

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous histories, settler colonies and Queen Victoria

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When Prince William and the Duchess of Cambridge visited Canada in 2011, journalists would occasionally weave into their reports a reference to Queen Victoria. Describing their visit to northern Canada, one report opened with the tidbit that the Prince met with ‘aboriginal groups who still refer affectionately to his ancestor Queen Victoria as “grandmother”’. Mixing myth with history, it went on to assert that the ‘area aboriginals signed the British monarchy’s first Arctic treaty 112 years ago ... with William’s great-great-great-grandmother, Queen Victoria’.¹ The journalist, perhaps unknowingly, was contributing to the continuation of a long tradition whereby successive royal visitors to Canada (as in other British colonies) were represented and welcomed in ways that highlighted their descent from Queen Victoria, registering the ways in which she, above all other British monarchs, had come to occupy a privileged place in Indigenous people’s histories, traditions, and memories. Moreover, the newspaper report reflected and nourished the persistence of a widely held belief that treaties and other agreements made during British colonisation of Indigenous territories had been made personally with Queen Victoria.² Here, as elsewhere in the British world, she was cast as intimately involved with and implicated in promises and agreements made between Indigenous people and Britain (or Britons). One aim of this collection is to plumb the ideas and interpretations, like those that this example evokes, which Indigenous people have formulated and articulated *about* – or, more accurately, *through* – Queen Victoria in response to the colonial encounter.³ It explores the multivalent ways in which Indigenous people in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa engaged – or sought to engage – Queen Victoria in their lives and struggles, including by incorporating her into their intellectual thought, political rhetoric, and narrative traditions. On the flipside, so to speak, the collection also considers the ways in which the Crown’s representatives employed the figure of the monarch in their dealings with the peoples

that British colonisation displaced, as well as how Queen Victoria viewed her Indigenous 'subjects' (see Caine Chapter 5 especially).

'Queen Victoria' denotes more than merely the name by which the monarch was known. As many of the chapters amply illustrate, Queen Victoria was a name or phrase with many and multiplying meanings and associations, and which could easily be used metaphorically, metonymically, or analogically as well as serving more prosaic uses as a term of address. Within colonial contexts, Queen Victoria referred not only to the person on the throne, but was also used widely as shorthand or synonym for the Crown, for the British government and for the Empire – or some approximation or amalgam of all three. Our title – *Mistress of Everything* – a description used by Plains Cree spokesman Pahsung in 1881 during a visit to Fort Qu-Appelle by Queen Victoria's son-in-law, the Marquis of Lorne (discussed in Carter Chapter 3) registers Queen Victoria's capacious meanings and associations for Indigenous people (as for others). By using the term 'Indigenous' to describe interlocutors or interpretations, for instance, we register our primary interest in the experiences, practices, and perspectives of the peoples displaced and dispossessed, often violently, as a result of British imperial expansion during Queen Victoria's long reign.

We have purposely limited the scope of the collection to the settler colonies of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and southern Africa. While we are aware that Indigenous and other colonised peoples elsewhere in the British world during the nineteenth century also developed 'traditions' and 'narratives' incorporating the figure of Queen Victoria (India, Fiji, and the British West Indies are obvious examples),⁴ our concentration on the settler colonies is for the scope provided for comparative and transnational perspectives. As Annie Coombes outlines in her introduction to *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*, these countries share 'a number of features in terms of their colonial histories', in their relationships to the imperial metropolitan centre, in the composition of their colonial communities, and consequently, in their cultural and political institutions. It is not for nothing, then, that many recent historical studies and collections seeking to respond to the repeated call for an expanded view of British history that takes into account its overseas colonies, or aiming for a rapprochement between settler-national and imperial-Commonwealth historiographies, or pursuing 'transnational' or 'interconnected' approaches to writing imperial-colonial history, choose to cover much the same geographical ground as we do.⁵ But while these colonies and the nations they spawned share much in common, their differences are notable as well. Where their distinctiveness springs from, Coombes argues, is 'fundamentally contingent on their relationship to and with the various Indigenous communities

INTRODUCTION

they ... encountered' as well as in the histories of their colonising 'dealings' with them.⁶ Within these national contexts, then, the nature of relations and interactions between British settlers/colonisers and Indigenous people is a defining feature of their past and their present.

It is in this spirit that we believe a singular focus on Queen Victoria comes into its own. In each of the places we cover are to be found broadly comparable colonial cultures of monarchy with Queen Victoria as a centrepiece, and so the chapters cohere to suggest interconnections and overlaps in the ways in which Indigenous people participated in and engaged with those practices, symbols, and cultures to mobilise Queen Victoria for their own purposes.⁷ At the same time, though, detailed and empirically rich analysis and micro-studies of Indigenous interpretations of and interactions with Queen Victoria opens out onto quite distinct histories of Indigenous and settler relations, revealing in the process some of the particularities and pluralities of Indigenous people's struggles for rights, recognition, and redress. And although many examples of Indigenous people's engagements around Queen Victoria have already been discussed in a wide range of scholarship, we note that they have been mainly confined to national or regional historiographies.⁸ This volume represents a first attempt to bring such work together into productive dialogue and to apply some comparative and transnational perspectives to it.

Needless to say, Queen Victoria is an especially generous 'site' for the kinds of historical and cultural analysis we pursue here. This is not least because she reigned for such a long time. Her reign was inaugurated in mid-1837 and ended with her death in early 1901. These were, by any measure, six significant decades for Indigenous peoples in Britain's settler colonies. Not only did they witness the continued and increased influx of British settlers, who, as Alan Lester and Fae Dussart put it, 'did the work of violent Indigenous dispossession' even as they were met with 'the resilient and sovereign peoples' who fought against colonial incursion.⁹ This was also a period, as Lisa Ford has recently described it, 'when technologies of settler governance intruded on Indigenous life with new intimacy and persistence'.¹⁰

Victoria's reign coincided with a shift in British imperial policy and practice, and paralleled a series of landmark events in empire-wide and localised histories of British colonisation. The early phase of her reign in late 1830s and early 1840s articulated with processes that Lester and Dussart have recently mapped in their book *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance*, in which they show that 'amelioration policies were translated into policies for the protection of Indigenous peoples in southern Africa, the Australian colonies and New Zealand', as well as in Canada, as they acknowledge, although it

is not included in their study.¹¹ Under these general conditions, Queen Victoria emerged as something of a poster child for 'benevolent' or 'humanitarian' colonisation. The British Crown's local representatives in the colonies were inclined to represent her in such terms in their dialogue and dealings with Indigenous people. Yet, as Ann Curthoys argues, 'this strategy had an unintended consequence: over time, Indigenous people began to see the Queen as an alternative source of authority, as someone who could help them in their battle with settler governments and people, especially in their quest for the return of their land'.¹²

In the later decades of Victoria's reign, Indigenous people were often in desperate need of an external ally – an 'alternative source of authority' – particularly as settler autonomy grew apace through the gradual granting of self-government to the settler colonies and as their own political power and autonomy was, as a result, threatened and reduced.¹³ As Julie Evans et al. note, the 'shift in power from central to more localised control by European systems of law and government' within the settler colonies from the 1830s onwards had 'serious consequences for indigenous peoples', often prompting 'appeals to the Crown to abide by British justice, forcing the British Government of the day to respond to their concerns independently of the local authorities'.¹⁴ Contests and conflicts between Indigenous peoples and settlers are, as many of our authors note, registered in the astute ways in which Queen Victoria could be mobilised by Indigenous people to challenge British settler claims about justice, fairness, and humane treatment, to hold them to account for their actions, and to push for redress of the situations in which they found themselves as a result of further settler encroachment.¹⁵

The sheer ubiquity of Queen Victoria's imprint and symbolic and cultural presence in colonial contexts also made 'her' abundantly available for imaginative incorporation into Indigenous people's thought, rhetoric, and politics.¹⁶ Reminders and inscriptions of the British sovereign were seemingly everywhere – whether in the names for places, on the currency and stamps that circulated, as the signatory to documents and deeds, as the occasion for public holidays, in photographs displayed in churches or reproduced in newspapers, and in various other modes too many to mention.¹⁷ In settler colonial contexts, Indigenous people were constantly exposed to Queen Victoria. They might be occasionally paid visits by the monarch's sons, as Hilary Sapire's chapter describes, or more often by colonial governors (one of whom in Canada was her son by marriage), as Sarah Carter discusses. Indigenous people were regular recipients of royal rhetoric, whether delivered to them by visiting princes, resident missionaries, government officials,

INTRODUCTION

or ordinary settlers, and they were commonly deemed in need of lessons in imperial loyalty and subjecthood, as Amanda Nettelbeck's chapter in particular shows. As more than a name, Queen Victoria became incorporated into the lexicons and vernaculars that were used for cross-cultural conversations carried out on colonial frontiers, as Penelope Edmonds explores in her chapter.

Taken together, the chapters reveal the range and breadth of meanings that accrued to Queen Victoria during the course of her reign – and afterwards. As a shared figure or symbol, drawn on by British settlers and authorities, imperial institutions, and (Colonial Office) bureaucrats and Indigenous people alike,¹⁸ and not least in their ongoing dialogues with each other, Queen Victoria was embroidered into far-reaching debates and discourses on such crucial matters as rights and responsibilities, community and belonging, citizenship and non-citizenship, race and difference, and authority, sovereignty, and destiny. We have noted the ways Queen Victoria became associated with protection, charity, and benevolence, but as monarch she could just as easily be deployed in exchanges about the recognition of Indigenous people's sovereignty, the nature of imperial and Indigenous authority and power, Indigenous claims to compensation for land and other losses, their own royal status and structures and its relationship to the royal house of Britain, and the bases for their qualifications and claims as 'imperial citizens'.¹⁹

In some respects this was nothing new. In all of the contexts explored in the volume, Indigenous people grafted Queen Victoria onto pre-existing understandings about, earlier relationships with, and continuing creative uses of, the British monarch (see Belgrave Chapter 2, Parsons Chapter 7, and Carter Chapter 3, especially). But, as a number of scholars and biographers have noted, the young queen also provided something special and novel.²⁰ As a female monarch who quickly acquired a reputation for charity, concern, and virtue, reference to Queen Victoria could be introduced into colonial/Indigenous discussions to provide a quite specific set of inflections, often gendered: a theme that Miranda Johnson pursues in her chapter on the ways in which some Māori women drew on Queen Victoria as a narrative device in their debates with Māori men regarding matters of authority and autonomy. Likewise, the emphasis on Queen Victoria as a maternal figure, translated commonly into descriptions of her as a 'great mother', is also a recurring theme across a number of the chapters, but one that is refracted through understandings of kinship or authority within particular cultural contexts and traditions that help to reveal the meaningful particularities that lie beneath a common metaphor.

Our approach to studying Indigenous histories and experiences via a sustained focus on Queen Victoria (and, to a lesser extent, vice versa) highlights a number of concepts and themes. Prominent among them is 'loyalty', a theme that continues to engage scholars as they seek to understand the politics of Indigenous people (or individuals) in Britain's settler colonies, especially in the period from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth when an 'affective' engagement with the monarch, beginning with Queen Victoria, became increasingly noticeable.

Loyalty and devotion to the Queen was promoted and nurtured among all her scattered subjects and colonists, not just the Indigenous people of the Empire. According to imperialists, she generated a 'mystic reverence' amongst all her people.²¹ She was the emblem of imperial unity as well as maternal love, 'standing watchful guide over her magnificent realms'.²² An imperial enthusiast wrote in tribute after her death that Victoria built an empire on love: 'She was a royal conqueror indeed, for she conquered the whole world, but it was by love ... [H]er power was such as no sovereign who ruled by force, or right or ability, ever commanded. Thus out of the seeming weakness of a woman on the throne was perfected the strength of an Empire.'²³ Indigenous people were typically portrayed by imperial apologists as even surpassing British settlers in their allegiance and devotion, implying that they were delighted to accept and live peacefully under the rule of a woman they worshipped.

Historians have at times been confounded and unsettled by Indigenous people's seemingly exaggerated expressions of fealty to the Queen. Interpretations have covered a spectrum from assumptions of gullible naivety to assertions of conscious and knowing strategy. As Heather Goodall observes in relation to Australian Aboriginal people's generally positive interpretations of Queen Victoria, they 'have often been described rather patronisingly as reflections of Aboriginal people's gullability ... [or as] examples of Aboriginal naiveté in feeling gratitude and loyalty to the Queen for her benevolence and charity, while failing to recognise the British Crown as the cause of their dispossession'. Goodall concludes that both of 'these readings severely underestimate the factual knowledge held by Aboriginal people in the period, and the symbolic power of their account'.²⁴ In a more recent discussion, which some of our authors cite, Andrew Thompson has helpfully argued in relation to South Africa (one of our locations) that to understand the 'loyalist theme ... we must distance ourselves from the narrow but more familiar idea of loyalism that sees it as an overzealous, gratuitous, almost pathological affirmation of imperialism among minorities and fringe groups'.²⁵ He proposes instead to approach it as a 'broad church in

INTRODUCTION

which very different kinds of imperial “faith” could (however uncomfortably) coexist’, which were expressed in diverse modes towards different ‘objects’, whether Britain, Downing Street, or the Crown, and which ‘was fuelled by different interests and put to different purposes’.²⁶

Similarly, reappraising expressions of loyalty on the part of Indigenous people in Britain’s colonies can also contribute to new perspectives on their claim-making and broader politics across the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. The conundrum of loyalty is a theme that Sukanya Banerjee has addressed in her recent study of the claims of South Asian Indians to ‘imperial citizenship’ in the late Victorian era, in which she argues that expressions of ‘imperial loyalty played a mediating role in articulating the claims to rights and an equality of a “we”, not least because any rhetoric of citizenship hinges quite dramatically on notions of loyalty’.²⁷ In this way, she makes an important argument that a politics of imperial citizenship, underwritten often by a discourse of imperial loyalty, belongs to a history of anti-colonial thought, providing a much longer genealogy for it than is often credited.²⁸

Chapters in this collection pursue similar questions about how to interpret expressions of affection for the Queen and to situate their meanings within broader political agendas and visions. Through careful analysis, a number of authors show the ways in which ‘affective’ modes of speaking and of expressing relationships to a distant queen were a medium for hardnosed and clear-eyed political agendas, or for extending the terms of engagement between Indigenous people and settlers, or indeed among Indigenous people themselves (see, for instance, Johnson Chapter 10 and Sapire Chapter 1). Some, like Sarah Carter in her chapter, show that proclamations of loyalty were more often than not accompanied by demands that the monarch and her representatives respect or restore Indigenous rights and protect Indigenous people from rapacious colonisers and settler interests. Others, such as Michael Belgrave, illustrate the ways in which loyalty could be slippery and changeable, at times asserted and at others disavowed or renounced. Whatever the case, our authors are in agreement that Indigenous expressions of loyalty unsettle the self-serving settler myth of unstinting adulation of Indigenous people for the British sovereign.

Not all Indigenous statements about or attitudes towards Queen Victoria were, of course, delivered (shrouded?) in the language of loyalism or characterised by positively inflected feelings of attachment and affection. They could just as easily be expressly and unambiguously critical of the British Crown, especially when it came to negotiations over land and to what were roundly perceived as broken promises and unfulfilled terms of agreements. As various authors show, Queen

Victoria – as the embodiment of the Crown – was often invoked during transactions involving land acquisition and treaty negotiations, and she became in the process closely and personally associated with particular agreements (for examples, see Belgrave Chapter 2, Carter Chapter 3, Edmonds Chapter 8). This also contributed to her incorporation into rich storytelling and other interpretative traditions as well as her longevity as a recursive figure within the politics of memory that always attends Indigenous/settler relationships and that continues to be a feature within the ‘post imperial’, ‘postcolonial’ present (see, for instance, Nugent Chapter 4, Parsons Chapter 7, Edmonds Chapter 8, Clarke Chapter 6).

One evocative example will suffice to underline the point. At the Treaty 4 negotiations in 1874 in Canada, prominent Cree chief Kawâhkatos was present – and later recalled an incident. One of the Queen’s representatives, he recounted, spread a cloth on the ground and placed bags of money on it, and explained through an interpreter how many bags the Queen had sent. According to Kawâhkatos, a chief replied: ‘Tell the Queen’s representative to empty the money and fill the bags with dirt. Tell him to take the bags back to England to the Queen. She has paid for that much land.’²⁹ Anecdotes and remembrances like these come in many versions, and can be found within colonial archives across Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and southern Africa. It is not surprising that Queen Victoria should feature so widely in the records and remembrances of negotiations over land, because land was and is at the very core of histories of settler colonies and of the fraught and unresolved relations between Indigenous people and settlers. What this particular example illustrates well is the ways in which Queen Victoria was so often cast as a mediating figure in these histories, a figure onto which, for instance, competing claims of generosity or fairness and miserliness or underhandedness could be inscribed.

By juxtaposing studies drawn from different settler colonies and interrogating the function or role given to Queen Victoria within Indigenous people’s own historical interpretations, what emerges once again is evidence for the distinct histories that have arisen from the nature of settler/Indigenous encounters and relations in each of these places. At the most obvious level, differences occur in relation to whether or not treaties between Indigenous people and the British Crown were made. (No treaties were made in Australia, as Edmonds Chapter 8, Nettelbeck Chapter 9, and Nugent Chapter 4, show.) But the differences are more subtle than this as well. They are indexed, for instance, in the diversity of interpretations and claim-making incorporating Queen Victoria in some regions and the notable uniformity

INTRODUCTION

in other places. In her chapter on South Africa, Hilary Sapire notes, 'The variety of expressions of monarchical devotion ... reflected the different stages and depths of the experience of colonisation and British cultural hegemony'. Contrast this with the single, collective interpretation of the Queen's apparent role in land matters that was shared over a quite large geographical area by Aboriginal people in south-east Australia, as Nugent's chapter makes clear. Other historical differences registered within the collection derive from histories of war and conflict, both between Indigenous people and Britons within the colonies as well as in regard to Indigenous people's participation in imperial wars; levels of parliamentary representation and political rights accorded to Indigenous people or concomitantly the disenfranchisement of Indigenous people and their loss of the rights to self-govern; the relative mobility of Indigenous people (both to Britain or across regions) and contact with international organisations and networks; and literacy, education, and Christian conversion.

As our discussion so far demonstrates, many of the contributors are interested in the discursive 'production' of Queen Victoria by Indigenous people and the 'performance' of relationships to her situated within broader histories of Indigenous-imperial-colonial relations. The focus is on Indigenous people as interlocutors and agents in the various social, cultural, and imaginative processes by which, as Mark McKenna puts it, monarchy is 'performed into being'.³⁰ An interest in performance and the spaces of performance – whether they occur in the Queen's state rooms (Clarke Chapter 6, Parsons Chapter 7, Caine Chapter 5) or during a royal or vice-regal tour (Sapire Chapter 1, Carter Chapter 3), or are elements within a commemorative event (Edmonds Chapter 8, Nettelbeck Chapter 9, Belgrave Chapter 2), or are the speeches and statements made in other public settings (Nugent Chapter 4, Johnson Chapter 10) – necessarily draws attention to different cultures and practices of diplomacy, oratory, remembrance, and gift-giving. Repeatedly, the discussions reveal what often appears as a 'coincidence of ritual' when Indigenous and settler practices of diplomacy, claim-making, and transactional events meet. But they just as often show the mistranslations and misinterpretations that occur within – constitute even – the contact zones and 'middle grounds'³¹ in which Queen Victoria was liberally employed as a mediating device between what were often radically different worldviews, expectations, and power dynamics.

One question that emerges from all of this is how to conceive of 'Indigenous politics' – or indeed politics in general. The volume as a whole does not present any single position on this, and in fact there is some tension, contradictions even, between authors in terms of the

ways in which they understand and write about political action and thought. For instance, some are inclined to interpret it in terms of public forms of action and appeal aimed at – and preferably resulting in – improved circumstances and material and measurable outcomes, such as, for instance, the reaffirmation of treaty terms or increased provisions from the Crown.³² For those authors, Indigenous people's dealings with or uses of Queen Victoria, in whatever mode and in whatever context, are invariably (perhaps inevitably) judged as being of only limited political value or as 'failures' or 'disappointments'. Others, though, adopt a view in which all action is in a sense 'political' and in which politics exists or is constituted in and by doing – or being and becoming. For them, the 'discursive' matters a great deal, as they consider the ways in which words and language – at its most 'performative'³³ – can work to 'wedge' open spaces, as Miranda Johnson describes it in her chapter, for telling or articulating alternative accounts of self and of history.

Finally, the chapters taken together also provide, even if only incidentally, plenty of evidence of the contributions that Indigenous people in the settler colonies made to British imperial culture and especially to cultures of monarchy. This reminds us, as McKenna notes, that 'popular monarchism in the British Empire during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was created and sustained by "British people" and Indigenous subjects in all their diversity, particularly in the dialogue between imperial authorities and colonies' (emphasis added).³⁴ Our emphasis on Indigenous interpretations of Queen Victoria and the dialogical and 'cross-cultural' production of her meanings and symbolism provides some corrective to scholarship – and, indeed, the vast popular literature as well – which is slanted towards domestic British perspectives, although there is certainly evidence that this is changing, and this collection is part of the shift.³⁵ When attention was first turned to view the monarchy and Empire from outside the metropole, such as by David Cannadine in his classic text *Ornamentalism*, the perspective offered, as indeed some critics noted, tended to be 'top down' or projected outwards from centre to margin.³⁶ As Antoinette Burton has noted, '*Ornamentalism* ... offered the view from above: a promontory perspective which privileged monarchy as the fount of social, aesthetic and national values, as well as the source from which all imperial ideals emanated'.³⁷

In place of studying projections fanning outwards from the centre, the studies presented in our volume tend to work from the ground up by exploring the ways in which the symbolic vocabularies and vernaculars of monarchy, empire, sovereignty, and the Crown (among other things) were produced – or at the very least, co-produced – by colonised communities and constituencies, and taken up within broader political

INTRODUCTION

repertoires and cultures. This reflects a recent reorientation in histories of empire, conceived around metaphors of 'webs' of connection or integrated imperial networks that trace the movements of things, ideas, and people from colony to colony rather than in a straight line from centre to periphery, although in this volume we have not explicitly attempted to map the trans-colonial or empire-wide circulation of ideas about Queen Victoria.³⁸ We do not, for instance, consider here the influence of Indigenous people's engagements with Queen Victoria in one colonial context on other situations, although we do commend such an approach.³⁹

Before moving on to provide summaries of the chapters, it is worth noting that much of the scholarship presented here is only possible because of methodological innovations over the last few decades, particularly in areas of Indigenous history, cultural history, visual and material culture studies, narrative and memory studies, and post-colonial studies. Until reasonably recently, some historians might have been inclined to argue that such kinds of analysis aimed at teasing out the meanings of Indigenous people's words and actions were not possible given the fragmentary nature of the archival record and its often second-hand or densely mediated nature. Although the nature of the archive, and especially the relative dearth of Indigenous-authored texts, remains a challenge for scholarship in this vein – one which our authors acknowledge – a combination of interpretative and methodological approaches can glean from the evidence available the probable meanings of reported speech, fragmentary writings, and records of performances and their communicative contexts, intent, and reception. Indeed, a number of the chapters provide lessons in reading 'against' and 'along' the archival grain, in combining historical, art historical, and ethnographic approaches, and in contextualising both at micro and macro levels telling moments preserved within the historical record, even if only faintly.⁴⁰ Although they are all empirically grounded, some contributors use seemingly small and ephemeral incidents in order to pursue larger arguments about, for instance, the workings of cross-cultural exchanges and diplomacy, the articulation and refinement of political visions and claims, and the charged processes by which knowledge and authority were constructed – and challenged – on colonial borderlands.

Interpreting not only what was said (or recorded as said), but also the communicative modes and practices by which they were said and the communicative contexts in which they were transmitted, is a feature of some of the analysis offered. For some authors, there is a necessary focus on orality, including styles of oratory and occasions

for oration (Johnson Chapter 10, Carter Chapter 3, Sapire Chapter 1, Nugent Chapter 4). For others, there is attention to the ways in which the presentation of certain objects was designed to convey meanings and to enact things, such as to initiate a relationship of reciprocity or to affirm equivalence in authority and status (Clarke Chapter 6, Belgrave Chapter 2, Nettelbeck Chapter 9). Attention is likewise given to the processes of translation and publication. In some cases, a return to the original archival record to check a source reveals what had been deleted or skewed during publication in the popular press, providing a very different meaning and serving a completely other agenda than the one intended by the speaker. A heavy editorial hand was often evident as well in the derogatory ways in which Indigenous speech and action was represented. To inform their interpretations of past events, other contributors pay attention to the recursive interplay between past and present, either by using contemporary sources, such as recorded oral history, or otherwise considering the ways in which certain past ideas and interpretations travel through time and place, acquiring new meanings and associations in the process (see Nugent Chapter 4 especially).

Just as interpreting Indigenous people's statements and perspectives presents challenges, so does testimony from or attributed to Queen Victoria herself. A few chapters (Caine Chapter 5, Clarke Chapter 6, and Parsons Chapter 7, particularly) draw on Victoria's journals as source material, but as with other chapters, they read this material with an eye to the contexts within which the monarch's own ideas and impressions were shaped and influenced. Barbara Caine's chapter is especially attuned to the monarch's milieu as she considers what to make of Queen Victoria's own intimate, as well as epistolary, relations with Indigenous individuals along with her own friends, acquaintances, and family members living and working in the settler colonies.

The book is structured in three sections, each of which highlights a particular mode of engagement or interpretation, though there are clear interconnections across the sections and across individual chapters as well (as the discussion above demonstrates).

In Part I: 'Monarch, metaphor, memory', we examine a range of interpretations of and ideas about Queen Victoria and the expression of them within and through various modes of cultural production, myth-making and memory-work. The chapters in this section combine to provide detailed discussion of the discursive construction and uses of Queen Victoria by Indigenous people in South Africa (the Cape and Natal in particular), New Zealand, western Canada and south-eastern Australia.

Hilary Sapire's chapter discusses Prince Alfred's royal tour to South Africa in 1860. Royal tours, as Sapire notes, were an innovation of Queen Victoria's reign, and became one of the most powerful 'sites'

INTRODUCTION

through which ideas about the monarch took root in the colonies and were occasions for public claim-making by Indigenous people about the responsibilities of Britain and settler governments to them. African encounters with Prince Alfred ‘made flesh the mythology of the “Great White Queen” in ways that neither portraits nor celebrations could achieve’, she writes. Throughout the chapter, Sapire explores how the symbolism of Queen Victoria was deployed in pursuit of greater ‘rights’ for black South Africans, including consideration of the uses of the rhetoric of loyalism. Engagements at the height of Victoria’s reign had enduring significance, not least because they helped shape future ceremonial rituals, particularly the royal visits of the twentieth century, coronations, and events surrounding the death of British monarchs.

In his chapter, Michael Belgrave provides a broad study of Māori attitudes towards Queen Victoria from 1840. He analyses the many and changing Māori relationships with Queen Victoria and the intense Māori debates that centred on her. Some Māori communities expressed loyalty to the Queen early in her reign. Through her association with the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, the idea emerged that she would protect Māori rights, and that she was distinct from her colonial government. Others rejected and opposed her, contesting the view that the Queen stood above settler politics. Sceptics of the idea that a distant queen could protect their rights initiated the Māori King Movement. Belgrave demonstrates how Victoria was incorporated into Māori systems of status, that she had ‘mana’. By the late 1880s there was widespread Māori support for the Queen, because her name could be mobilised to represent their causes to both colonial and imperial governments. There remained a pattern of ‘affection and protest’: declarations of loyalty were followed by criticisms of the failure of settler governments to live up to the Queen’s righteousness and the provisions of the treaty.

In a chapter that builds on her earlier and much-cited publications on Canadian First Nations and Queen Victoria, Sarah Carter uses St. Peter’s Reserve, a settlement in western Canada, to explore a series of ‘contact zones’ that emerged across the nineteenth century in which ideas about Queen Victoria were produced, challenged, and honed as part of an ongoing discourse between Indigenous people and settler authorities concerning what the Crown had promised, failed to deliver, and still owed. Carter’s analysis subtly moves beyond a simple dichotomous view, in which the Queen meant one thing to settlers and something else entirely to First Nations, or in which all First Nations’ statements about her were essentially and straightforwardly strategic. The picture she paints is more nuanced than that. She does illustrate, as some other chapters do, that it could be advantageous at times to juxtapose the Queen’s supposed morality with the failures of

settler governments, but other considerations and impulses were at play as well. Moreover, she shows that settlers were much invested in ideas about Indigenous people as loyal subjects of the Queen, because it served their own myths about Canada's reputation as humane and benign colonisers.

In the following chapter, Maria Nugent takes as her focus a widely shared claim about Queen Victoria as the personal source of reserve lands, which has circulated among Aboriginal people in south-east Australia for three or four generations, seemingly impermeable to any alteration or interpretative innovation. Despite appearances, though, Nugent's discussion recovers a multiplicity of rhetorical purposes that this claim performed, each of which speaks to the changed conditions of Aboriginal people's lives during the second half of the nineteenth century and across the twentieth. She considers the diverse contexts of its public articulation and evocation, underlining her interest in the ways in which this 'epigrammatic history' with Queen Victoria at its heart worked within a broader politics of memory that attended (and attends still) to Indigenous-settler relations in Australia.

The chapters in Part II: 'Royal Relations' focus on personal, even intimate, modes of interaction and relations between various Indigenous people and Queen Victoria – or members of her immediate family, who sometimes served as proxies for her. In these chapters, Queen Victoria features, even if only opaquely, as a real person – in embodied form, as it were – and at home in the imperial centre. We encounter her mainly through her journals and in her audiences with Indigenous visitors.

In her chapter, Barbara Caine explores the nature and scope of Queen Victoria's own interest in and engagement with her Empire beyond Europe. This is, as Caine notes, a surprisingly muted theme in the vast and ever-expanding literature – scholarly and popular – on the lives, loves, and legacies of Victoria. Caine's chapter begins to redress this lacuna. In a discussion that is alert to the very real limits on Queen Victoria's power as a 'constitutional monarch', Caine discusses some of the ways in which she sought to use personal influence in colonial matters that intermittently garnered her attention. She suggests that Queen Victoria operated within the interstices of Empire – in the spaces where her personal connections and networks intersected with the machineries and workings of imperial expansion and governance. One notable way in which the monarch engaged with the colonies was through personal involvement in the lives of children, particularly some who found themselves dislocated as a result of British colonisation. These pseudo-maternal relationships, some much closer than others, were one of the avenues through which Victoria came to know about colonial situations. At the same time, these relationships also

INTRODUCTION

represent, as Caine argues, a means by which Queen Victoria sought to resolve the paradox 'presented by her simultaneous enthusiasm for imperial expansion and her sympathy for some of the victims of that expansion'.

Most of the children or youths who Victoria 'adopted' were, as Caine underlines, deposed royals, but she also occasionally appointed herself 'godmother' to some other young colonial 'subjects', including a Māori baby, whom Chanel Clarke discusses in Chapter 6 of this volume. This is, it must be said, a curious episode within the history of interactions between Indigenous people and Queen Victoria. The expectant mother and her husband were travelling with a Māori group in England in 1863, during which time they met with the Queen. To interpret the series of exchanges that occurred, Clarke applies the methods of cultural history as well as a curator's sensibility to tease out the meanings carried by dress, style, and comportment, the functions and expectations of gift-giving and diplomatic traditions, and the techniques by which visual representations, both photographs and portraits, helped to frame the public story of the meeting between Māori and the monarch. As with other chapters, Clarke carries her discussion through to contemporary times by considering the ways in which the Queen's gift of a christening set to the baby continues to have resonance for descendants.

In a chapter that reprises some of his earlier work, Neil Parsons charts southern African regal delegations to Queen Victoria, drawing on accounts of their reactions to their audiences with the monarch, as well as the Queen's journal entries on these encounters. In each case the Colonial Office assisted to stage these meetings, and arranged visits to sites and institutions intended to showcase the might and superiority of England, but refused to consider the Indigenous viewpoint. These missions also had no impact on colonial governments in southern Africa. After her reign, Parsons shows that attitudes to Victoria were varied and ambiguous among southern Africans depending on the relationship with the Empire. Where Africans were defeated by the British, or abandoned as allies, for example, the Queen was viewed as an 'evil chief', while for others she was recalled as a guarantor of justice and honour.

In the third section of the book, Part III: 'Sovereign Subjects?', our contributors continue to interrogate the ways in which Queen Victoria featured in exchanges and debates in settler colonial contexts about matters such as sovereignty, political autonomy, rights to land, and what it meant to be made into or to become 'imperial subjects'.

Penelope Edmonds uses an exchange involving an object bearing the Queen's image – in this case a coin – as a provocation for considering competing and incomplete claims of British sovereignty over

Indigenous people and their lands in south-east Australia. She considers a series of what she calls 'sovereignty performances' to show the ways in which during the early part of Queen Victoria's reign settler debates over sovereignty and its limits in Australia were in flux. Such casual performances of sovereignty, where newly colonised subjects were tested, are also implicit claims for European sovereignty, she argues, in what were at this time 'anomalous legal zones', to use Lauren Benton's phrase.⁴¹ Edmonds brings her discussion to the present through a consideration of some contemporary artwork that returns to questions of female monarchs and sovereignty within 'republican' and 'postcolonial' visions of Australia.

In the following chapter, and the only explicitly comparative study in the collection, Amanda Nettelbeck also draws on material objects to frame her discussion. She compares the different contexts in which Aboriginal people figured as recipients of the Queen's gifts in commemorative moments that asserted British sovereignty in nineteenth-century Canada and Australia, and that were perceived to affirm Aboriginal people's status as the Queen's subjects. In considering how these gifts were received and how they circulated, the chapter explores some of the different meanings they generated, and the potentially unsettled relationships they implied between the Crown and Indigenous people in Australia and Canada respectively.

Miranda Johnson's chapter takes as its focus the Māori parliament (Kotahitanga) in New Zealand, which existed for a decade between 1892 and 1902. She provides an especially insightful analysis of the historical problem of Māori loyalty to the British monarch and the questions of autonomy that expressions of loyalty raised. Despite the devastation wrought on their people and their lands in the latter decades of the nineteenth century at the hands of white British settlers and imperial troops, in the late nineteenth century loyalty to the Queen and the right to be self-governing were notions in close tension with one another. Attending to diverse expressions of loyalty, Johnson's interest is in the purposes they served in dialogues and debates about Māori men's and Māori women's status and rights in particular. She argues that Māori women were suffering from the imposition of colonial rule in particular ways, notably the loss of recognition of their entitlements to land rights and their lack of representation at the national level. In this context, Queen Victoria became a useful 'narrative device' as some Māori women spelt out in the parliament their claims to autonomy and chiefly status as rightful landholders. Johnson argues 'that by centring the figure of Queen Victoria in their various demands, the Māori protagonists of this story laid claim to their own space *beside* the settler state, and *in* the

INTRODUCTION

British Empire', but she also notes the fundamental paradox whereby they depended on an external authority to authorise their own claims to self-governance.

It is clear from several of the chapters that even in these 'post imperial', 'postcolonial' times Queen Victoria's symbolic resonance is not yet a spent force. Neil Parsons' closing example of the vandalism of a monument to Queen Victoria in Port Elizabeth in South Africa in 2010, Maria Nugent's mention of an Australian Aboriginal activist's reference to Queen Victoria in a speech to the Occupy Movement in London in 2011, Chanel Clarke's description of how a gift from Queen Victoria to a Māori infant is used within contemporary Waitangi Tribunal hearings in New Zealand, and Penelope Edmonds' discussion of Darren Siwes' photographic artworks that play with representations of sovereigns on Australian coins, all point in different ways to the continuing, recursive uses of Queen Victoria within broader conversations about the enduring legacies of British imperialism and colonialism for Indigenous people in settler-colonial nations. Many other examples could be drawn in here, including, for instance, Anishinaabe artist Rebecca Belmore's videoed performance piece, *Victorious*, produced in 2008, in which she clothed a proxy Queen Victoria in newspaper and honey to the strains of 'God Save the Queen' as a comment on imperial power.⁴²

While we have touched only lightly on contemporary situations in which the figure of Queen Victoria is invoked, nevertheless one of our hopes for the collection is that it will make a contribution to growing interdisciplinary interest in Indigenous people's creative, performative, and discursive engagements with and reinscriptions of histories of imperial expansion and Indigenous dispossession. And we hope that it might also inspire especial interest in the ways in which the symbolically weighty figure of Queen Victoria continues to be produced, 'performed into being', and deployed and circulated within the fraught politics of history and memory – and of recognition and redress – that are a defining feature of the public life of settler-colonial societies, communities, and nations.

Notes

- 1 'Prince William and wife Kate meet aborigines in Canada', *The Australian* (AFP) (6 July 2011).
- 2 See, for instance, J. R. Miller, 'Victoria's "Red Children": The "Great White Mother" and native-newcomer relations in Canada', *Native Studies Review*, 17:1 (2008), 1–23. Following current convention in Australia and Canada, we have capitalised the word "Indigenous" throughout the book, except where an author has indicated a preference to use the lower case form.

- 3 Tim Rowse, *After Mabo: Interpreting Indigenous Traditions* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993), pp. 13–14. For relevant discussions of Indigenous stories and oral histories about Queen Victoria and other members of the British family as a response to imperial expansion and the colonial encounter, see: Keith Thor Carlson, 'Aboriginal diplomacy: The Queen comes to Canada and Coyote goes to London', in J. Marshall Beier (ed.), *Indigenous Diplomacies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 156–70; Keith Thor Carlson, 'The Indians and the Crown: Aboriginal memories of royal promises in Pacific Canada', in Colin M. Coates (ed.), *Majesty in Canada: Essays on the Role of Royalty* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), pp. 68–95; Maria Nugent, "'The queen gave us the land": Aboriginal people, Queen Victoria and historical remembrance', *History Australia*, 9:2 (2012), 182–200; John Sharp, 'Land claims in Namaqualand: The Komaggas Reserve', *Review of African Political Economy*, 21:6 (September 1994), 403–14.
- 4 See, for instance, Tracey Banivanua Mar, 'Imperial literacy and Indigenous rights: Tracing transoceanic circuits of modern discourse', *Aboriginal History*, 37 (2013), 19. For a brief mention of how Queen Victoria features in contemporary post-colonial politics in Fiji, see John Fraenkel, 'Post-colonial political institutions in the South Pacific Islands: A survey', in David Hegarty and Darrell Tryon (eds), *Politics, Development and Security in Oceania* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2013), p. 38. For some recent work on British royalty in West Indian middle-class culture, see: Anne Spry Rush, *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). For other relevant recent discussions, see: David Killingray, "'A good West Indian, a Good African, and, in short, a good Britisher": Black and British in a colour-conscious empire, 1760–1950', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36:3 (2008), 363–81; Arianne Chernock, 'Queen Victoria and the "Bloody Mary of Madagascar"', *Victorian Studies*, 55:3 (Spring 2013), 425–49.
- 5 See, for instance, Julie Evans, Patricia Grimshaw, David Philips, and Shurlee Swain, *Equal Subjects, Unequal Rights: Indigenous Peoples in British Settler Colonies, 1830–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Alan Lester and Fae Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance: Protecting Aborigines across the Nineteenth-Century British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), which tracks the spread of 'protectionism' across Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (but not Canada); Lisa Ford and Tim Rowse (eds), *Between Indigenous and Settler Governance* (London: Routledge, 2012), which covers the CANZUS states – Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States – but also includes one chapter on South Africa; Annie E. Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). Coombes cites Donald Denoon, *Settler Colonialism: The Dynamics of Dependent Development in the Southern Hemisphere* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983) as a pioneering example of working across settler colonial contexts. In Australia, recently, there has been some debate about conceptualisations of 'settler colonial studies' and 'settler colonialism' as a dominant explanatory concept. See Tim Rowse, 'Indigenous heterogeneity', *Australian Historical Studies*, 45:3 (2014), 297–310, and Lorenzo Verancini, 'Defending settler colonialism', *Australian Historical Studies*, 45:3 (2014), 311–16.
- 6 Annie E. Coombes, 'Introduction: Memory and history in settler colonialism', in Coombes (ed.), *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*, pp. 1–4.
- 7 There is an established scholarship on cultures of monarchy and royalty in colonial contexts during the Victorian era and since. See, for instance, Mark McKenna, 'Monarchy: From reverence to indifference', in D. Schreuder and S. Ward (eds), *Australia's Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 261–87; Annette Shiell and Peter Spearitt (eds), *Australians and the Monarchy* (Melbourne: National Centre for Australian Studies, 1993); Philip W. Pike, *The Royal Presence in Australia, 1867–1986* (Adelaide, S.A.: Royalty Publishing, 1986); Peter J. Boyce, *The Queen's Other Realms: The Crown and its Legacy in Australia, Canada and New Zealand*

INTRODUCTION

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- 8 For a selection from this work, see: Sarah Carter, "'Your great mother across the salt sea": Prairie First Nations, the British Monarchy and the vice-regal connection to 1900', *Manitoba History* 48 (Autumn 2004/Winter 2005), 34–48; Henry Wade 'Imagining the Great White Mother and the Great King: Aboriginal tradition and royal representation at the "Great Pow-wow" of 1901', *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 11:1 (2000), 87–108; Ruth B. Phillips, 'Making sense out/ of the visual: Aboriginal presentations and representations in nineteenth-century Canada', *Art History*, 27:4 (September 2004), 593–615; Ian Radforth, 'Performance, politics, and representation: Aboriginal people and the 1860 royal tour of Canada', *Canadian Historical Review*, 84:1 (March 2003), 1–32; Cecilia Haig-Brown, 'The "Friends" of Nahnebawequa', in C. Haig-Brown and David A. Nock (eds), *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), pp. 132–57; John Lonsdale, 'Ornamental constitutionalism in Africa: Kenyatta and the two queens', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34:1 (March 2006), 87–103; Roger Levine, 'Prince Alfred in King William's Town, South Africa: 13 August 1860', *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 14:1 (2010), 137–44; Neil Parsons, *King Khama, Emperor Joe, and the Great White Queen: Victorian Britain through African Eyes* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Sharp, 'Land claims in Namaqualand'; Jessie Mitchell, "'It will enlarge the ideas of the natives": Indigenous Australians and the tour of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh', *Aboriginal History*, 34 (2010), 197–216; Ian Henderson, 'Planetary lives: Edward Warrulan, Edward John Eyre and Queen Victoria', *English Studies in Africa*, 57:1 (2014), 66–80; Nugent, 'The queen gave us the land'.
 - 9 Lester and Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance*, p. 14.
 - 10 Lisa Ford, 'Locating Indigenous self-determination in the margins of settler sovereignty', in L. Ford and T. Rowse (eds), *Between Indigenous and Settler Governance* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 1.
 - 11 Lester and Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance*, p. 4.
 - 12 Ann Curthoys, 'Indigenous subjects', in Schreuder and Ward (eds), *Australia's Empire*, p. 94.
 - 13 For discussion of the implications of self-government for Indigenous people and politics in the Australian colonies, see: Ann Curthoys, 'Taking liberty: Towards a new political historiography of settler self-government and Indigenous activism', in Kate Fullagar (ed.), *The Atlantic World in the Antipodes: Effects and Transformations since the Eighteenth Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2012), pp. 237–54.
 - 14 Evans et al., *Equal subjects, unequal rights*, p. 8.
 - 15 Mark McKenna, 'Transplanted to savage shores: Indigenous Australians and British birthright in the mid-nineteenth-century Australian colonies', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 13:1 (Spring 2012), npgs.
 - 16 David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2001); McKenna, 'Monarchy', p. 263.

- 17 John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- 18 For a comparison of Australian Indigenous interpretations of another imperial figure, Captain James Cook, see: Deborah Bird Rose, 'The saga of Captain Cook: Remembrance and morality', in Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (eds), *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2001), pp. 61–79; Chris Healy, 'We know your mob now: histories and their cultures', *Meanjin*, 49:3 (1990), 512–23; Maria Nugent, *Captain Cook Was Here* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 19 Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); see also Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
- 20 See, especially, Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago, 2008).
- 21 Duncan Bell, 'The idea of a patriot queen? The monarchy, the constitution and the iconographic order of Greater Britain, 1860–1900', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 34:1 (March 2006), 8.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 23 'Victoria as Empire Builder', *The Review of Reviews* (March 1901), p. 259. This is an excerpt from an article by C. de Thierry in the March *United Service Magazine*. C. de Thierry was the 'pen name' of New Zealand journalist Jessie Weston who lived in London.
- 24 Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770–1972* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1996), p. 102. For a recent argument against interpreting these new identifications as only 'strategic' rather than as a 'deeply felt reformation of self', see: Tim Rowse, 'The identity of Indigenous political thought', in Ford and Rowse (eds), *Between Indigenous and Settler Governance*, pp. 95–107.
- 25 Andrew Thompson, 'The languages of loyalism in Southern Africa, c. 1870–1939', *English Historical Review*, 118:477 (June 2003), 619. For other relevant scholarship on the politics of loyalism, see: Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'African nationalist or British loyalist? The complicated case of Tiyo Soga', *History Workshop Journal*, 71:1 (2011), 75–97; Hilary Sapire, 'African loyalism and its discontents: The royal tour of South Africa, 1974', *The Historical Journal*, 54:1 (March 2011), 215–40; Hilary Sapire, 'Ambiguities of loyalism: The Prince of Wales in India and Africa, 1921–2 and 1925', *History Workshop Journal*, 73 (2012), 37–65.
- 26 Thompson, 'The languages of loyalism', pp. 619–20.
- 27 Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, p. 26.
- 28 See also, Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008).
- 29 Quoted in Neal McLeod, *Cree Narrative Memory From Treaties to Contemporary Times* (Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd., 2007), p. 93.
- 30 McKenna, 'Monarchy', p. 261. For another recent discussion of Indigenous interlocutors engaged with imperial policy and practice, see: Zoe Laidlaw, 'Indigenous interlocutors: Networks of imperial protest and humanitarianism in the mid-nineteenth century', in Jane Carey and Jane Lydon (eds), *Indigenous networks: Mobility, Connections and Exchange* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 114–39. See also, Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Indigenous peoples and imperial networks in the early nineteenth century: The politics of knowledge', in Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (eds), *Rediscovering the British World* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), pp. 59–85.
- 31 The term 'middle ground' for these cross-cultural contact zones is taken from: Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in The Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991 [2011]).

INTRODUCTION

- 32 For an insightful discussion of this in the Australian context during the late Victorian era and up to the end of the First World War, see: Jessica Horton, 'Rewriting political history: Letters from Aboriginal people in Victoria, 1886–1919', *History Australia*, 9:2 (2012), 166–75.
- 33 J. L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
- 34 McKenna, 'Monarchy', p. 265.
- 35 See also: Anne Spry Rush, *Bonds of Empire: West Indians and Britishness from Victoria to Decolonization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 36 Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*. For critiques in this vein, see: Tony Ballantyne (ed.), 'From orientalism to ornamentalism: Empire and difference in history', Special issue of *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 3:1 (2002), with articles by Geoff Eley, Mrinalini Sinha, Peter H. Hoffenberg, Peter H. Hansen, Antoinette Burton, Madhavi Kale, Jane Samson, and Jean Marie Allman. See also: Ian Christopher Fletcher's review of *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* by David Cannadine in *Victorian Studies*, 45:3 (Spring 2003), 532–4; Paul Smith, 'Refuge for the Aristocracy', *London Review of Books*, 23:12 (12 June 2001), pp. 30–1.
- 37 Antoinette Burton, 'Déjà vu all over again', in Ballantyne (ed.), 'From orientalism to ornamentalism'.
- 38 See, for instance, Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Moving Subjects: Mobility, Intimacy and Gender in an Age of Global Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Alan Lester, 'British settler discourse and the circuits of empire', *History Workshop Journal*, 54:1 (2002), 27–50.
- 39 See, for example, John Sharp and Emile Boonzaier, who note similarities between claims that Queen Victoria had granted reserves in Namaqualand with those found in parts of Canada: John Sharp and Emile Boonzaier, 'Ethnic identity as performance: Lessons from Namaqualand', *Journal of South African Studies*, 20:3 (Sept. 1994), 411. Political scientist Ravi de Costa uses histories of Indigenous people in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand petitioning the British monarch and other authorities to trace the emergence of 'indigeneity' as a global identity. Ravi de Costa, 'Identity, authority, and the moral worlds of Indigenous petitions', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48:3 (2006), 669–98.
- 40 Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).
- 41 Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 30.
- 42 <http://extract.gruntarchives.org/rebecca-belmore-victorious.html#lightbox>, accessed 27 February 2015.