

SOOT BREATH
CORPUS INFINITUM

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REDSHIFT:

Terra Preta's autopoietic fertility, the deposition on the edge of a pipe bowl, in these we find soot just as we find it there, a seed for water to gently wrap around before raining back down onto the bonfire, creating that spitsizzle sound we know so well.

With almost zero luminance, like dark matter and dark energy, soot or carbon-black is scattered in so many renderings and instances across space and time. The earliest material used in the production of black printed ink, carbon-black is a family material conveyor, as printed words, images or an image for non-visible objects.

Ubiquitous black ink is found in newspapers, novels and poems printed in so many languages, across the planet. A grain of a volcano plume, it turns out, has enabled the fixing of so many words on paper. That grain can be found again and again in many apparently unrelated elsewhere and somehows, across many nows and afters.

In print, as the printed's matter, soot occupies the space between the pause, delineating that which is between written and printed lines. As such, it recalls breathing; rather, how breathing holds space for echoes to be heard, just as echoes allow shelter to be felt. Black ink, carbon specks, beyond the range of visibility, a dark matter, everywhere, among everything, and yet also expanding, stretching with the rest of the universe towards the unknown.

I.

The Copernican revolution profoundly altered the image of the universe. Ushering a dramatic transformation in knowledge, which is almost unfathomable to our current ways of thinking. The Earth went from being the cosy, central hearth of the universe to being one more, just another planet among many against a backdrop of infinity.

And precisely that, a monumental shift or horror vacui gave reactionary birth to another centre, the sovereign mind. A mind that houses only itself, a way to cope with the newfound infinite vastness and loneliness of a secular existence. That sovereign protected, preserved and increased itself thanks to endless violence that remains its primary support to this day. Through its weapons and words, perhaps out of this original terror of mere existence, perhaps out of a desperate need to dominate existence, this sovereign mind re-creates the world as thought, in its own lonely and sovereign image.

A sovereign thriving on the painful effects of lethal abstraction and its perennial deployment as total violence. We must ask:

If words, spoken and written, are also what we recourse to when addressing this violence, what are some of the many possible ways of activating their disruptive force? How can they allow for room to breathe? How can we escape? Where to find refuge? How to trace the materialisations of the lethal words, infrastructures and travel architectures that have supported colonial and global extraction, the structures of pillage, expropriation and settlement now congealed as capital, in all its presentations (extractivist, agricultural, industrial, financial)?

How can the print – its black ink made out of soot made out of particles that have been transducing for billions of years in the known cosmos – interfere, interrupt, subvert this century old process, in this moment, in this, our present, which for the soot is at once both already a past to come and a barely arrived future?

From Glasgow outward, this newspaper we hope will drift, like a seed for a raindrop to hold on to. Its sooty words tell us about Glasgow's deep and quotidian connection to Caribbean sugar; the parading of conquered frontiers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show; the palpable violence enacted still on the city's streets today; Glasgow, the administrative and logistical centre of the British Empire, was a prototype for algorithmic governance rising today.

Feel the sticky chew of chewy confectionery locking our mouth shut, colonialism by another name!

When we listen tenderly to these texts, we also learn that underneath this violence, or always beyond and in spite of it, there was a re-

sponse, a refusal and continuance. As words as much as music and as dance, teasing imagination with echoes of past and future possibilities, the refusal to total violence recalled existence otherwise. Echoes that many times are felt, as if in a return of soot to magma, as the flames lit another revolt against another deployment of the total violence that keeps the sovereign's supremacy as/in whiteness.

II.

The Doppler effect or the redshift of stars tells us that the universe is expanding, that is, more than infinite, that it is also uncontainable and hence not a container at all. Uncontainable and uncontained, the universe extends into blackness, into that range of the spectrum where it is impossible to distinguish between high and low frequencies, because they are stretching beyond the reach of our measuring tools which are contingent upon time.

When an object moves away from us, the waves it emits (whether as light or sound) appear pitched down, as they stretch out in space, increasing distance between peaks (low frequencies), this translates into a lower range in the electromagnetic spectrum. What may have once appeared from Earth as a star, as bright as a thousand suns, now in the far away regions of the universe, comes to us as a red dot barely distinguishable in the pitchblack sky.

That red dot expanding outwards, along with everything else, this red light, in which everything around Earth is eventually shifting. That red light – blacklight if you think about it – is also the only type of light that enters into the human body through skin diffusing through protein crystals. As stars appear to move away from us, their pitched-down light enters our flesh. Inside the body, any body (human and nonhuman, living and nonliving bodies), just as at the far side, the outer edge of the expanding universe, all glows red.

The blue note, this genome of Delta blues is equally made of bending, pliable pitches – it synthesises the Doppler effect! And explodes the classical lineage of tightly fixed notes, the ordered ivory-clad harmony regime. Almost by accident or at least by intuition, the blue note did two further intersected, cosmological things, which we might call on, as sanctuary, especially in this moment, to help us breathe, there, where one can breathe infinitely.

Pitch bending, pitchblack, the blue note creates a “pitch space,” a refuge – think of a guitar string being bent up or down! This pushes or pulls a note from a singular point into a space of semitonal potential, a blurring or in/distinction, one note becoming many together. This creates microtonal choice, endless variations in how to move through a common melody, like a common river or even just like the commons, no melody is owned nor ever played quite the same. Put differently by pushing and pulling a note into a “pitch space” the blues creates a speculative sanctuary, a fugitive space to dance in, a fleeting moment of sonic re/composition for those whose extracted soil and labour constitutes the flesh and blood of global capital.

Pitchblack, pitch bending, the blue note, redshift all are a certain Music. All were discovered around the same time in the 19th Century, all expressing existence as deep implicancy. Said differently, the blue note feels, expresses and embodies the universe as it expands – exceeding the time and space of sovereignty. How? Listen closely, tenderly.

Feel it, embody the infinite. Red dot. Black. Bending. Pitch: corpus infinitum!

III.

Soot breath, then, is a line-break of a sung song, a pause in all spoken out-loud carbon-black-written words; as such, soot is a material trace, much like the echo. Just as the echo makes the sounding out of shelter possible, a fugitive place to be lived in, soot makes the sounding out of sense tangible, a fugitive place to think with. None of this quartet can stand alone, rather the breath, the echo, the shelter and the word are deeply, as in infinitely, implicated in each other. Just as a grain of soot crosses and constitutes space and time, everywhere, anywhere, from one edge to the other, each speck of carbon redshifting, all and at once, infinitely.

ARJUNA NEUMAN & DENISE FERREIRA DA SILVA

THE WONDERFUL
OLD-NEW WORLD



FRANCIS MCKEE

Who would have thought that dancing could make such trouble?¹
– Short Bull

On 1st January 1889 Wovoka had a dream during an eclipse of the sun. In this dream, the white settlers disappeared from the continent, the buffalo returned to the prairies and the land was restored to all the Indian peoples. When he described his vision he said that it would be made real through a new ritual; a dance ceremony that became known as the Ghost Dance.

The dancers would form a circle and dance until exhaustion, later recounting their visions to each other. It was rumoured to be the basis for a new religion and so, in March 1890, a small delegation of the Lakota tribe made a 1,500-mile journey to Nevada, where they met with Wovoka. Short Bull, who led the delegation, left several accounts of their journey. Once in Nevada they experienced the Ghost Dance for themselves, though Short Bull admitted that at first the ecstatic impact of the ritual did not touch him:

And that man who was said to be holy who had spoken to us stood there in the middle, and he told of his vision, and when he finished they danced. And I did not understand how it was done so even though I participated in some of the dances I was not overcome, but for some of them it was different, and they lost their senses and fell into a faint.²

Gradually, Short Bull became immersed in the ritual, and he would go on to be one of the most influential proponents of the Ghost Dance:

And from there we returned to Rosebud, and at once we danced. And those who longed for their relatives and danced in earnest fainted. And then when I was first about to be overcome, suddenly something flashed in my face a bright light that turned blue. And then I really felt that I was going to vomit and so I was frightened and lost consciousness. And it seemed that I was brought down in a land of green grass and I set out walking and I went up a big hill and stood on the top.

Then beyond there was a big village of only tipis and so I went there. Then a horseback rider came from there, galloping fast, and reached me. Then it was my father as a very handsome young man, and speaking, he said to me: "Alas! I see you, beloved son, but you smell bad, so go back home, and when you get there, wash yourself and come back! So you will go among the lodges and there we will see you," he said.³

Short Bull and the delegation returned to Dakota and began to spread their knowledge of this new phenomenon. The white authorities were immediately worried. Their agents had quickly lost authority and their police were being ignored as the Lakota turned back to the more traditional authority of their chiefs and medicine men. The Ghost Dance was a dangerous 'messiah craze' and, worse, was perceived to be a 'war dance'.

The delegation were warned, on their return, not to speak of the Ghost Dance; rations were withheld from the Lakota; and the military were brought into the South Dakota reservations. Faced with this hostility, the Lakota decided to continue with their new rituals – innovating within them in their own way. Calico shirts, for instance, were introduced for all the participants; Ghost Shirts that might offer protection to the dancers under the eyes of the authorities. But as the shirts were said to protect the Lakota against enemy bullets, they were interpreted by the cavalry as armour for attack. Meanwhile, the US army was instituting a control regime in the area. On 15th December 1890, the great chief Sitting Bull was dragged from his home by soldiers and shot dead in the ensuing melee.

Over the coming weeks, the US army started to corral the Ghost Dancers, eventually moving them towards Wounded Knee Creek, where they attempted to disarm them. On 29th December 1890, events spiralled out of control as not all of the Lakota would surrender their weapons – fearing the consequences. The 7th Cavalry then drove everyone in the camp into a ravine and, surrounding them, fired indiscriminately, killing between 250 and 300 people – half of them women and children.

Black Elk, a holy man of the Oglala Sioux, was nearby in Pine Ridge – planning to join the beleaguered Ghost Dancers. His account of the Wounded Knee Massacre remains haunting and difficult to read. He first described seeing the cavalry massing in Pine Ridge and sensing trouble to come:

That evening before it happened, I went in to Pine Ridge ... and while I was there soldiers started for where the Big Foots were. These made about five hundred soldiers that were there next morning. When I saw them starting I felt that something terrible was going to happen. That night I could hardly sleep at all. I walked around most of the night.⁴

On the morning of 29th December his fears were confirmed:

In the morning I went out after my horses, and while I was out I heard shooting off toward the east, and I knew from the sound it must be wagon guns going off. The sounds went right through my body, and I felt that something terrible would happen. ...

We stopped on the ridge not far from the head of the dry gulch. Wagon guns were still going off over there on the little hill, and they were going off again where they hit along the gulch. There was much shooting down yonder, and there were many cries, and we could see cavalrymen scattered over the hills ahead of us. Cavalrymen were riding along the gulch and shooting into it, where the women and children were running away and trying to hide in the gullies and the stunted pines. ...

By now many other Lakotas, who had heard the shooting, were coming up from Pine Ridge, and we all charged on the soldiers.

¹ Curtis, N. (1987) *The Indians' Book: Authentic Native American Legends, Lore & Music* (1907). Reprint. New York: Bonanza Books, p. 45.

² Maddra, S. A. (2006) Appendix 5: 'The Ghost Dance As Told by Short Bull (1915)', *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, p. 212.

³ Maddra, *Hostiles?*

⁴ Elk, B; Neihardt, J. G.; and DeMallie, R. J. (2008) *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux*. New York: Suny Press, p.207.

They ran eastward toward where the trouble began. We followed down along the dry gulch, and what we saw was terrible. Dead and wounded women and children and little babies were scattered all along there where they had been trying to run away. The soldiers had followed along the gulch, as they ran, and murdered them in there. Sometimes they were in heaps because they had huddled together, and some were scattered all along. Sometimes bunches of them had been killed and torn to pieces where the wagon guns hit them. I saw a little baby trying to suck its mother, but she was bloody and dead. ...

Men and women and children were heaped and scattered all over the flat at the bottom of the little hill where the soldiers had their wagon guns, and westward up the dry gulch all the way to the high ridge, the dead women and children and babies were scattered.⁵

Later, he talked with other surviving Sioux leaders and warriors but they decided to surrender rather than continue to fight through a bitter winter that would also take its toll on their families. Turning once again to Wounded Knee he said:

And so it was all over.

I did not know then how much was ended. When I look back now from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people's dream died there. It was a beautiful dream.

And I, to whom so great a vision was given in my youth,—you see me now a pitiful old man who has done nothing, for the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.⁶

The surviving advocates of the Ghost Dance were imprisoned at Fort Sheridan under the orders of General Nelson A. Miles. Unusually, they were given considerable leeway there and when William Cody (better known as Buffalo Bill) turned up and requested permission to take the prisoners to Europe as part of his Wild West show, General Miles agreed. He said that it would keep the Lakota occupied, lessen the expense of imprisoning them, and 'be an educational measure, as it would teach them as no other lesson could do, the power and numerical strength of the white race, and the benefits and advantages of civilisation'.⁷ The Lakota agreed to sign up and Cody took the 23 controversial Ghost Dancers, plus an additional 35 men and women from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations. Men would be paid \$25 a month, women \$10 per month and the leaders would receive between \$30 and \$60 each month.

The troupe sailed from Philadelphia to Antwerp in early April 1891 and toured through Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. In June,

they sailed to Grimsby and embarked on a tour of the United Kingdom, starting in Leeds. The tour focused on the larger cities located outside London across England, Wales and Scotland. Audiences knew of the recent events in Wounded Knee and the Lakota prisoners from Fort Sheridan were both notorious and famous as warriors. The Ghost Dance, too, had been widely reported and it was a central focus of the Buffalo Bill advertisements – although the dance was not performed as part of the shows. Instead, the performance was themed around various elements of 'Epochs of American History'.

From the beginning, the Lakota inhabited a strange, liminal zone. They were part of a parade that passed through each city to advertise the Buffalo Bill event and they played to large crowds across Britain (nearly 20,000 in Nottingham). They were the subject of constant fascination in the press: journalists noted how feminine they looked with their long, plaited hair but also how determined they appeared, referring to 'the dogged and unconquerable courage with which they have met their foes'.⁸ To alleviate boredom, the Lakota were taken on many trips that gave them broad insights into the infrastructure of Victorian Britain. In Birmingham, they toured the factories and were particularly fascinated with a giant steam hammer they encountered there, and with the city's Gun Quarter, which produced some of the most advanced weapons of the day. In Portsmouth, they were taken around the dockyard, and in Sheffield they visited Rodgers & Sons steel works.

Commenting on the impact of the Lakota working and travelling widely in Cody's show, Vine Deloria Jr., the Native American activist and author, concluded:

As a transitional educational device wherein Indians were able to observe ... [white] society and draw their own conclusions, the Wild West was worth more than every school built by the government on any of the reservations. Unlike the government programs, the Wild West treated the Indians as mature adults capable of making intelligent decisions and of contributing to an important enterprise. Knowledge of white society gained in the tours with Cody stood many of the Indians in good stead in later years, and without this knowledge, the government's exploitation of the Sioux during the period before the First World War might have been even more harsh.⁹

Certainly, as the Wild West show headed north to Scotland, where it would spend the winter, General Miles's notion that the tour would impress on the Ghost Dance leaders 'the power and numerical strength of the white race' was being realised.

On reaching Glasgow, the whole troupe camped in Dennistoun and their show was staged in the East End Exhibition Buildings, housing audiences of up to 7,000 people. The East End at this point might be considered the centre of industrialisation. James Watt had invented the steam engine there; and by 1891, factories in the area produced train engines, weapons, textiles, steel for the Clyde shipyards – everything that the British Empire would need to build a global infra-

⁵ Elk, Neihardt and DeMallie, *Black Elk Speaks*.

⁶ Elk, Neihardt and DeMallie, *Black Elk Speaks*. In *Our History is the Future*, Nick Estes (historian and co-founder of The Red Nation, an Indigenous resistance organisation) argues that John Neihardt added this gloss on events, attributing it to Black Elk: 'After the Seventh Cavalry Regiment massacred more than 300 Lakota Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee in 1890, the Ghost Dance and Black Elk's vision were thought to be dead or dying, like Native people. Neihardt contributed to this notion by fabricating the most-quoted lines in *Black Elk Speaks*. "A people's dream died there," mourned Black Elk in this made-up version, seeing the carnage at Wounded Knee and his relatives' bodies strewn across the bloody snow. The nation's hoop is broken and scattered. But Black Elk never believed that, and he knew that collective visions for liberation didn't die at Wound Knee. "The tree that was to bloom just faded away," he said reflecting on the massacre forty years later, "but the roots will stay alive, and we are here to make that tree bloom."' "

⁷ Maddra, *Hostiles?*, p. 96.

⁸ 'The Wild West in Sheffield – A Visit to the Camp', *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 10 August 1891, p. 5.

⁹ Deloria Jr., V. (1981) 'The Indians', in *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*. New York: The Brooklyn Museum, p. 51.

structure. Immigrants had filled the East End throughout the 19th century, attracted by the factory work, and were living in hard, slum conditions, polluted by the industries that employed them. If the Lakota were to learn about capitalism and how it had reached across the ocean to invade and decimate their culture, then Glasgow's East End was the ultimate lesson. They were living in the belly of the beast; close enough to Beardmore's Parkhead Forge to feel the tremors of the Goliath steam hammer smashing steel into slabs for rolling. Accounts from the time said the giant hammer 'made the whole district around Parkhead quiver as in an earthquake'.¹⁰

The Wild West show performed *The Drama of Civilisation*, a series of tableaux in six episodes outlining how 'civility' had overcome the primeval conditions of the North American continent and brought order to the lands. The show was based around action and skills with sharpshooting (Annie Oakley was a star of the show), horsemanship and re-enacted battles of 'cowboys and Indians' in which the Lakota were regularly defeated. There was no display of the Ghost Dance, though the shows were often sold on the strength of audiences being able to watch many of the leaders of that movement. Beyond the shows themselves, people were encouraged to walk through the camp and look at the Lakota as they went about their daily lives.

Short Bull and the other Ghost Dancers were visited on a daily basis by ladies from the Medical Mission Training Home, with whom they discussed theology and spiritual matters. The Lakota were also free to wander through the city, and on two occasions in December 1891 they were feted at dinners in the city centre. They inhabited several worlds at once: 'hostiles' to some journalists, topical news to others; exotic representatives of the other, yet also inhabitants of the East End. Perhaps most disconcertingly, less than a year after the massacre of Wounded Knee, they were survivors of that event and a public attraction, playing the role of survivors and warriors in that history.

It is impossible to know exactly how they felt about the complexities of this situation. Their daily relationships were probably composed of encounters that were either direct and human, objectifying and racist, or a mixture of all of the above in different measures. Within the Wild West camp itself, there were tensions that suggest clues as to greater debates. In December 1891, George C. Crager, one of the interpreters for the prisoners, offered a collection of Lakota artefacts to the Kelvingrove Museum – including the gift of a Ghost Shirt, reputedly taken from one of the dead at Wounded Knee. The artefacts were sold to the museum, but it appears likely that the shirt was given freely in order to establish Crager as a donor. Ten days later, on New Year's Eve, one of the Lakota – Charging Thunder – got drunk in a Duke Street pub and when he returned to the camp he clubbed Crager during that evening's performance. When he appeared in court, he claimed his lemonade had been spiked with whisky and the whole affair was a freak accident. Despite that defence, he was sentenced to a month in Barlinnie Prison. It is only speculation, but the fact that it was Crager he attacked so soon after the donation of the Ghost Shirt could point to the tensions swirling among the Ghost Dancers exactly one year after the massacre at Wounded Knee.

The only sustained account of the Lakota experience in Europe is by Black Elk. He joined the Wild West show for its 1887–88 visit to Europe, the first of its kind, and he later recorded his memories of the journey in *Black Elk Speaks*, an oral autobiography transcribed and published in 1932. Describing the troupe's fraught journey across the Atlantic in a storm-tossed liner, he says:

They put us all on a very big fire-boat, so big that when I first saw, I could hardly believe it; and when it sent forth a voice, I was frightened. There were other big fire-boats sending voices, and little ones too.

Afterwhile I could see nothing but water, water, water, and we did not seem to be going anywhere, just up and down

When finally on firm ground again, the Lakota and the rest of the Wild West show were whisked to London, where they were acclaimed as a sensation. Not only did they have to acclimatise to the capital of the British Empire, but very soon they were meeting its leader, Queen Victoria, in person:

One day we were told that Majesty was coming. I did not know what that was at first, but I learned afterward. It was Grandmother England (Queen Victoria), who owned Grandmother's Land where we lived awhile after the Wasichus [white people] murdered Crazy Horse.

She came to the show in a big shining wagon, and there were soldiers on both sides of her, and many other shining wagons came too. That day other people could not come to the show—just Grandmother England and some people who came with her... We stood right in front of Grandmother England. She was little but fat and we liked her, because she was good to us.

However, this period in London was the exception, noted Black Elk: 'that was a happy time; but it was all over. We went to Manchester and had a show there for several moons.' Manchester soured the experience and brought on homesickness, leading to Black Elk's sudden departure from the show and his subsequent travels in Paris and Germany before returning to Pine Ridge in Dakota.

The Wild West show was a gruelling experience in many ways. Beyond the culture shock of the situation there was also the physical toll. Living conditions in general seemed good and there are many accounts of health checks on the temporary accommodations to monitor disease and dampness. Yet this could not prevent the impact of the weather on performers who were already weakened by long years of war. Long Wolf, an older member of the group, was admitted to the West London Hospital due to 'old age, and partly to trouble caused by numerous old wounds received in battle'.¹¹ After a short illness, he died. A report in the *Evening News and Post* from 15th June 1892 cites a Dr Coffin's account of Long Wolf's body being 'a complete mass of gunshot wounds and sabre cuts'. This was not the only fatality. Eagle Star, aged 25, died from complications after

¹⁰ Gray, A. (1989) *A History of Scotland*, Book 5, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 9

¹¹ 'A Red Indian Warrior Buried in London', *Daily Graphic* (London), 14 June 1892.

¹² In *God's Red Son*, pp. 368–70, Louis S. Warren noted that, 'In the aftermath of the massacre, as the prophecy failed to come to fulfillment in the spring of 1891, there was disappointment and disaffection among some believers. But as a "modern religion for a modern era, the Ghost Dance still had life. It revived at Standing Rock, the Lakota Sitting Bull's home, among Yankton Lakotas in 1897. From there it traveled to Saskatchewan, Canada, where it proved most enduring among Santee Sioux refugees who had fled across the border after the Dakota Uprising of 1862 ... Secret Ghost Dances occurred at Pine Ridge in 1909, as the tribe confronted yet more federal demands to give up land ... Wovoka himself is said to have made repeated visits to Oklahoma beginning in 1906; perhaps he helped inspire Southern Arapahos, who continued to host large Ghost Dances well into the twentieth century ... The Caddo devotees who brought the new teachings from Nevada in 1891 established a tradition of Ghost Dancing that endured in some form for a century. It became a regular weekend ritual, and by the 1920s (when aged and venerated emissaries to Wovoka still directed the ceremony) it was the central community gathering around which other social and political events—such as tribal council meetings—were planned. As late as the 1960s, some continued to practice it.'

¹³ Cunningham, T. E. (2016) *Scottish National Buffalo Bill Archive*. Available at: <http://www.snbbba.co.uk/bb.html> (Accessed 14 March 2020).

¹⁴ *The Evening Times* (Glasgow), 16 January 1892.

¹⁵ Deer, L. and Erdoes, R. (1994) *Lame Deer, Seeker of Visions*. New York: Simon and Schuster, p. 240.

dislocating his foot during a display of horsemanship; while White Star, only 20 months old, died during a parade in the show's arena.

Tantalising hints exist of what life must have been like for the Lakota in the Wild West show. There was an account in the *Glasgow Evening News* about one performer who was courting a local shop assistant with difficulty as his presence always drew a crowd of onlookers. The Lakota interpreter John Shangrau married Lillie Orr, the daughter of a Liverpool ship captain, in the County Buildings in Wilson Street. Charging Thunder, who had been sentenced to Barlinnie Prison, returned to the Wild West show in 1903 and stayed on in Salford, married a horse trainer in the troupe and changed his name to George Edward Williams. He then worked as an elephant keeper in Manchester Zoo for several years. In 2007, a sepia cabinet-card photograph of Kicking Bear appeared in an American auction. The card identifies the photographic studio as Dennistoun Photo Co., 40 Bellgrove St, Glasgow, which would have been located close to the show ground.

The record of these facts and events leaves much to speculate on. All communication with members of the Lakota was mediated by interpreters and generally constructed for public consumption – marketing the Wild West show. The show returned to Britain for several more tours in 1902, 1903 and 1904. In 1905 and 1906 it travelled through Europe, though with diminishing financial returns. The show also travelled more extensively in Scotland in 1904, including successful visits to Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth and Forfar. By this point, the 'West' had receded further into history and the realm of memory. The tensions and background of the 1891–92 tour, still raw from the massacre at Wounded Knee, were not as evident for the more diluted pool of performers or for the paying audience.

It is clear, though, that the Ghost Dance remained vital to Short Bull, Kicking Bear and their followers. In 1902, Kicking Bear revisited Wovoka; and he and Short Bull continued to teach the Ghost Dance after this meeting. While the dance was no longer conducted in public, it survived in private and was reported to have been seen as late as the 1960s.¹²

In the final weeks of the Lakota's time in Glasgow in 1892, the future of the Ghost Dance may not have seemed so certain. In mid-January, Buffalo Bill announced new additions to the troupe: 'Stupendous Additional Attractions' described as 'Thirty Shulis African Savages, Amazons and Warriors, from Stanley's Darkest Africa... also Lockhart's Herd of Burmese Elephants'.¹³

This was now a mere circus, with any pretence of historical depiction reduced to absurdity. Yet while newspapers of the time saw it as an odd match, Kicking Bear, on meeting the African performers, immediately found common ground with them and offered them this advice: 'My heart is glad to see you today, and I shake your hand. Long ago, we had plenty of land, but civilization has driven us from it. Make better treaties, and see they are kept'.¹⁴ Behind his words are faint echoes of the visions he and Short Bull described as having when they first met Wovoka:

*The earth would roll up like a carpet with all the white man's ugly things – the stinking new animals, sheep and pigs, the fences, the telegraph poles, the mines and factories. Underneath would be the wonderful old-new world as it had been before the white fat-takers came.*¹⁵

The final performances in Scotland with the Lakota were one last surreal marriage of cultures. The remaining Lakota, a cowboy band and the Alberger Troupe of Tyrolean Vocalists toured Greenock, Coatbridge, Hamilton, Govan and Paisley. Information is scant but perhaps in this motley configuration they were freed from the battle scenes. The performances were in town halls and seemed to focus on music; while the Lakota, it is said, performed the Ghost Dance.

Note: I have drawn extensively on the sources below; adding no new research, simply trying to extract a simple narrative of the Lakota Ghost Dancers in Glasgow. In all of the following sources there is a much more detailed and nuanced set of interpretations of the events between 1890 and 1892.

Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux, The Premier Edition* (2008). New York: Suny Press.

Tom E. Cunningham, *Scottish National Buffalo Bill Archive* (2016). Available at: <http://www.snbbba.co.uk/bb.html> (Accessed: 14 March 2020).

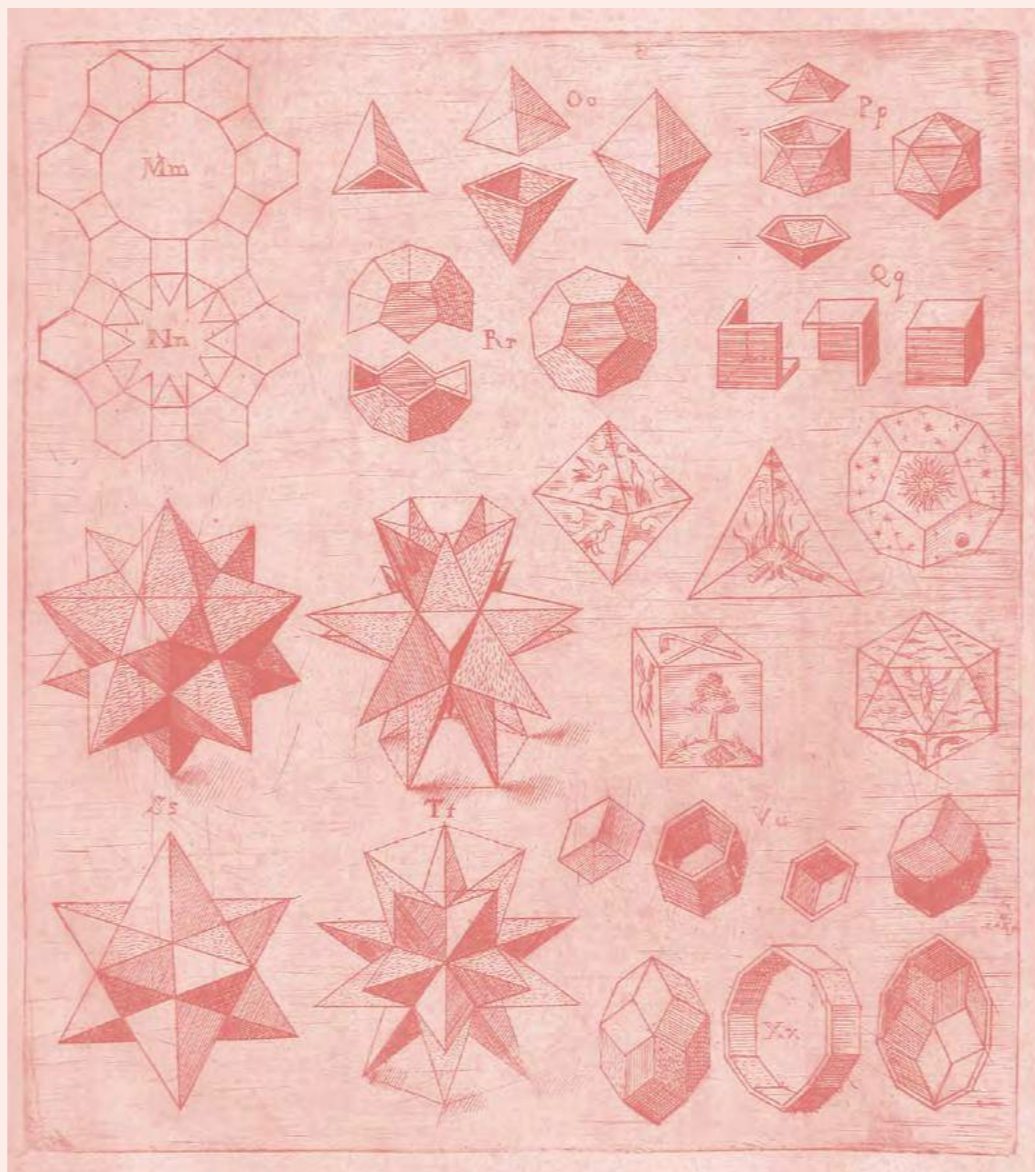
Nick Estes, *Our History is the Future* (2019). London: Verso.

Sam A Maddra, *Hostiles? The Lakota Ghost Dance and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (2006). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

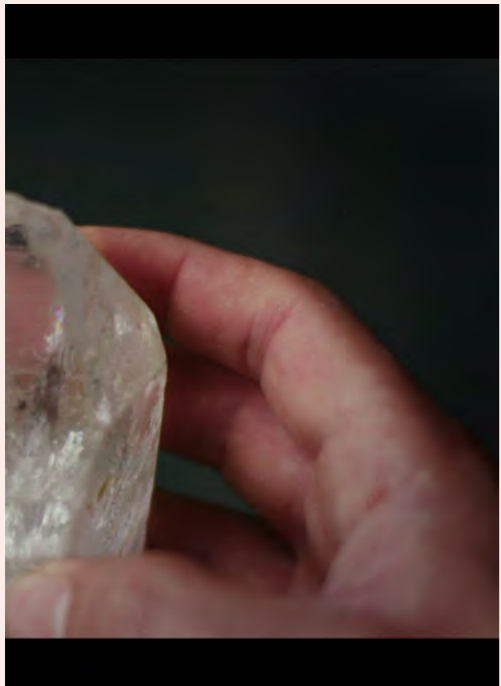
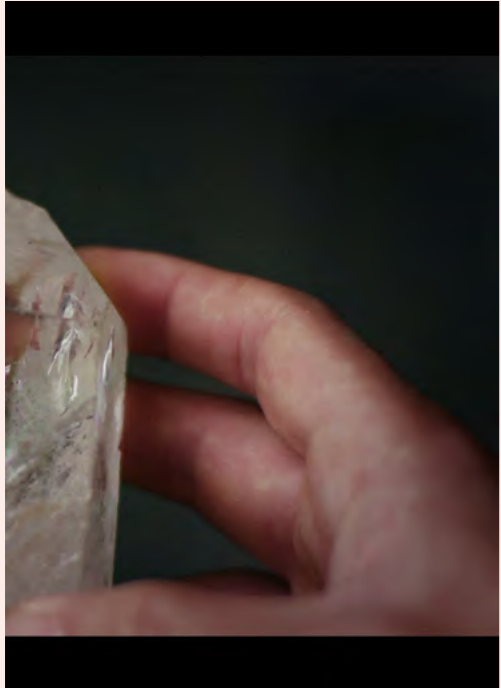
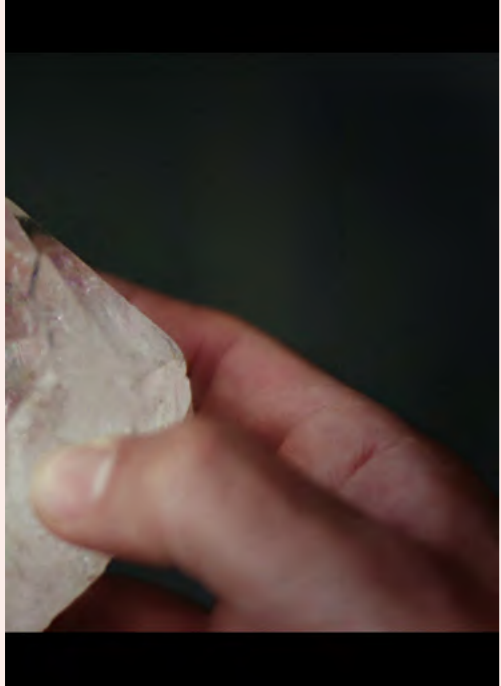
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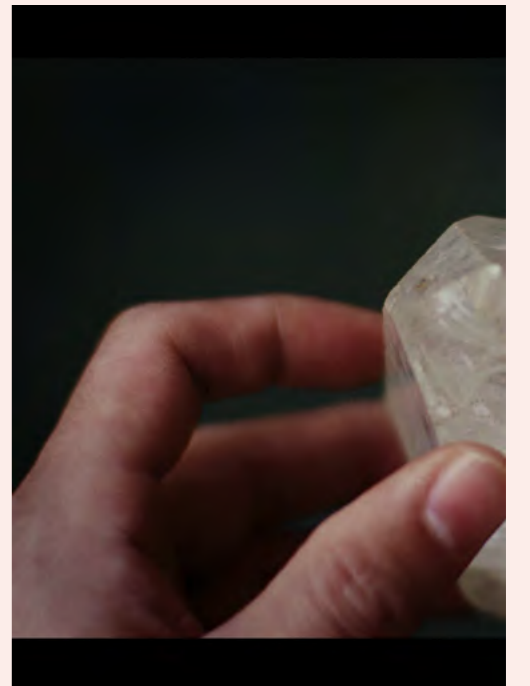
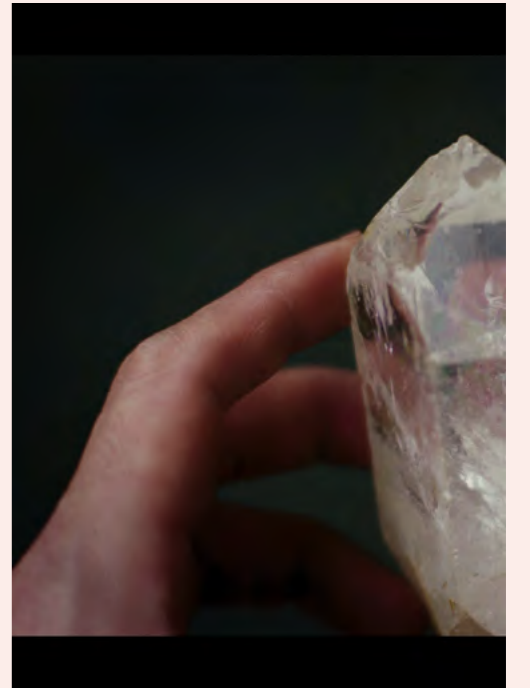
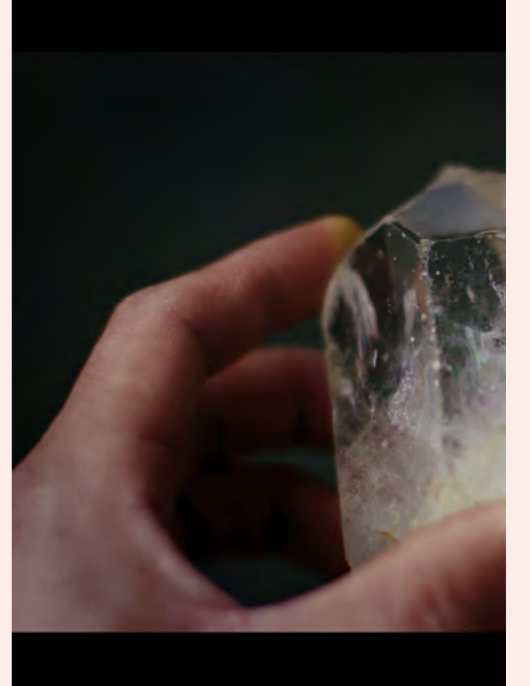
Louis S. Warren, *God's Red Son: The Ghost Dance Religion and the Making of Modern America* (2017). New York: Basic Books.



Assignment to the elements in Kepler's
Mysterium Cosmographicum



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UN/BREAKING KIN: SOCIAL NETWORKS
AND TECHNOSOCIAL ENTANGLEMENTS

TIZIANA TERRANOVA

As global politics seems to be veering off towards a new, violent territorialisation – with patriarchal ethno-nationalisms rising to deny the increasing evidence of catastrophic climate change, while new technologies of separation develop to sort populations apart and control their movement, and with algorithmic automation becoming the means of reconfiguring the systematic production of accumulation and dispossession – what image of the social or society might support a different sense of planetary belonging beyond separability and towards entanglement?¹

Michel Foucault and scholars working in his wake have postulated that the social and society can be considered as temporary constructions; transactional realities emerging with the rise of modernity.² The social-as-modern fact implies technologies of measurement, such as those developed by the social sciences (statistics) but also ideas of separability – which makes the social coincide, as Gilles Deleuze put it, with ‘specific sectors ... specific institutions and an entire body of qualified personnel’.³ Society, on the other hand, which will eventually coincide with the nation, is described by Foucault as developing out of the notion of ‘civil society’, as it is specifically formulated by thinkers concerned with the necessity to specify the nature of a liberal art of government – the term ‘society’ thus providing a solution to ensure the latter would not become split between the space regulated by law and that carved by the market.⁴ At the same time, as Foucault put it in his reading of Adam Ferguson’s *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), ‘[c]ivil society does not coincide with humanity in general’: it is not humanitarian, but communitarian: in as much as ‘it exists in the form of ensembles at the same or different levels which bring individuals together in a number of units’, it leads the individual to enlist ‘on the side of one tribe or community’.⁵ It is out of such notions of the social and society that the global also emerges – as Denise Ferreira da Silva put it, as ‘an ontoepistemological context’ instituted by the racial.⁶ Such notions of the social, society and the global have been reinforced but also challenged and reconfigured by the new hegemonic technical image of the social: the social network.

Embedded in computational platforms and digital communications infrastructures, the social-network diagram materialises a new sense of the reality of the social as scientific fact (based on network-analytical measures, not just statistical measures) and a sense of society as a specific set of affiliations; marking a space of belonging (‘echo-chambers’) and supplementing, even potentially displacing, modern mass media such as the press, radio and television as a cultural technology informing the production of ‘imagined communities’.⁷ As critical theorists have taken on the task of scrutinising such a new image of the social, they have mostly foregrounded the way it reduces society to a set of loosely connected individuals – at most identifying with homophilic bubbles of affinity in ways that intensify political polarisation in a post-truth cultural environment open to algorithmic manipulation, and ultimately enacting a new, deadly technoscientific colonisation of social life.⁸ And yet, when compared with modern notions of the social and society, the social network can also be thought of as proceeding from an image of the social that modulates

entanglement and separation; cybernetically exceeding the boundaries between humans and non-humans. Digital social networks weave together not just human beings but all kinds of beings, once they become associated with digital objects and connected through technologies such as the Internet of Things.

As the social-network diagram developed initially within the social sciences, specifically as a defining component of the minor sociological paradigm of Social Network Analysis, one could point out how it emerged from the attempt to envision that which in human and non-human social assemblages exceeded the logic of separability. Diagrams mapping social structures in ways that anticipate the social-network diagram can be even traced back to studies of eusociality (the study of social insects), as pointed out by historians of Social Network Analysis.⁹ But it is also worth noticing the relation between early attempts to measure and visualise the social as a network in the 1930s and 1940s, and the challenges to social control experienced in the government of spaces such as refugee camps, prisons and reformatory schools. Following Foucault’s analysis of the three technologies of power (the law, discipline and security), the social-network diagram seems to emerge in spaces where both the law and discipline fail to control a socius shaken by the violence of war and class and racial injustice, and yet capable of unexpected powers of re-formation and resistance.

One can consider, for example, Jacob Levi Moreno’s own account of the invention of ‘sociometry’; that is the ‘mathematical study of the psychological properties of populations’ in the early 20th century – a field that is often cited as the first modern emergence of the social-network diagram.¹⁰ As Moreno himself recounts, he developed the idea while working at the refugee camp of Mitterndorf, on the border between Italy and Austria; where thousands of Austrian citizens of Italian extraction, fleeing from their homes in Southern Tyrol before the oncoming Italian army, ‘were transplanted by the Austrian government’.¹¹ The camp was planned as a series of cottage-like buildings, each hosting several families – while at the head of each cottage was placed a ‘capo di baracca, a man who was responsible for the welfare of that group’ – with a shoe factory, employing thousands of refugees, set up to provide work and pay for the camp’s maintenance.¹² Like a real-life version of a SimCity computer game, the camp soon developed ‘a whole community life’ and a civic social infrastructure (‘hospitals, schools, church, department stores, shops, industry, social clubs, and newspapers’), but also ‘great unhappiness and friction among the population’, which happened in spite of ‘the establishment of all the outward signs of community life’.¹³

The discontent affecting the refugees living at the camp seemed to Moreno to originate from the violent deterritorialisation of war. The camp population had been transplanted in ways that had broken their constitutive relation with landscapes and their webs of relations with in/organic life (‘[w]hole villages of wine growers were transplanted into a suburban industrial district, mountaineers from Tyrol into a flat spot of country near Vienna’) while also being ‘thrown together unselected, unaccustomed to the environment, unadjusted

¹ Ferreira da Silva, D. (2016) ‘On Difference Without Separability’, 32nd Bienal de São Paulo, ‘Incerteza Viva’ (Living Uncertainty) catalogue.

² Poovey, M. (2002) ‘The Liberal Civil Subject and the Social in Eighteenth-Century British Moral Philosophy’, *Public Culture*, 14(3); and Rose, N. (1996) ‘The Death of the Social? Re-figuring the Territory of Government’, *Economy and Society*, 25(3).

³ Deleuze cited in Rose, ‘The Death of the Social?’ p. 329.

⁴ Foucault, M. (2010) *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France 1978-1979*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁵ Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, p. 302.

⁶ Ferreira da Silva, D. (2007) *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, p. 13.

⁷ Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.

⁸ Dean, J. (2013) ‘Society Doesn’t Exist’, *First Monday*, 18(3–4); and Lovink, G. (2012) ‘What is the Social in Social Media?’, *e-flux*, (40).

⁹ Freeman, L. C. (2004) *The Development of Social Network Analysis: A Study in the Sociology of Science*. Vancouver, BC Canada: Empirical Press.

¹⁰ Moreno, J. D. (2014) ‘Social Networking Didn’t Start at Harvard’, *Slate*. Available at <https://slate.com/technology/2014/10/j-l-moreno-a-psychologists-305-experiments-invented-social-networking.html> (Accessed: 4 May 2021).

¹¹ Moreno, J. L. (1978) *Who Shall Survive? Foundations of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy and Sociodrama*. Beacon, N.Y.: Beacon House Inc, p. xxxii.

¹² Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, p. xxxii.

¹³ Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, p. xxxii.

¹⁴ Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, p. xxxii.

¹⁵ Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

¹⁶ Freeman, L. C. (2000) ‘Visualizing Social Networks’, *Journal of Social Structure*, 1(1), pp. 1–15.

¹⁷ Freeman, ‘Visualizing Social Networks’, p. 10.

¹⁸ ‘New York Training School for Girls’, Wikipedia. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_Training_School_for_Girls (Accessed 4 May 2021).

¹⁹ Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, p. 219.

²⁰ Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, pp. 219–222.

²¹ Bernstein, N. (1996) ‘Ward of the State’, *The New York Times*. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/06/23/weekinreview/ward-of-the-state-the-gap-in-ella-fitzgeralds-life.html>. (Accessed: 4 May 2021).

²² Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, p. 219.

²³ Immarigeon, R. (2014) ‘The “Ungovernable” Ella Fitzgerald’, *Prison Public Memory Project: Working with Communities to Preserve the Past and Unlock the Future*. Available at: <https://www.prisonpublicmemory.org/blog/2014/the-ungovernable-ella-fitzgerald?rq=fitzgerald> (Accessed: 4 May 2021); and Hartman, S. (2019) *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

²⁴ Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.

²⁵ Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, p. 222.

²⁶ Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*.

²⁷ Bernstein, ‘Ward of the State’.

within themselves’.¹⁴ This violent un-earthing had unleashed a clash of forces informed by ‘criteria of nationality, of politics, of sex, of staff versus colonists’, which Moreno saw as the chief contributory sources of the flagrant maladjustments and disturbances’.¹⁵ The sociogenesis of camp life showed that the social could not be contained by disciplinary architecture, reduced to mere biological subsistence and reproduction, nor grasped by means of psychoanalysis’s focus on the individual and its ontogenesis. The social life of the camp constituted in the aspiring sociometrist’s eye an opaque ‘psychological geography’ that needed to be charted in order to renew the instrument of the plan.

It was in order to grasp these subtle social topologies that, after moving to the United States in the 1930s, Moreno would go on to invent his ‘sociograms’: points-and-lines graphical representations of the psychosocial structures of groups, developed together with psychologist Helen Jennings, which are still considered the first examples of ‘social network diagrams’.¹⁶ The social network diagram was thus devised as a component of ‘medical sociology’ that could provide a survey of ‘society from within’, showing the ‘inner unfoldment’ of the ‘channels and structures as erected by man’, such as ‘families, schools, factories,’ etc.¹⁷

Moreno’s most famous studies, the ones that constitute a significant precedent in the deployment of the social network diagram, were carried out at the behest of the Committee on Prison and Prison Labor in the early to mid 1930s. On behalf of the committee, and as part of the larger movement of social reform of penitentiary life active around that time, he would study the ‘model prison’ of Sing Sing, and especially the New York Training School for Girls in Hudson (1932–1938): a reformatory school for girls aged between 12 and 16, which had been struck by a ‘pandemic’ of fugitivity in 1932, with 14 girls running away within two weeks – 30 times more than the average number.¹⁸

Inspired by the precedents of sciences such as biogenetics and psychology, which started with singular case studies (breeding pigeons for Charles Darwin; individual patients for Sigmund Freud), Moreno thought of these studies as the chance to develop from a concrete and ‘careful study of *one* community ... a better understanding of the structure of *any* community’, and from ‘a unique, concrete sample of a population ... universal methods and techniques’.¹⁹ Invited by the school’s supreme superintendent, Frannie French Morse, to help contain the epidemic of fugitivity, Moreno figured himself as an ‘experimental sociologist’; entering the reformatory with the intent ‘to prepare a social revolution’ by measuring the ‘psychological process comprising a whole community’.²⁰

Moreno’s study of the New York Training School for Girls clarifies some of the stakes in the development of the social network as a tool for the study, measurement and control of populations; conceived not just from the point of view of the statistical mass but as a supple multiplicity capable of performing its own segmentations. Founded in 1904, the school used the same place and building of the House

of Refuge for Women (‘the first state reformatory targeting unwed mothers’²¹) and its topology resembled that of the Mitterndorf camp: that is, a hybrid discipline/security space, artificial like the panopticon but without its rigid techniques of individualisation. Its model was that of the rural community as ‘ideal’ community space; comprising ‘sixteen housing cottages, chapel, school, hospital, industrial building, laundry, administration, building, farm’.²² The girls imprisoned in the school had been sent there by the courts from various parts of New York State, but mostly New York City, with motivations that included running away from home, being ‘morally impaired’, ‘incorrigible’, ‘wayward’, and in violation of ‘the lawful demands’ of their mothers or fathers.²³ The group studied most likely included the soon-to-be-world-famous jazz singer Ella Fitzgerald, sentenced in April 1933 at the age of 15 and sent to the reformatory for being ‘ungovernable’ and not obeying ‘the just and lawful commands of her mother’ (who was actually her aunt, since she was an orphan).²⁴

As Moreno put it, the organisation of the school had to compensate for the absence of what he described as ‘[t]he cell of the social organization in the community ... the natural family’.²⁵ As the refugees of Mitterndorf had been separated from their vineyards and mountains, the girls had been separated from their kin. As the ‘natural affinities’ of blood relations were severed, Moreno observed, a ‘social parent’ (the housemother) was substituted for the ‘natural parent’, and a ‘social child’ for the ‘natural child’. Separated from their siblings, they were placed into groups of girls who were unrelated to them and to each other.²⁶ They were also segregated according to race, a later report would add: the white and black girls assigned to different cottages – the two most dilapidated and crowded buildings being reserved for the black girls.²⁷

The reformatory school thus comprised, on the one side, a uni-sexed, bi-racial population of girls at a formative age; and on the other, the staff entrusted to supervise them.²⁸ Still, such overall social organisation was for Moreno only the ‘outer appearance’, which belied another aspect: ‘Although separately housed, there are attractions and repulsions between white and colored girls which gravely affect the social conduct in this community’.²⁹ He believed the ‘emotional currents’ radiating from the white and colored girls and vice versa, as well as those radiating ‘among the white population irrespective of their housing and other distinctions from one cottage to another’ and those ‘between officers and students and within the group of officers themselves’ had to be ‘ascertained in detail, their causes determined, and their effects estimated’.³⁰

It is in relation to this kind of problem that Moreno developed, together with Jennings, his ‘sociometric test’: a questionnaire that asked each girl to indicate which other girl they liked the best and which one they considered themselves friends with; thus constructing graphical diagrams of the girls’ friendship networks, which Moreno and Jennings intended to correlate with subsequent attempts at running away. In this way, he hoped to provide the school with the means ‘to isolate, prevent, or predict disturbances’ in ways that contemporary computational platforms have automated.³¹ By bring-

ing into visibility ‘the informal, invisible, social networks of communication’ shaped by the psychological currents of attraction, repulsion and indifference running between the girls, he also strove to foreclose what was perceived as the dangers of inter-racial queer love while stemming the rising tide of fugitivity.³²

At the end of each exercise, the sociometrists compared the actual composition of cottages with the composition desired by its members: ‘whom they would like to have in and whom out of the cottages’.³³ This exercise yielded an unexpected surplus of knowledge as the psychosocial field turned out to be populated by geometrical forms that revealed hidden hierarchies, much as today’s social media algorithms can visualise centralities, closeness and other relations between nodes. What was discovered was that there are girls who, ‘like stars’, capture most of the friendship choices; others who form mutual pairs, ‘sometimes linked into long mutual chains or into triangles, squares, circles’; and then a number of unchosen children: ‘Suddenly what has seemed blank or impenetrable opens up a great vista’.³⁴ Although comparable to the discovery by marketers of a whole supple social fabric of relations beneath the large aggregates of the ‘audience’ – for instance performed by technologies such as Google AdSense – here, however, the vista made it possible to grasp some of the ways in which the kin-making powers of the girls imprisoned at the New York Training School for Girls exceeded and overrode their forced assignment to different barracks; overriding the colour line and creating the conditions by which they could form transversal bonds that acted as vectors of escape. It was possibly by riding on one of these vectors that, in spite of the sociometrists’ effort, the 15-year-old Fitzgerald managed to escape in September 1933, returning ‘in a disheveled and homeless state, to New York City in late 1933 or early 1934’ where she would go on to sing on the stage of the famous Apollo on 125th Street.³⁵

As the social network diagram moved from camp (Mitterndorf) to campus (Harvard), the violent acts of transplantation and kin breaking carried out by war and racial and class injustice have become the much more mundane and ordinary acts of abstracting and recording one’s friends and kin, as digital objects on a computational platform, allowing for the automation of Moreno’s socio-psychological geographies in machine-readable patterns, and the immediate enactment of the accommodation of kin-making powers into digital models. As old patterns of belonging are shaken and new techniques of measurement put at the service of profit and control, rather than emancipation, it’s not surprising that this development should cause widespread feelings of fragmentation and disorientation. However, by abstracting from these immanent powers of connection and bonding unleashed by deterritorialisation, the social network diagram also seems to push the modern social towards a new threshold; one that might be described as a technosocial condition of difference-without-separability, performing an entangled planetarisation where everything seems to affect everything else.

³² Bernstein, ‘Ward of the State’, p. 219.

³³ Bernstein, ‘Ward of the State’, p. 220.

³⁴ Bernstein, ‘Ward of the State’.

³⁵ Bernstein, ‘Ward of the State’, p. lvi.

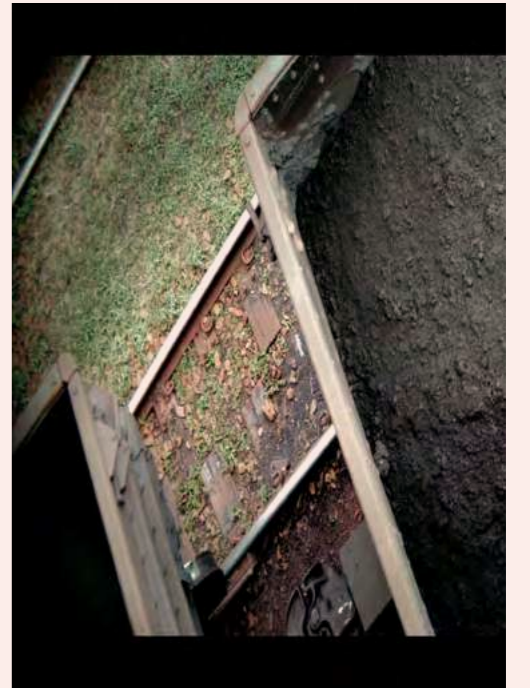
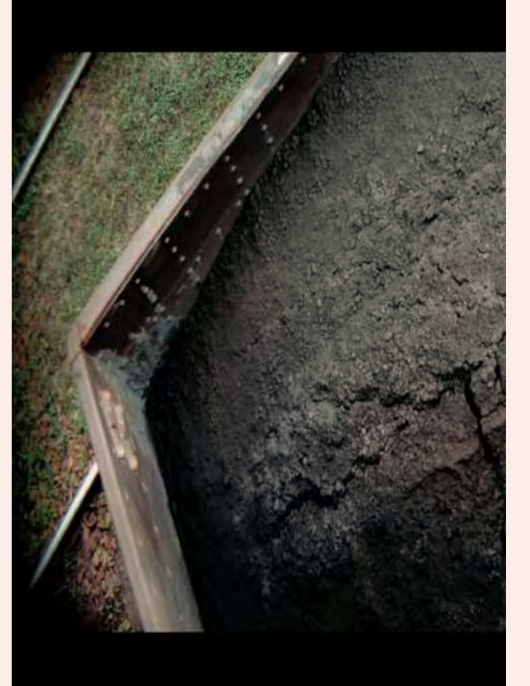
³² Harney, S., & Moten, F. (2013). *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study*. Wivenhoe; New York; Port Watson: Minor Composition.

³³ Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.

³⁴ Harney and Moten, *The Undercommons*.



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GLIMPSES



SABRINA HENRY

Glimpses of an image

Glimpses of an image of ourselves now, from glints of our past¹
– ‘Glimpses’, Sarah Webster Fabio

Do you remember the hot-pink chew bar that came in a thin plastic wrapping? You had to gently sliver it back to reveal the treat? Inevitably the wrapper always got a bit stuck, but you'd persevere. And when it was finally free, you'd maybe do a quick bite check; because if it was a cold day, the bar would be brittle and you didn't want to crack a tooth; but on a warm day it was soft and possible to fold into your mouth, back and forth on itself, all the while wondering if this time you'd manage to fit it all in without spit dribbling down your chin. Inside, there were the bits of sherbert – all natural apparently. Super fizz. Then a long, drawling chew. Really slowly. Sticky goo clamping your teeth together. Lips slapping and sweetness swallowed. Apparently the Wham bar is the best thing to give someone you want to stop talking.

Standing at the center of a cane field is otherworldly. Cane engulfs and envelopes – to the right and left there is only impenetrable, towering cane. Cane grows tall, reaching heights of 19 feet, or 6 meters. It is incredibly dense, literally impassable unless it is burned or cut. It casts its own world of darkness, even on the brightest day. Planted across well-watered valleys, each morning moisture comes down off surrounding hills as a heavy mist. An ethereal soft grey, it is thick with water droplets. It is not the cold grey of fog, for it is pierced through with the rosy pinks of a rising tropical sun. The smell of cane is different in the early morning. The layer of moisture traps a soft aroma under its veil. It is not the heady saccharine perfume that cane emits in the midday heat, but a subtly sweet, green fragrance intermixed with the smell of moist earth.²

The Wham bar was invented in the 1980s in McCowan's, a small sweet factory just outside of Glasgow. At the peak of its popularity, 30 million bars were reportedly being sold each year.

what do You remember?
my body told Me that this land is built on sugar and Bones.
how do We excavate the Dreams which were laid to rest in these walls?³

By the late 17th century, the sugar trade in Glasgow was thriving. Sugar had been imported through Port Glasgow since the early 1600s and Nevis was one of the first islands in the Caribbean to become dominated by a monoculture of sugar production. After spending more than 10 years on Nevis as a plantation overseer, Colonel William McDowall moved to its sister island St Kitts and worked as the plantation manager for several estates of absentee planters.

Over the next 20 years, McDowall established plantations of more than 800 acres: four times more than the maximum amount of land allocated to any individual on the six-mile-wide island. He was by no means the only plantocracy ‘success story’ of Glasgow, but as historian Stuart M. Nisbet observed, McDowall – alongside Major James

Milliken – was one of the most important figures in the early 18th Century development of the West of Scotland.⁴

For over a century, Glasgow merchants used the wealth that was extracted from the colonies by plantation owners and overseers of a slave-labour workforce – as well as their power and influence as experts and consultants in a fast-growing plantation economy – to create an infrastructure that supported their trade interests. Nisbet noted, ‘Three generations of [their] families came to dominate 18th century Glasgow and the West of Scotland as merchants, patrons of parishes, MPs, sheriffs and rectors of Glasgow University.’⁵ Through plantocracy in the Caribbean, they achieved their aspirations of gentility in Scotland, creating a network of kinship alliances, through marriage and business interests, across the United Kingdom and the Leeward Island colonies. This formed the financial basis of the city’s administrative growth.

In less than a century, these Scottish merchants transformed Glasgow from a regional market town to an international port city.⁶ A year after the death of McDowall, the Ship Bank was formed; the first of many firms that were to provide venture capital to traders in the city. It was founded by members of several wealthy Glasgow merchant families, including William McDowall II (son of Colonel McDowall), Andrew Buchanan (a tobacco lord), Allan Dreghorn (a former bailie of Glasgow), Colin Dunlop (son of James Dunlop of Garnkirk, a former bailie and future Lord Provost of Glasgow), Robert Dunlop (brother of Colin), and Alexander Houston (cousin of William McDowall and manager of The South Sugar House, who later started Glasgow’s biggest merchant firm, Alexander Houston & Co, trading in sugar, rum and cotton).⁷ The bank’s £1 note featured an Atlantic sailing vessel at sea. After his death in 1748, William McDowall was eulogised as ‘a gentleman of fine character, the most popular man in Glasgow, and a darling of the city, who did much to shape its social and human qualities.’⁸

The wealth and power that was acquired through enslaved labour in the Caribbean is prominently displayed throughout the city of Glasgow: in the Palladian-style official government buildings and grand sandstone residences – their concertinaed pillars holding elongated pyramid roofs aloft; and in the intricate stone masonry of wistful women draped in frozen cloth, chins tilted to the sky as they signal the virtues of the age that led society into the industrial revolution: wisdom, progress and improvement.

The main facade of Glasgow City Chambers shows Queen Victoria ‘flanked by native peoples bringing gifts from the Empire’.⁹ Inside, shined to a high veneer, is the now extinct satinwood; imported from Australia at the time of the City Chambers’ construction to line the banqueting room.¹⁰ A stone relief on the side of the Gordon Street building, that between 1853 and 1857 was the Commercial Bank of Scotland, pictures semi-naked children working the arm of a die stamp and printing press – replicating coins and banknotes for infinity. While the Royal Exchange, now the Glasgow Museum of Modern Art, was originally built as a residence for sugar merchant

¹ Vanheusden, D. (2010) ‘Sarah Webster Fabio – Glimpses’. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UGu3yVVqwnw> (Accessed: 9 May 2021). I first heard this on ‘Questing W/ Zakia & Elaine Mitchener’, NTS, on 16 November 2019: <https://www.nts.live/artists/35684-sarah-webster-fabio>.

² Newman, R. (2016). *Conjuring Cane: The Art of William Berryman and Caribbean Sugar Plantations*. Doctoral thesis. Stanford University.

³ Extract from Rachia, T. (2019). ‘of Sugar & Bones’ exhibition at Civic Room, Glasgow.

⁴ Nisbet, S. M. “A Sufficient Stock of Negroes”: The Secret Lives of William McDowall of Castle Semple and James Milliken of Kilbarchan’, *RLHF Journal*, vol. 14, no. 32.

⁵ Nisbet, ‘A Sufficient Stock of Negroes’.

⁶ Nisbet, S. M. (2013). ‘Sugar and the Early Identity of Glasgow: Glasgow Planters in the Leeward Islands c.1650–1750’, *Scottish Archives* 2013, Vol. 19.

⁷ Description of ‘The Ship Bank, The Ship Bank, 1750-20th century. Loyds Banking Group Archives (Edinburgh). GB 1830 SH1’. Available on the Archives Hub website at: <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb1830-shi> (Accessed 23 May 2021).

⁸ Nisbet, S. M. (2015) ‘Early Scottish Sugar Planters in the Leeward Islands c. 1660–1740’, in Devine, T. (ed.) *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 74.

⁹ ‘City Chambers’, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth About Glasgow and Slavery*. Available at: <https://it.wisnae.us/city-chambers/> (Accessed 12 May 2021).

¹⁰ *Glasgow City Chambers: Civil Ceremonies* [brochure]. Glasgow Registration Office, Glasgow. p. 5.

¹¹ Evans, B. (2019) 'Histories of Violence: Slavery in America' (interview with Ana Lucia Araujo ahead of the release of her book *Slavery in the Age of Memory: Engaging the Past*), in *LA Review of Books*. Available at: <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/histories-of-violence-slavery-in-america/> (Accessed 9 May 2021).

¹² 'Mos Def – Topic' (2018) 'Grown Man Business' by Mos Def. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZBtpogz4_Me&ab_channel=MosDef-Topic (Accessed 12 May 2021).

¹³ johnnystaccata (2016) 'Garvey's Ghost – Max Roach'. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXbNpQY4-nMe&ab_channel=johnnystaccata (Accessed: 9 May 2021).

¹⁴ DanteTerrellSmith (2013) 'Mos Def Yasin Bey – Boogie Man Song'. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hWzOnlK_Gg (Accessed: 9 May 2021).

¹⁵ Fu-Kiau, K. K. B. (1994) 'Ntangu-Tandu-Kolo: The Bantu-Kongo Concept of Time' in Adjaye, J. K. (ed.) *Time in the Black Experience*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

¹⁶ de Caires Taylor, J. (2006). *Vicissitudes* [sculpture installation]. Grenada.

¹⁷ Gilpin, W. (1792). *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape: To Which Is Added A Poem, on Landscape Painting*. London: printed for R. Blamire.

¹⁸ Daly, M. and McKay, C. (2021) 'Sheku Bayoh: 'Why did my brother die in police custody?', BBC. Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-53076269> (Accessed 30 April 2021)

¹⁹ Hartman, S. (2019) *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

and slave owner William Cunningham and paid by him mortgaging the slaves on his plantations.

Based on violence and coercion, slavery took different forms over time and space. But chattel slavery was an economic system and institution regulated by laws and customs that made possible the ownership of men, women and children. Conceived as commodities, they could be bought, sold, beaten, raped, killed and discarded. Moreover, slave owners were entitled to control enslaved bodies through use of physical punishment and psychological abuse. In chattel slavery, enslaved persons were enslaved for life, even though in some periods and places, slave owners could manumit their slaves, and in other situations enslaved individuals could purchase their freedom. In the Americas, slavery was a racialized institution. After the end of Native American slavery, only people of African descent were enslaved. In other words, men, women, and children who had the legal status of "slaves" were not at all in the same position of other groups who were victims of labor exploitation such as indentured servants, who performed unpaid labor for a limited period of time, in exchange for shelter, food, and clothing.¹¹

How do we give form to lost souls? How can we integrate their experiences into our present and future? How can we be more sensitive to frequencies – in music or the sounds that surround us daily – that might be communicating visions bigger than our material reality?

See me! Hear Me!¹²

'Garvey's Ghost'¹³ shouts in 6/4 time, rousing us, communicating visions, speeding our feet while carousel vocals slow our hearts. Always forward motion, always propelling you in and through with urgency and vulnerability. Whirling you through the horror of your past souls to the joys, dreams and visions of theirs. 'Let me be your favourite nightmare, close your eyes and I'll be right there wide open...'¹⁴ These are the desires of our fibril kin, Sycorax, rebirthed over and over in the wake. This is the hour of your depth of night. Where the universal energies unite and become matter¹⁵ and we see you, energies multiplying like the Vicissitudes¹⁶ children in the Caribbean sea.

I feel you tap my foot to welcome me into the void, to take your place.

The imagination can plant hills; can form rivers, and lakes in valleys; can build castles and abbeys; and if it finds no other amusement, can dilate itself in vast ideas of space.¹⁷

Sheku Bayoh died in police custody early in the morning on the suburban streets of Kirkcaldy, Fife. Within five minutes of being restrained, using an irritant spray and batons, by four police officers called to the scene after receiving a call about a man on the street acting erratically with a machete, Sheku was pronounced dead, his hands and legs bound. The police officers' statements say, 'he was overpowering us', that 'he was massive ... the biggest male I've ever

seen.'¹⁸ Though toxicology reports say he'd taken MDMA and Flakka, there was no machete found when the police arrived on the scene. One of the police officers restraining him was 6 foot 4 and twice his weight at 25 stone.

In 1349, the first vagrancy statute was passed in England. The law was a response to the shortage of labor in the aftermath of the Black Plague and it was designed to conscript those who refused to labor ... Common law defined the vagrant as "someone who wandered about without visible means of support." William Blackstone in his 1765 *Commentaries on the Law of England* deemed vagrants as those who "wake on the night and sleep in the day and haunt taverns and ale-houses and roust about; and no man knows from where they came or whither they go." The statutes targeted those who maintained excessive notions of freedom and imagined that liberty included the right not to work. In short, vagrants were the deracinated—migrants, wanderers, displaced persons, and strangers.

While the legal transformation from slavery to freedom is most often narrated as the shift from status to contract, from property to subject, from slave to Negro, vagrancy statutes make apparent the continuities and entanglements between a diverse range of unfree states—from slave to servant, from servant to vagrant, from domestic to prisoner, from idler to convict and felon. Involuntary servitude wasn't one condition—chattel slavery—nor was it fixed in time and place; rather it was an ever-changing mode of exploitation, domination, accumulation (the severing of will, the theft of capacity, the appropriation of life), and confinement. Antiracism fundamentally shaped the development of "status criminality." In turn, status criminality was tethered ineradicably to blackness.¹⁹

My grandma, Assinette, grew up in Monkey Hill, St Kitts. She has Alzheimer's and sometimes just a hilariously selective memory. Assinette once tried to escape my cousin's flat through the ground-floor window, claiming that she had no idea how she got there, that they must have drugged her. She just wanted to go home. Each reminder of what, from her perspective, is an implausible memory prompts a look of shock as she exclaims, 'Who. Me?' She punctuates each word with an elaborate hand gesture. Who. Emoji black girl shrugging. Me. She brings her hands sharply toward her chest while her body recoils then straightens in outrage against her hands. My cousin's daughter has taken on this gesture.

Most conversations I have with her start, 'Where's my piece of cake?' (translation: 'When are you getting married?') And when I say I'm not so sure about it, she says, 'Yes well, soon as them put a ring on your finger, them think they own you'. She speaks the gentlest patois on the phone to me. I'm the only one in the family who needs it anglicised for my ear.

They called me "Nigger,"

Those little white urchins,
They laughed and shouted
As I passed along the street,
They flung it at me:
“Nigger! Nigger! Nigger!”

What made me keep my fingers
from choking the words in their throats?
What made my face grow hot,
The blood boil in my veins
And tears spring to my eyes?
What made me go to my room
And sob my heart away
Because white urchins
Called me “Nigger”:²⁰

Assinette was born in 1933 to Jenny Seaton, who died when she was five. She then went to live with her grandmother, Maud. I can’t find out much about Maud, but am told she was very posh, expected everyone to speak posh, didn’t spend much time with the black people in Monkey Hill (She wouldn’t have hung around with the likes of you or me), spent more time in town hobnobbing with the white folks and talking proper. ‘And she laughed hooohooooohooooo’ when she was with them, ‘a proper posh white lady laugh, when she laugh, she laugh uptown’. Then she’d come downtown to Monkey Hill and cuss a man out in patois. Maud owned a grocery shop in Monkey Hill (the building still stands, I think) that sold all the usual things: rice, flour, saltfish, sugar. She distributed lunches to workers in the sugar-cane fields and sold freshly made sugar cake, which my Uncle _____ remembers trying to sneak a scoop of from the boiling hot pan; heard Maud coming so dashed it on the floor quick quick, but the molten mixture dripped off leg; searing off two, three layers of skin; leaving bare, white flesh before solidifying, bouncing onto the ground and scuttling across the floor like a beetle. Assinette started talking me through everyone’s dads the other day, ‘Your Uncle _____ and C_____ belong to Hilton,’ she began, _____ and _____ to Hugh and Uncle _____, Auntie_____ and _____ to George. Belonged to; I found that strange to my ears – someone belonged to someone.

Reading articles about law in the Caribbean during slavery, being owned was an important part of your status as property. To be owned meant to be protected – or so stated the Barbados Slave Code of 1661: ‘protect them [slaves] as we do men’s other goods and Chattels’ – but that just meant protection from the ‘outdoors’, as within that protection was violence: rape, murder, shit living conditions, working 20 hours a day, lost limbs, obscene punishments. In his 1784 book *Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* – written whilst on St Kitts plantations for seven years – James Ramsey described a woman who had been asked to work on another plantation for a period of time, which she wanted to do but she ‘belonged’ to another master and so needed permission. This permission looked like a lease, but a lease she had to pay as compensation to her owner, for the impact her loss would have on the productivity of

his plantation. When she officially sought formal permission, after a verbal agreement had been put in place by two masters, she was called a liar and told that the terms and fee had never been agreed. She was forced into the stocks at the front of the plantation house for six months. For six months she stood, head and hands between planks of wood, in the blazing sun – atop a mound of grass for all to see. A shaming for seeking to move.

When reading Glissant in a shallow manner, we could think of this concept of *Relation* as a candid wish for ‘friendly’ rapports between members of a humanity ... The *Relation*, instead, implies that all the humanities are tied together through the common parts of their respective imaginaries ... When [Patrick] Chamoiseau writes that “the master and the slave found themselves unchained to the same dehumanisation”, we obviously should not understand that both master and the slave are both simultaneously guilty and victim of the process in which they were engaged together. The chains evoked here are the materialization of the extremely violent relation between these two humanities, which have been informing their two respective collective imaginaries and thus defined and continue to define ... their relation even after the end of this process. This is why when white police officers kill black bodies ... with an apparent immunity, what is at stake is so much more than the (already intolerable) actual violence of the act itself: from the abyss, emerges again the “balls and chains” described by Glissant and Chamoiseau, present and poignant for generations in the Americas and Caribbean humanities. Time as such does not break chains. The *Relation* does not even aim at breaking the chains, but rather in changing their nature and unilateral violence. The first step in doing so however consists in recognizing that this profound tie between humanities exist[s] and that nothing of what concerns their common being can be thought and done outside of it.²¹

The call to action tangles and fades into the cacophony of violins, all vying for your attention as you, tired from being, sink down the cross-roads, towards the abyss. But the horns whisper along the Kalunga line, the watery boundary.²² Drifting like vapour from the liquid swell of strings. So quietly. Tip-toeing through the stretched cat-gut strings until the screeching fades in gasps and you’re lifted, in a swaying embrace. For Kalunga is first felt as a gentle turn of the stomach.²³ The rhythm flops you sometimes, tripping over discordant sounds, but mostly carries your flailing feet round and round like a tired partner who you will to finish a Depression-era dance marathon. ‘Stay On It’²⁴ it says. With each breath in, you’re swept forward; and with each out, you sink back from your gut as though winded – fingertips outstretched, brushing sea spray, getting closer and closer to the gentle tambourine that welcomes you to the shore.

Without Kalunga there can be no relation.²⁵

This was at last the last
this was the limit of motion;
voyages ended;

²⁰ crankyskirt (2012) ‘Nigger, by Una. M. Marson’, *Esoterica*, 23 September 2012. Available at: <https://karmythia.tumblr.com/post/32146555628/nigger-by-una-m-marson> (Accessed: 9 May 2021). ‘Nigger’ (1933) was published in anti-racist newspaper *The Keys*. I first heard it spoken by artist Elaine Mitchener in ‘INFINITY minus Infinity’ by The Otolith Group.

²¹ Lambert, L. (2014) ‘Abysmal Atlantic: The Slave Ships’ Genocide’ in *The Funambulist*, 30 December 2014. Available at: <https://thefunambulist.net/editorials/history-abysmal-atlantic-the-slave-ships-genocide> (Accessed: 9 May 2021).

²² Ogle, L. (2020) *Repercussions: ethnographic enquiries into rhythm, ancestry and spirit in Maracatu de Nação and Candomblé*. Doctoral Thesis. Available at: [https://kcl.pure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/repercussions\(a77901fc-fe3f-4120-b7b2-8f753c28ddod\).html](https://kcl.pure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/repercussions(a77901fc-fe3f-4120-b7b2-8f753c28ddod).html) (Accessed 9 May 2021).

²³ Ochoa, T. R. (2008) ‘Versions of the Dead: Kalunga, Cuban-Kongo Materiality, and Ethnography’ in *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 22 (no.4).

²⁴ Wellesz Theatre. (2012) ‘Julius Eastman: Stay on It (1973)’. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9X3j_76VBvI (Accessed 9 May 2021).

²⁵ Ochoa, ‘Versions of the Dead’

time stopped where its movement began
horizons returned inaccessible²⁶

The Ballachulish is said to have been a representation of a supernatural being guarding the water crossing at the straits of Loch Leven, dating back to 600BC. At five foot, of carved alder, she was found in November 1880; deep in peat, wet and layered, bound in wicker and twigs. Within two weeks of being removed from the peat bog, her form began to deteriorate – the water held her in time. Outside of the water, her form warped and cracked, stretched and expanded into a ghost-like form.

Her Majesty understanding that several blackamoors have lately been brought into this realm, of which kind of people there are already too many here ... her Majesty's pleasure therefore is that those kind of people should be expelled from the land, and for that purpose instruction is given to the bearer, Edward Banes, to take ten of those blackamoors that were brought into this realm by Sir Thomas Baskerville on his last voyage, and transport them out of the realm. In this we require you to give him any help he needs, without fail.²⁷

²⁶ 'Extract from 'The White River' in Brathwaite, E. K. (1973) *The Arrivants*, quoted in Abiola, I. (1994) 'The return of the native: Edward Kamau Brathwaite's Masks', *World Literature Today*. Available at: <https://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+return+of+the+native%3a+Edward+Kamau+Brathwaite%27s+Masks.-a016465669> (Accessed 23 May 2021).

²⁷ Queen Elizabeth I, 11 July 1596 (modernised English translation) Extract from Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto Press.



Cross section of Fat Man atomic bomb showing its design with Archimedean solid

ANENT PRECENTING
THE LINE



NISHA RAMAYYA

*

“LET US SUFFICE
TO SAY THAT IT IS THE SURVIVOR
OF THIS TALE THAT HANGS OUT
HER STORY TO DRY ON THE
WASHING LINE OF REMEMORY”¹

in surviving she gives out the line
that a chorus might be drawn as these
subjects are to more heat than light

in giving she tunes the repetition
unbleached dresses still dripping trade
winds knotted with workers’ songs

in telling she coruscates the web
lapses flash to do undid interactions
syracas restores the bending touch

*

what those great men gave up on behalf of their children
to find fortune in graves, to propagate unnatural names

leveraging their inheritance: *don’t just subsist by learning,
strew the clearing with the bright lights of benevolence*

rivers like biomimetic circuitry of extraction
“shipping routes spread out from Glasgow
like the ribs of a fan”²

enlightened bystanders are on hand taking questions on looting
as red-cloaked nation strides past, the inevitability
of his gold-tipped cane, proselytised

*

attending to the story that is mystified yet
totalising at the expense of counter-nations:

“the nation (to which, of course, the people
who have been ‘converted’ do not belong)”³

children must give thanks for being sacrificed
the profits of their destitution sight unseen

the story that might be better known yet
under-studied, the city teaches us to look

up

*

this city, where the millionaire capital passes the murder capital
in the street, nods without smiling at its own reflection, clutches
its purse, the matrix of chicken tikka masala’s self-renunciation,
conveying the fancy for imperial rule, sows’ ears made from tar

*

– following a line down Albert Drive – where cultural contact
springs up like forests – marking the spots that require unearthing
– ornament is grafted on the hardy and resolute – pinky, pista,
and jalebi sticky the tramway tracks with Glasgow’s other colours
– whilst fair-weather temperaments construct themselves as foreign
for mutual reward – at every strata in the terms of the rich – crossing
Shields Road towards Victorian mansions built strong enough to
hold ceilidhs in the attic, so say letters sent back home – admiring
this nominal relationship to the flower and whispering to find out
what old-new complicities it tends – if the “noble passion” is free to
claim or denounce – insofar as nobility is limitless when sequestered
from power there is a jaw parallel to the ground – defensive posture
compromised as the nasal cavity is exposed, a midge might dart in
or a more sinister fleck – cryptozoological beasts do more than line
their nests with tartan – men who were moved, moved to move other
men, another outline that distracts from the matter – through the
ghosts of cotton mills in Pollokshaws, martyrdom’s composers – all
echoes might be seeded with fractal paisleys – unravelling in a man-
ner diametrically opposed to Draupadi’s sari, that is, unravelling –
like the beloved juxtapositions that adumbrate violence and disavow
reparations in the eyes of liberals – but roots move differently, sound
out reckoning’s blur, fathomless causes and effects beyond geometry’s
key to history – “I am not here, then, as the accused; I am here as
the accuser of capitalism dripping with blood from head to foot”⁴
– cheery and dangerous, or cheery because dangerous, a Scottish
link in the golden chain of world socialism – a mile and a half from
where I grew up, feels closer today –

*

When Hortense Spillers says: “I’m wondering if the whole society
didn’t escape, if abuse became the order of the day”,⁵ we must stop
what we’re doing and down our critical tools; her remark is our event
is the world’s gravitational field. Without thinking about it, thus
letting go of it, we might try to feel what it means, with and with-
out touching, with and without the capacity and liability of being
touched. Invoke the vertical plane to confine the inquiry to tobacco
lords and their sons, or forsaken clanspeople and evictees, or plant-
ers, or soldiers, or inheritors of the ancient universities, accountants,
doctors, clerics...; notice how these images reflect and contort ac-
cording to what holds up the mirror and who stands before it, how
the question of a nation’s truth can limit the reach of its answers; ex-
tinguish the wall with the supreme understanding that walls are not
found in nature, which is this inquiry’s unconfinedness, a spiralling
formulation that allows us to sustain the project thanks to regular
stoppages and explosions.

¹ Sulter, M. (2015) ‘A Brief Introduction’, *Maud Sulter: Passion*, Cherry, D. (ed.) Altitude Editions, p. 7a.

² Ian Charles Cargill Graham cited in Devine, T. M. (2004) *Scotland’s Empire: The Origins of the Global Diaspora*. London: Penguin Books, p. 72.

³ Marx, K. (1990) ‘The Expropriation of the Agricultural Population’, *Capital Volume I*, Fowkes, B. (trans.). London: Penguin Books, p. 888.

⁴ John Maclean cited in Bell, H. (2018) *John Maclean: Hero of Red Clydeside*. London: Pluto Press, p. 107.

⁵ Hortense Spillers interviewed by Arjuna Neuman and Denise Ferreira da Silva (20 March 2020). [My transcription.]

*

“But enough about me. How have you been doing?”

I know you only exist
when called upon, and the call is not voluntary
but takes the place of an obscenity
and does not even contain your name.⁶ – Peter Manson

does not ev en con tain your name
does not ev en con tain
the mat ter of your name in sound
in sound as in rest less

ness as in res pon ding with warmth
if your name could give out
like song in flight to the tem ple
of truth vib rat ions seats

flocks re turn black en ed sound ing
the het er o phon ic
range of your names ex is tence can't
con tain your be com ing

“We return full circle back to the blues, back to ‘the Internationale’, back to forms of anti-capitalist resistance that extend beyond an industrial proletariat, back to visions of freedom [...] and a willingness to confront the present with revolutionary pessimism even if mixed with anticipatory optimism [...] If you could make ‘the Internationale’ into the blues it would be pessimism and joy, and it would be a text you’d keep writing on and writing on and writing on...”⁷ – Robin D G Kelley

this song a text you’d keep writ ing
on this cir cle a cy
mat ic de mand to fol low each
line to the ends of time

to their buds you’d go be yond work
be yond sub ju ga tion’s
false friend ship hills col lapse in to
red cent re burn ing dock

buds bridge bridg es sing back your steps
you don’t go pre vi ous
you go tubes with in tubes pull through
and min gle free dom clues

“The communism of the clans must be re-established on a modern basis ... [Scotland] must have but one clan, as it were – a united people working in co-operation and co-operatively, using the wealth that is created. We can safely say, then: back to communism and forward to communism.”⁸
– John Maclean

we can say back we can say for
wards our say ing bod ies
green skies milk strike ma ny good arms
un cross en tranced stretch time

our nat ur al names spo ken with
love dis perse side real ly
call back to earth worms groove soc ial
life through out un i verse

“The volute, you see, is divine: the sinuous line, the serpentine line, the corolla, the curl, the twist, the whorl, the spiral and so on, are all related in their volution, convolution, revolution. Volution is the essential and irreducible aspect of ornamentation, just as the phoneme is the smallest irreducible unit of sound in language.”⁹
– Erskine-Lily / Shola von Reinhold

ir red uc ib le div ine line
for got ten race ri ots
re al co op er a tion cho
rus of can’t take it do

“that echo and lesson of the blues”¹⁰
– Arjuna Neuman and Denise Ferreira da Silva

ech o les son in ten der ness

⁶ Manson, P. (2016) ‘Time comes for you’, *Factitious Aims*. Glasgow: Zarf Editions, p. 12.

⁷ Kelley, R. D. G. ‘Internationale Blues: Revolutionary Pessimism and the Politics of Solidarity’, LSE Public Lectures and Events (17 May 2019). [My transcription.]

⁸ John Maclean cited in Bell, *John Maclean*, p. 160.

⁹ von Reinhold, S. (2020) *Lote*. London: Jacaranda, p. 310.

¹⁰ Neuman, A. and Ferreira da Silva, D. (2021) *Soot Breath // Corpus Infinitum*.

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