That it is a mural, a piece that blurs the distinction between a work of art and a building, contributes to its opacity. The mural works less like a simple, interpretable plane than it does as a gesture of interpretation. Its design takes in and reorganizes the world around it—the building's shape, the movement of people and traffic on the street, and the shifting weight of sunlight across its face—and all in such a way that questions what is otherwise given as the concreteness of that world. The way its design rearranges space can feel, for someone walking or driving along Franklin Avenue, like a challenge to rethink the ordinary terms of their own presence there, where exactly they find themselves, and where it takes them to be caught up in chevrons' motion.

To read the piece within conventional modernist frameworks, even those expansively conceived, would be to stabilize formations that the mural, and Morrison's work in general, specifically unsettles.[50] For instance, although the movement in which Morrison matured as an artist, abstract expressionism, is fundamentally transnational (the resurfacing in New York of a European art scene in exile), it would underestimate the mural to understand it as connecting or constellating the Twin Cities into that cosmopolitanism. *Turning the Feather Around* points out the limitation and the extraction dependence of the political concept of the colonial city as it applies to the Twin Cities, as well as any other colonial place or arrangement of places. Similarly, to read the mural into modernism as a function of composition would reinforce a

problematic and ultimately ethnographic distribution of interiority. That is, to understand the work using modernist comparative frameworks, to read it as a product of cultural exchange (the hybridization of Indigenous art or the "Indigenization" of US or European art), would jurisdictionalize techniques that were never proper to colonial cultural canons in the first place.[51]

All the formations through which theories and histories of modernism are articulated—the city, global systems of capital and culture, and even disciplinary or aesthetic concepts of expansion, newness, and experimentation—always already bear a relation to Indigeneity. One thing that makes them modern is that they are thresholds of the absorption or obliteration of Indigenous people and place that generate the distributions of interiority on which colonial worlds depend.[52] Thus, Indigenous modernism cannot be figured as a subaltern or minor modernism, or even one among an array of modernisms, because the criteria that would describe its inclusion, marginalization, or seriality are themselves effects of Indigenous extraction.[53] The construction *Indigenous modernism* marks an irresolution—a site of the explanatory failure of colonial categories and of the elaboration of Indigenous relation—that should not be settled via disciplinary comparison. Like Lyons's theory of the x-mark, Indigenous modernism signals "an interactable multiplicity" of space and relation against formations that require the simplification and stabilization of relation.[54] Unlike a countermodernist tradition that, following Foucault, might "imagine" the world "otherwise than it is," Indigenous modernist work turns to the challenge of imagining the world as it actually is in its relational possibility and complexity, and in excess of the political fictions that reify and reproduce extraction.[55]

Throughout his career, when Morrison was asked to position himself within US art canons or with relation to Indigenous cultural practices, he almost always responded by returning attention to the materiality of his work. In the case of *Turning the Feather Around*, he consistently underscored the strictly physical inspiration for the piece; "the pattern," he wrote in his autobiography, "was taken from a feather."[56] The mural, for Morrison, was the elaboration of a generative formal problem irreducible to technique or symbol. His interest in the materiality of the feather perhaps had more to do with its particular plasticity, the way it is not an object at all but a kind of vector of physical transformation, a form for converting mass and air into movement. The mural "form[s] something that is almost three-dimensional," Morrison wrote. "You can't explain it."[57] Here, although Morrison was always careful not to police the interpretation of his work, it is possible to read a little sharpness or specificity to the word *you*. As a work of public art in a colonial city, the

mural, he knew, would be accessible to interpreters eager to incorporate its meaning into the cultural frameworks that naturalize or protect their own ideological positions. Given this, one way we might read the piece's interest in creating aesthetic or interpretive movement beyond what can easily be reconciled to a theory of cultural exchange is as a kind of "ethnographic refusal," in Audra Simpson's terms, as an expression of "an ethnographic calculus of what you need to know and what I refuse to write . . . [that] acknowledges the asymmetrical power relations that inform the research and writing about native lives and politics."[58] In this sense, spatially, historically, and stylistically, Morrison's mural might be read as against, rather than as an aspect of, modernism. That is to say that both its nonidentity and proximity to the concepts that organize modernist comparison and genealogy occasion the reconsideration of the extractive operations, the distributions of cultural and geographic interiority, that those concepts reproduce.

Sovereignty and Indefinite Space

In May 1975, the mural and the MAIC were unveiled at a public ceremony that included members of the National Congress of American Indians, the All Tribes Indian Church, cultural producers including Gerald Vizenor, and the Indigenous community in general. The gathering ended with an intertribal dance on the grounds of the MAIC, a celebration that now occurs there every year. The night before the event, Morrison dreamed that he walked onto the MAIC grounds to find a field completely filled with feathers—an image that directly invokes the central material logic of the mural itself and that also seems preoccupied with larger questions about the social, political, and artistic transformation of space. What is striking to me about his dream image is how it suggests spatial saturation and an incalculable scope of elaboration, whether the feathers read as melancholic traces of bodies or embodied gestures past, or as potential or latent forms for producing as-yet-unimagined motion. Aesthetically, the image recalls Morrison's ink drawings, which had been exhibited at the Walker Arts Center the year before. When asked if the expansive, shifting geometries of those drawings were "figurative or referential," Morrison replied that the drawings were "remote and hidden. Only an organic element remains. The abstract context takes over . . . into an effect of shallow cubist depth . . . and a sense of indefinite space extending outward from all sides."[59] A theory of "indefinite space" that refuses to be reconciled to figure or reference is useful for extrapolating from Morrison's strange dream

to broader questions about how he understood the opening of the MAIC and the mural to be transformative of the colonial space in which it is situated.

Given the timing and disciplinary context of the mural's production, we might expect Morrison to think about these questions in terms of a disciplinarily conservative or nationalist concept of sovereignty. In the decades after the inauguration of NAIS at the University of Minnesota, *sovereignty* became a primary and contested term through which the field consolidated itself through a rhetoric of disciplinary interiority. For literary studies scholars like Jace Weaver and Craig Womack, sovereignty as an organizing logic of the institutionalization of NAIS means conceiving of the field as an explicitly nationalist or separatist project: a way to assert control over the interpretation of Indigenous texts and traditions. In *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, they, along with Robert Warrior, observe that "American Indian Literary Nationalism . . . is a defense of Native literatures against . . . co-optation and incorporation" and an assertion of "the ability of Natives and their communities to be self-determining," in part through an investment in the political discreteness of Indigenous cultural production. "Native literature," they write, "is a separate national/local literature from that produced by immigrants."[60] Using a nationalist concept of sovereignty as a keystone for the institutionalization of NAIS has the advantages of articulating the political stakes of the work of interpretation ("what is at stake is nothing less than Native identity") and distinguishing NAIS from the other ethnic studies formations it emerged alongside by referencing the treaty relationships that tribes negotiated with the United States prior to 1871.[61]

Despite his participation in nationalist movements like AIM and the formation of NAIS at Minnesota, Morrison's practice as an artist, a teacher, and a scholar bears little trace of what Elizabeth Cook-Lynn calls the "endogenous" or intramural disciplinary project of nationalist sovereignty.[62] Rather than a guarded space within institutions like the university or the community center, Morrison's career in the Twin Cities was dedicated to creating spaces for his students to gather outside institutional settings, including in the home in St. Paul he shared with Hazel Belvo. The MAIC dream is also an extension of this impulse toward the possibility of something like an extramural iteration of sovereignty, in which the generative work of remembering and reorganizing life and land might be elaborated anywhere, without regard for the authorization or the boundaries of colonial institutional or jurisdictional formations.

In the context of the Twin Cities, theorizing Indigenous organizing in these expansive, more-than-institutional, and more-than-defensive terms also corrects a major limitation of nationalist concepts of sovereignty, namely

that in defining itself only in terms of the antagonism between Indigenous critical production and settler colonialism, it does not offer a theory of the complex, necessary, and generative intersections among tribal citizens, descendants, Black and African diasporic people, and other migrant and diasporic people that contribute to Indigenous intellectual production in the Twin Cities. The nationalist assessment that Indigenous art is defined as "separate from that produced by immigrants," in the context of the Twin Cities for instance, is one that would arguably ignore or misclassify the cities' Latinx and Hmong communities, non-Dakota Indigenous people like Ojibwe people (who came to Dakota land as a part of prophetic migration), and Black people (including the Twin Cities' vibrant Somali community) whose political status within colonial orders is irreducible and antecedent to a sovereign or immigrant binary. These are limitations that, broadly speaking, have already been examined by Indigenous and Black studies scholars who argue that sovereignty tends to resituate decolonial struggle on the terms of colonial power.[63] At the same time, because sovereignty is never extricable from intrinsically volatile colonial terms and systems, even critiques of sovereignty that stabilize it or stabilize positions outside it can reproduce its binaries and essentializations.[64]

Although debates about literary nationalism specifically are no longer central to NAIS, sovereignty remains a problem for interpretation in and beyond the field, particularly when scholars naturalize the illusion that it is a conceptually stable expression of power. The texts I read in this book approach sovereignty as the political effect of the interpretive foreclosure of land, typically executed via distributions of interiority including the jurisdiction, the person, and the resource. Rather than call for the recuperation or the abolition of sovereignty, these texts hold open the interpretation of spaces and histories that gathers alongside and despite sovereign forms, and, in so doing, they also indicate and intensify the intrinsic instability of colonial power. Here, by *hold open*, I mean that these texts pose questions about the interpretation of land and do so without recourse to final or comprehensive answers. One set of questions is historiographical, about how to give narrative shape to histories of land that has staged extraordinary and terrible enactments of colonial sovereignty without either stabilizing forms that convey sovereignty or erasing the ways that land always means more than those forms can reconcile. A second set of questions has to do with how to express the generative indistinction between art and land, and between art-making and place-making, that animates Indigenous modernist work in the midst of and against the interpretive foreclosures of the jurisdiction, the person, and the resource.

Against the common critical supposition that such foreclosures can be ranked or isolated, this book's attention to histories of sovereignty in the Twin Cities emphasizes how seemingly discrete sovereign forms are almost always articulated in order to qualify crises in other, formations of sovereignty. The 1856 *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case, for instance, considered whether the enslavement of Dred and Harriet Scott at Fort Snelling was actually grounds for their emancipation, because slavery was illegal in what was then called Wisconsin Territory. Justice Taney's decision in this case, delivered the same year Minneapolis became a city, uses an anti-Black construction of personhood to reconcile the inherently contradictory proposition that a colonial territory (which economically depended on the slavery it disavowed) could, as a sovereign spatial formation, convey freedom.[65] Only six years after *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, however, the qualifying relation between the sovereign forms of person and territory was inverted. The Dakota Uprising in 1862 was a crisis in the social construction of sovereignty, specifically in the treaty-sanctioned, biopolitical construction of Indigeneity as signifying contingent access of life-sustaining food, space, health care, and housing. Further emphasizing the fact that colonial officials perceived the uprising as a social rather than a territorial crisis, the state was not satisfied with the defeat of Dakota forces or the mass execution of thirty-eight insurgents. To settle the uprising, Minnesota created one of the world's first modern concentration camps at the convergence of the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers, just below Fort Snelling, where it held Dakota families for two years. Here, the territorial form of the camp (what Agamben would call, in a very different context, the "nomos" of modern sovereign power) and its placement at the Bdote (a site of Dakota emergence and the center of the world) was meant to permanently constrain the meaning of Indigeneity within the state's social construction of sovereignty.[66]

These histories remind us both that intrinsically unstable sovereign forms are articulated in order to stabilize each other and that these brutal enactments of colonial sovereignty trace back to the very same place, the Bdote, the land occupied by Fort Snelling. To understand what meaning these sovereign forms attempt to foreclose, we have to look beyond the historiographical categories those forms inspire. The Bdote, like the places Tiffany King writes about in *The Black Shoals*, is a place where water and land mix and gather in excess of a single or mappable sense of land. It is a space of emergence in both Dakota social-historical and physical terms—the site, as Waziyatawin powerfully observes, of geographic juncture and human creation; the very "Center of the Earth."[67] As such, as King suggests of the shoal, the Bdote is

irreducible to colonial investments in presence or interiority, a place where interpretive methods are slowed, chafed, and rearranged.[68] It is precisely the unguarded and unlimited social, spatial, and historical production of which the Bdote is an enactment and a symbol that colonial sovereign forms attempt to foreclose and obscure. Against the histories of these forms, the Bdote is a space of remembered and anticipated motion that is continually becoming an Indigenous place.

The Bdote is an example of what Morrison calls "an indefinite space": a space that gathers social meaning and that becomes more and differently Indigenous as more and different Indigenous people gather there.[69] Sustaining such spaces against colonial power requires organizing beyond ideological, analytical, or territorial singularities, a project central to the politics of the art-making that I index as Indigenous modernism. It is entirely possible that these politics might also be indexed as an iteration of sovereignty to the extent that Indigenous modernism is dedicated to reframing the formal and spatial borders of power as sites, in Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's terms, of "increased diplomacy, ceremony, and sharing," particularly insofar as "increased" indicates the possibility of an unlimited accrual, an unlimited increasing of "diplomacy, ceremony, and sharing."[70] Such a politics also blurs the distinction between Indigenous art-making and political world-building. The deconstructive and generative politics of Indigenous modernism evident in pieces like Morrison's *Turning the Feather Around* also animate actions that are often coded as activism—for example, the AIM occupation of the Naval Air Station near Fort Snelling in 1971, the Indigenous houseless encampment along Franklin Avenue, the occupation of I-94 at the site of the Rondo neighborhood, and the burning of the Minneapolis Police Third Precinct and the Midtown Corner Condominiums during the George Floyd Uprising. More than a defensive or space-claiming gesture, each of these is an emergent, artistic, and place-making enactment of the extramural theory of sovereignty Simpson develops. Each is a way of holding open the Twin Cities as a space of indefinite Indigenous interpretation and elaboration.

Writing against Extraction

Less than fifty years after Minneapolis was officially recognized as a city, my great-great-grandfather Thomas Wright sat on a recently lumbered white pine tree with five other settler men. Working fifty miles north of the Twin Cities on the bank of the St. Croix River, Wright was a cook for a logging

I.2. Sargent, photograph of Taylors Falls. John Runk Historical Collection, 1397, Minnesota Historical Society.

company, and, when the photograph was taken, that company was in the midst of deforesting land that had been seized from Ojibwe communities by the Allotment Act, designated as "surplus land," and opened to private settler and governmental resource extraction.

Thomas Wright's daughter, Alva Hooley, was my great-grandmother: someone I knew and loved, and someone I think about when I think about where and who I am from. At the same time, it is precisely through formulations like "being from" a place that is stolen that fantasies of colonial belonging are naturalized through the language of social attachment.

The history of property-making in and around the Twin Cities is coextensive with the history of settler sociality, and thus the language with which I am given to describe what it means to be from my great-grandmother Alva or from Minnesota is a language that is produced by and therefore reproduces structures of conquest.[71] Among the many reasons to critique and dismantle those structures and the discourses that secure them, the most important is the restitution of all Indigenous land now called the United States and the creation of a world without anti-Blackness. But there is also a lot at stake in decolonization for colonizers. For instance, while colonialism endures, there is no language extricable from colonial belonging with which I might

describe what it means to be from somewhere or someone, to describe what it means to have known and to remember Alva and the rest of my family. For settlers, the language of extraction takes the place of language with which we might otherwise describe and make mutual relations with the world and with each other.

In the winters, when weather and infrastructure limited the work logging companies could do, Thomas Wright cooked at the prison in Stillwater, Minnesota. That prison is part of the oldest infrastructure of the state of Minnesota; along with the state capitol and the university, it is an infrastructure five years older than the state itself. When we try to spatialize and historicize colonialism in the US context, our language too easily naturalizes the terms through which it is reproduced, including by using spatial and temporal markers like *Stillwater* and *Minnesota*, and by presuming the relation those markers bear to supposedly distinct modalities of colonial violence (land seizure, genocide, anti-Blackness). In this book, I refuse the supposition that such modalities ever operate discretely, a supposition on which the easy deployment of *settler colonialism* as a catch-all analytic of colonial violence in the United States depends. Instead, I use the term *US colonialisms* to signal the always protean and plural quality of colonial power: the way that power draws on and can shift among a repertoire of brutalities even when, in a given place or circumstance, the violence of its articulation might seem singular. Every place colonialism makes refers to and reproduces the entire (racializing, orientalizing, un/gendering, settlement-making) repertoire of colonial violence, in both new and old arrangements of force, aesthetics, and ideology. Thomas Wright's two jobs (cooking for loggers and the prison) are useful in that they are a reminder of how Indigenous dispossession and anti-Blackness always occur together as the precondition and sustaining logics of the colonial state. In the history of Minnesota, the collusion of these logics reasserts itself every time the state form shifts or expands—a recurrent and restless threshold of conquest.

I begin this section with this photograph to consider the ways the social and material politics of colonial extraction shape me. My relation to Thomas Wright, to the Twin Cities, to the disciplines of literary and cultural studies, to Indigenous land, and to the Indigenous cultural production I write about in this book become, under the terms of colonialism, aspects of epistemic, ontological, and economic belonging. In other words, they are subjects and objects whose surpluses of meaning I am given to leverage to preserve a coherent sense of my own belonging. One goal of this book is to refuse those politics by deconstructing the cultural and material infrastructures that naturalize

extraction. But doing so means trying to write cultural histories differently. In this sense, the chapters that follow ask basic methodological questions as well as literary and historical ones. For instance: How can we hold out against the grammars of cultural analysis that stabilize colonial periodization, jurisdiction, and canon? Can we generatively confuse those grammars that position archives as objects, as inherently untheoretical, and that render silent the material conditions of the production of theory? And how can we produce new languages for cultural analysis that, rather than staging interpretation as a scene of access or discovery, invite relations among texts, readers, and their worlds that can also restore and remember what structures of colonialism have sought to destroy or forget? For Trouillot, questions like these always have multiple answers. "Power," he writes, "does not enter the story once and for all, but at different times and from different angles. It precedes the narrative proper, contributes to its creation and to its interpretation. . . . In history, power begins at the source."[72] For this reason, although this book's chapters maintain several of the same methodological premises, patterns, and aims, they do not try to produce a single new way to read or write cultural history against extraction. Instead, each chapter is its own minor experiment in interpreting cultural history, and as such is ever only the start of an answer to these questions, never the end of them.

What is consistent across this book's chapters is the methodological practice I am calling *extraction history* through which I direct attention to the unstable material and historical production and distributive operation of those colonial formations that produce the fiction that colonial political and cultural worlds are coherent, settled, and permanent. Thus, the first chapter considers *removal* as a precursory environmental, political, and cultural condition to territorial formation in Minnesota. The second chapter frames *the domestic* as the repressive sociality that structures the forms of the allotment and the reserve through which land seizure is naturalized as a premise of colonial life. The third chapter develops a concept of *ruin* as the precondition and response to simultaneous colonial crises of economy and climate. And the last chapter's consideration of *rights* illuminates the troubling history of manoomin/wild rice extraction in and by Minnesota. Because each chapter's extraction history demonstrates the contingency and explanatory limitations of the political and disciplinary formations through which we are given to produce cultural analysis, I do not understand these histories as contextualizing the stories of the Indigenous texts I tell alongside or against them. That this book's central archive comprises Indigenous texts does not signal that its principal intervention is necessarily in NAIS, but that analyses animated by

Indigenous texts are relevant to all disciplines, including those to which this book speaks most directly: colonialism studies, American literary studies, and the environmental humanities. Thus, I understand the Indigenous texts at the center of each chapter to be part of the theoretical apparatus that unsettles and exceeds colonial formations, and, as such, my own critical relation to those texts is less to explain or illuminate them than it is to join with them in their deconstructive and generative work.

The first chapter's extraction history of removal centers a strange and brilliant work of nineteenth-century ethnography, the first authored by an Ojibwe person. William Warren's *The History of the Ojibways*, was written during the removal of Anishinaabe communities from their traditional and seasonal homelands in which Warren himself participated both as a colonial officer and as a removed tribal member. The chapter reads Warren's text as laying bare the cultural and political function of removal for the colonial state, specifically the way it inflects recurrent cycles of colonial war and aid. At the same time, I attend to the subtle and unpredictable ways that the text, and the conditions of its making, directly contravened removal—the way it manifested and made space for Indigenous narrative collaboration, multigenerational remembering, and imaginative invention.

The second chapter reads two novels by the contemporary Turtle Mountain Ojibwe writer Louise Erdrich, set in the period that followed removal: the allotment and reservation era. Allotment was both the most massive colonial land seizure in US history and the imposition of an array of repressive social affects that I bookmark with the term *the domestic*. This chapter's extraction history of the domestic tracks the social and psychic operations of haunting and what I call *social vacancy* imposed and interrupted via the attempted incorporation of Indigenous women into colonial reproduction. Against the violence and repression of the domestic, I read Erdrich's novels and their protagonist, Fleur, as developing a theory of return, of the taking and making of land back from the social vacancy of colonial domestic life.

The third chapter offers an extraction history of ruin. Here, ruin is the discursive premise and material outcome of US colonialisms, but it is also what colonial states displace because it is what they cannot bear. Ruin is the discourse that justified the policies of termination and relocation in which Leech Lake Ojibwe writer David Treuer's novel *The Hiawatha* is set. The chapter reads the novel's depiction of relocated Indigenous communities in the Twin Cities as exposing and refusing to repeat the colonial logic of racializing immunity from ruin through the dangerous and ultimately beautiful work of imagining social and environmental repair amid ruin.

The last chapter reads an essay by White Earth Ojibwe writer and theorist Gerald Vizenor toward an extraction history of rights, an avatar of what I call, more broadly, *the colonial politics of protection*. At the center of this history are the United States' and the state of Minnesota's efforts to control, financialize, and also protect the sacred Anishinaabe and Dakota food relation manoomin/wild rice. Against this, I attend to Vizenor's and the White Earth Band's efforts to reframe manoomin, beyond the colonial forms of protectable public and person, as a gift, a gathering, and an occasion to think beyond the colonial mandates of protection.

What shifts across these chapters is how Indigenous modernist texts antagonize and deconstruct colonial political and cultural formations and how they exceed them. The chapters' engagement with Federal Indian Law is an example of this. In one sense, the book's chapters seem to follow a rough chronology organized by changes in Federal Indian Law and policy, from William Whipple Warren's direct intervention in the removal era of the mid-nineteenth century, through Louise Erdrich's writing about the reservation and allotment eras at the turn and early decades of the twentieth century, to David Treuer's and Gerald Vizenor's engagements with relocation and rights eras of the second half of the twentieth century. At the same time, far from understanding such shifts in Federal Indian Law to amount to a stable political history, the chapters specifically challenge the judicial and disciplinary commonplace assumption that the history of Federal Indian Law and policy amounts to a neat chronology of political development. Instead, I understand Federal Indian Law and policy as targets of Indigenous critique, as institutions that do not operate in terms of temporal or political progress at all but are shifting and recursive thresholds of extraction. The shifts we have come to identify as "eras" primarily mark changes in the style or intensity with which colonial extraction is endeavored. Thus, the temporal scope of each chapter is designed to betray and exceed the fictions of coherence and development that colonial jurisdictional and historical taxonomies encode. Because, as I show, the changes in colonial law that we are given to call *policy eras* are always actually reactive and improvised, each chapter reveals colonial legal formations to be unstable in different ways.

The first two chapters' analyses of the Marshall Trilogy, for instance, demonstrate opposite formal relations between colonial power and Indigenous life and land. In the case of the first chapter, the political and territorial contradictions prompted by removal policy were resolved by the colonial judiciary by permanently linking ostensibly distinct concepts US and Indigenous sovereignty through the logic of aid. In the second chapter, in the context

of allotment policy, the Marshall court developed a concept of the domestic that fundamentally distinguishes colonial political and social worlds by repressing Indigenous kinship and relation systems. The last two chapters take up legal projects of colonial reform in which relocation and rights policies were designed to remediate environmental crises set in motion by colonial extraction. Here, too, reading Indigenous modernist texts against these policy histories throws into relief the chaos and contradictoriness of colonial responses to the administrating environmental harm. Reading relocation policy in the context of climate change allows me to trace a genealogy of the discourse of immunity that derives from the inability of colonial worlds to endure the ruin they invariably produce. In contrast, the last chapter's analysis of manoomin law suggests that, in many cases, the political contradictions colonial states cannot resolve derive from their own legal reform projects. In this case, the contradiction I bookmark as *the colonial politics of protection* opens a space for Ojibwe writers and organizers to turn the political logic of rights back against the viability of colonial state itself.

Another, final way that I think about these chapters as experiments in cultural history writing returns me to the question of my own relation to the texts and the place, the Twin Cities, at the center of this book. When I describe my critical relation to Indigenous modernisms as "joining" its critical project, as gathering with these texts against histories of extraction, it is important to clarify that this does not mean that the texts' intervention become my own, and that thereby I become marked as innocent or as a "critical academic," in Fred Moten and Stefano Harney's terms.[73] Instead, I think about the personal stakes of this critical work in terms of specific questions about how settlers might practice remembering, describing, and elaborating the nonextractive relations that also constitute our social and aesthetic experience. These are questions that always occur in particular historical and geographic contexts—in my case, the modern Twin Cities. The book is not about these questions in a straightforward way, but it is how I have begun to answer them, by dwelling on the particular kinds of interventions the Indigenous modernist texts I read here make: Warren's theory of ethnographic interruption, the way Erdrich's character Fleur performs return with loss, the histories of living with ruin Treuer elaborates in *The Hiawatha*, and the possibility Vizenor's work provokes for organizing life outside of the conscripts of protection. These are interventions that are not "for" me, but they are, nonetheless, frameworks through which to begin to remember and restore complexities of relation that the formations of extractive sociality are designed to obscure or foreclose.[74] I find that these interventions do not

lead me to the perhaps more clear-cut political demonstrations I might have imagined when I started working on this book—dramatic gestures of social disavowal, or a new commitment to a kind of pure anticoloniality. Rather, they suggest a more modest, ambiguous, and fraught set of prompting questions: What new languages, beyond the conscripts of extraction, can we invent as we answer ordinary questions like where are we, and how did we come to be together? Can that language also inspire practices of care or repair that do not convey belonging, protection, or redemption? And what relations might be possible if we trade the politically securing language of *being from* for a language that starts with *being with*—being with what remains, what is lost, and what might yet be?

Notes

Prologue

1. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 125–27.

2. The Grand Portage Band is one of six Ojibwe communities joined together, as a result of the 1934 Indian New Deal, as the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Throughout this book, I will use tribal specific names (Ojibwe/Anishinaabe or Dakota) when possible, and I will use the terms *Native* or *Indigenous* interchangeably when referring to multiple or non–tribally specific issues.

3. Rushing and Makholm, *Modern Spirit*, 43–44.

4. David Martinez tracks and intervenes in the critical debate around both external ascriptions and Morrison's own relationship to Indigeneity in Martinez, "This Is (Not) Indian Painting," 25–51.

5. Morrison and Gault, *Turning the Feather Around*, 135.

6. On the often overlooked history of grassroots Indigenous education in the Twin Cities, see Davis, *Survival Schools*.

7. See Two Pines Resource Group, "Native American Context Statement."

8. Founders of General Mills like Cadwallader C. Washburn rose to economic and political prominence as a direct result of trading and deforesting seized Indigenous land, see Kelsey, "C. C. Washburn," 38–50. Honeywell, a technology and military weapons company, is the most prolific corporate producer of Superfund sites. Center for Public Integrity, "Honeywell International Inc.," accessed September 29, 2022, https://web.archive.org/web/20070605190324, http://www.publicintegrity.org/superfund/Company.aspx?act=12976. Prudential made early profits from race-differentiated insurance policies, financializing the legal dispossession of Black life; see Heen, "Ending Jim Crow Life Insurance Rates."

9. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 142.
10. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 142.
11. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 125, 146.
12. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 142.
13. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 146.
14. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," 10.
15. Hudson, *Half Century of Minneapolis*, 36.
16. Larson, *White Pine Industry in Minnesota*, 56.
17. *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, 118.
18. Coulthard, *Red Skins, White Masks*, 9; O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*.
19. Barker, "For Whom Sovereignty Matters," 17.
20. *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 US 1 (1831).
21. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388.
22. Jodi Melamed terms this kind of political investment "liberal multiculturalism"—a logic by which institutions or polities respond to anti-racist and decolonial insurgencies through the "containing and managing of social movements' deployment of culture by turning it into aesthetics, identity, recognition, and representation." For Melamed, art is a key site of this political containment and management that depends on stabilizing the racial identity of artists, reinterpreting their work as transparently representative of racialized experience, and redefining the political value of art interpretation as "testify[ing] to . . . the race-differentiated history and present of the American experience, multiculturally developed" (*Represent and Destroy*, xix–xx, 36).
23. Lawrence Halprin, the architect of the Nicollet Mall renovation, quoted in Aschman, "Nicollet Mall," 8.
24. In 2018, 3M settled a lawsuit filed by the state of Minnesota accusing the company of producing cancer-causing perfluorochemicals for $850 million (Minnesota 3M PFC Settlement, https://3msettlement.state.mn.us). Honeywell has been linked to three groundwater-contaminating Superfund sites in the Twin Cities area in addition to a Superfund site on Lake Superior about which it settled a lawsuit brought by the state of Minnesota and other polities, including the Grand Portage Band of Lake Superior Chippewa for $8.2 million (St. Louis River/Duluth Intake Tar Site, https://www.pca.state.mn.us/waste/st-louis-river-interlakeduluth-tar-site).
25. See Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being."
26. See Fairbanks, *Days of Rondo*.
27. Gottfried, Verges, Melo, Vezner, and Rathbun, "After Weekend Violence," Twin Cities, July 11, 2016, https://www.twincities.com/2016/07/09/amid-racial-strife-hundreds-seek-answers-in-protests-church-service.

Introduction

1. Moten and Harney, *Undercommons*, 17.

2. Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*, 9.

3. For more on the politics of poverty and racial capitalism, see Goldstein, *Poverty in Common*.

4. Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*, 93.

5. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 153–54.

6. Davis, *Survival Schools*.

7. Here and in the title of this introduction, I take the phrasing from Goldstein, "Where the Nation Takes Place," 833–61.

8. While this introduction is principally concerned with the ambivalent and charged relation sustained by the texts I read in this book with NAIS, modernism, American studies, colonialism studies, literary studies, and the environmental humanities, the fact that I read works typically interpreted as visual art (i.e., in the context of art history) in the preface, introduction, and epilogue while each of the main chapters examine works of literature, may also prompt questions about the book's investment in the methodological distinction between visual and literary analysis. Ultimately, this is a distinction I intentionally blur for two, related reasons. First, the extraction histories I offer do to not position these texts as objects of analysis; rather, they use the texts as theoretically generative apparatuses in order to target the concepts (removal, the domestic, ruin, and rights) that make colonial worlds seem real and coherent. Second, reading texts toward the exposure of the conditions of production of colonial worlds extends a methodological fluidity that scholars of Indigenous visual and literary texts have long asserted—what Apache art historian Nancy Mithlo describes as the work of "translation between epistemologies" (*Knowing Native Arts*, 36) and an aspect of what Mishuana Goeman describes as "unsettling colonial visual and narrative geographies" ("Disrupting a Settler-Colonial Grammar," 243). For disciplines like art history and literary studies, whose own emergence and histories have in many ways depended on the objectification and interpretive (en)closure of Indigenous texts, investments in methodological propriety reproduce epistemological distributions of interiority—a habit that critically inventive texts like Birgit Brander Rasmussen's *Queequeg's Coffin* powerfully challenges. Rasmussen's attention to superalphabetic Indigenous textual production (including texts made in and with wood), intervenes in the critical habit of reproducing an Indigenous text as an "object—and abject—of inquiry" that has long been central to colonial cultural analysis (3). Rasmussen also evocatively cites Louise Erdrich on this question, who, in her *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country* (5), points out the intimate etymological relation in Ojibwemowin between the word for "book" (*mazina'igan*) and the word for "rock painting" (*mazinapikinagan*).

9. Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 2.

10. My phrasing "mendacity of settlement" echoes Frank B. Wilderson III's account of the scripts of racializing pathology that obscure actual structures of power: "The grammar of antagonism breaks in on the mendacity of conflict" (*Red, White, and Black*, 11). Wilderson's relation to the question of the politics of archival concealment that I am engaging here is also geographically specific. In his memoir *Incognegro*, his account of growing up in Minneapolis is animated by the specific tension between the palpability and obscurity of violence and power there. "Minneapolis," he writes, "*It's not the end of the world but you can see it from there*" (101). Regarding the phenomenology of archival power, what Derrida calls the "topo-nomology" of the archive is the way its emplacement is also a way to regulate its own disclosure, the way the "scene of domiciliation becomes at once visible and invisible." The archive takes place not to create an "institutional passage from the private to the public . . . from the secret to the nonsecret," but rather "to shelter itself and, sheltered, to conceal itself" (Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 3).

11. Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*.

12. Incommensurability as a decolonial methodology that exceeds the rubrics of global comparison is theorized by Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 31.

13. Coulthard and Simpson, "Grounded Normativity," 254.

14. Williams, *Country and the City*, 9. Williams does not use the term *extraction*, but he gets very close when he writes: "I have been arguing that capitalism, as a mode of production, is the basic process of most of what we know as the history of country and city. Its abstracted economic drives, its fundamental priorities in social relations, its criteria of growth and of profit and loss, have over several centuries altered our country and created our kinds of city. In its final forms of imperialism it has altered our world" (302).

15. When I first conceived it, this book *was* going to be an Indigenous literary history of the Twin Cities. This was an important project to me because I understood that the scope of Indigenous writing in the Twin Cities was such that accounting for it would press the limits of nationalist or cosmopolitan analytics with which we usually interpret Indigenous writing and the cultural life of US cities. Because cities are not national forms, understanding urban Indigenous cultural production through positivist and recognition-based rubrics like sovereignty means treating cities as places where Indigenous people live and make art, but not as places that make art Indigenous. At the same time, understanding urban Indigenous art-making via frameworks like cosmopolitanism prioritizes political and economic systems (globalization, capitalism, migration) that abstract the material and social specificities of the land with which places like the Twin Cities are made. To write an Indigenous literary history of the Twin Cities, then, would be a chance to show how the city could be a salient framework through which to understand the politics of

Indigenous art, and how the history of urban Indigenous cultural production is linked to the specific material and political conditions through which US colonialism and struggles for decolonization unfold. But the book became something else. In part it became a study of the impossibility of this project, an examination of how literary history as methodology would necessarily reduce and therefore fail to express the volatile relationships central to the story of Indigenous art and these cities: between art and Indigeneity and the city form; between Indigenous, Black, and diasporic people in the Twin Cities and the concept of Indigeneity; between theories of colonialism and the always unstable commingling of power and violence; between the categories of literary and visual art and the array of Indigenous social, ecological, and metaphysical practices that are neither separate nor reducible to the categories "literary and visual art"; and, most of all, between all of these things and the land where and through which they constitute ordinary life under occupation.

16. Warrior, *Tribal Secrets*, 4. Throughout this book, I use the terms *Ojibwe* and *Anishinaabe* interchangeably, despite the words having distinct histories, political valences, and specific linguistic meaning.

17. Warrior, *Tribal Secrets*, 6.

18. Lyons, *X-Marks*.

19. Lyons, *X-Marks*, 2.

20. Morrison and Galt, *Turning the Feather Around*, 154.

21. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25.

22. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 28.

23. Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being," 281; Jackson, *Becoming Human*, 3.

24. On the "productivity" of settler expansion, see Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism"; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 11; and Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 93.

25. Whether colonial power unfolds principally via the interpellation of the human/body or via the land has become a central disagreement between Black and settler colonialism studies; between, for instance, Patrick Wolfe's argument that land is the central target of both anti-Indigenous and anti-Black colonial violence ("Settler Colonialism," 392), and Jared Sexton's trenchant counterargument that this approach sustains occlusion of the originary ontological negation of anti-Blackness ("Vel of Slavery").

26. Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 4.

27. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 1–4; Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, xv; Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 16.

28. What Bennett calls the "vague, aporetic, or unstable images and impressions" through which humans engage the "out-side" shares with Haraway's commitment to "staying with the trouble" an investment in a critical immersion in unfolding processes of both becoming and knowing. This open—or, in

Bennett's terms, "naïve"—approach stands in contrast to methods that stabilize a conceptual common denominator (e.g., energy) or a rigid ascription of anti-conceptualism (e.g., object-oriented ontology/speculative materialism). See Szeman and Boyer, *Energy Humanities*; and Harman, "Well-Wrought Broken Hammer," 183–203.

29. As she puts it: "The new materialists may take the intellectual intervention that grounds the vital-materialist creed as something new in the world. But the fundamental insights are not new to everyone. They are ideas that, not so roughly translated, undergird what we can call an indigenous metaphysic: that matter is lively. We Dakota might say 'alive'" (TallBear, "Beyond the Life/Not-Life Binary," 198–99).

30. Harman, "Well-Wrought Broken Hammer," 195–99.

31. Huettl, "Treaty Stories," 216.

32. Huettl refers to Edward Benton-Banai's *The Mishomis Book* when she notes that "from an Ojibwe perspective, ethnogenesis occurred within aadizookanag" ("Treaty Stories," 40).

33. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388.

34. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388.

35. O'Brien, "Tracing," 251.

36. Williams, *Culture and Society*, xiv.

37. Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, xiii.

38. Marx, *Capital*, 165.

39. Mill, *Collected Works*, 18:225.

40. Mill, *Collected Works*, 9:564.

41. Mill, *Collected Works*, 9:566.

42. Lowe, *Intimacies*, 106.

43. Lowe, *Intimacies*, 39, 108.

44. Black, *Global Interior*, 5, 13.

45. Black, *Global Interior*, 8.

46. Jodi Byrd identifies that volatility as the "cacophony" of representation, claims, and power created by the collusion of liberal humanism and colonialism: the affective and epistemic din that "misdirect[s] and cloud[s] attention from the underlying structures of settler colonialism that made the United States possible." This formal inclination toward confusion that enacts and normalizes forgetting is also a disciplinary operation. What Manu Vimalassery, Juliana Hu Pegues, and Alyosha Goldstein call "colonial unknowing" indexes the "epistemological orientation" around ignorance that animates disciplinary formations that obscure constitutive histories of, for example, power and violence, which are actually irreducible to singular concepts of domination (e.g., settler colonialism). Vimalassery, Pegues, and Goldstein model a powerfully deconstructive approach to the problem of using colonial forms to understand colonialism by exposing the chaotic and contradictory systematics that underlie supposedly stable,

finished, and clarifying disciplinary forms. In even more explicitly material terms, Coulthard revises the classic Marxian account of the colonial origin of capital's central forms (what Marx calls "primitive accumulation") via a concept of "dispossession." Where the historical and geojurisdictional singularity of primitive accumulation proposes an originary relation between colonialism and capital, Coulthard argues that that relation is recurrent and jurisgenerative, that "dispossession, not proletarianization, has been the dominant background structure shaping the character of the historical relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state." Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, 53–54; Vimalassery, Pegues, and Goldstein, "Colonial Unknowing," 1042–54; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 13.

47. Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 15.

48. Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 30, 39.

49. This is an idea directly informed by Arvin, "Analytics of Indigeneity."

50. Here, with the phrase *expansively conceived*, I am alluding specifically to theories of modernism that seek to contravene exclusive approaches to modernist periodization, geography, or canon through disciplinary incorporation. The new modernist studies, for instance, which Rebecca Walkowitz and Douglas Mao describe in terms of temporal, spatial, and cultural class "expansions" ("New Modernist Studies," 737–78) and Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel's theory of "geomodernisms," which globalizes Western cultural geographic frameworks for defining modernism (*Geomodernisms*, 2005).

51. In order to express the impact that noncanonical or non-Western writers have on global modernisms, postcolonial frameworks that describe hybridization, provincialization, or indigenization reinvest in US and European anthropological assessments cultural exchange and overstabilize colonial cultural and political formations. One way to conceptualize this effect is through Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's phrase "colonial equivocation," which describes the way colonial comparative frameworks flatten differences among racialized and colonized people and between those people and settlers themselves ("Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 17–18). This is an approach directly applied to Morrison's work, for instance, by the curators of the National Museum of the American Indian's inaugurating exhibition "Native Modernism: The Art of George Morrison and Allan Houser." The catalog for that exhibition includes a defining essay by W. Jackson Rushing III, who celebrated the artists as innovating an "indigenous [modernism]" that "combined certain ideas, techniques, and visual strategies of European and American modern art with an acute awareness of homeland—place, weather, myth, and ritual" ("Modern Spirits," 53).

52. Scholars of Indigenous and American history including Jean O'Brien and Philip Deloria argue that this dynamic is constitutive to American modernity. O'Brien uses the terms "firsting and lasting" and the broader framework "Indians can never be modern" to conceptualize this dynamic (*Firsting and Lasting*, xxi).

Deloria looks to colonial simulations of Indigeneity as gestures evocative of the political demand "either to destroy Indians or to assimilate them into a white American World" (*Playing Indian*, 4).

53. The temporal and political contradictions posed to totalizing conceptions of European modernity by theories of subalternity are not (contra the fundamentally deconstructive and decolonial disposition that describes Indigenous modernism), in Dipesh Chakrabarty's words, about "rejecting or discarding European thought," but rather about how "this thought . . . may be renewed from and for the margins" (*Provincializing Europe*, 16). Similarly, theories of minor literary traditions preserve a governing sense of cultural interiority "within" which thinkers like Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari imagine the emergence of "the revolutionary" literature of "deterritorialization" (*Kafka*, 18).

54. Lyons, "X-Marks," 21.

55. Foucault, "What Is Enlightenment," 41.

56. Morrison and Gault, *Turning the Feather Around*, 151.

57. Morrison and Gault, *Turning the Feather Around*, 152.

58. Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 105.

59. Quoted in Vizenor, "George Morrison," 656.

60. Weaver, Womack, and Warrior, *Nationalism*, 40–41.

61. Weaver, Womack, and Warrior, *Nationalism*, 40.

62. Cook-Lynn, "Who Stole Native American Studies?," 9, 11.

63. See Alfred, "Sovereignty"; and Morris, "International Law and Politics"; and, for a powerful and clarifying overview of theories of sovereignty in Indigenous studies, see Barker, "For Whom Sovereignty Matters."

64. The iteration of Afro-pessimism anchored by Frank B. Wilderson III and Jared Sexton, for instance, frames calls for and the conception of Indigenous sovereignty as the threshold that distinguishes Indigenous people from Black people as a function of their possible achievement of political subjectivity within a fundamentally anti-Black world. Wilderson writes that "the Indian subject's positionality . . . fortifies and extends the interlocutory life of America as a coherent (albeit genocidal) idea, because treaties are . . . brokered between two groups presumed to possess the same kind of historical currency: sovereignty" ("Gramsci's Black Marx," 236). Sexton links Indigenous political investments in sovereignty with not only anti-Blackness but also Indigenous studies as a whole, whose project he reduces to liberal aspirations for "resistance" or "resurgence" and to the "critical knowledge of settler colonialism" ("Vel of Slavery," 592). As Iyko Day writes in her meticulous reading of Wilderson's and Sexton's critique of sovereignty, their principal intervention is to use a severely essentialized concept of sovereignty to reiterate an underlying precept of Afro-pessimism—that is, to establish "the very specificity and singularity . . . of black critical theory's capacity to understand race" ("Being or Nothingness," 112). In order to establish sovereignty as a primal indication Indigeneity's anti-Blackness, land, personhood,

and Indigeneity itself are all rendered as closed and discrete, and as conceptual fodder against which anti-Blackness can be established as the "threshold of the political world" (11). However, the fundamental gesture of conceptual closure, discretion, and hierarchization on which this argument depends is a repetition of the epistemic operation of the colonial political logic that sovereignty itself subtends. In order to establish Blackness as the singular and defining exception to the coherent political world, Wilderson and Sexton need to evacuate the generative indiscretion and irresolution of land, being, art, and relation, and, further, of Indigeneity and Blackness in the same way colonial power needs to, in order to establish subjectivity, territory, and resources as its constituent positions.

65. In that decision, Justice Taney's infamous definition of legal personhood—in which Black people were named "a class of persons . . . not recognized as a portion of the people," and as "rejected from those who formed the sovereignty of the States"—hinged on the political meaning of Dred and Harriet Scott's being moved into Illinois and Wisconsin Territory, and enslavement at Fort Snelling between 1836 and 1837. Taney's decision displaced competing interpretations of the way free territory conveyed freedom by producing a concept of personhood in which Black people "occupied," in Saidiya Hartman's words, "the doubtful position of being free but without the basic rights of citizenship" (Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 174).

66. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 166.

67. Waziyatawin, *Justice*, 22.

68. King, *Black Shoals*, 3.

69. Quoted in Vizenor, "George Morrison," 656.

70. Simpson, "Place Where We All Live," 19.

71. On "conquest" as an alternative formulation for understanding the genocidal and anti-Black operation of US colonialisms, see King, *Black Shoals*, 201.

72. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 29.

73. On settler moves to innocence, see Tuck and Yang, *Decolonization*; on the figure of the "critical academic," see Moten and Harney, *Undercommons*, 28.

74. Whyte, Caldwell, and Schaefer, "Indigenous Lessons about Sustainability."

Chapter One. Cultures of Removal

1. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 2010.
2. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 16.
3. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 36.
4. Schenck, "Introduction," viii.
5. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, 7.
6. Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, 6.
7. Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 13–16.