‘-HÓHTA’HANÉ: MAPPING GENOCIDE
& RESTORATIVE JUSTICE
IN NATIVE AMERICA

By

ANNITA SOPHIA LUCCHESI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN AMERICAN STUDIES

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Program in American Studies

DECEMBER 2016

© Copyright by ANNITA SOPHIA LUCCHESI, 2016
All Rights Reserved

© Copyright by ANNITA SOPHIA LUCCHESI, 2016
All Rights Reserved

To the Faculty of Washington State University:

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the thesis of ANNITA SOPHIA LUCCHESI find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

Linda Heidenreich, Ph.D., Chair

Nishant Shahani, Ph.D.

Ray Sun, Ph.D.

-HÓHTA'HANÉ: MAPPING GENOCIDE
& RESTORATIVE JUSTICE
IN NATIVE AMERICA

Abstract

by Annita Sophia Lucchesi, M.A.
Washington State University
December 2016

Chair: Linda Heidenreich

This thesis explores critical decolonial cartography as a possible language for communicating and better understanding complex, intergenerational experiences of genocide and colonialism among Native American peoples. Utilizing a self-reflexive methodology, this work makes interventions in Native American and indigenous studies, comparative genocide studies, historiography, and geography to argue for more expansive languages with which to grapple with Native experiences of genocide. In so doing, this paper also asserts the need for indigenous narrative self-determination, development of decolonial epistemologies and praxes on genocide, and languages for violence that are specifically designed to facilitate dialogue on healing. For that reason, this work not only positions cartography and maps as a particularly useful language for understanding indigenous experiences of genocide, but documents the development of this language, with the intent of supporting and guiding others in creating alternative languages that best fit their nation, community, family, and selves. Finally, the larger aim of this work is to make the case for languages on genocide that heal, rather than re-traumatize, and give a more

holistic understanding of the ways in which genocide ‘takes place’ spatially and temporally, with the hope of creating a larger, more inclusive, less violent space for imagining and crafting restorative justice.

CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iii
Preface.....	1
Introduction.....	2
<i>The Language: Maps</i>	5
<i>The Methodology: Self-Reflexive Learning & Sharing</i>	9
<i>Structure & Outline of the Thesis</i>	14
“Our Sovereignty Starts in Our House, Not the White House:” Treaty Rights, Sovereignty, & the Erosion of Nationhood	16
<i>I Did Not Sign Up For This: Treaties & the Breakdown of Tsehéstáno</i>	20
<i>(In)Justice in Indian Country</i>	37
“I will tell you one of the things we remember on our land. We remember that our grandfathers paid for it—with their lives:” Mass Death & Destruction.....	46
<i>Our Grandfathers Paid for It: Land-Based Violence on the Plains</i>	46
<i>It’s Easier to Not Be Indian: Stories of Relocation, Removal, & Death</i>	64
“Indigeneity is meant to self-destruct, not to love or be loved:” Trauma & Colonial Love.....	78
<i>Failures in Decolonial Love: Navigating Mazes of Trauma</i>	82
<i>Locating Genocide in the Present & Personal: Trauma & Survival in the Lives of 21st Century Natives</i>	93
Conclusion	101
Works Cited	104

For my ke'éehe, who waited 150 years to start this journey with me.

Preface

My Indian name is Hetoevèhotoke'e, which translates to Evening Star Woman. I am of the wolf warriors, from the band of Cheyenne that made their home where the Plains meet the Rocky Mountains, in northern Colorado and southern Wyoming. When settlers arrived in Cheyenne country, my grandfather was a chief, and a member of the Council of 44; I am the seventh generation descended from him.

I introduce myself in this way not only because cultural protocol requires it, but also because I believe this information is a critical piece of the work in this thesis. My Indian name, for example, was given to me in honor of a deep connection to the ancestors, who live among the stars. That connection to the ancestors was made even stronger when I was told I was of wolf people; I was told I am never alone, because I run with an unseen pack behind me.

Many know that Crazy Horse, one of our most revered Plains Indian leaders, had a vision that the seventh generation of Indian people (born after that time) would be the ones to revitalize our nations and bring healing to the world. As a member of that seventh generation, I take the responsibility to see that vision through very seriously. By attempting to create space for new languages with which Native people can grapple with trauma, and retelling stories that have been excluded and absent from academic narratives, I also attempt to honor Crazy Horse's vision and the prayers of my ancestors, by living up to my Indian name and shining light where there has, for so long, been darkness.

Introduction

In the Cheyenne language, the verb “to tell a story” (-hóhta'hané) can also mean “to testify.”

Indeed, that word is often used to refer to someone who is providing testimony in court, and the Cheyenne word for “courthouse” directly translates to “story-house.”

In the age of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and Declaration of Indigenous Rights, more and more indigenous leaders and activists are stepping to the podium to provide testimony on the struggles their people have faced and continue to face at the hands of settler regimes. These testimonies range from formal documentation of breach of (inter)national law, to heartfelt personal commitments to defend indigenous nationhood and lifeways. They are given in English, Lakota, Spanish, Guaraní, Saami, Masaai, Portuguese, and hundreds of other languages spoken across the globe. Some speakers wear business attire, others don traditional regalia. And yet, despite the incredible diversity among these testimonies, the general structure and expectations remain the same.

A lone indigenous person or two, in front of a podium or a camera, talking for a few minutes. They must back up whatever they say with footnotes, citations, and statistics—anecdotal evidence is allowed but compelling to settlers only when it makes it to the press, and there is an army of lawyers, bureaucrats, and corporations who are waiting to discredit and dismiss them. If the press even attends the event, the only photos that will be published are of a chief crying, traditionally-clad Indians on the metro, and maybe a stock photo of decontextualized brown children on an unnamed dirt road. Some forums are a little more forgiving than others, but activists are painfully aware of the limitations to what they are allowed to say or do and still be

taken seriously. For example, in preparing testimony with a group of Alaska Native activists, I was told it was a terrible idea to use the “s-word” in testimony for the Alaska state government—it would be thrown out as too radical. The “s-word” was sovereignty.

All this is not to say that testimonies provided in legal and political forums are not absolutely critical, incredibly brave, and extremely powerful. But they have limitations, and, to be effective, are often required to suit the tastes of mainstream media and governmental bodies that could be described at-best as conservative when addressing indigenous rights. For that reason, they cannot be the primary or sole source of indigenous testimony on colonialism and settler occupation. There are real, raw truths and heartache and triumphs that cannot be adequately communicated in compliance with settler expectations couched in ignorant and outdated knowledge of indigenous peoples and notions of respectability. Due to these limitations, political legal testimonies alone do not honor the realities of past or ongoing colonial occupation and genocide, and thus cannot lead us to restorative justice on their own. They may grant us a victory in a courtroom, but these victories comprise a piecemeal justice, full of compromises and loopholes. That is the kind of justice that tells white men they will go to jail if they are caught beating a Native woman, but does not tell them why the state no longer tolerates beating Native women, do anything substantive to address the centuries of state-sanctioned physical & sexual violence against Native women, or account for the thousands of Native men who have been incarcerated, beaten, or killed defending Native women and girls.

We must bear witness and account for the violence sustained by our peoples, nations, communities, families, and selves in languages that honor the ways genocide and colonialism

have been felt through multiple temporal and spatial scales. To give testimony is to tell a story—what kind of stories would we tell, what kind of testimony would we offer, if we could speak freely? Outside colonizer languages and expectations, using whatever medium worked best for our culture, our communities, our nation, our spirits? The power of those stories would be so immense, it could mobilize us (and the settlers we so often share our communities and lands with) towards a new kind of liberatory and restorative justice. As people who work with PTSD patients remind us, trauma does not have to be a permanent diagnosis. But indigenous peoples and settlers will only be able to achieve peace and justice when we are able to collectively understand what has and continues to take place, in its entirety. We can name the wounds, we can heal them, and we can let go and live free of the trauma and pain, but only after some very real, open, and painful conversation.

My aim here is to share one language with which we can start these conversations. I do not pretend it would work for every community, nation, or individual—rather, what I am proposing is that there is an infinite number of possible languages that could give a more holistic understanding of genocide. The language I share here is just one. I share it not only because I believe it could be effective for others, but also to illustrate my methodology in coming to this language, in hopes that it proves useful for others who embark on the path to healing and justice as well.

The Language: Maps

I came to mapping as an undergraduate in UC Berkeley's Geography program. One of the many benefits of studying in that department is the opportunity to learn cartography methods simultaneously with postcolonial theory; truthfully, I am not sure that this thesis would exist without having experienced that confluence very early in my scholastic career. In a two-year period, I was given a crash course on postcolonial theorists like Fanon and Gramsci and spatial theorists like Lefebvre and Massey, a fairly comprehensive global history of colonialism and anti-imperialism, and a working knowledge of Adobe Illustrator and cartographic methods. Learning to draw maps at the same time as I was learning how to make sense of (post)colonial landscapes led me to not only understand and respect the immense power of maps, but to begin to use them to further grapple with and communicate the complex realities of colonial and imperial violence. Our Cartography instructor would fondly tease me and my colleague for creating artistic political statements with maps on them, rather than maps with accompanying graphics as we were assigned; we were eager to appropriate the power of maps to communicate the realities of the colonial-imperial violence our respective communities were grappling with. Those beginning explorations have served as the foundation for the work I have developed here.¹

Though the use of maps is not new to (post)colonial studies or activism, and there a handful of Native scholars conducting work in geography and spatial theory, there is a general gap between

¹ I would be remiss to not credit the collaborative work I completed with colleagues as a major influence on these foundations. In particular, my work and discussions with Mohammed Rafi Arefin and Danya Al-Saleh were instrumental in the development of the mapping style that I share in this thesis. Since our long days as undergraduates penned up in the cartography lab, both Arefin and Al-Saleh have gone on to become scholars in the field of Geography; I deeply respect their work and consider it an influence on my own.

the two. One of the most notable recent scholarly works within Native Studies engaging spatial theory is Haudenauonee feminist Mishauna Goeman's book, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. *Mark My Words* is a powerful text and an extremely valuable contribution to Native Studies, but its examination of mapping is confined to figurative mapping through literary assertions of sovereignty, and stops short of interrogating literal geographies of nationhood. Especially because as indigenous peoples, our culture and nationhood is land-based, I feel it is important to extend that work into the realm of literal mapping, to better understand the dynamics between sovereignty, nationhood, cultural vitality, and relationships with the land. I also feel that more literal mapping can be designed to be more relevant and accessible to indigenous communities outside academia, in ways that academic text typically is not.

Geography scholar and activist Jennifer Casolo has employed the use of maps in her work on indigenous experiences of colonial and postcolonial processes of dispossession and genocidal violence in Guatemala, and the work I have been fortunate enough to do in assisting her in that endeavor has been a major source of inspiration for my own work. In 2011, Casolo and I created a series of maps for her dissertation, titled "Unthinkable Rebellion and the Praxis of the Possible: Ch'orti' Campesin@ Struggles in Guatemala's Eastern Highlands." In 2016, we updated the maps to create Spanish language versions that Ch'orti' activists could use in their ongoing fight to protect their homelands and people. For example, in 2016, the maps were utilized in a court case by the Ch'orti', which resulted in a temporary stay of action in construction of a dam that would flood their traditional territory. Casolo's work, including the maps, provides powerful history not just of Ch'orti' experiences of violence, but of Ch'orti' survivance and resistance. Moreover, it acknowledges the ways in which those stories are gendered and region-specific. My

experience in assisting her with the creation of the maps was my entry into utilizing critical cartography in studying and communicating indigenous experiences of genocide, and that work makes up a key component of the foundations for my related work in geography, indigenous studies, and genocide studies, including the work I present here.

I believe that maps are particularly useful for communicating indigenous experiences of colonial violence and genocide for three reasons. The first is because they are widely accepted as an authoritative methodology by settlers and indigenous peoples alike. Like the testimony previously discussed, they are a method of storytelling that ‘makes sense’ to those who have not experienced the story. Because maps have been used as objective, scientific fact for hundreds of years (of course they never actually were either), maps carry a weight and an authority that other forms of storytelling do not.² This is useful in communicating ongoing experiences of genocide,

² Though personal testimony, anecdotal evidence, and creative works continue to be utilized as key primary sources in studies of colonialism and genocide, they remain confined to the realm of “the personal” in the eyes of most academics and policymakers. Conversely, statistical data is typically understood as more “objective,” but can be totally inaccessible to the very people who have experienced the violence, as well as the general public. These distinctions between “personal” and “objective” are imaginary and grounded in Western politics of respectability and knowledge production. In her 1988 article “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” Donna Haraway refers to the theoretical underpinnings of this idea of objectivity as “the god-trick;” in other words, the idea that there is a completely neutral, omnipresent being floating above our world, able to exercise total objectivity by producing knowledge with absolutely no bias or perspective of its own (though the luxury of authority via alleged objectivity has almost been exclusively a privilege of white men). Since their widespread use to facilitate violent colonization of the majority of the globe, maps have been afforded this privilege of authority via objectivity, due to both the standardization of use of Cartesian demarcations of space and an aerial perspective (a visual embodiment of the “god-trick”), and the inherent authority the white male cartographers of the last five centuries held. What this false dichotomy of personal/objective does not recognize is the data cartographers have been mapping *is* a creative work, and a product of their own perspectives. Despite that, maps continue to be afforded a high level of authority, even though they may (and often do) depict the same data more “personal” accounts do.

especially to the very large portion of settlers that deny or minimize Native experiences of genocide, and the even larger population that remain ignorant to the realities that Native peoples continue to survive.

Secondly, unlike legal testimony, maps have much more room for interpretation, alternative narratives, and complex understandings of space and time.³ So in that way, they have the capacity to tell stories that not only ‘make sense’ to those who have not experienced the story, but also to give a more holistic story that can be healing in its telling, for those that have experienced it. On just one piece of paper, we can map an infinite number of stories, experiences, histories, narratives, and all the ways they overlap, despite differing temporalities. Maps do not have to adhere to linear notions of time, or Western ideas of space and storytelling. For that reason, they have the power to be highly individualized to each person’s or community’s experiences and ways of understanding, which means meeting survivors of genocide on their own terms and allowing them to shape the narrative in a way that is useful for them. Moreover,

³ It is generally assumed that maps *must* utilize not only Western linear notions of time, but a Western “clock” on trauma, ancestral knowledge and identity, and historical connection. This is the same clock that allows white Americans to confidently command Black Americans to “just get over” slavery, despite all the ways the US remains structured by its legacy. It is a clock that tells those that benefit from colonial genocide if they just wait long enough, they can hit a magic reset button and the privilege they lord over others is no longer something they should feel guilty about or wield in efforts to dismantle inequality. It is a clock that demands that when we map Native experiences of colonialism, we map it in the past tense and decontextualize it from the state of Native nations today. We do *not* have to utilize this clock, and indeed should not. The Roman calendar is not a requirement in measuring progression of time, our peoples’ trauma does not have a convenient expiration date, and we do not have to translate our unique relationships to land, community, and intergenerational violence into a sterilized version of the truth that will be easier for white Americans to swallow. Maps, because they are a methodology of storytelling, and not necessarily as prescriptive with space and time as hegemonic colonial authorities would like us to believe, can be a liberatory mode of communication and bearing witness that allows us to depict those unique relationships.

this freedom of expression is made doubly powerful by maps' ability to communicate coded language through the use of graphics methodology informed by cultural beliefs.

Finally, maps differ from any other form of storytelling in their ability to communicate and honor indigenous peoples' relationships to land. A phrase that is often shared in Native communities is that violence against the land and violence against the people go hand in hand; because they depict human experiences and stories literally on the land, maps are particularly useful in honoring that relationship and frame of understanding.⁴ Our relationship to the land and land-based experiences is so strong, many Native people understand their tribal history, family trauma, and contemporary struggles in a larger context of physical and spiritual geography; maps are in a unique position to communicate our stories from that perspective.

The Methodology: Self-Reflexive Learning & Sharing

As I have stated above, this work is self-reflexive and is an attempt at sharing what has worked for me, and how I developed it. I want to stress that my argument is not that this particular language—mapping—will work for everyone. Instead, what I argue here is that it may work for some, it is what works for me, and the ways in which I have developed mapping as a language for myself may be useful in assisting someone to develop a differing language for themselves. My hope is that my work inspires others to embark on this journey as well, so that we may

⁴ This phrase has been most often used in indigenous women's movements, which reference the links between land dispossession, environmental destruction, sexual violence, and reproductive injustice. One example of these links (discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis) is violent removal of Native peoples from their traditional homelands in the Northern Plains, sexual violence as a tactic of destruction in massacres, contemporary resources extraction, and sexual and gendered violence against Native women living in close proximity to extraction labor camps.

collectively benefit from a much deeper understanding of the ways in which genocide and colonial occupation define America as a nation today. More largely, I am arguing that there are an infinite number of languages that can communicate experiences of genocide in a more holistic manner than the conventional (and often perpetrator-defined) languages popular and accepted, and that my maps are an example of one of them.

Because this work is self-reflexive, it is deeply personal. This work contains deeply painful experiences of colonialism and genocide. These experiences are, for the most part, my own, though they also intersect with those of my relatives, friends, and other Native people I have shared pieces of my life with. I do this for two reasons—one, because I feel that it would be rather hypocritical to encourage others to develop languages to talk about their experiences of genocide, without also doing the hard work of doing that myself. Two, because genocide is personal. Genocide cannot be fully translated into a textbook or legal document—it is a living, breathing demon that continues to gnaw on the open wounds of millions across the globe. It is growing up without a grandmother to teach you what it means to be a woman of your culture, it is the numb pit of fear in your stomach that your loved one will be dead by the side of the highway one day, it is the feeling of your grandfather's language clunky and foreign on your tongue, it is being taught that love is a mutual fight to keep one another alive even while you live in a landscape saturated with death. We will never be able to fully understand, heal from, or prevent future genocide until we accept this fact, and prioritize survivor narratives.

The personal storytelling elements of this work are inspired by the many survivors that have stepped forward to share their experiences. Two women that stand out in that regard are

Chanrithy Him (Cambodian), and Clemantine Wamariya (Rwandan). Him's memoir *When Broken Glass Floats* and Wamariya's piece "Everything is Yours, Everything is Not Yours" are beautiful examples of the power in personal storytelling, and the ways in which these kinds of narratives can give a much deeper understanding of how genocide 'takes place' (both in space and time) long after the military violence supposedly ends.

Similarly, I draw on Chicana theorist Emma Pérez's work to better understand ways of developing personalized, gendered historiography that works outside the confines of Western methodologies. Pérez's concept of a decolonial imaginary, a space from which we may (re)write historical narratives inclusive of 'othered' (silenced or marginalized) voices, is one that I employ in this work, to better account for gendered and intergenerational experiences of violence that go unacknowledged by dominant tellings of Native histories. In her article "Decolonizing Chicana History," Pérez describes the act of writing from a decolonial imaginary as an act of "consciously [remaking] a liberatory narrative" that honors our ancestors and allows their voices to fully come forward. She writes, "For me, the historian's political project is to write history that decolonizes otherness. Only then will we hear women's commanding voices. Only then will we begin to interrogate who authorizes history and for whom." (Pérez, 14). For indigenous women and queer people, we face doubly constrictive and exclusive narratives of our nations' histories; not only are we erased and silenced by dominant Western settler historiography, we are further marginalized by the heteropatriarchy our communities have inherited from colonial violence and employ in their selective memories of colonial violence. Both the maps I create and the narratives that accompany them story-tell histories from the space of a Pérez-inspired decolonial

imaginary, that resists the imposed heteropatriarchy and colonial discourses on Native history by offering stories that honor voices most often pushed to the margins or silenced.

In this storytelling, I also take inspiration from Audre Lorde's memoir *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*, which pioneered the concept of a biomythography, muddling the boundaries between what is 'real' to others and what is 'real' to Lorde in the telling of her life experiences. This is not to be dishonest or stretch the truth, it is to give myself and the other people's stories who are represented on these maps some safety. Sharing our stories can be painful, difficult, terrifying, and dangerous—by weaving together what others perceive to be objective reality and what we know to be our subjective truths, we are able to share these stories in ways that respect our self-drawn boundaries in the interest of emotional and physical safety. None of the stories shared here are fictional or fake—they all represent lived realities. But they must be told in a way that does not put the people to which these stories belong in danger of violence, incarceration, retraumatization, or public shaming and pain. In this sense, I am also presenting cartography as a powerful form of biomythography, for those wishing to share complex narratives that span wide spaces and temporalities.

Cambodian poet Monica Sok also draws inspiration from Lorde, in her work on her family's experiences of genocide. Indeed, she opens her thought-provoking article "On Fear, Fearlessness, and Intergenerational Trauma" with the following quote from Lorde, "When we speak we are afraid our words will not be heard or welcomed. But when we are silent, we are still afraid. So it is better to speak." Sok utilizes this quote to examine the gendered and generationally varying languages she and her family use to tell their stories, the spaces in which

they share their stories, and the challenges in doing so. Sok devotes particular attention to the paralysis many survivors and descendants feel when attempting to grapple with their trauma, due to a combined lack of audience sensitivity and language that is healing, rather than traumatic; in her own words,

I never thought of fearlessness as an option in the context of intergenerational trauma. If fearlessness, in this case, means going toward that trauma then, it means writing about Tuol Sleng, about a country ridden with land mines, about the Khmer Rouge, without letting those same narratives overpower the poetry that must be written. My trauma is that historical trauma, that family trauma, and yes, that biological trauma. How do you go toward that suffering in your writing when it also leads you and others to trauma?

...This is me saying it: I am afraid of the history I have inherited. Trauma resurfaces in my life in all kinds of ways, as it does for all children of Cambodian immigrants. The oppression continues in my community through gang violence, high school drop out rates, poverty, etc. I ask this again. Who can be fearless confronting the history of the genocide? As a poet, I'm afraid of misrepresenting my family's stories, the general history as well—though I believe the risk of going there is greater than the fear. A big part of me is afraid of perpetuating the brutality through language, and repeating the narrative of a politically oppressive regime instead of subverting it. Draft after draft, I cross out my poems, several pages of poems.

I deeply relate to the concerns Sok raises; how do we share the stories that must be told—for our own healing and wellbeing in addition to our anti-violence activism, without hurting ourselves, or others? Moving beyond oppressive discourse, and without empowering the very forces we write against? These are questions Sok grapples with throughout her piece, and that I attempt to answer here in this work.

The data presented in this work has been collected through four years of scholastic research, a lifetime of personal experiences, and seven generations' worth of stories passed down from one to the next. Some of these stories are my own, some are from my relatives and loved ones, some

are from public testimonials and sources, and some have been volunteered by people who wanted to have their stories told. None of the maps in this work could be considered even close to exhaustive—the point is to illustrate varying, intersecting, and ongoing stories of genocide in Native America, not to pretend to create an encyclopedia of over 500 years and millions of lives’ worth of trauma.

Structure & Outline of the Thesis

My understanding of genocide breaks down into three primary categories—erosion of nationhood, destruction of life and life-ways, and intergenerational trauma and breakdowns in community fabric. I have devoted a chapter of this thesis to each, along with two maps each. I begin with erosion of nationhood, and continue ‘down’ in scale to the community and the personal. This is in part because, though genocide still occurs on all these scales today, it is easier to work chronologically, and to start from the pieces of history already commonly known (like historic treaties and forced removals). Working from that ‘larger’ scale first is also somewhat necessary in providing a contextual backdrop for understanding other levels of violence, especially for those who may not be familiar with these elements of US history. I chose to present stories of interpersonal violence and trauma last, because I think they provide a powerful end point upon which to reflect. It is my hope that my readers will be encouraged and inspired to examine the ways in which genocide has shaped their own lives (whether they are Native or not).

Finally, many of the maps in this thesis overlap, or address shared issues. This is done with the aim of honoring the ways in which genocide occurs on multiple scales simultaneously, and how

the events on each of these scales are, in part, shaped by their relations with one another. Breakdowns in sovereignty, for example, would not take place without rips and tears and a warping of community fabric, and vice versa. Cheyennes have a proverb that says, “A nation is not defeated until the hearts of its women are on the ground;” how much stronger might the Cheyenne Nation be today, if Cheyenne men were not taught colonial ideas of masculinity, and if Cheyenne women were not devalued and abused at the rates they are? Conversely, how much safer would Cheyenne women be if their nation had the jurisdiction and sovereignty to protect them, and how much healthier could Cheyenne men be if they were empowered to be leaders and warriors, instead of being conditioned to be toxic patriarchs?

The questions I raise above are examples of the kind of questions I hope to spark with this work. In attempting to imagine, discuss, and build justice (and work towards ending the ongoing genocide of Native people!), it is important to be able to come to the table with critical questions that honor the complex realities of Native experiences of genocide. We do not tell these stories just to tell them, but to be able to pose questions that address the violence head-on and holistically.

“Our Sovereignty Starts in Our House, Not the White House:” Treaty Rights, Sovereignty, & the Erosion of Nationhood

In 2014, the Obama administration began a series of public meetings to gather Native Hawaiian opinions on the Akaka Bill, which would transition Kanaka Maoli governance to a government-to-government relationship with the US, modeled on the relationship American Indian nations have with the federal government. The state and federal employees guiding these discussions, asking five pre-determined questions pushing for this change, were met with an overwhelming and resounding ‘a’ole—no. Kanaka Maoli from all walks of life attended the meetings in high numbers, and the livestream had thousands of viewers, all passionately testifying in defense of their nation. Indeed, the title of this chapter has been selected from some such testimony.

Further testimony from the Waimea meeting reads as follows:⁵

“I have a question: do you have these questions in Hawaiian? Because I can’t read English. I’m not going to speak English to you all, because this is my language, and my land. No to the questions.”

“I understand your questions, but you need to go home and let us set up our own government. Then we decide if we want to talk to you or not.”

“You are here to manipulate, bully, and divide my people, shoving your pīlau laws down our throat. Your proposals are an insult. Go home. Tell your dictator to stop occupying an already sovereign nation.”

“I grew up in the time of aloha ‘āina. This is a slap in the face. None of your proposals give us rightful ownership and the ability to mālama our land. Please take a step back and allow us to mālama our ‘āina you took in 1893. It was never yours to govern in the first place. We don’t want to be under another government. I say no to all your questions. Aloha and welcome to our island. Now it is time for you to return home.”

⁵ All quotes, including the title quote, are sourced from Waimea’s online livestream.

Surprisingly, both the employees running these meetings and the federal government did not expect this response. In typical paternalistic fashion, they had expected Kanaka Maoli people to gratefully accept a government-to-government relationship, which would grant them more funding opportunities and potentially inclusion in federal Indian policy (which operates within the confines of “Indian Country,” ie tribal lands held by a federally recognized tribal government and defined as a “domestic dependent nation”). It would, however, also require that Kanaka Maoli sovereignty be under the jurisdiction of the US federal government, a reality that though already put into practice today, was never signed for by the Hawaiian Kingdom. Refusing to give up their legal right to defend the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom, despite ongoing colonial occupation, Kanaka Maoli sovereignty activists’ response to the government-to-government proposal was a near-unanimous refusal (Loomis 2009). Despite this, in 2016, the Obama administration went forward with creating the government-to-government pathway for Kanaka Maoli.

These public dialogues are compelling not only because they highlight the extraordinary courage and strength of Kanaka Maoli people to stand in defense of their Kingdom, but more largely because they brought the government-to-government relationship the US federal government has to American Indian nations back into public critical discussion, for the first time in decades. These discussions have been present within Native communities and those working within the realm of Indian law, but have rarely made newsstands since the activism of the 1970s. Moreover, the Kanaka Maoli case highlights an overlooked dilemma—though treaties made with colonial forces are now used as a tool in defense of sovereignty, more often than not, they actually were emblematic of deep compromises in sovereignty.

Many of the historic treaties that American Indian tribes signed are contradictory, make promises that are either impossible or too vague to fulfill, and were ratified under duress, deception, or force.⁶ They required an understanding of English and legal jargon, a patriarchal understanding of leadership and nationhood, and a piecemeal individualistic idea of democracy and governance that were at best non-existent and unfortunately eventually forced upon Indian nations.

Practically all of them have been violated and discarded by the US government (Echo-Hawk). So what does honoring the treaties even mean, when it comes at the expense of traditional governance, land rights, and ancestral lifeways? And what is a government-to-government relationship, when tribal governments are *permitted* to exercise sovereignty not as independent nations, but as domestic dependents?

Treaties do not necessarily have to be a tool of genocide, but they have been used as such throughout US history, and for the most part, continue to be used to this end. This is not to say that the extraordinary strides Indian nations have made in federal courts do not help our peoples or are not laudable, but that sovereignty that comes with a permission slip from a colonial government may not actually be sovereignty, and spending our time and money fighting for scraps will not lead us back to having our own table.

⁶ Examples of treaties passed via coercion and deception are more thoroughly discussed throughout this chapter. In Cheyenne history, one of the most glaring examples of this is the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, which never received enough Cheyenne male signatures on it to be ratified, but nevertheless was passed by US Congress and put into effect.

To illustrate this point, in this chapter I examine a number of historic treaties that shaped Tsèhéstáno (the Cheyenne Nation) and its breakdown, and some highlights in the current landscape of justice and sovereignty on tribal lands today. As a Southern Cheyenne woman, these are documents and policies that have shaped my entire life. They are, in many ways, reflective of alienation, heartbreak, and intergenerational trauma that have been felt for six generations of my family. I have selected Tsèhéstáno as my case study because I feel that I am in a unique position to demonstrate how these laws mark a continued breakdown in Cheyenne nationhood and traditional lifeways.

That said, I would also like to acknowledge the ways in which federal Indian law affects not just my peoples (now split into the Northern Cheyenne and Cheyenne & Arapaho tribes), but all Indian peoples. One of the terrifying realities of federal Indian law is that whenever one tribe drags a case to federal courts to demand justice, they inevitably drag all 566 other federally recognized tribes along with them—whatever happens to one tribe becomes legal precedent that is applied to all. The outcome of a Oklahoma-based lawsuit empowered Congress to exercise arbitrary legal power over Indian nations as far flung as California, the decision on a Washington-based case has led to incredible violence in North Dakota, and a Mississippi-based case reviewed by the Supreme Court in 2016 could have drastically changed the economic landscape of Indian Country as a whole.⁷ So, to begin this chapter, I share a map portraying the breakdown of my ancestors' nation through treaties and law, and end with the ways in which

⁷ The three cases referenced above are, in order: *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, *Oliphant v. Suquamish*, and *Dollar General v. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians*. *Lone Wolf* granted US Congress plenary power to dissolve any Indian treaty and tribal lands as they saw fit, *Oliphant* denied tribes the authority to criminally prosecute non-Indians on tribal lands, and *Dollar General* could have exempted non-Indian businesses from civil suits brought up in tribal courts.

federal Indian law is wielded by both Native people and the federal government to create the patchwork of piecemeal justice and sovereignty Indian nations are permitted to practice today. This is with the larger aim of illustrating the ways in which international, national, state, and tribal law is complicit in historic and ongoing genocide.

I Did Not Sign Up For This: Treaties & the Breakdown of Tsèhéstáno

The first map of this chapter addresses the historic breakdown of Cheyenne sovereignty and nationhood, with an emphasis on the role of treaties and law. Of particular importance are the Treaty of Fort Laramie, Treaty of Medicine Lodge, Executive Order for Cheyenne & Arapaho, and *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. Other key events critical to this history are the Sand Creek Massacre, Washita Massacre, and Fort Robinson Breakout. In this section, I will provide a brief overview of these documents and the events that led up to them, then provide an explanation of the genesis of the map, and finally, an exploration of its use in understanding contemporary issues of Cheyenne nationhood.

In the early days of our history, we lived in a place where food grew from endless water. The place we were living was full of conflict, war, and strife—the people were disconnected, there was not enough land, and there was much violence. We prayed for a homeland and way of life for our people that would bring safety and sovereignty. One man, Sweet Medicine, traveled to what would become our most sacred mountain, looking for answers. He became our prophet, and led the people to the land and ways we understand as ours today. Creator told Sweet Medicine to lead our people to the West, and gave him the sacred pipe and arrows as the covenant of our

governing structure. The northern bands would become caretakers of the pipe, and the southern bands would be arrow keepers. Combined, the pipe and arrows carry the power of our nation and the commitment we have to our Creator, to honor the teachings gifted to Sweet Medicine. These teachings include a council of 44 chiefs, made up of regional band leaders, who collectively make decisions on things like war, trade agreements, and other politics. These regional chiefs are selected by their band, based on character, leadership skills, honorable deeds, and lineage. Thanks to Sweet Medicine's pilgrimage and Creator's generosity, we became Tsistsistas (our autonym, pronounced "tchet-tches-das"), and flourished in our Plains homeland.

Today, we understand our place of origin as northern Minnesota (the food growing from the maze of lakes was wild rice), the conflict our ancestors described as wars between Dakota Sioux and Anishinaabe peoples, and the mountain Sweet Medicine journeyed to as Bear Butte (located in present-day South Dakota). By the time my Tsistsistas ancestors had moved to the Plains and were practicing the governmental system given to us by Sweet Medicine, Europeans were still dying en masse from poor hygiene.⁸ Moreover, our democratic system successfully spanned an area encompassing portions of Montana, the Dakotas, Wyoming, Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas, and combined with our allies the Lakota, we had one of the strongest militaries and largest land bases of Plains nations. So how did we become as fractured as we are today, if we had such a strong nation and governmental system when the vé'ho'e'e (whites) arrived?

⁸ The bubonic plague, also known as the Black Death, ravaged Europe in the mid-1300s. This disease is transmitted by fleas, and its severity throughout medieval Europe is credited to cultural ideas regarding bathing and cleanliness, and the practice of bringing livestock inside human residences. I make this comparison to push back against the racist stereotype of indigenous peoples as being primitive, dirty, and ignorant. To the contrary, over half of the population of Europe had died from being dirty, while my indigenous ancestors were practicing a well-developed form of democracy and thriving over a vast swath of the North American continent.

Tsitsistas are no strangers to dying for their people or their homeland—it was not mass death itself that began the split, but disproportionate mass death. As hordes of settlers traveled westward across the Plains, the southern bands of Cheyennes were ravaged by disease. A 1840s cholera epidemic resulted in the deaths of over one third of Colorado Cheyennes, and subsequent waves of smallpox and tuberculosis stole even more people away (Hyde). Construction of fur trading forts on the Platte brought an increasing number of white men to the area, who engaged in rampant sexual assault and sex trafficking of Native women, which led to increased rates of tuberculosis and syphilis. Larger settler communities meant less free reign over our lands, more possibilities for violence, and harder hunting conditions. Northern territories in Wyoming and Montana, however, remained sparsely populated, and the isolation, harsh climate, and intertribal warfare of Montana kept settler communities in smaller numbers. In short, southern bands of Cheyenne were experiencing a new world of violence that had not yet touched northern bands in scale or severity.

The first settler attempt to restrict the Cheyenne nation's territorial holdings came in the wake of this violence, with the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie. This treaty was signed between the United States, and the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Lakota, Dakota, Assiniboiné, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara nations, and defined each tribal nation's territories. The treaty also promised each of these nations payment of \$50,000 per year for ten years, if they allowed settlers to pass through their territories peacefully, on their journey towards California and Oregon. While the treaty also required that the US be permitted to build roads and forts on tribal territories, it did not require that tribes allow settlers to reside within the bounds of their territories, as recognized by the

treaty. Representatives from Tsèhéstáno signed the treaty, though its definition of Cheyenne national territory greatly reduced Cheyenne land holdings. The treaty could not recognize the relationship Cheyennes had to the Arapaho and Lakota, and the overlaps in their territories.⁹

The United States neither made the payments promised by the treaty, nor enforced its agreement to keep settlers from creating permanent communities on tribal lands. In less than a decade, thousands of settlers traveling west to participate in the Pike's Peak Gold Rush had violated the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie by settling on tribal lands. The city of Denver is one such violation, built on treaty-recognized Cheyenne territory and displacing a traditional Cheyenne winter camp.¹⁰

The hordes of settlers, possessing a remarkable sense of entitlement to lands and to resources promised to Indians by international law, built an entire economy through the genocide of

⁹ Because the Arapaho and Lakota are allies and relatives to the Cheyenne (and have been for hundreds of years), land holdings of the three nations overlapped. Though each retained three entirely different languages (and speak languages from three entirely different language families—like comparing Chinese to Spanish), many bilingual or trilingual households existed, as members of each nation intermarried, and traded with one another. This relationship also contributed to the formation of Plains Indian sign language, a universal sign language utilized by Plains tribes for basic trading and communication purposes. Moreover, Cheyennes, bands of the Oceti Sakowin (Sioux Nation), and Arapaho often made decisions regarding war and battle in consultation with one another. Because Western notions of nationhood do not recognize the idea of overlapping territories or shared kingdoms, government officials writing these treaties could not fully understand Plains Indian ally relationships, and the realities of those true land holdings could not be translated into a legal document.

¹⁰ This winter camp is noted in historical records as being in Cherry Creek, Colorado. The city of Denver was initially named Cherry Creek, and the land it is built on was recognized as Cheyenne territory in the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie. This winter camp was strategically placed near ample water supply and food sources, and was targeted as a site for settler development for the same reasons, as well as being a convenient trading hub for fur traders. I am a direct descendant of the Cheyennes that made this winter camp their home.

indigenous peoples. In cities like Denver and Rapid City, retail stores featured preserved Indian body parts and clothing stolen off corpses for sale, settler sex trafficking of Indian women became commonplace, and widespread demand for products like buffalo robes decimated traditional food sources. Meanwhile, traders made a fortune selling items like blankets and alcohol to Indians who were grappling with rapid environmental and societal change, and the miners, railroad companies, real estate agencies, and trade companies of the region profited off the US government's apathy towards enforcement of the law that prohibited their wholesale theft of Cheyenne land (one example of this practice was the massive land grab that took place during the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1858).

In 1861, several Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs signed the Treaty of Fort Wise, which utilized the same terms as the Treaty of Fort Laramie, but reduced Cheyenne territory even further, encompassing most of eastern Colorado, though only less than one-thirteenth of their original treaty territory (Greene). Most Cheyennes did not recognize the treaty as valid, arguing that the required number of chief's signatures were never acquired, and those that did sign were given false information, coerced, and bribed into signing. In some ways, the Treaty of Fort Wise can be interpreted as signifying a breakdown in the structure of traditional Cheyenne governance due to genocide, though it can also be seen as emblematic of the role spirituality played for Cheyenne leadership during what was arguably the most troubling times our nation faced.

Though Hollywood stereotypes refer to Indian leadership as 'war chiefs,' in Cheyenne culture, we understand them as peace chiefs; it is the duty of a chief to maintain peace, and to look after the welfare of his people—though it is entirely possible that the chiefs that signed the Treaty of

Fort Wise indeed did not understand what they were signing, it is also possible that they signed because they felt it was their best chance of bringing peace and safety to their people, who had been ravaged by genocide for decades. That said, the Treaty of Fort Wise not only compromised Cheyenne national territory, but began to fracture the Cheyenne nation as a whole. Tséhestáno was still existent, but distance began to grow between Northern and Southern bands, and our most fierce warrior society, the Dog Soldiers, broke off as a third faction in the wake of the Treaty of Fort Wise.

Perhaps the most traumatic violence ever perpetrated against Cheyennes occurred a few years later, at a place called Póno'eo'hé'e, or Sand Creek. Colorado began to feel the ripple effect of the US Civil War in 1862, when US troops were deployed to Colorado to serve as state guard, and the Colorado territorial governor began to utilize them in indiscriminate attacks against Indians, without a declaration of war or any warning or explanation. In April 1864, Colorado territorial soldiers destroyed over 70 lodges, which had comprised about 10% of the housing of the entire Cheyenne nation (Hoig). A month later, Cheyenne chiefs Lean Bear and Star were shot down by US soldiers in a traditional Cheyenne summer camp, though they had signaled that they were peaceful. After these attacks, Southern Cheyenne chiefs brought their camps to Big Sandy Creek, which had been promised to them by Colorado governor John Evans as a place of safety, where they could access provisions and negotiate peace with protection from US troops.

Chief Black Kettle was flying a white flag and an American flag from his tipi at Big Sandy Creek when in the early hours of November 29, Colonel Chivington and his 700 troops attacked the camp. The men of the camp had left to go buffalo hunting, and Chivington led a massacre

against sleeping women, children, and elders, with no warning or provocation. Indeed, the attack stemmed from nothing but Chivington's hatred for Indians; one of his most famous quotes reads, "I have come to kill Indians, and believe it is right and honorable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians...Kill and scalp all, big and little; nits make lice...I long to be wading in gore!" (Brown 1970). Chivington's men raped women and children, tortured and murdered unarmed peaceful civilians, mutilated corpses, and bragged about their "victory" in Denver for weeks before they received any criticism. In a Congressional inquiry into the Sand Creek massacre, Chivington bragged that they had killed 600 Indians, though others have claimed the numbers are closer to 200, the majority of which were women and children. Other accounts of the aftermath of the massacre read as follows,

I saw the bodies of those lying there cut all to pieces, worse mutilated than any I ever saw before; the women cut all to pieces...With knives; scalped; their brains knocked out; children two or three months old; all ages lying there, from sucking infants up to warriors...By whom were they mutilated? By the United States troops.

I refused to fire and swore that none but a coward would. For by this time hundreds of women and children were coming towards us and getting on their knees for mercy...it was hard to see little children on their knees have their brains beat out by men professing to be civilized... One squaw was wounded and a fellow took a hatchet to finish her, she held her arms up to defend her, and he cut one arm off, and held the other with one hand and dashed the hatchet through her brain. One squaw with her two children, were on their knees begging for their lives of a dozen soldiers, within ten feet of them all, firing – when one succeeded in hitting the squaw in the thigh, she took a knife and cut the throats of both children, and then killed herself. One old squaw hung herself in the lodge – there was not enough room for her to hang and she held up her knees and choked herself to death. Some tried to escape on the prairie, but most of them were run down by horsemen. I saw two Indians hold one another's hands, chased until they were exhausted, when they kneeled down, and clasped each other around the neck and were both shot together. They were all scalped, and as high as half a dozen taken from one head. They were all horribly mutilated. One woman was cut open and a child taken out of her, and scalped. White Antelope, War Bonnet and a number of others had ears and privates cut off. Squaw's snatches were cut out for trophies. You could think it impossible for white men to butcher and mutilate

human beings as they did there, but every word I have told you is the truth, which they do not deny.¹¹

[M]en, women, and children's privates [were] cut out. I heard one man say that he had cut a woman's private parts out and had them for exhibition on a stick...I also heard of numerous instances in which men had cut out the private parts of females and stretched them over their saddle bows, and some of them over their hats.

Chivington's men returned to Sand Creek after the massacre to kill the wounded. They also scalped the dead, and decorated their weapons and uniforms with scalps, human fetuses, male and female genitalia, noses, and ears. These items were displayed in Denver's Apollo Theater and local saloons, and many museums and households displayed them prominently for generations (LaDuke). None of the men who perpetrated the violence at Sand Creek, including Chivington himself, were incarcerated or punished for their crimes. In 1865, the US government signed the Treaty of Little Arkansas with Cheyennes, which promised safe territory and cash and land reparations to Sand Creek survivors and their descendants. That treaty was cast aside less than two years later, and lawsuits demanding those reparations remain open today. In 2007, the massacre site became a National Historic Site, and in 2014, Colorado Governor John Hickenlooper issued a public apology for the massacre, on its 150th anniversary (Hernandez).

Aside from the immediate pain and trauma of such a massacre, the Cheyenne nation sustained heavy blows from Sand Creek. Eight of the most prominent members of the Council of 44 were murdered, as well as headmen of several Cheyenne military societies. This loss in leadership was

¹¹ Quote from Lieutenant Silas Soule, who ordered his troops to stand down and refused to participate in the massacre, calling Chivington and any man who joined him in the attack at Sand Creek "a low lived cowardly son of a bitch." Lt. Soule advocated for racial justice and was an abolitionist; prior to his engagement in the military, he operated a home active in the Underground Railroad. He was murdered on the streets of Denver, the year he provided testimony on the massacre (National Park Service).

devastating to traditional Cheyenne governance, and strengthened the breaks between Northern and Southern Cheyennes, as well as the militaristic Dog Soldiers.

In 1865, some Cheyenne chiefs signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, once again in hopes that peace treaties with the US would provide safety and stability to communities that had been continuously murdered, raped, starved, ravaged by disease, and repeatedly displaced for 30 years. The treaty was updated in 1867, and reduced Cheyenne treaty lands by 90% (less than half of what the 1865 iteration of the treaty promised), and exiled Cheyennes to 4,300,000 acres of malaria-infested wastelands in Oklahoma. A condition of the treaty was that it would not be ratified until three quarters of the adult male population of each tribe signed; though the US obtained signatures of less than half that number from the Cheyenne nation, they ratified it anyway. Many of the signatures they did obtain were coerced, and were obtained through deception, lies, bribes, and threat of violence. After the treaty was ratified, Cheyennes were forced to Oklahoma and held in internment camps—food, supplies, housing, and health care were rationed by white Indian agents, Cheyenne religious ceremonies and political organizations were banned; women often were forced to trade sexual favors for basic survival items and rape was commonplace, people died of disease and starvation daily, and leaving the reservation meant risking imprisonment, torture, or death. Reservation life was far from safe from murder at the hands of US troops; in 1868, Custer and his troops led an attack against a peaceful Cheyenne camp on treaty land. This attack would later be called the Washita Massacre. Custer was known for taking large numbers of Indian prisoners, and utilized Cheyenne women and children as human shields at Washita, where between 100 and 300 Cheyennes were murdered or taken captive.

In 1878, 297 Northern Cheyennes imprisoned at the Cheyenne agency in Oklahoma broke out, in attempt to return to their homelands in Wyoming and Montana. Conditions in Oklahoma were so bleak, it came to a decision of where and how they would like to die, and they chose fighting for their homelands. Led by Little Wolf and Dull Knife, they ran north until they reached Nebraska, where they chose to split in two—those that wished to stop running would take refuge at the Red Cloud agency with Dull Knife, hidden by the Oglala Lakota (who had fought alongside them in the Indian Wars), and others would continue north with Little Wolf. In October, US troops discovered Dull Knife's group and informed them Red Cloud and his people had been relocated to the Pine Ridge reservation; Dull Knife's group decided to go to Fort Robinson, and pretended to surrender their weapons to the troops, but secretly women hid gun barrels underneath their clothes and sewed ammunition and gun parts to moccasins and other garments as decoration. They were confined to the fort, and when one Cheyenne was reported missing, all were incarcerated in the barracks.

It was decided that these Cheyenne must return to Oklahoma, but they refused, saying they would rather die than go back. Their incarceration in the barracks continued; the army put bars on the windows, and heat and food were withheld in an attempt to coerce the Cheyennes into agreeing to go south. They still refused. In an extreme move, the army began to deny the Cheyennes water as well. Once again, the Cheyenne refused to go back to Oklahoma, and instead began rationing the food on the windows for elders and children. People began to freeze to death and die of hunger and thirst, and finally, on the night of January 9, the incarcerated Cheyenne had had enough. They broke through the windows, and made a desperate run for home.

As a participant in the Fort Robinson Breakout Healing Run, an annual event held to honor the breakout (Cheyenne people, mostly youth, break out of the barracks at the same date and time as their ancestors did, and run all the way home to Lama Deer, Montana as they did), I would be remiss to write about this chapter of Cheyenne history without sharing my personal experience of the Breakout's history. I stood in those same barracks on January 9, 2014, surrounded by 150 other Cheyennes, and broke out as the ancestors did. I was not thirsty, starving, freezing, or sick; I had not been incarcerated for months; I had not survived multiple forced relocations, massacres, and waves of disease...but even still, I felt the presence of the ancestors in those barracks and ran out as if I was running for my life. It was pitch dark, there was 2 feet of ice and snow, and the sounds of the war songs the men sang in preparation for the breakout still echoed as runners warwhooped and yelled, "Run fast, run hard. Run fast, run hard." Many runners report hearing footsteps of spirits running behind them, and others stop to pick up and carry the younger children or elders who fall in the snow, as our ancestors had to do 135 years prior. The adrenaline, terror, exhaustion, heartbreak, and pride I felt as a contemporary runner can only be a fraction of that experienced by the original runners, but was the most intense I ever felt.

Most of the people who participated in the original breakout were murdered by US troops. Many were gunned down as they ran that night, while others were ambushed at a site referred to as The Pit, a dry creek bed turned massacre site. Today, runners stop at The Pit to do a healing ceremony, where many report hearing gun shots and women and children's screams on the wind. The remains from The Pit were repatriated in 1994, and are located at a gravesite on the Northern Cheyenne reservation, which is where today's runners end their journey. Runners also stop at the

Pine Ridge reservation, where our Oglala Lakota relatives hid some of the original runners and secretly cared for our wounded and dead. Little Wolf's group and a very small number of Dull Knife's did actually make it to their homelands in Montana, and were finally permitted to remain there.¹² Recognizing the sheer strength, courage, and bravery of those Cheyennes, the US government decided it would be easier to incarcerate them there, on a reservation half the size of our neighboring rivals, the Crow (it was US strategy that Cheyennes and Crows would hopefully save the government some time and kill each other, living in such close proximity and being provided vastly disproportionate resources).

Meanwhile, in 1890, Congress formally created the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation, which encompassed the land in northwestern Oklahoma Southern Cheyennes and Arapahos had been moved to a few decades prior. Two years later, Congress dissolved the reservation and made Cheyenne and Arapaho lands available to the open market. By 1910, the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation was completely broken down. All of the land promised to our two tribes had been held in trust by Congress, which ruled in 1903 in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* that they have plenary power to dissolve tribal lands without tribal consent, and break any treaty signed with an Indian nation as they see fit. Congress broke the collective Cheyenne and Arapaho land holdings into private allotments, and through the Dawes Act, distributed small parcels of land to Indians listed on the Census (which was, of course, determined by blood quantum and cooperation with the

¹² Initially named the Tongue River Indian Reservation, the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation was established in 1884. In 1900, it was expanded. Today, the reservation encompasses approximately 444,000 square acres, and is home to a population of 5,000. As of 2008, there were approximately 23,000 Cheyennes enrolled in the Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes combined. This number does not account for Cheyennes enrolled in other tribes, or Cheyennes who are unable to enroll due to blood quantum limitations.

relocation and enrollment forced on tribes). The remainder of reservation lands were sold to white settlers. This was done to both appease settlers, and to assimilate Indians, demanding that they reject their traditional ways of collective land ownership and adopt white capitalist ideas of property.¹³

The Cheyenne people have many victories over the US military, including the Fort Robinson Breakout, Battle of Little Bighorn, and Battle of the Rosebud. That said, it is clear that in a span of less than 100 years, Tsèhéstáno, as a nation, was almost completely destroyed. Today, Tsèhéstáno remains separated in two tribes (Northern Cheyenne and Cheyenne & Arapaho), our traditional governing structure has been severely compromised and operates aside from the tribal governments recognized by the US government, our land holdings have been reduced to almost nothing, and the Tsitsistas are split into Òhméseestse and Heévâhetane. Òhméseestse (Northern Cheyenne) translates to ‘eaters,’ while Heévâhetane (Southern Cheyenne) translates to ‘roped in people;’ Northern Cheyenne had continued access to buffalo on their reservation in Montana, while Southern Cheyennes remained roped in like cattle in Oklahoma.¹⁴

Southern Cheyennes never broke out of Oklahoma as our Northern relatives did. There are a number of reasons for this, namely that Southern Cheyennes had experienced disproportionate trauma (Sand Creek, Washita), they knew Northerners were running to their deaths and felt a

¹³ Further in-depth analysis of the Dawes Act is available in *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land* (Carlson 1981), *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (Otis), and *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided* (Echo-Hawk).

¹⁴ These translations are based on translations available in the Cheyenne language dictionary published by Chief Dull Knife College, on the Northern Cheyenne reservation, and created in consultation with Cheyenne elders.

responsibility to stay in hopes of preserving the Cheyenne people and ways of life, and Southern Cheyennes did not have a home to run back to (Montana may have remained rural, but Colorado was overrun with settlers). The Fort Robinson Breakout is the pride of the Northern Cheyenne people, and rightfully so; but for generations, some have judged Southern Cheyennes as cowards for not following suit.

That schism has created a festering wound for Tsèhéstáno, that remains present to this day. We also now have words like *aéstome-vé'ho'e* ('false-whiteman'), which is a slur used to reference Cheyennes who were never taught the Cheyenne language or some of our traditional ways, and has sometimes been used to reference Southern Cheyennes. The lateral violence between North and South has become so strong, even other tribes have now come to think of Southern Cheyennes as 'not *real* Cheyennes,' and we are criticized for not eating our traditional foods and for having developed a dialect almost unintelligible to our 'more traditional' Northern relatives. The reality is our traditional foods do not exist in Oklahoma because it was never our homeland, and the dialect of Cheyenne spoken in Oklahoma is influenced by the languages of the other tribes that were relocated to Indian Country.

Efforts to reunite Tsèhéstáno are happening. One of the most noteworthy examples of that is a concerted effort to unify and standardize Cheyenne language, so that both groups can once again understand each other. But unification and healing is slow, and will take time, and some painful dialogue on the ways in which the various groups of Tsèhéstáno have experienced genocide. My map below is my initial entry into these dialogues.

Treaties & the Breakdown of Tséhestáno

It was extremely difficult for me to collapse centuries of Cheyenne political history into a few brief pages here. The map, however, communicates the timeline of the breakdown of Tséhestáno in ways that I could not have done in writing. To start, it honors the vast reduction in Tséhestáno's land holdings in a manner more rapidly understood, as well as the initial strength and extent of Tséhestáno as a nation prior to genocide, the trauma of repeated forced locations, and the distance between the Northern and Southern Cheyennes of today. It was also important to me to highlight that all of the large-scale massacres perpetrated against Cheyennes occurred on our traditional homelands, and the two most egregious on treaty lands.

Moreover, considering it was the disproportionate violence that fractured Tséhestáno, I feel the map is useful in expressing the location-specific information of such violence. As indigenous peoples, our stories, whether traditional or on genocide, are place-based. We remember, share, and experience our history on the land, and our history and culture rests in landmarks. For that reason, I felt an ethical responsibility to place these stories on the land itself, and honor that relationship.

That responsibility was also the inspiration for the background of the map, which is Cheyenne homeland in South Dakota, near our Oglala relatives and our sacred mountain. The photo is one that I took while on the Fort Robinson Run, and shows the beauty of our homelands. Though that land was stolen from us during the genocide the map depicts, that view is most beautiful to me because Cheyennes 300, 100, and 10 years ago all stood on that earth and looked out on it with a heart full of love and pride for our lands. I am honored to be part of that chain of history, and will someday bring my children to that spot to continue it.

This method of mapping has uses throughout comparative genocide studies more generally as well—it can both be respectful to the ways in which survivors understand and remember genocide (which is often site-specific), and useful in understanding the geography and spatial dynamics of genocide. This may be of particular interest for comparative genocide scholars who engage in preventative or ‘real time’ work, and for military strategists engaging in combat against a genocidal regime; though it would require much further study, from my work studying Native histories of genocide, I have seen patterns not just in techniques of violence, but in massacre location and internment camp placement. One of the ways in which I would like to continue this project is by mapping other nations’ experiences of genocide in the same manner, to better conduct that kind of comparative study.

This map is most useful, however, in its ability to communicate lengthy and complex histories very quickly, to a wide range of audiences. Although it does not include as much detail as my initial overview of Cheyenne history, it is a very useful teaching tool and starting piece for dialogue, among Cheyennes and outsider communities alike. I could easily use this map in a college lecture on Cheyenne experiences of genocide, present it to community members as a guiding document for discussions on reunification of Tséhestáno, provide it to organizations and service providers working with our tribes to address intergenerational trauma, or use it to make a case for restoration of tribal sovereignty and reparations for treaty violations. Its diversity of potential use and its power in rapid communication of Tséhestáno’s land loss and political breakdown distinguishes it from other forms of testimony on the subject, which have been written for specific niche audiences (academic books, legal testimony, etc.), do not include the cultural beliefs that shaped the map, and are not accessible or relevant to a wide population.

(In)Justice in Indian Country

The second map of this chapter is an attempt to document some of the most egregious legal battles tribes have sustained in the last 40 years (the oldest being 1974's Boldt Decision). This is done to further illustrate the ways in which Indian law has been and continues to be a site of genocidal violence against indigenous peoples.

Sovereignty is an innate element of indigenous nations. Each of the informational points on the map is an example of a right that we as sovereign nations should have already had recognized, that Indian people had to fight for. Moreover, as the map demonstrates, these rights innate to Native sovereignty, even when recognized by federal Indian law, are applied and enforced in a piecemeal manner, and are regularly violated.

Rather than provide a lengthy historical overview as I did for the previous map, I would like to begin with the map itself, dissecting it into pieces that can provide its contextual information. After presenting the map in its entirety, I will follow with an explanation of each of the pieces—the informational data, geographic extent, textual graphics, and background graphics—and how they weave together to provide a narrative on the landscape of justice in Indian Country.

(In)Justice in Indian Country

1. Boldt Decision (1879): Upheld tribal treaty rights to fishing in Washington; ended the Fish Wars.

2. Wier: Criminal records from the Fish Wars are still being cleared, and tribal fishermen in other states are still being arrested. Fish Wars activist Billy Frank Jr. (Puyallup) was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2005.

3. Oliphant v. Suquamish (1978): Determined tribes do not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. Many non-Indians (drug & human traffickers, rapists, & abusers find havens on reservations, because tribal police do not have jurisdiction and federal law enforcement is not present).

4. American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978): Formally acknowledged Native peoples' First Amendment rights to religious freedom, which had been compromised by forced removal, and bans on religious ceremonies & traditional items. Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota introduced the bill.

5. Indian Child Welfare Act (1978): ICWA enforces tribal custody over Indian children removed from their homes, rather than being placed in non-Indian homes & communities; affirms tribal rights to our children. Arizona Rep. Morris Udall is credited with pushing the bill through to passage.

6. Native American Graves Protection & Repatriation Act (1990): NAGPRA enforces tribal rights to ancestral remains and sacred items removed, trafficked, or disturbed by non-Indians. Maria Pearson (Dakota) of Iowa is considered "the Rose Parks of NAGPRA" for her role in its development.

7. Ray Street Cemetery (2002): During construction of a deluxe shopping mall, one of the largest shellmounds sacred to the Ohlone people was destroyed. The land the parking structure occupies had hundreds of child remains removed.

8. Klamath River Fish Kill (2002): Klamath River tribes' treaty rights to salmon have been severely compromised by upriver dams; in 2002, the dams created the largest fish kill in US history, with 70,000 salmon dead overnight.

9. Balas Chonas Revival (2006): During their Balas Chonas ceremony, the Winemans Wintu are routinely harassed by boatloads of racist white people. When the Forest Service granted a temporary river closure (after years of petitions), spiritual leader Calston Risk was arrested mid-ceremony, for violating the closure that was supposed to be in their name.

10. Violence Against Women Act (2013): The 2005 iteration of VAWA included new stipulations restoring tribal jurisdiction over cases of domestic violence perpetrated against a tribal member on a reservation, including non-Indian perpetrators. Pasosha Yagui attorney general Alfred Urbina was one of the primary catalysts for the creation of these stipulations, and Pasosha Yagui was one of three pilot tribes implementing restored jurisdiction.

11. Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl (2013): This case severely compromised ICWA, determining that if a tribal parent never had custody of their child, ICWA does not apply. The result was that Cherokee Nation citizen was adopted out to a white family, even when there were Cherokee relatives and tribal organizations willing and able to care for her, who fought to retain custody.

12. Lorea's Law (2004): The Fort Belknap reservation is experiencing a huge increase in human trafficking with a recent influx of non-Indian oil workers. Passed in 2004, Lorea's Law is the first tribal anti-trafficking law, though it only applies to Indian traffickers due to Oliphant v. Suquamish.

13. Slave Oak Plate (2015): Oak Plate is a religious site sacred to the San Carlos Apache. The land has been authorized to be transferred from the US Dept. of Agriculture to Recreation Copper Mining, Inc. In July 2005, presidential candidate Bernie Sanders introduced a bill to protect Oak Plate under AHPA.

14. US Berkeley (2015): UC Berkeley continues to be a source of scandal for its extensive collection of Native human remains, yet to be repatriated. Berkeley has more dead Indians on its campus than alive, with hundreds of remains housed underneath one of its swimming pools.

15. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians v. Dollar General (2015): A tribal member was sexually assaulted by a superior while working at a Dollar General located on tribal land; when the family sued for damages, Dollar General contested it. The Supreme Court will decide whether tribes retain civil jurisdiction over sexual assault cases with non-Indian perpetrators in 2016.

"You know, maybe it is true--I am a radical. Because all I've ever asked, all I've ever demanded, all I've ever fought for, all I've ever been shot for, all I've ever been stabbed and beaten for, or thrown in jail or prison for, is to ask and demand, in any way, shape, or form, that the United States of America live up to its own laws." --Russell Means

(In)Justice in Indian Country

1. Boldt Decision (1879): Upheld tribal treaty rights to fishing in Washington; ended the Fish Wars.

2. Wier: Criminal records from the Fish Wars are still being cleared, and tribal fishermen in other states are still being arrested. Fish Wars activist Billy Frank Jr. (Puyallup) was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2005.

3. Oliphant v. Suquamish (1978): Determined tribes do not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. Many non-Indians drug & human traffickers, rapists, & abusers find havens on reservations, because tribal police do not have jurisdiction and federal law enforcement is not present.

4. American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978): Formally acknowledged Native peoples' First Amendment rights to religious freedom, which had been compromised by forced removal, and bans on religious ceremonies & traditional items. Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota introduced the bill.

5. Indian Child Welfare Act (1978): ICWA enforces tribal custody over Indian children removed from their homes, rather than being placed in non-Indian homes & communities; affirms tribal rights to our children. Arizona Rep. Morris Udall is credited with pushing the bill through to passage.

6. Native American Graves Protection & Repatriation Act (1990): NAGPRA enforces tribal rights to ancestral remains and sacred items removed, trafficked, or disturbed by non-Indians. Maria Pearson (Dakota) of Iowa is considered "the Rose Parks of NAGPRA" for her role in its development.

7. Ray Street Cemetery (2002): During construction of a deluxe shopping mall, one of the largest shellmounds sacred to the Ohlone people was destroyed. The land the parking structure occupies had hundreds of child remains removed.

8. Klamath River Fish Kill (2002): Klamath River tribes' treaty rights to salmon have been severely compromised by upriver dams; in 2002, the dams created the largest fish kill in US history, with 70,000 salmon dead overnight.

9. Balas Chonas Revival (2006): During their Balas Chonas ceremony, the Winemans Wintu are routinely harassed by boatloads of racist white people. When the Forest Service granted a temporary river closure (after years of petitions), spiritual leader Calston Risk was arrested mid-ceremony, for violating the closure that was supposed to be in their name.

10. Violence Against Women Act (2013): The 2005 iteration of VAWA included new stipulations restoring tribal jurisdiction over cases of domestic violence perpetrated against a tribal member on a reservation, including non-Indian perpetrators. Pasosha Yagui attorney general Alfred Urbina was one of the primary catalysts for the creation of these stipulations, and Pasosha Yagui was one of three pilot tribes implementing restored jurisdiction.

11. Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl (2013): This case severely compromised ICWA, determining that if a tribal parent never had custody of their child, ICWA does not apply. The result was that Cherokee Nation citizen was adopted out to a white family, even when there were Cherokee relatives and tribal organizations willing and able to care for her, who fought to retain custody.

12. Lorea's Law (2014): The Fort Belknap reservation is experiencing a huge increase in human trafficking with a recent influx of non-Indian oil workers. Passed in 2014, Lorea's Law is the first tribal anti-trafficking law, though it only applies to Indian traffickers due to Oliphant v. Suquamish.

13. Slave Oak Plate (2015): Oak Plate is a religious site sacred to the San Carlos Apache. The land has been authorized to be transferred from the US Dept. of Agriculture to Recreation Copper Mining, Inc. In July 2005, presidential candidate Bernie Sanders introduced a bill to protect Oak Plate under AHPA.

14. US Berkeley (2015): UC Berkeley continues to be a source of scandal for its extensive collection of Native human remains, yet to be repatriated. Berkeley has more dead Indians on its campus than alive, with hundreds of remains housed underneath one of its swimming pools.

15. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians v. Dollar General (2015): A tribal member was sexually assaulted by a superior while working at a Dollar General located on tribal land; when the family sued for damages, Dollar General contested it. The Supreme Court will decide whether tribes retain civil jurisdiction over sexual assault cases with non-Indian perpetrators in 2016.

"You know, maybe it is true--I am a radical. Because all I've ever asked, all I've ever demanded, all I've ever fought for, all I've ever been shot for, all I've ever been stabbed and beaten for, or thrown in jail or prison for, is to ask and demand, in any way, shape, or form, that the United States of America live up to its own laws." --Russell Means

- # (In)Justice in Indian Country
-
1. Boldt Decision (1879): Upheld tribal treaty rights to fishing in Washington; ended the Fish Wars.
2. Wier: Criminal records from the Fish Wars are still being cleared, and tribal fishermen in other states are still being arrested. Fish Wars activist Billy Frank Jr. (Puyallup) was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2005.
3. Oliphant v. Suquamish (1978): Determined tribes do not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. Many non-Indians drug & human traffickers, rapists, & abusers find havens on reservations, because tribal police do not have jurisdiction and federal law enforcement is not present.
4. American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978): Formally acknowledged Native peoples' First Amendment rights to religious freedom, which had been compromised by forced removal, and bans on religious ceremonies & traditional items. Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota introduced the bill.
5. Indian Child Welfare Act (1978): ICWA enforces tribal custody over Indian children removed from their homes, rather than being placed in non-Indian homes & communities; affirms tribal rights to our children. Arizona Rep. Morris Udall is credited with pushing the bill through to passage.
6. Native American Graves Protection & Repatriation Act (1990): NAGPRA enforces tribal rights to ancestral remains and sacred items removed, trafficked, or disturbed by non-Indians. Maria Pearson (Dakota) of Iowa is considered "the Rose Parks of NAGPRA" for her role in its development.
7. Ray Street Cemetery (2002): During construction of a deluxe shopping mall, one of the largest shellmounds sacred to the Ohlone people was destroyed. The land the parking structure occupies had hundreds of child remains removed.
8. Klamath River Fish Kill (2002): Klamath River tribes' treaty rights to salmon have been severely compromised by upriver dams; in 2002, the dams created the largest fish kill in US history, with 70,000 salmon dead overnight.
9. Balas Chonas Revival (2006): During their Balas Chonas ceremony, the Winemans Wintu are routinely harassed by boatloads of racist white people. When the Forest Service granted a temporary river closure (after years of petitions), spiritual leader Calston Risk was arrested mid-ceremony, for violating the closure that was supposed to be in their name.
10. Violence Against Women Act (2013): The 2005 iteration of VAWA included new stipulations restoring tribal jurisdiction over cases of domestic violence perpetrated against a tribal member on a reservation, including non-Indian perpetrators. Pasosha Yagui attorney general Alfred Urbina was one of the primary catalysts for the creation of these stipulations, and Pasosha Yagui was one of three pilot tribes implementing restored jurisdiction.
11. Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl (2013): This case severely compromised ICWA, determining that if a tribal parent never had custody of their child, ICWA does not apply. The result was that Cherokee Nation citizen was adopted out to a white family, even when there were Cherokee relatives and tribal organizations willing and able to care for her, who fought to retain custody.
12. Lorea's Law (2014): The Fort Belknap reservation is experiencing a huge increase in human trafficking with a recent influx of non-Indian oil workers. Passed in 2014, Lorea's Law is the first tribal anti-trafficking law, though it only applies to Indian traffickers due to Oliphant v. Suquamish.
13. Slave Oak Plate (2015): Oak Plate is a religious site sacred to the San Carlos Apache. The land has been authorized to be transferred from the US Dept. of Agriculture to Recreation Copper Mining, Inc. In July 2005, presidential candidate Bernie Sanders introduced a bill to protect Oak Plate under AHPA.
14. US Berkeley (2015): UC Berkeley continues to be a source of scandal for its extensive collection of Native human remains, yet to be repatriated. Berkeley has more dead Indians on its campus than alive, with hundreds of remains housed underneath one of its swimming pools.
15. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians v. Dollar General (2015): A tribal member was sexually assaulted by a superior while working at a Dollar General located on tribal land; when the family sued for damages, Dollar General contested it. The Supreme Court will decide whether tribes retain civil jurisdiction over sexual assault cases with non-Indian perpetrators in 2016.
- "You know, maybe it is true--I am a radical. Because all I've ever asked, all I've ever demanded, all I've ever fought for, all I've ever been shot for, all I've ever been stabbed and beaten for, or thrown in jail or prison for, is to ask and demand, in any way, shape, or form, that the United States of America live up to its own laws." --Russell Means

To begin, I would like to address the informational data points of the map. Because the text is small on the map at the size it was reduced to (to fit one standard sheet of paper), I am reprinting these points below.

1. Boldt Decision (1974): Upheld tribal treaty rights to fishing in Washington; ended the Fish Wars. Criminal records from the Fish Wars are still being cleared, and tribal fishermen in other states are still being arrested (Prengaman). Fish Wars activist Billy Frank Jr. (Puyallup) was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2015.
2. *Oliphant v. Suquamish* (1978): Determined tribes do not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. Many non-Indian drug & human traffickers, rapists, & abusers find havens on reservations, because tribal police do not have jurisdiction and federal law enforcement are not present.
3. American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978): Formally acknowledged Native peoples' First Amendment rights to religious freedom, which had been compromised by forced removal, and bans on religious ceremonies & traditional items. Sen. James Abourezk of South Dakota introduced the bill.
4. Indian Child Welfare Act (1978): ICWA enforces tribal custody over Indian children removed from their homes, rather than being placed in non-Indian homes & communities; affirms tribal rights to our children. Arizona Rep. Morris Udall is credited with pushing the bill through to passage.
5. Native American Graves Protection & Repatriation Act (1990): NAGPRA enforces tribal rights to ancestral remains and sacred items removed, trafficked, or disturbed by non-Indians. Maria Pearson (Dakota) of Iowa was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for her efforts.
6. Bay Street Emeryville (2002): During construction of a deluxe shopping mall, one of the largest shellmounds sacred to the Ohlone people was destroyed. The land the parking structure occupies had hundreds of remains removed (Gould).
7. Klamath River Fish Kill (2002): Klamath River tribes' treaty rights to salmon have been severely compromised by upriver dams; in 2002, the dams created the largest fish kill in US history, with 70,000 salmon dead overnight (Martin).
8. Balas Chonas Revival (2006): During their Balas Chonas ceremony, the Winnemem Wintu are routinely harassed by boatloads of racist white people. When the Forest Service granted a temporary river closure (after years of petitions), spiritual leader Caleen Sisk was arrested mid-ceremony, for violating the closure that was supposed to be in their name (Winnemem Wintu).
9. Violence Against Women Act (2013): The 2013 iteration of VAWA included new stipulations restoring tribal jurisdiction over cases of domestic violence perpetrated against a tribal member on a reservation, including non-Indian perpetrators. Pascua Yaqui attorney general Alfred Urbina was one of the primary catalysts for the creation of these stipulations, and Pascua Yaqui was one of three pilot tribes implementing restored jurisdiction.
10. *Adoptive Couple v. Baby Girl* (2013): This case severely compromised ICWA, determining that if a tribal parent never had custody of their child, ICWA does not apply.

The result was that Cherokee Nation citizen was adopted out to a white family, even when there were Cherokee relatives and tribal organizations willing and able to care for her, who fought to retain custody.

11. Loren's Law (2014): The Fort Berthold reservation is experiencing a huge increase in human trafficking with a recent influx of non-Indian oil workers. Passed in 2014, Loren's Law is the first tribal anti-trafficking law, though it only applies to Indian traffickers due to *Oliphant v. Suquamish*.
12. Save Oak Flats (2015): Oak Flats is a religious site sacred to the San Carlos Apache. The land has been authorized to be transferred from the US Dept. of Agriculture to Resolution Copper Mining, Inc. In late 2015, Senator Bernie Sanders introduced a bill to protect Oak Flats under AIRFA.
13. UC Berkeley (2015): UC Berkeley continues to be a source of scandal for its extensive collection of Native human remains, yet to be repatriated. Berkeley has more dead Indians on its campus than alive, with remains of 12,000 Native Americans housed underneath one of its swimming pools (Paddock).
14. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians v. Dollar General (2015): A tribal member was sexually assaulted by a non-Indian superior while working at a Dollar General located on tribal land; when the family sued for damages, Dollar General contested it. The Supreme Court will decide whether tribes retain civil jurisdiction over sexual assault cases with non-Indian perpetrators in 2016.

The above data points represent seven of the greatest civil rights achievements for Indians, and seven examples of contemporary compromises and violations of these rights. By constraining the data points to the continental 48 states, I also highlight the legal and bureaucratic boundaries drawn between the indigenous peoples of the US; Indian law is often constrained to "Indian Country," encompassing lands held by tribes or in federal trust on behalf of tribes in the continental 48—excluding Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian peoples. Occasionally, these laws will have special stipulations to include peoples from Alaska and Hawai'i, but their general exclusion has led to splits among indigenous peoples occupied by the US (particularly in relation to legal advocacy), and in many cases it has left Native Alaskans and Hawaiians in a grey area unable to share in the victories of Indian law.

Finally, each of these data points also represent aspects of sovereignty our nations already possessed innate in our nationhood, which were denied and revoked by a genocidal regime. The ability to practice our religions, to care for and live on our ancestral homelands, to provide safety for our citizens, to hold people who break our laws within the boundaries of our nations accountable, to raise our children safely within their home communities, and to care for our ancestors in a respectful manner are *rights* that are inherent and inalienable. And yet, these basic and fundamental rights are privileges that Indians have been forced to stand in the streets and protest for, fight legal battles for, and get arrested and beaten and killed for. I have included the above quote from American Indian Movement leader Russell Means for that reason—it speaks to the desperate measures Native people have been forced to, to demand that the United States uphold its own laws.¹⁵

These laws are also woven into the narrative the map presents, in the background graphics. The text (printed in a typewriter font to mimic legal briefs) are quotes from famous US laws in support of tribal sovereignty. None were ever repealed, and though from their inception they have been constantly violated, they are still valid and the US is still responsible for upholding them. The quotes read as follows,

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed. –Northwest Ordinance (1787)

Indian nations are distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive, and having a right to all the lands within those boundaries, which

¹⁵ The quote was sourced from a music video from Navajo-Lakota rapper Nataanii Means's song, "The Radical," which is dedicated to Russell Means (Nataanii's father) and other Natives who have been labeled 'radicals' for their efforts to defend tribal sovereignty. The video may be accessed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pW7cLgozECc>.

is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States... Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil from time immemorial. –Worcester v. Georgia (1832)

I pledge the American to keep this promise as long as the mountains stand, as long as the sun shines, and as long as the river runs. –US Congress, in treaties with Indian nations¹⁶

It shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites. –American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978)

The first and third quotes are both not just US federal law, but as treaties, they are matters of international law. The continued and systematic dismissal of these treaties, and the US Congressional plenary power that makes it possible¹⁷ is damning evidence of the United States' breach of international law. And so with the above four quotes, it becomes clear that the United States not only refuses to uphold its own laws (the second and fourth quotes), but international laws as well. This is a point Pawnee legal scholar Walter Echo-Hawk illustrates in his text *In the Courts of the Conqueror*, with a legal examination of *Connors v. United States & Cheyenne Indians*, a Supreme Court case following the Fort Robinson breakout, in which Echo-Hawk names the actions of the American military, and the shaky logic of Congress in supporting it, during the Indian Wars as war crimes in breach of international law.

¹⁶ This phrase was common in treaties with tribes throughout the American West, and was cited as the legal precedent supporting the Boldt Decision.

¹⁷ This power allowed Congress to 'give' itself the power to break treaties made with Indian nations as they please, under the theoretical understanding that Congress would act in 'best interests' of tribes—for a century, this meant reservation dissolutions, forced removals, and boarding schools).

Other stories of breaches of laws in support of indigenous sovereignty are woven into the map in the background designs, which are meant to work as an underlying tapestry of stories of historic and ongoing indigenous struggles for sovereignty and justice in colonial courts. These stories and the activism of the peoples featured in them are the driving force of indigenous legal battles, and the rights indigenous peoples hold and protect today. In the graphics below, I have pulled each individual design, expanded it and annotated each of the stories represented, so that readers may have a better understanding of the history and activism I am referencing in the map. I chose to create each piece as a quilt highlighting a particular battlefield for indigenous rights—our ancestors, our people, our lands and the religious activities tied to them, and our foods and ways of life. Indigenous cultural beliefs are also represented in the designs chosen—for example, the bird design, honoring our ancestors, draws on Ghost Dance imagery, which often depicted flying birds.

George Meninock (Yakama) was one of the first to be arrested for practicing treaty rights to fishing. His criminal record was cleared nearly a century later, in 2015.

In 2013, 13 Yup'ik fishermen were arrested on the Kuskokwim River, for violating a temporary fishing ban. All were subsistence fishing on their traditional territory, and many claimed their families were starving due to the ban. All 13 of the men were convicted, with much protest among Alaska Native communities.

The tribes along the Klamath River retain treaty rights to salmon fishing, but have had those rights severely compromised due to upriver dams. Each summer, toxic algae blooms kill off fish and make the river unsafe, due to water levels below treaty requirements.

Puyallup activist Billy Frank Jr. was a leader in the Fish Wars, and a lifetime champion of tribal fishing rights. He was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2015.

The Winnemem Wintu reintroduced a breed of salmon unique to the Shasta River thought to be extinct, with the help of Maori people, who cared for samples of the fish brought to New Zealand a century prior. Dams still threaten its habitat, & Winnemem ways of life.

The Fish Wars were the Pacific Northwest's answer to the American Indian Movement of the 1960s & 1970s, and resulted in hundreds of arrests & citations among tribal communities fighting to protect their treaty rights to customary fishing. Though the Boldt Decision upheld these treaty rights, criminal records of some fishers are still being cleared.

The 1990 passage of NAGPRA has led to a surge in repatriation of sacred items and human remains. These photos show tribal members carrying items home, which is a bittersweet event that can include ceremony, reburial, and other practices aimed at community healing. Many people report hearing spirits laughing, talking, or singing when human remains are returned.

Under NAGPRA, all documented Native burial grounds are under federal protection. That said, the burden of proof lies with Native people, and violations of burial sites occurs regularly. Examples include the use of Hawaiian sand (which contains ancestral remains) for golf courses, and the destruction of the Emeryville shellmound.

It is my hope that with both these maps, I am not only offering a new way of understanding histories of colonial violence, but also highlighting ways in which that violence continues to be experienced by indigenous people today. Moreover, I believe these stories, though they represent immeasurable heartbreak and trauma, also represent a formidable will to survive and thrive despite the violence. In narrating indigenous stories of colonial violence, it is imperative that we balance them by noting the courageous and inspiring things indigenous people have done in response to and in spite of that violence. In doing so, we challenge settler ignorance and stereotypes of who we are as indigenous peoples, and most importantly, remind our people of the strength they have inherited, and their responsibility to continue the fight. As nations, we will remain strong as long as we are aware of our histories, and unified in our commitment to honor our ancestral struggles for sovereignty.

“I will tell you one of the things we remember on our land. We remember that our grandfathers paid for it—with their lives.” Mass Death & Destruction

The title of this chapter and its initial map draw from a famous quote from Northern Cheyenne elder John Wooden Legs. I found this quote particularly powerful not only because it forces us to remember that our ancestors died for our homelands, but because it reminds us that we remember that *on* our land. That memory is stored not only in relation to our homelands, but literally on them. As I argued earlier, violence against indigenous peoples is inherently land-based; this quote reminds us that these stories are blood memories kept by, on, and in our lands. Our ancestors’ blood and stories course through the land, just as they course through our bodies.

In this chapter, I share stories of that relationship—destruction and theft of the land, and destruction and theft of the people. These are the components of genocide that are most commonly discussed, but often in perpetrator-defined languages. I attempt to move beyond incantation of settler-sourced numbers and statistics, and offer narratives that highlight the relationship indigenous peoples have to their lands, and the mutually constitutive nature of environmental destruction and mass (human & cultural) death.

Our Grandfathers Paid for It: Land-Based Violence on the Plains

This map began as a form of resistance against the proposed expansion of the Keystone XL pipeline, which was slated for construction near several Plains reservations, and included creation of large temporary camps for oil workers as close as five miles away from Indian communities. These work camps are harbingers of drug epidemics and horrific sexual violence.

Fortunately, by the time the map was finished, Native people won the fight and President Obama rejected the proposal. That said, the oil industry continues to wreak havoc on Northern Plains Indian communities, and has proposed more pipelines that have yet to be rejected. One such proposal is the Dakota Access Pipeline, which would cut through Oceti Sakowin (Dakota, Lakota, & Nakoda) lands. The oil company responsible for the Dakota Access Pipeline, Energy Transfer Crude Oil Co., is partnered with Missouri River Resources (MRR), which owns a portion of the Sacagawea Pipeline, sponsors Northern Plains powwows, and uses “sovereignty by the barrel” as their slogan. Indeed, MRR sponsored the 2016 Sioux Empire Wacipi (powwow), to the protest of many Dakota, Lakota, and Nakoda people (Spotted Eagle).

This map highlights historic and ongoing Northern Plains struggles over land, including land ownership, land use, land stewardship, and the right to live on the land. The map also tells the stories that Wooden Legs’ quote alludes to—cases in which our grandfathers (and, in the spirit of Emma Pérez, our grandmothers) have dedicated their lives to our homelands. As with the previous map, I would like to begin with a presentation of the map itself, and will offer a dissection of its components. After this I will address temporality and timelines, the background graphics, and the methodology for the map as a whole.

This map does not utilize Western notions of temporality, and presents past and present violence side by side. This is because genocide is not a temporally constrained event, and the stories shared here are ever-present on the landscape and continue to shape our future, for both indigenous peoples and settlers alike. For example, by mapping cases of colonial violence and contemporary resources extraction on the same image, I share an expansive story of land-based violence that gives a more holistic understanding of how indigenous people of today understand the violence perpetrated against our lands and people. A timeline of the historical events represented on the map is included below.

Timeline of Historical Events Represented:

1. June 1, 1823: Arikara Wars begin (Missouri River, SD)
2. August 9, 1823: Arikara attack on Rocky Mtn Fur Co (Missouri River, SD)
3. July 13, 1851: Battle of Grand Coteau (Minot, ND)
4. August 19, 1854: Grattan Massacre (Torrington, WY)
5. July 24, 1863: Battle of Big Mound (Kidder County, ND)
6. July 26, 1863: Battle of Dead Buffalo Lake (Kidder County, ND)
7. July 28, 1863: Battle of Stony Lake (Burleigh County, ND)
8. July 28, 1864: Battle of Killdeer Mountain (Dunn County, ND)
9. August 7, 1864: Battle of the Badlands (Medora, ND)
10. July 26, 1865: Battle of Platte Bridge (Casper, WY)
11. August 13, 1865: Battle of Bone Pile Creek (Campbell County, WY)
12. August 16, 1865: Battle of Powder River (Moorhead, MT)
13. August 29, 1865: Battle of Tongue River (Sheridan County, WY)
14. August 31, 1865: Sawyers Fight (Sheridan County, WY)
15. September 1, 1865: Battle of Alkali Creek (Powderville, MT)
16. September 8, 1865: Battle of Dry Creek (Broadus, MT)
17. September 10, 1865: Battle of the Little Powder River (Broadus, MT)
18. July 20, 1866: Battle of Crazy Woman Fork (Buffalo, WY)
19. December 21, 1866: Hundred in the Hand (Fort Phil Kearny, WY)
20. August 1, 1867: Hayfield Fight (Fort CF Smith, MT)
21. Mid-1860s-Early 1870s: Sitting Bull's guerrilla warfare (upper Missouri River)
22. August 4, 1873: Battle of Honsinger Bluff (Custer County, MT)
23. August 11, 1873: Battle of Pease Bottom (Custer, MT)
24. June 17, 1876: Battle of the Rosebud (Big Horn County, MT)
25. June 25, 1876: Battle of Little Bighorn (Big Horn County, MT)
26. September 9, 1876: Battle of Slim Buttes (Harding County, SD)
27. October 21, 1876: Battle of the Cedar Creek (Terry, MT)

28. November 25, 1876: Dull Knife Fight (Johnson County, MT)
29. January 8, 1877: Battle of Wolf Mountain (Birney, MT)
30. May 7, 1877: Battle of Little Muddy Creek (Lame Deer, MT)
31. January 9, 1878: Fort Robinson Massacre (Fort Robinson, NE)
32. January 22, 1878: The Pit Massacre (Hat Creek Bluffs, NE)
33. July 17, 1879: Battle of Milk River (Saco, MT)
34. February 7, 1880: Battle of Pumpkin Creek (Volborg, MT)
35. January 2, 1881: Battle of Poplar River (Camp Poplar River, MT)
36. November 5, 1887: Battle of Crow Agency (Crow Agency, MT)
37. December 29, 1890: Wounded Knee Massacre (Wounded Knee, SD)
38. December 30, 1890: Drexel Mission Fight (Pine Ridge, SD)

This timeline highlights little-recognized indigenous histories of resistance, including Red Cloud's War—the only war the US military lost against an Indian tribe. Settlers often joke about a site being an 'ancient Indian burial ground' or 'ancient Indian battle site;' the reality that this map communicates is that anyone traversing the Northern Plains will walk on hallowed ground that our ancestors died for. Moreover, as the map shows, the Plains are a labyrinth of battle and massacre sites, reservations, state and national borders, and webs of resource extraction infrastructure; it is impossible to navigate the land without encountering legacies and expressions of colonial violence.

Another example of the fluid temporality employed in this map is the inclusion of prisons—the prisons represented on this map include both historic and contemporary sites of incarceration. This is to draw a line of connection between the historic incarceration of Indian people and the incredibly high rates of incarceration of Native people today, and to argue that prisons have and continue to operate as sites of colonial violence and (in)justice on the Plains for over 150 years.¹⁸ On this map, incarceration sites include historic prisons at military forts and contemporary state

¹⁸ See Point 8 of the fourth map of this thesis for statistics on contemporary incarceration of American Indian and First Nations people.

and federal prisons, though it is arguable that the reservations themselves operated as prisons as well, considering their horrific conditions and the fact that their Indian residents were detained there under threat of death.

The background graphics of the map also utilize temporal fluidity, as well as Plains Indian traditional storytelling aesthetics; I modeled the background design on a star quilt design. Star quilts have become a staple of Plains Indian cultural traditions, and are often given as gifts honoring an individual, or to honor the birth of a child. I created stars out of images representative of key stories of struggles over Plains land and life, and ‘stitched’ them together to create a quilt to represent the land depicted in the map. This was done to honor the fact that like star quilts, the land is a gift given to us that honors us as a people and our commitment to the teachings Creator gave us, and cares for us in the same manner a blanket offers warmth and security to a baby. It was also done to honor a significant moment in coming to understand my family’s experience of land-based violence. Several years ago, I traveled to the site where my ancestral grandmother was incarcerated and raped, for the first time in generations; it was blanketed in snow, and the crisp wind carried the distinct smell of Northern Plains dirt and rain in the air. I felt my family and my grandmother’s pain, and I felt an aching for that land and a sorrow that it had been marked by such trauma. I cried and prayed, and the image of the land as a giant quilt came to my mind...a quilt so large that it could wrap my grandmother and I tight, safe from the men that had raped us. To this day, when my heart craves the peace of the land from which I come, I close my eyes and imagine the land as a quilt, wrapped around me tight.

In creating this map, I felt compelled to honor that vision and the symbology of the star quilt by representing the land as such. It also provided the means to show how the stories of those who

fight for the land become part of the land itself. These stories are included below, with a breakdown of each star.¹⁹

Historic Woman Warriors

- **Buffalo Calf Road Woman:** Buffalo Calf Road Woman was a Cheyenne warrior who is widely celebrated for her bravery. In her early 20s, she not only fought in the Battle of the Rosebud, but led her people to victory. As the Cheyenne and Lakota were retreating, she saw her brother Chief Comes in Sight wounded on the battlefield; she rode back in front of the cavalry to grab her brother, threw him on her horse, and brought him to safety. All the warriors were so inspired by her bravery and love for her brother, they rode back onto the battlefield and achieved victory. For this reason, Cheyennes remember the battle as the Battle Where the Girl Saved Her Brother. A week later, she demonstrated her bravery on the battlefield once again, at the Battle of Little Bighorn, where she stabbed Custer from neck to navel with his own saber. After the battle, she wore his saber as a trophy; to this day, Plains women wear silver drops from their belts in honor of her triumph. After Cheyennes surrendered, Buffalo Calf Road Woman and her husband Black Coyote were forced to relocate to Oklahoma, though they and their two children followed Little Wolf's band during the Northern Cheyenne Exodus in 1878. When Black Coyote killed a member of the band, their whole family was banished, and they continued their journey home and their fight against US troops on their own. After killing a soldier at Mizpah Creek, their family was hunted down and captured in 1879. Black Coyote and the other men were tried for murder and sentenced to execution, though he hung himself in prison after he found out that Buffalo Calf Road Woman had died of diphtheria a month after their capture.²⁰

¹⁹ Many of these notes are lacking citations from formal academic or historic documents. I have consciously refused to provide citations on the some of the historic elements of this map, because the only formally-recognized sources have been written by white men, who, frankly, got the story wrong (at least based on the knowledge that has been passed on to me by Indian people). We as Native people have a right to tell the stories of our heroes, our epic journeys, our enemies, and our perseverance and legacies for ourselves, with our own languages. In this sense, I am asserting the same right to narrative sovereignty that white Americans are constantly afforded; somehow, I do not need to provide a citation to write that Paul Revere warned that the British were coming, but I do need a citation to say that Buffalo Calf Road Woman killed Custer, though both statements represent iconic moments in American history. In this section, I resist that gross imbalance. I also stress that the stories that we know to be true, and the stories that reside on our lands, are not necessarily the narrative that white male historians recorded; to stay true to the intent of this map, which is to honor the relationship these stories of violence have to our land-base, I insist upon sharing them from an Indian perspective, rather than a hegemonic colonial one.

²⁰ The story of Buffalo Calf Road Woman was withheld from non-Native communities up until very recently. Cheyenne people broke their silence on her (and how Custer was killed) at a public gathering in Helena, Montana, in 2005. Since then, a fictional (and highly sensationalized) novel of her story has been published by a non-Native author, but no Cheyenne person has formally published her biography.

- **Minnie Hollow Wood:** Minnie was a Lakota woman who earned the right to wear a warbonnet due to acts of bravery and honor at the Battle of Little Bighorn, fighting alongside her husband (a Cheyenne). At the time of the battle, she was 20 years old. She and her husband surrendered to Colonel Nelson Miles at Fort Keogh in 1877, and after her release, Minnie lived the rest of her days on the Northern Cheyenne reservation, until she passed in the 1930s. Minnie worked with ethnologist Thomas Bailey Marquis, in his studies of Cheyenne history and ways of life (Marquis).
- **Moving Robe Woman:** Moving Robe Woman was a Hunkpapa Lakota woman who fought alongside her father, Crawler, in the Battle of Little Bighorn, at the age of 23. She fought to avenge her brother, One Hawk, who had been killed by Custer's troops earlier that day, and carried his war staff into battle. She recounted her experience of the battle in a 1931 interview with Frank Zahn, and fellow warrior Rain-in-the-Face described her in the following words, "Holding her brother's war staff over her head, and leaning forward upon her charger, she looked as pretty as a bird." (Hardorff).
- **Pretty Nose:** Pretty Nose was an Arapaho and Cheyenne woman who fought at the Battle of Little Bighorn, at the age of 25. After the Indian Wars, Pretty Nose lived on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, until she passed in 1952, at the age of 101. Photographs of her and her little sister Spotted Fawn have become iconic images of 19th century Plains Indian women, and are widely circulated to this day.

Contemporary Woman Warriors

- **Grace Her Many Horses:** Grace is an Oglala Lakota woman, single mother, champion fancy dancer, and police officer. Her Lakota name, Woman Who Carries the Law, is fitting—she was the first female chief of police for the Rosebud Sioux Tribe (Garrigan). Her Many Horses is a graduate from Augustana College, and holds a Master's degree in Sociology from South Dakota State University. In addition to her position at Rosebud, she has also served as deputy police chief on the Rocky Boy reservation, a criminal investigator at Rosebud, and a police officer on the Pine Ridge reservation. She has also worked in law enforcement on the Fort Berthold reservation, and has been outspoken on the violence the oil industry and its man camps have brought to Indian communities in the region, particularly sexual assaults and human trafficking (Buckley).
- **Sadie Young Bird:** Sadie Young Bird has served as the Director of the Fort Berthold Coalition Against Violence, President of the Board of Directors for First Nations Women's Alliance, and is a citizen of the Mandan, Hidatsa, & Arikara (MHA) Nation. She is an outspoken activist on issues of domestic and sexual violence, and continues to fight against the increasing sexual assaults and human trafficking that is a byproduct of the oil industry in North Dakota.
- **Tillie Black Bear:** Tillie Black Bear, Sicangu Lakota, is credited as being the grandmother of the contemporary movement to end violence against Native women. As founder of White Buffalo Calf Woman Society, she founded the first reservation-based domestic violence shelter in US history. She also founded the South Dakota Coalition Against Domestic & Sexual Violence, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, and the National Indigenous Women's Resource Center, as well as provided testimony for the US Commission on Civil Rights, the Family Violence Protection and Services Act, and the Violence Against Women Act.

- Winona LaDuke: Winona LaDuke is an Anishinaabe environmental and political activist, from the White Earth reservation in Minnesota. She serves as Executive Director of Honor the Earth, which advocates for environmental justice via tribal sovereignty, and is co-chair of the Indigenous Women's Network. Through her work with the White Earth Land Recovery Project, her tribe has been able to repatriate ancestral lands and continue traditional subsistence practices. She ran for Vice President alongside Ralph Nader in 2000, and as well as for Chairperson of her tribe. A Harvard graduate, LaDuke has published six books, all of which address Native ways of life and connections to land and culture. She was at the forefront of the fight against the expansion of the KXL pipeline, and continues to fight against the oil industry's presence in North Dakota.

Historic Leaders

- Dull Knife: Dull Knife, or Morning Star (Vóóhéhéve) as he was known among Cheyennes, is remembered as one of the greatest of Cheyenne chiefs. Dull Knife represented Cheyennes at the signing of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, and fought alongside the Lakota and Arapaho throughout the Indian Wars. He fiercely resisted US colonization, and was known as a great leader and defender of his people. After the devastating losses of the Dull Knife Fight in 1876, Dull Knife and his band surrendered and were transported to the Cheyenne reservation in Oklahoma; however, unwilling to accept death by starvation and disease, Dull Knife led a group of approximately 300 Cheyennes out of Oklahoma, to return to their home territory in Montana. The group Dull Knife was leading was caught by US troops and incarcerated at Fort Robinson, though Dull Knife led yet another escape in 1879, now known as the Fort Robinson Breakout. Surviving massacres, being hunted by US troops, and a bitter cold winter, Dull Knife and his group finally made it home to Montana; shaken by their bravery, the US government created the Northern Cheyenne reservation and allowed them to remain in Montana. Dull Knife died a few years later, in Lama Deer. Chief Dull Knife College, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe's college, is named in his honor.²¹
- Little Wolf: Little Wolf, or Ó'kôhómôxháahketa in Cheyenne, served as Sweet Medicine Chief and was a member of the Council of 44. He was leader of the Elk Horn Scraper warrior society, and fought in the Battle of Platte Bridge, Hundred in the Hand, Red Cloud's War, and the Dull Knife Fight. He was also one of the Cheyenne chiefs that signed the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. Little Wolf led the Northern Cheyenne break out of Oklahoma in 1878, alongside Dull Knife; when their group broke in two, Little Wolf safely navigated his people back to Montana, where they remain to this day.
- Red Cloud: Red Cloud, or Maŋpíya Lúta in Lakota, was an Oglala warrior and one of the most prominent chiefs in Lakota history, during perhaps their most tumultuous times. He was the only Native American leader to ever win a war against the US military,

²¹ The biographical information shared here on Dull Knife and Little Wolf is based on what was shared with me by elders and story keepers on the Fort Robinson Run. There are a number of publications on the Fort Robinson Breakout, though the only text I would recommend is Mari Sandoz's book, *Cheyenne Autumn*. Chief Dull Knife College also produced a short video telling the story of the Breakout, which is in Cheyenne with English subtitles, and publicly available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xAQ21z6dR0U>.

appropriately named Red Cloud's War (1866-1868). Red Cloud's leadership was so widely recognized, settlers and other foreign entities frequently mistook him for being a great chief of the entire Sioux Nation, though he served solely as leader of the Oglala Lakota. Red Cloud sought peace after visiting Washington DC; the size of the settler population and their military strength led him to believe peace was the best chance at Oglala survival. After signing the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, he helped his people transition to reservation life, which at the time, meant incarceration, limited hunting opportunities, and food rations distributed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He remained an advocate for his people until his death, fighting the Dawes Act in 1887 and a treaty to sell more Lakota land in 1889. He died in 1909, at the age of 88.²²

- Sitting Bull: Tȕtháŋka Íyotake was a Hunkpapa Lakota warrior, holy man, and leader. Sitting Bull's band fought alongside Red Cloud's in Red Cloud's War, from 1866 to 1868, attacking Fort Berthold, Fort Stevenson, and Fort Buford. When the war ended with the Treaty of Fort Laramie, Sitting Bull refused to sign, and continued guerrilla warfare in the upper Missouri River area up through the early 1870s. In 1875, Sitting Bull and Cheyenne medicine man White Bull held a Sun Dance together, bringing Cheyenne, Lakota, and Dakota people together in prayer. During the ceremony, Sitting Bull was gifted a vision that they would soon have a great victory; for this reason, more Native people sought refuge in Sitting Bull and White Bull's camp, until it swelled to more than 10,000 people by the summer of 1876. In mid-June, Sitting Bull held another Sun Dance, in which he fasted and sacrificed over 100 pieces of flesh. A week later, on June 25, Custer and his 7th Cavalry attacked, and inspired by Sitting Bull's vision of victory, the warriors of the camp destroyed them in what would come to be known as the greatest Indian victory of the Indian Wars—the Battle of Little Bighorn (Hopkins). After the battle, US forces stepped up their military presence and by 1877, it became clear Indians were the losing party of the war. Sitting Bull, however, refused to surrender and led his band into Canada. Four years later, Sitting Bull and 186 members of his band returned to the US, due to starvation from decimation of buffalo herds. They were stripped of their weapons and incarcerated at Fort Yates, then to Fort Randall, then to the Standing Rock reservation. In 1885, Sitting Bull was permitted to leave the reservation, to be featured in Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show. Though he made a small fortune as an attraction, he gave most of his money to homeless people and beggars. Sitting Bull returned to the Standing Rock reservation four months later, where he was arrested by the Indian Agents, due to fears he might leave the reservation with the Ghost Dancers. Sitting Bull's supporters were furious, and when a police officer was shot, law enforcement reacted by shooting Sitting Bull in the chest and head, killing him.

Contemporary Leaders

- John Trudell: John Trudell was a Dakota-Mexican writer, poet, actor, musician, veteran, and activist. Throughout his life, he played a major role in the creation and flourishing of Native independent media and community organizing. Trudell got his beginnings in such work while serving as spokesperson for the United Indians of All Tribes' occupation of

²² What I share here is information that was passed to me by Lakota people; for more information, see Bob Drury and Tom Clavin's book, *The Heart of Everything That Is: The Untold Story of Red Cloud, an American Legend*.

Alcatraz Island, broadcasting as *Radio Free Alcatraz*, from 1969 to 1971. After the occupation, he served as chairman of the American Indian Movement for nearly a decade, and continued to fight against colonialism and racism up until 2015, when he died from cancer. Trudell is remembered for his powerful poetry and speeches, his deep commitment to indigenous sovereignty, and his work in environmental and racial justice.²³

- Arvol Looking Horse: Arvol Looking Horse is the 19th generation keeper of the White Buffalo Calf Pipe Bundle, and holds the responsibility of spiritual leader among the Lakota, Dakota and Nakota People. He holds an honorary Doctorate from the University of South Dakota, and travels and speaks extensively on peace, environmental and Native rights issues. A skilled horseman, he shares his knowledge with the youth on the long distance rides that take place in South Dakota throughout the year (Wolakota).
- Leonard Peltier: Leonard Peltier is a Chippewa and Dakota activist, and member of the American Indian Movement. In 1977, Peltier was sentenced to two terms of life imprisonment for first degree murder of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge reservation. However, there is not only no evidence directly linking Peltier to the murders, there is also compelling evidence that Peltier's trial was grossly misconducted. For example, three of the witnesses that provided testimony in the trial later recanted, all claiming that the FBI had bound them to chairs, denied them access to an attorney, and coerced testimony out of them. Moreover, the FBI ballistics expert that provided testimony at the trial claimed that a forensics test of the firing pin was not possible due to damage; years later, those records were examined and determined false—when the firing pin was tested, it was confirmed that the cartridge case at the scene of the crime did not come from Peltier's rifle. AIM considers Peltier to be a political prisoner, and Nelson Mandela, Rigoberta Menchu, Amnesty International, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, the Dalai Lama, the European Parliament, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu have all spoken out in support of Peltier's release. Without parole or a presidential pardon, Peltier will be released in 2040, at the age of 96. Despite his incarceration, he continues to publish prolifically, and remains a voice for indigenous rights. In 2004, he ran for President with the Peace and Freedom Party.²⁴
- Walter Echo-Hawk: Walter Echo-Hawk is a Pawnee attorney, tribal judge, author, activist, and law professor. Echo-Hawk was instrumental in the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments. He has defended Indian tribes and fought for their sovereignty both in and outside the courtroom since 1973, and continues to do so to this day.²⁵

²³ For a more extensive biography of John Trudell, see *Trudell*, which is a documentary film on his work and legacy.

²⁴ For more information on Leonard Peltier, his story, and his activism, see his autobiography—*Prison Writings: My Life is My Sun Dance*.

²⁵ Within this thesis, I cite Echo-Hawk's book *In the Courts of the Conqueror* several times; it is an exceptional text on American Indian law, and demonstrative of some of Echo-Hawk's contributions to American Indian legal studies and policy advocacy.

Historic Enemies

- Colonel George Custer: Custer, like many Army leaders of the time, established himself in the Civil War. After the war, he was dispatched to Indian Territory. In 1868, Custer led the attack in the Washita Massacre, which led to the deaths of approximately 50 peaceful Southern Cheyennes (mostly women and children), the capture of 53 woman & children prisoners of war, and the killing of 875 Indian ponies. Custer instructed his troops to violate international law by utilizing these civilian women and children prisoners of war as human shields throughout the ‘battle.’ This massacre was a major catalyst for Southern Cheyenne removal to the new reservation, and ensured that Custer would be known among Plains Indians as a ruthless murderer. In 1873, Custer joined the war against the Lakota, and in 1874, he sparked the Black Hills Gold Rush by announcing the discovery of gold during their campaign. In 1876, Custer was sent to Fort Snelling, the infamous death camp where thousands of Dakota civilians were tortured and killed. While at Fort Snelling, Custer promised Arikara scouts that he would be the next president if they aided him in his fight against other Plains tribes, and would favor the Arikara from the White House. Later that year, Custer was ordered to corral all remaining Lakota, Cheyenne and Arapaho onto reservations, so that gold prospectors in the Black Hills could mine in peace; all Indians that refused to stay within the confines of their assigned reservations would be considered hostiles and killed. On June 22 of 1876, Custer was killed in the midst of these efforts, in the Battle of Little Bighorn. He was slit from neck to navel with his own saber, by Buffalo Calf Road Woman. After being killed, woman warriors mutilated his body by stabbing him in the ears with their sewing awls, so he would be forced to hear the cries of all the innocents he murdered in the afterlife.²⁶
- General Nelson Miles: General Miles was a major leader of almost all of the US Army’s campaigns against Plains Indians. Having previously established himself in the Civil War, Miles was a field commander in the force that defeated the Kiowa, Comanche, and Southern Cheyenne in 1875, and in the efforts to force Lakota and their allies onto reservations in the wake of the Battle of Little Bighorn in the two following years. Miles is also credited for capturing Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Perce in 1877, negotiating Geronimo’s surrender and incarceration in 1886, and the final defeat of Lakota forces in 1890. After his work in the Indian Wars, he became Commanding General of the US Army, led the Spanish-American War, and personally led the invasion and occupation of Puerto Rico (Wooster).
- General George Crook: General George Crook was one of the US military’s most respected leaders, particularly in Indian conflicts. Crook began his military career in Oregon and Northern California in the 1850s, leading the Pitt River Expedition of 1857 and fighting against Indian tribes, until he was called to serve east during the Civil War. After the war, he was sent to Oregon, where he won the Snake War and forced Paiute, Modoc, Bannock, and Shoshone peoples onto reservations. After his win in the Northwest, Crook was transferred to Arizona, and won the Yavapai War, which ended with the forceful removal of Yavapai and Apache peoples to reservations (Magid).
- Indian Wars medal of honor: A special medal of honor was created for US troops that fought in the Indian Campaign, which included any military action against Indians from

²⁶ What I share on Custer is based on stories shared with me, in conversation with other Cheyennes.

1865 to 1891. These were awarded retroactively in 1907, and feature a Plains Indian man wearing a warbonnet, riding a horse and carrying a spear. 427 medals of honor were also distributed for participation in the broader Indian Wars (military action against Indians from 1839 to 1891). In comparison, 119 medals were awarded for WWI, 464 for WWII, 235 for the Vietnam War, and only 19 since 1975 (US Army). Indian Wars medals of honor account for over a fifth of all medals awarded post-Civil War. These medals tell the people of the US that acts of genocide like the Wounded Knee massacre are brave and honorable acts of courage, and show how highly regarded the mass killing of Indian people was to the US military.

Contemporary Enemies

- President Ronald Reagan: President Reagan is remembered for his many acts of cruelty and violations of human rights across the globe—including military coups and forced impoverishment of countries throughout the Third World, assistance in genocidal actions in Central America, bombing of Libya, invasion of Grenada, support of violent authoritarian regimes, and his War on Drugs, which continues to militarize and criminalize communities of color, further fuel substance abuse and drug trafficking in said communities, and lead to racially disproportionate incarceration. It is thus no surprise that Reagan was no friend to American Indian tribes as well. In 1981, Reagan cut economic development funds to tribes by 82%, and in 1982 Reagan vetoed a bill that would have provided Tohono O’odham people clean drinking water, and shut down a federal commission examining land claims in Minnesota, due to their findings that there were over 1000 land parcels that were illegally taken from the White Earth reservation. In 1983, Reagan vetoed federal recognition of the Mashantucket Pequot Nation, and his Secretary of the Interior James Watt proclaimed Indians as “incompetent wards of the government” due to alcoholism and unemployment. In 1987, the Strategic Minerals Task Force asked Reagan to declare Indian Country a ‘national sacrifice zone,’ and relocate Indians to urban areas to better assimilate them, which they proposed would be cheaper than cleaning up the radioactive pollution rampant on reservations; the Reagan administration did not relocate Indians, but chose not to clean up the toxic waste either. A year later, when being quizzed by Russian college students, Reagan claimed the US “humored” Indians by “giving them” millions of acres of land, and implied that American Indians are not US citizens (Ojibwa).
- President Harry Truman: The Indian termination era occurred from the mid-1940s through the 1960s, and reached its height during the Truman administration. This series of policies was designed to forcefully assimilate Native people by terminating legal status of Indian tribes—obliterating tribal federal rights, and erasing the existence of hundreds of thousands of Native people on paper. As of today, 27 tribes were able to evade termination, 49 terminated tribes have had their federal recognition restored, and 12 are still seeking re-recognition. Altogether, these tribes represent over 425,000 enrolled tribal members. There are 567 federally recognized tribes (2,932,248 citizens), 62 state recognized tribes (132,349 citizens), and 535 who have yet to be recognized. Truman also began the Indian relocation era, which relocated thousands of Native people away from their reservations to urban areas, in an attempt to further force assimilation. Though the Bureau of Indian Affairs promised program participants a better life, with better housing and job & education opportunities, many arrived in their new cities to find the housing promised to them did not exist, schools remained segregated, and systemic racism kept

them in poverty. By the end of Truman's presidency in 1953, over 6,000 people had been relocated. In 1956, this program was expanded with the Indian Relocation Act, and by 1980, over 750,000 Native people had been relocated to major cities across the country (Fixico).

- Russ Girling: Russ Girling is the President and CEO of TransCanada Corporation, which sought to build an expanded pipeline (the KXL pipeline) across the Plains of the US. The proposed pipeline ran nearby several reservations, and proposed man camp locations came within a 5-mile radius of Indian communities. Native people fought incredibly hard against the construction of the pipeline, fearing further environmental devastation, and spikes in drug and human trafficking due to the man camps, which often target tribal lands. President Obama rejected the KXL pipeline in 2015. Prior to taking control of TransCanada, Girling worked at Suncor, Inc, which operates some of the world's largest tar sands, and has devastated several neighboring First Nations.
- Duluth shipyards: For decades, hundreds of Native women and girls have been trafficked into the sex trade at the shipyards in Duluth, Minnesota, and are bought and sold across the US-Canada border. The US government is complicit in this sex trafficking; it often takes place on US Navy ships, or otherwise is not reported or regulated by US officials regulating the area.²⁷

Historic Land Degradation:

- Decimation of buffalo: In a 100-year period, the population of American bison dipped from an estimated 60 million to just 300 by 1900 (Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife). Buffalo are a staple of Plains Indian food traditions and ways of life, and their populations were targeted for destruction by the US government, to starve out Indian tribes and force them onto reservations to receive food rations. Our nomadic way of life was destroyed through the destruction of buffalo herds, greatly compromising our relationship to the lands we call home. Today, efforts have been made to repopulate buffalo herds, though the government still engages in planned kills (approximately 900 buffalo in Yellowstone Park were slated for kill in 2016, see Brown 2016); in 2000, there were 350,000 buffalo in the US. Many tribes maintain their own buffalo herd, to ensure access to traditional hunting and to repair the land and our relationship to it.
- Wounded Knee massacre site: The Wounded Knee massacre is infamous as one of the worst massacres in US history, with an estimated 300 Lakota dead, and another 50 taken captive (47 of which were women and children), all in less than an hour (Brown 1970). On December 29, 1890, US troops entered the Pine Ridge reservation at Wounded Knee, to confiscate weapons being held by Lakotas escorted there the day prior. Troops were on edge due to fears of the Ghost Dance, and when a rifle being confiscated was accidentally fired, the troops began a wholesale massacre. Most Indians, by that point, were unarmed, and the bulk of the firing was done at close range, though some soldiers pursued fleeing Indians for miles. The soldiers utilized four Hotchkiss guns against the tipi camp full of women and children. The American public supported the massacre, and 20 of the soldiers

²⁷ Minnesota Indian Women's Sexual Assault Coalition, along with Prostitution Research & Education, published a report on decades of sex trafficking of Native women and girls on the boats in Duluth, MN. For more information, see their report, *Garden of Truth*.

present received Medals of Honor for their participation (in contrast, only 3 soldiers of the 64,000 from South Dakota who fought in WWII received Medals of Honor).²⁸ The Wounded Knee massacre marked an end to the Indian Wars, and a shift to relating to meaningful sites on the land through histories of violence. Indeed, Wounded Knee was selected by the American Indian Movement for an armed standoff with US forces in 1973, due to the site's significance.

- Dawes Act & advertisement for sale of Indian land: The Dawes Act of 1887 authorized the President to divide tribal lands into individual allotments; Indians who agreed to transition into agriculture would receive a small parcel of land, and all the land remaining after Indian allotments was sold to settlers. The Dawes Act was designed to force Plains Indians to assimilate to Western agricultural practices, abandon their nomadic ways of life and traditional ideas of communal land ownership, and surrender the bulk of their treaty-promised land to settlers.

Contemporary Land Degradation:

- Mount Rushmore: The Black Hills of South Dakota are the center of the universe for Sioux peoples, and are sacred to the Cheyenne as well. They have been heavily mined for gold, which began in the late-19th century. In the 20th century, the Black Hills were desecrated with the carving of both Mount Rushmore and the Crazy Horse Monument. Though some may argue the Crazy Horse Monument honors a legendary Lakota leader, this is not the case; Crazy Horse never allowed anyone to photograph him, rejected fame, and was a spiritual man who deeply believed in the sanctity of the Black Hills—he would never approve of the massive monument to him carved into the Lakota's most sacred place.²⁹
- North Dakota oil rig and man camp: With the discovery of the Bakken oil field, oil drilling in North Dakota and the adjoining Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba has grown exponentially. This oil drilling has led to environmental devastation, widespread pollution, and immeasurable violence against the myriad tribes of the region. In the US, the tribe most affected is the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation, based in Fort Berthold. The man camps, giant encampments of temporary housing for oil field workers, have brought thousands of men to rural areas in close proximity to tribal communities, leading to spikes in drug trafficking and sexual violence. These men prey on tribal communities, knowing they will not face repercussions for their violence due to jurisdictional loopholes.³⁰
- Montana coal mine: Coal mining has ravaged the homelands of several Montana tribes, most notably, the Cheyenne. Cheyenne sacred sites continue to be at risk due to harmful mining, and areas of the Northern Cheyenne reservation lack clean drinking water due to mining pollution.³¹

²⁹ This is my own judgment, based on what Lakota people have told me of Crazy Horse, and my knowledge of the Black Hills as a sacred site.

³⁰ See discussion of Loren's Law in Map 2, Chapter 1.

³¹ This is public information in the area surrounding the Northern Cheyenne reservation, and to some degree, in Montana more largely, due to controversy over coal mining in neighboring

Traditional Clothing

- Jingle dress: The jingle dance was gifted to a young girl that prayed to Creator for help when her community was suffering from a great sickness; Creator told her to roll tobacco can lids into cones, and sew them onto her dress. When she danced, her people were healed. The dance is named for the sound the cones make as the dancers move; today, the jingle dance is a staple category at powwows, and is still performed as a form of prayer for healing.³²
- Ghost Dance dress: Many unfamiliar with the Ghost Dance have, for over a century, been intimidated and fearful due to its vilification by the US government. Indeed, the Ghost Dance was the rationale for the Wounded Knee massacre. That said, the Ghost Dance is fundamentally a dance guided by love. Stars and birds, as seen on the dress detail, were common Ghost Dance imagery.
- Moccasin detail: This design, called the tipi door design, was commonly used by Cheyenne women on their moccasins. It has been said that the design and colors were used to identify Cheyenne women's bodies that had been mutilated after a massacre or battle. Today, many Plains women wear variations of this design.
- Contemporary beadwork: Pictorial beadwork became popular beginning in the mid-19th century, in addition to the classic Plains geometrics. Prior to settler trading of beads, the dominant art form was quillwork, embroidery utilizing dyed porcupine quills. Today, many traditional outfits and other beaded items feature highly detailed pictorial beadwork, and quillwork is less common (although perhaps even more highly prized, now that fewer people are skilled in it).

Traditional Medicines

- Sage, sweetgrass, tobacco, & cedar: These four plants are the four sacred medicines of many tribes throughout Indian Country, including the Plains. Each has its own purpose, though all of them carry our prayers up to Creator in their smoke.
- Chokecherries, white antelope, buffalo, & yucca: These are all traditional foods of Plains tribes. Today, many families still eat seasonal chokecherries and buffalo, though white antelope and yucca are less commonly consumed.
- Eagle feathers, traditional drum, tipi, & horse: All four of these items are held as sacred by Plains tribes, and are integral to our relationship to our homelands. The collection of eagle feathers and creation of traditional hide drums, like our traditional foods and medicines, connect our spirituality to hunting and harvesting from the land. Similarly, tipis and horses are key components of Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho nomadic ways of life.

Colstrip, and proposed additional coal mining in Otter Creek, a site of importance to Cheyenne people.

³² All information on traditional stories and medicines was taught to me by elders, knowledge keepers, and ceremonial people.

It's Easier to Not Be Indian: Stories of Relocation, Removal, & Death

This map continues the stories depicted on the previous map by calling attention to the myriad ways in which Native people are removed from the landscape, and are effectively disappeared. Of the maps in this thesis, this required the most exhaustive research. There are 63 citations, 35 photos, 26 points of information, 5,274 words, and well over 4,257,287 Native lives represented on the map (that is the count for 14 of the 26 points of information). Though many of the stories included may seem anecdotal, they are each representative of larger systemic forms of violence. Moreover, like the previous map, when stitched together, they create a powerful narrative of varying genocidal violence. Rather than dissect this map in the manner I have the others, I want to offer it in its entirety, including its 10-page key, below, and follow with a discussion of the methodology and process for creating this map. I believe the map itself to be powerful enough to stand on its own and speak for itself, though I ask readers to honor the lives represented by giving sensitive attention to the faces and stories depicted below.

It's Easier to Not Be Indian

Stories of Relocation, Removal, & Death

Key to “It’s Easier to Not Be Indian: Stories of Relocation, Removal, & Death”

1. Plains: In the initial years of contact with settlers, tribes on the Northern Plains were devastated by disease, including smallpox, cholera, tuberculosis, and syphilis. In just 10 years, half of Colorado Cheyennes died of cholera. Syphilis became commonplace when settler men began the widespread rape and sex trafficking of Native women. Smallpox was purposefully spread among Natives by US government agencies, and later on, tuberculosis was so common among Aboriginal children in Canada, they became unknowing subjects of government medical experiments (Barrera 2013). This was not a unique experience; tribes all across the Americas suffered drastic and rapid mass death due to settler-introduced disease. In some cases, entire communities died from the same disease. Today, Native people still die from preventable diseases at extraordinary rates; American Indians are 600% more likely to die of tuberculosis than the rest of the American population (American Indian Relief Council). On the Pine Ridge reservation, infant mortality is 300% higher than the national average, and the average life expectancy for a male is 42 years old. The only area in the Western Hemisphere with a life expectancy lower than Pine Ridge’s is the nation of Haiti (Schwartz).
2. Whiteclay: Due to high rates of alcoholism, Pine Ridge is a dry reservation—alcohol is prohibited within its boundaries. To take advantage of the prohibition and the widespread alcoholism on the reservation, white liquor store owners in Whiteclay, Nebraska, located two miles from the border to the reservation, prey on Pine Ridge residents. In 2010, Whiteclay’s four liquor stores sold approximately 13,000 cans of beer a day, and grossed over \$3 million, despite Whiteclay’s population of 14 (Abourezk). Many dry reservations struggle with border towns similar to Whiteclay, resulting in continued generational alcoholism and alcohol-related deaths. Chronic liver disease is the fifth-leading cause of death among American Indians, and in 2013, over 18,000 American Indians died from alcoholic liver disease, and 29,000 died from alcohol-induced deaths (excluding homicides and accidents; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention). Alcohol use has also led to increasing rates of drug abuse; Natives have the highest rate of drug-induced deaths in the US (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention), and meth use is highly prevalent in reservation communities. This substance abuse is not only due to untreated mental health problems, poverty, and lack of opportunity—predatory non-Natives like those in Whiteclay are directly complicit.
3. Pine Ridge: In December of 1890, US troops massacred 300 Lakota at Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge reservation. Most of the victims were women and children, and the bodies were dumped in a mass grave, which was proudly photographed. The massacre occurred during early reservation days, when the Oglala Lakota were still transitioning to reservation life after Red Cloud’s War; the US government claims that while they were disarming all men on the reservation, one man refused to give up his rifle and sparked a riot. That narrative ignores the background context; reservation conditions were dire, and many were freezing and starving to death—after experiencing fifty years of genocide and war, and in those current conditions, many turned to the Ghost Dance as a source of spiritual healing. The Ghost Dance was a peaceful form of prayer, but the US government took it as a sign of rebellion, and in turn harassed and disarmed the community, which led to the incident that sparked the massacre. At least 20 of the soldiers were awarded US Medals of Honor for their participation in the massacre, which to this day, have not been

rescinded. The Wounded Knee massacre was one of the largest massacres of American Indians in US history.

4. Willow Creek: Richie Estrada (Hupa, Yurok, & Yaqui) was killed by a California Highway Patrol officer in December 2014, at the age of 18. Richie's family had called 911 to let the police know that Richie was driving their vehicle, was under the influence of drugs, and is diagnosed with bipolar disorder—they were worried he was a danger to himself, and asked for help in getting him home safe. Later that night, Richie crashed the car into a telephone pole. The officer who responded to that crash was not told to look for Richie and was not told about the call his family made. When Richie began to behave erratically, the white officer shot Richie 11 times, and he bled out naked, cuffed, and laying on the ground. Richie's death was ruled justified, and the officer is still on the force and serving Richie's community (*The Times Standard*).
5. Rapid City: Allan Locke, a Lakota father and activist, was killed by Rapid City police in 2014, the day after he attended a Native Lives Matter rally against police brutality. His death was ruled justified, and the officer that killed him remains on the police force (Bolstad).
6. Custer County: Mah-hi-vist Goodblanket (Southern Cheyenne) was killed by law enforcement in 2013, at the age of 18. Like Richie, Mah-hi-vist had documented mental health problems, which led to erratic behavior. His family dialed 911 to ask for medical help when Mah-hi-vist was in the midst of an episode, because they were fearful he was going to hurt himself. Instead, law enforcement arrived, and shot Mah-hi-vist 7 times, including once in the head. The two officers who killed Mah-hi-vist were both white, and were awarded the Oklahoma Sheriff's Association Medal of Honor shortly after (Ecoffey). Richie, Allan, and Mah-hi-vist are representative of a larger trend of police brutality against Native people; Native Americans are more likely to be killed by police than any other racial group (Flanagin).
7. Mankato: In 1862, President Lincoln ordered the mass hanging of 38 Dakota men incarcerated in Mankato, Minnesota. The victims of this lynching had fought against the US in the Dakota War, and when they surrendered, were taken as prisoner. An estimated 1000 Dakota men were taken as prisoner after the surrender, and one third of them died of disease during their four years of incarceration. The Dakota that remained on their homeland in Minnesota were forcibly removed to South Dakota and Nebraska, and hundreds of those removed died on the journey. Parties of settlers would meet the predominately women, children, and elders on their journey by throwing stones at them, and pouring boiling water or oil on them.
8. Montana: American Indians make up 78% of non-white inmates in Montana jails and prisons (Sarabi), a third of Montana's federal case load (Flanagin), and Montana has the highest rate of arrests of American Indian youth in the nation (Healey). In the last five years, the number of American Indians in federal prisons has increased by 27% (Flanagin), and American Indians tend to serve disproportionately longer sentences than non-Indians, due to racial profiling and because they are prosecuted under federal law (Indian reservations are federal jurisdiction for major crimes). Native Americans are incarcerated at a rate 38% higher than the national average, Native youth are 30% more likely than whites to be referred to juvenile court, Native men are incarcerated at four times the rate of white men, and Native women are incarcerated at six times the rate of white women (Flanagin). In Canada, the female Aboriginal inmate population grew 97%

between 2002 and 2012, the male Aboriginal population grew 34%, and in federal institutions, Aboriginal women represent 34% and Aboriginal men represent 22% of all inmates, though Aboriginal people represent 4% of Canada's population (Rennie). In both the US and Canada, it is commonplace for Native inmates to experience racialized violence, sexual abuse, and death at the hands of law enforcement.

9. Montana: In the early days of Indian boarding schools, many students attempted to escape and make their way home. One Cheyenne elder recounts a story shared by her father, when he was a small boy in boarding school: two teenage Crow boys attempted to escape, and went missing. Two days later, law enforcement arrived at the school, with the boys in tow. They were being dragged by horses—one was beaten beyond recognition and too tired and broken to walk, and the other was a dead body. The boys were paraded in front of the school as a lesson, to warn other students what happens to those that try to escape. Many students across the US and Canada experienced such violence, and even more froze or starved to death after escaping.
10. Wahpeton: A young man shared that on his first night at Wahpeton Indian School (in the 1980s), a boy in his dormitory hung himself. The boy's suicide sparked a student riot the next day, and the violence from the riot was so extreme, all the younger students were sent "home." That man (a small boy at the time) was sent to an orphanage two states away, where his grandmother eventually found him and brought him home. He never felt comfortable in school again, and did not learn to read until he was incarcerated in an adult prison at the age of 15.
11. Virginia: Today's blood quantum laws were pioneered in Virginia in 1705, when Native Americans were legally defined by having half or more Native blood. There is no documentation that any tribe in North America utilized ideas of blood quantum to determine membership until after this date. Today, thanks to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the vast majority of American Indian tribes require $\frac{1}{4}$ - $\frac{1}{2}$ Indian blood to be considered an enrolled tribal member, and the federal government defines Indians by a blood quantum of $\frac{1}{4}$ or more. This system was designed to eliminate Indians on paper—Indians could be 'bred out of existence,' simply through interracial mixing. If an Indian person is not enrolled in their tribe or does not meet the $\frac{1}{4}$ requirement, they are, on paper at least, not an Indian at all. The Canadian government also utilizes blood quantum for purposes of recognition, and in attempt to bureaucratically eliminate even more Indians, used to solely recognize Indian blood from paternal lineage. In the US, 5.2 million people self-identify as American Indian, but only approximately 20% of that number are enrolled or recognized by the federal government (Bureau of Indian Affairs).
12. Albuquerque: Throughout the 1970s, Indian Health Service hospitals forcibly sterilized Indian woman patients. In a three-year period, the IHS hospitals in Albuquerque, Aberdeen, Oklahoma City, and Phoenix collectively performed 3,406 forced sterilizations (Rutecki). Between 1972 and 1978, the sterilization rate doubled to 30% on the Navajo reservation, which also saw a 130% increase in abortions during this period (Rutecki). One doctor reported that "[a]ll the pureblood women of the Kaw tribe of Oklahoma have now been sterilized. At the end of the generation the tribe will cease to exist." (Roberts). The doctors contracted out to perform these procedures did not follow federal mandates, and the women were coerced, did not provide informed consent, or were not even notified of the sterilization. During this period, an estimated 50% of Native American women were forcibly sterilized.

13. Orleans: In 2009, Karuk medicine woman Mavis McCovey came forward about the reproductive injustice her community experienced at the hands of the US Forest Service, in her memoir *Medicine Trails*. McCovey recounted fighting the Forest Service's use of 2 and 4D herbicides on the area, which resulted in spontaneous abortions, bladder infections, and skin infections. Between 1976 and 1978, no woman in Orleans was able to successfully carry a baby, and there were 24 documented miscarriages. When McCovey confronted the Forest Service about the miscarriages, they told her they were due to meth use, even though the herbicides they were spraying were only one molecule different from Agent Orange, and the community had never experienced such miscarriages or birth defects before. Eventually, the Forest Service switched to a different herbicide (McCovey).
14. Ontario: From the 1960s through the 1980s, Canadian governmental agencies implemented a widespread theft of Native children, now called the Sixties Scoop. In that period, an estimated 20,000 Native children were removed from their homes and adopted out to predominately white families, or placed in foster homes and residential schools (Crey). These children were wrongfully removed from their families and communities, and the practice was discontinued after Ontario chiefs passed a resolution against it, though Native children are still overrepresented in the foster care system. This practice also took place in the US, and though it is now illegal to remove an Indian child from their tribal community when a safe custody option is available, Native children are still disproportionately removed from their families and are being adopted out illegally. As of 2011, 87% of Indian children in South Dakota's foster care system had been placed in non-Native foster homes, while 28 licensed Indian foster homes were empty, in direct violation of the Indian Child Welfare Act (Lakota Law People's Project). There is evidence showing that these children are over-drugged with psychotropic and anti-psychotic drugs (which have led to increased numbers of suicide), and these foster homes are linked to human trafficking (Lakota Law People's Project). In Minneapolis, 63% of children under the age of 15 identified as current sexual trafficking victims are children unwillingly placed in foster care, and 40% of those children are Indian (Lakota Law People's Project).
15. Lake De Smet, Wyoming: Before settlers arrived on the Northern Plains, a woman had a vision that strange newcomers would arrive. The vision showed such horrible pain, death, and misery, she and her camp decided to drown themselves in the lake instead of experiencing the impending torture. They packed the camp, and walked straight down to the bottom of the lake with all their belongings, never to be seen again. Their decision was all the more significant due to cultural views on suicide, which was considered shameful, and would condemn their spirits to wandering this plane of existence even after death. To this day, some do not visit the lake, out of fear or deference for the spirits who reside at the bottom.
16. Pine Ridge: Santana Janis committed suicide at the age of 12, in December 2014. She was Lakota, gifted at horseback riding, and lived in a trailer with her grandfather and over a dozen siblings and cousins. Santana's death was part of a string of suicides in her community; on the Pine Ridge reservation, nine people between the ages of 12 and 24 committed suicide, and there were a documented 103 attempted suicides, in just four months (Bosman). As of May 2015, there were only six mental health counselors available to the 30,000 people living on the reservation, even after the tribal government

declared a state of emergency and asked the federal government for increased support. In June 2015, Oglala Lakota President John Yellow Bird Steele testified for the US Senate that their nation had lost 11 lives to suicide in just 7 months, and had intervened in suicide attempts with 176 more youth since Santana's death (Oglala Sioux Tribe, Office of the President). Though Pine Ridge's situation remains dire, Indian communities across the country are grappling with the same stark reality. Santana's grandfather blames these suicides on the prejudice and violence Indian children face; recently, white men in Rapid City yelled racial slurs and poured beer on students from Pine Ridge (Townes), and Santana and a group of girls from her school were referred to as "filthy Indians" by a white woman (Bosman). Others cite the pervasive lack of adequate mental health services, high rates of domestic & sexual violence, substance abuse, and poverty as contributing factors. Many other tribes in the US and Canada have also declared a state of emergency due to spikes in suicides, including the Navajo Nation (Rickert), Yurok Nation (Burns), and Cross Lake First Nation (2% of their population attempted suicide in a two-week period of 2016; Puxely).

17. Pine Ridge: In 2004, it was reported that 90,000 American Indian households in the US were homeless or underhoused, 30% of Indian housing were overcrowded, 50% were not connected to a public sewer, and 40% were considered inadequate (American Indian Relief Council). It is not uncommon to see 3 or 4 generations of a family living in a dilapidated trailer, and many impoverished reservation neighborhoods resemble slums seen in third world countries, with lack of access to utilities like heat and potable drinking water. In remote reservation communities like Pine Ridge, the housing crisis has led to tribal members freezing to death in their homes (Schwartz). This is compounded by extremely high poverty rates—the Pine Ridge reservation has the highest poverty rate of any census tract in the entire US (Associated Press). Per capita income on the Pine Ridge reservation is \$4,000 per year (Re-Member), and 39% of households have no electricity (Schwartz). Approximately 30% of American Indians live in poverty, though the rates are much higher on reservations. This poverty contributes to high rates of suicide, disease, gang affiliation, substance abuse, and incarceration.
18. Winnipeg: Daniel and Richard Wolfe (Okanese First Nation) founded the Indian Posse, one of Canada's largest gangs, in 1988. Their parents, both survivors of residential school sexual and physical abuse, struggled with addiction, and both of the Wolfe brothers had fetal alcohol syndrome and grew up in a violent home. The boys frequently ran away and lived on the streets, and by the age of 13, Richard owned a handgun and was arrested over 20 times, and Daniel was serving his first prison sentence. In Indian Posse's early years, the Wolfe brothers owned AK-47s, were selling drugs, and were known for armed robberies. At 15, Daniel was known for "walk-by" shootings, claiming drive-bys were "too soft." Soon, teens across Canada's reserves eagerly began joining IP, and by the late 1990s, IP had 3000 members and was earning hundreds of thousands of dollars a month. In 2007, Richard was sentenced to 19 years in prison for attempted murder. Daniel died in prison in 2010, at the age of 33; he was serving six life sentences, for murders of rival Native Syndicate members and their families. Indian Posse is still one of Canada's largest gangs, and inspired the formation of many other major Native gangs throughout Canada and the US, including Native Syndicate, Manitoba Warriors, Manitoba Blood Family, Native Mob, Native Vice Lords, Native Disciples, and the Wild Boyz. These gangs frequently self-identify as modern-day versions of the warrior societies traditional to

Native cultures, emphasize cultural pride, and have grown out of the poverty, racism, and violence that marginalized Native communities experience. Today, Aboriginal youth make up 21% of Canada's street gangs (Friesen), and 23% of Native American communities in the US have documented gang presence (Egley). In addition to Native gangs, mainstream gangs have begun to target Indian reservations in the US, due to jurisdictional loopholes and socioeconomic factors that make drug and human trafficking easy.

19. Kamloops, British Columbia: 16-year-old girl CJ Fowler was found dead in a ravine, in December 2012. She was a member of the Gitanmaax First Nation. CJ found out she was pregnant just hours before she was murdered by her 24-year-old boyfriend. The couple and some friends were on a three-day drug binge, and her boyfriend claims he was blacked out on crystal meth and heroin when he smashed her neck and jaw with a cement block (*CBC News* 14 October 2015).
20. Winnipeg, Manitoba: Selena Rose Keeper was beaten to death by her ex-boyfriend in October 2015. She had requested a protection order against her ex in May 2015, and despite providing testimony that he regularly beat her (even while she was pregnant with their child), had been hospitalized due to her injuries, and was fearful for her life, her request was denied. Selena was from Little Grand Rapids First Nation, and her murderer is from Long Plain First Nation. He was gang-affiliated, diagnosed with fetal alcohol syndrome, had addictions to alcohol and crack cocaine, and had previously been incarcerated for weapons and robbery charges, all of which law enforcement claim contributed to the abuse he perpetrated. Selena was left for dead in the front yard of the home she had been visiting, and bled to death shortly after paramedics arrived (*Red Power Media* 9 October 2015).
21. Lame Deer: The body of Hanna Harris, a 21-year-old Northern Cheyenne mother, was found badly decomposed, near the Northern Cheyenne rodeo grounds in 2013. Hanna left the annual Fourth of July powwow with Eugenia Rowland and her husband Garrett Wadda, and was never seen by her family again. The three had been drinking, and had gone to Rowland and Wadda's home. Rowland claims to have passed out, and woke up to see Wadda raping Harris. After, Wadda and Rowland beat Harris to death, and dumped her body by the side of the road. Rowland, a Lakota woman from the Pine Ridge reservation, was a victim of repeated domestic and sexual violence, had been abandoned by two sets of parents as a child, and had an alcohol addiction. Rowland and Wadda have both been found guilty in Hanna Harris's murder (Johnson). In the United States, 30% of Native women will be sexually assaulted in their lifetime, murder is the third-leading cause of death among Native women, and 60% of Northern Plains Native communities are in the top 20% for female mortality rates by county (Center for Indian Country Development).
22. Highway of Tears: Sixteen-year-old Ramona Wilson, from Carrier Sekani First Nation, went missing in June 1994. She left home to walk to meet her friends at a dance two towns away, and went missing somewhere along her journey on Highway 16. Her remains were discovered 17 months later, in the woods behind the airport near her home (Holland). During the time she was missing, the bodies of two other teenage girls were discovered near the highway, which is now known as the Highway of Tears. Over 18 women have been discovered dead by the highway since 1969, though local communities count over 40 murdered and missing (Human Rights Watch). The highway runs north-

south through British Columbia, connecting Vancouver to Northern communities like Prince Rupert. Police suspect there have been generations of multiple serial killers that prey on Native women and girls walking the highway.

23. Edmonton: Métis mother of three and sex worker Cindy Gladue was found dead in a motel bathtub in June 2011, at the age of 36. She bled out from an 11cm-long wound to her vaginal wall, inflicted by a client. Graphic photographs of Cindy's body and tissue samples of her vagina were displayed at the trial, where her killer was found not guilty. The white truck driver from Idaho, who had extensive porn featuring gaping wounded vaginas on his computer, was found not guilty on the basis that Cindy's wound was caused by consensual violent fisting, and not the purposeful insertion of a sharp object. Critics of the decision point out that even if fisting caused the wound, it could not have been consensual because Cindy's blood alcohol content was three times above the legal limit. Moreover, evidence shows that her killer was in the room with her as she bled out, and not only did not call for assistance, but cleaned up the bathroom to destroy evidence, and left her dead body in the tub when he checked out of the motel (Carlson 2015). Cindy's death and unjust trial is part of a much larger trend of violence against indigenous sex workers, and women like Cindy are known to be targeted by serial killers. Robert Pickton, for example, kidnapped, tortured, and murdered at least 49 women stolen from Vancouver's Downtown East Side, most of which were indigenous sex workers (Usborne). A witness claims to have seen him skinning women hanging from meat hooks on his remote pig farm, and he admitted to an undercover officer that he was hoping to make his victim count "an even 50" when he is eligible for parole in 2032 (he has only been convicted for six murders; Usborne).
24. Portage la Prairie, Manitoba: Rocelyn Gabriel, a 20-year-old soon-to-be nursing student from Waterhen First Nation, was found freezing to death behind a dumpster, in January 2014. The industrial area she was found in was far outside her route home, and her purse was found by the side of the road. Surveillance footage shows Rocelyn attempting to flag cars down for help, and displaying signs of fear (she was hiding behind the dumpster). She died of her injuries, and police indicated that "foul play was not suspected" and did not administer a rape kit, though there are a number of red flags (Barrera 2014). Though Rocelyn's death is still under debate as to whether she was murdered, it is clear that Rocelyn was a victim of the racist apathy towards indigenous women's lives that pervades settler communities, as well as law enforcement. Rocelyn, CJ, Selena, Ramona, and Cindy are five of thousands of documented cases of missing & murdered indigenous women in Canada, many of which remain unsolved (Tasker).
25. Alberta & Ontario tar sands: Tar sands oil extraction in Northern Canada continue to contaminate the traditional lands of the indigenous peoples of the region, and have so polluted local First Nations, their communities are dying at extraordinary rates. Rates of cancer, miscarriage, respiratory and digestive problems, suicide, and cases of missing and murdered women have greatly spiked in the wake of the Athabaskan tar sands projects (Vasey). The Lubicon Cree still have no access to drinking water on their reserve, despite the \$6 billion oil companies have made drilling on their lands, and the United Nations has condemned Canada for its treatment of the Lubicon Cree three times (Vasey). The Beaver Lake Cree have taken a case against the Alberta government, citing 20,000 separate Treaty violations and a 74% decrease in the caribou population due to the tar sands (Vasey). Amjiwnaang First Nation is also suing government agencies, for approving a

Suncor tar sand operating above acceptable human health limits; Aamijwinaang has 63 chemical refineries within 50km of their community, 40% of its population requires inhalers to breathe, and 39% of its women have had miscarriages (Vasey). Members of Fort McKay and Athabasca Chipewyan First Nations are no longer able to subsistence harvest traditional foods, due to contamination—the fish they used to harvest from the Athabasca River are now being pulled from the river with large tumors, deformities, and lesions (Nikiforuk). The cemetery at Fort Chipewyan recently had to be expanded, because it was filled to capacity due to the increase in miscarriages and deaths from cancer (Estrin).

26. Navajo Nation: Approximately four million tons of uranium was extracted from the Navajo Nation between 1944 and 1986, to be used by the US government to develop nuclear weapons and power (*Al Jazeera* 2013). The Navajo Nation banned uranium mining on its land in 2005, but the radioactive waste was never adequately disposed of, and continues to affect generations of Navajos. There are currently 521 abandoned uranium mines on the Navajo reservation (443 of which have unknown origins), and the thousands of households that depend on wells for access to drinking water have been drinking radioactive water for generations (Loomis 2014). Navajo women living in areas with uranium mines are eight times more likely to have a child with birth defects, and so many Navajo children have been born with a radioactivity-induced nervous system disease, it has come to be known as “Navajo neuropathy.” Navajo men who worked in the uranium mines were not provided protection from contact with uranium (though their white managers wore hazmat suits and face masks), were never informed of the dangers of exposure to the radioactive materials they were mining, and are now 29 times more likely to die of lung cancer (Loomis 2014).

Photograph Key (numbers on photo match point of information number)

Though the construction of each of the maps in this thesis was an emotional process, this map was one of the most difficult. I had to consciously practice self-care while researching and creating this map, and I encourage readers to take care of themselves while examining the map as well. I felt a sense of urgency in creating the map; the spirits represented here were anxious to have their stories told. I had an experience similar to that of a woman who was instructed by spirits of murdered indigenous women to create something that honored their story, and I share her words here to better illuminate that experience. The woman, Natasha Shastan Bertrand, created a pair of vamps (the top part of moccasins) for Métis artist Christi Belcourt's crowdsourced exhibit *Walking With Our Sisters*, which honors missing and murdered indigenous women, and posted her story in the WWOS Facebook group. An image of her vamps and a quote from her post is shared below.

I don't know why they came to me, but I had many visitors for a few nights. Their visiting was quite disturbing, they had all been bagged like garbage, the first night many showed themselves in pieces. I put out a feast plate and asked for understanding why they came to me. They came again, twice, whole-bodied. They told me why they came, and the next time showed me a pair of vamps.

They told me that they were treated like garbage so often during their lives, and they were disposed of like garbage. They were stuck in the garbage, and wanted to come out. They asked me to put their feast plate into the garbage for them, until they could come out and be with the other Sisters.

I don't know what has been more disturbing for me, the visits, the panic over trying to get the vamps done, or the putting feast plate into the garbage. The thought of them being stuck in the garbage horrified me. I have made the vamps they showed me.

I do not know why they came to me and not someone else. Someone else with more time, better beading skills...Red felt, beads, garbage bag. "We are not your disposable garbage"; "We are precious". I am bringing them in to WWOS Ottawa this evening.

Like the vamps, the idea for this map was sent to me, and I felt the weight of the spirits on my shoulders as I worked. Working on the map became a form of prayer for all those we have lost from the violence depicted on the map, to the point where I could not stop working until it was completed. I finished the map in a feverish two days. Documenting the stories on the map became a deliberate and sensitive process, like carefully putting tobacco down (a spiritual practice and form of prayer for some Native peoples). I believe that it brought a sense of healing and relief to some of the spirits guiding the creation of the map, but it took a great emotional and physical toll on me; maps like these can be incredibly powerful and of great use, but I would advise anyone who attempts this work to practice traditional protocol for communicating with and honoring spirits, and to take care while doing so.

The weight of this taxing process of bearing witness shows just how much healing remains unfinished for indigenous peoples. In the words of Hupa genocide historian Jack Norton,

I realize that the living have a responsibility to honor the dying and the dead because, if one does not, then those specters haunt us, causing us or later generations psychical and emotional imbalance... Do many spirits of the dead wander sorrowfully, trapped in the earthly dimension? Can there be meaningful acts that move them gracefully beyond? For me the essential and fundamental answer has come to be, yes. (358)

This thesis and my work as a whole is my attempt, in part, to assist these spirits to move beyond. However, this map in particular is my form of a meaningful act to help the spirits, as the vamps were for Bertrand. I believe it a testament to the ways in which genocide continues to tear at Native families and communities, and how for Native people, the world remains an unsafe place saturated with death. This map was the only language I could use to try to communicate the gravity and sickening violence of contemporary mass death of Native people; I simply had no other words or means to share the magnitude of the ongoing genocide my relatives and I struggle

to survive daily. This map cut deep...I look at the faces on the map and think of my close friend who is a sex worker and has been missing for months, my cousin who was destroyed by gang violence and incarceration, and my student who attempted suicide multiple times. At times, it feels that the violence is inescapable; the last time I danced at a powwow, I remember being nauseated looking around the room, thinking that one third of the women and girls in the room will be or have been raped, and many of them will be murder victims.

This map is my attempt to make sense of that violence—to name it, piece it all together, and drag it into the light. I have daydreamed of printing it and placing it defiantly on every bureaucrat's desk, asserting the realities of the violence and demanding change. Instead, I offer it to you here, not only as an informational document, but as a dialogue starter, a new frame for understanding the ways in which each of these forms of violence is connected and part of a larger landscape, and a language with which to grapple with the ongoing mass death that surrounds all of us (Native and non).

“Indigeneity is meant to self-destruct, not to love or be loved.” Trauma & Colonial Love

Like Billy-Ray Belcourt’s writing, which serves as the title of this chapter, here I delve into deeply personal experiences of colonial violence. It did not require hours and hours of poring over dusty records in an archive, making sense of colonial recordkeeping, or lengthy searches for citations. Much more difficult than that, it required me to turn inwards, and share the data I carry within myself. My memories of being called ‘dirty blood’ in Indian, the sound of my hair ripping out of my scalp while being dragged by it, the routine of throwing away bedding made bloody by rape and wandering the aisles of Walmart like a zombie to replace it, the prominent Indian woman activists that accused me of lying about my experiences of violence to make me ‘sound more Native,’ the scarlet D for Descendant sewn into my skin, the acclaimed Native academic that refused to allow me to present on my own panel at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association because I could not afford the conference registration fee (and threatened to have security remove me from the hotel), rationing food because I needed money to buy concealer so I could hide my bruises from my partner’s probation officer, growing up with the words “You have Cheyenne blood but aren’t Cheyenne” reiterated over and over...those experiences are the backbone of the work in this chapter, which addresses the ways in which Native people absorb genocidal violence and refract it back on one another.

This is not to say that I am the only writer grappling with the violence we perpetrate against our own, that is hardly the case. In this chapter, I build from works from three writers—Margo Tamez (Lipan Apache), Billy-Ray Belcourt (Driftpile Cree First Nation), and Junot Díaz (Dominican). More specifically, I use Díaz’s concept of decolonial love as a springboard to examine the myriad ways in which Native communities and people fail to create decolonial love,

and draw inspiration from poetry by Tamez and Belcourt in the creation of the two maps of this chapter.

Díaz's idea of decolonial love is a theme of each of his books, though a 2012 interview on his works named it more overtly. Indeed, Díaz is quoted in the interview as identifying the “central question” of his novel *The Brief and Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* as the following: “Is it possible to overcome the horrible legacy of slavery and find decolonial love? Is it possible to love one's broken-by-the-coloniality-of-power self in another broken-by-the-coloniality-of-power person?” (Moya). Elsewhere in the interview, Díaz elaborates on this idea of decolonial love as a mutually liberatory form of love, in which the parties involved are released from figurative shackles of colonialism via an intimacy that sheds inherited violence like misogyny and anti-blackness. However, throughout his books, Díaz presents us with male characters that are unable or unwilling to enter that level of intimacy, even when they recognize that the choice to hold fast to their misogyny and trauma will cost them relationships with women they love, possibilities for stronger relationships with their communities, and their very freedom.

Though Díaz points to more readily identified forms of violence like misogyny and anti-blackness as key inhibitors of decolonial love, he argues that legacies of sexual violence and the ways in which rape culture pervades colonial relations on all levels provide both the motivation and the primary blockage for achieving decolonial love. In his own words,

How can there be ‘just any love’ given the history of rape and sexual violence that created the Caribbean—that Trujillo uses in the novel? The kind of love that I was interested in, that my characters long for intuitively, is the only kind of love that could liberate them from that horrible legacy of colonial violence. I am speaking of decolonial love...For me, the family *fukú* is rape. The rape culture of the European colonization of

the New World—which becomes the rape culture of the Trujillato (Trujillo just took that very old record and remixed it)—is the rape culture that stops the family from achieving decolonial intimacy, from achieving decolonial love... In the novel you see the way the horror of rape closes in on them all. The whole family is in this circuit of rape. And, you know, the point the book keeps making again and again and again is that, in the Dominican Republic, which is to say, in the world that the DR built, if you are a Beli, a Lola, a Yuniór—if you are anybody—rape is never going to be far.

Díaz goes on to illustrate how various characters of his books manifest legacies of rape trauma, which we see in realities of communities of color (including Native communities)—the boy that gains weight due to post-molestation depression and a subconscious drive to render himself undesirable, the young man who deals with the ways sexual violence has shaped his childhood through promiscuity and sexism, the man who is unable to engage in emotional intimacy with his partner because he cannot name the trauma that weighs him down and instead turns to misogyny as a refuge.

Though Native peoples have experienced colonialism, slavery, and sexual violence in ways different than peoples in the Caribbean, I believe that Díaz's assertions above hold true for our communities as well. We too live in countries made and maintained through colonial sexual violence, and struggle to build the decolonial intimacy that Díaz identifies in the face of that trauma. And, like the characters in Díaz's books, we fail to build decolonial love when we continue to engage in violence, because it is easier than confronting the trauma that has structured our current ways of relating to one another.

Histories of gendered and sexual violence in Native communities have been covered in the previous chapters, so I will summarize and reiterate here—centuries of widespread rape, kidnapping, slavery, sex trafficking, beatings, sexualized torture and murder, forced sterilization,

hypersexualization and objectification, Pocahontas myths, and other violence against Native women and girls has taken its toll. Indeed, we have now come to a reality where Indian girls grow up preparing for the day they will be assaulted, “Indian love is a hickey and a black eye” is a common joke, sex traffickers target Indian reservations because they know our women and girls are vulnerable, and men and boys are shown that abusing Native women and girls very rarely comes with consequences. As we exit the residential school era, Native communities and families are also grappling with the intergenerational effects of the violence, strict gender roles, and self-hatred that we were taught for generations.

In addition to legacies of this systemic rape culture, the sweeping imposition of colonial heteropatriarchy across Indian Country has also radically shaped our families, communities, and ways we relate to one another today. Prior to their contact with colonial forces, many nations were matriarchal and run by clan mothers, and even those structured by paternal relations often required respect in all relationships and honored leadership roles for women and people now understood as LGBTQ2. Upon arrival, it became clear to settler forces that the way to dominate an Indian nation was to dominate its women—practices like refusing to allow clan mothers to attend meetings or sign treaties, and purposeful sexual assault, were common. Though many of our most revered historic leaders fought to protect Indian women (the Indian Wars of the Plains started as a reaction to rape of Lakota women, and the Lakota re-entered the wars post-surrender after the sexualized tortures and murders at Sand Creek), eventually, male leadership at a governmental level and patriarchy at community and family levels became the norm among most tribal nations.

This rape trauma and heteropatriarchy is compounded by issues of blood quantum and anti-blackness, classism, and cultural disconnect due to familial experiences of violence. How do we build decolonial love when we can't sleep at night from night terrors, when we have to decide between love and having children with legal rights to their culture, when we are taught abuse and infidelity are the norm, when all you want is to be the person holding a bottle of water on the sidelines for that beautiful fancy dancer but they don't look your way because while their parents were teaching them to dance, yours were passed out drunk?

Failures in Decolonial Love: Navigating Mazes of Trauma

This map is an attempt to ask some of the questions above, and name the ways in which Native communities fail to create decolonial love. The idea of decolonial love is often theorized from strictly a romantic perspective; I would like to challenge that by arguing that it must also occur on familial, platonic, and community levels. And yet, for the same reasons as romantic love, it so often does not occur on those levels, and is instead replaced with violence and toxic norms.

As I write this chapter, Native people across the country are reeling from a highly publicized case of violence against Ashlynne Mike, an 11-year-old Navajo girl. Ashlynne and her 9-year-old brother were kidnapped on their way home from school in a rural area of the Navajo Nation; after Ashlynne was raped and murdered near Shiprock monument, her brother escaped and ran miles through the desert until he reached a highway, where someone picked him up and brought him to police. The perpetrator was a 27-year-old Navajo man, who was found and arrested inside a sweat lodge; he provided a statement that he sexually assaulted Ashlynne, and beat her with a

tire iron and left her to die alone in the desert (Garrison). Trying to come to terms with this violence, I wrote the following Facebook post,

A very wise Navajo person told me once that I had the key to unlock my own shackles, but it was stuck inside me like it was shoved down my throat and I would have to come up with a way to cough/throw it up...I think that is true for Native people too. We swallowed the keys to our freedom and healing as a means of safekeeping and to survive in a time when those keys were being stolen and destroyed and hidden away from us. Now we carry them in us and don't know how to go through the painful process of coughing them up.

Coming up with a language to grapple with this violence, to force issues like murder, pedophilia, abuse, gender/sexual violence into the light...that is a crucial part of coughing up the keys, and the only thing I can think of to do right by what has happened.

We HAVE to take care of each other and help one another cough up these keys, it's the only way we will ever live in a world that isn't marked by such hurt.

The maps I have created for this chapter are my attempt to create such a language, and to drag these issues into the light. They were both painful and empowering, as coughing a swallowed key might be. I drew inspiration from Lipan Apache poet Margo Tamez's poem "The Birth of Thought Woman," which I share in full below,

Children shrink from blood
Relations whose faces dictate them trust
Whose hands and words peck
The order like sport

Relatives say
Maize saves people from themselves

This food is medicine
Says the road man

But the medicine is laced uranium rape DDT lynching
Toxaphene apartheid radiation blood violence
And the seed keeper rapes his wife like
Pistons ram inside pipes
And his sons rape her daughter like

Scissors want to cut
Smash her son's head as tidal waves
Pound the shore

We didn't count on that but were warned and English says
Little in long sounds with no air
The fetus inside the moon curdles in her
Milkysoft placenta we're going back in
Time to the end of the barbed world
English says
Little in long sounds
No air
I tell the rapist's words to my grandmothers
To my grandmothers to my grandmothers

Splitting my body

Making me unnatural

When I walk away from
The shove of wounds

I am sound before language
Before language
Before all language until
Spider's web spins and unfurls her next move

Thought...it's your turn to be born
War is at hand

This poem was the initial inspiration to attempt to conceptualize a map that could communicate the ways in which our relations with one another, and some of our most sacred ways, are poisoned by toxic violence in the same ways our lands have become poisoned by environmental degradation and pollution. What does it mean to nourish our bodies with food grown from seeds kept by a rapist, to pray with medicine cultivated by a woman beater, to defer to spiritual leadership that molests children, to look the other way when people of our own nations act in these ways, or even worse, welcome them into our homes and ceremonies with no repercussions? This is not a theoretical question; very recently hundreds of Native people were forced to answer

when a Lakota medicine man was arrested for decades of sexual assault and molestation that he perpetrated inside sweat lodge and other ceremonies (Horwitz). Where do we go from there? What do we do in the wake of cases like Ashlynn's? What words could we possibly use for such violence?

Like the narrator of Tamez's poem, we turn to our ancestors. We pray, we fight. We cannot go back in time, but we can return to our old ways and not only resurrect ways of relating to one another that do not leave room for such violence, but revive a justice system that is effective in holding perpetrators accountable and keeping the community safe. We rebirth warriors and deities and ancestors that can build the world anew. However, in order to do so, we must name the violence for what it is, and we must use new languages in the process. The map below is my entry into this dialogue.

I would like to provide a few notes on the text of this map before I offer an overview of its aesthetics. First, though I feel the pain of language loss and the inability of English to fully communicate our realities with our ancestors...I utilize English language text on this map for two reasons: (1) the sad reality is that if I created it solely in Cheyenne, most of my people would not be able to read it (2) there are no words for some of the violence the map addresses in Cheyenne. We have words for rape and halfbreed, true, but we have no word for transphobia or patriarchy. I will concede there is a strong argument that we must create words for such things, though I also feel strongly that there is beauty in the fact our ancestral language could not imagine a world with these phenomena.

Second, I have not placed geographic identifiers correlating to each of the issues on the map. That is because these are forms of violence that span all of Native America—there is no region, no reservation, no city, no nation that is exempt. For example, one might expect to encounter anti-blackness in Southern tribes, who historically held Black slaves and today, exclude their mixed Black Indian descendants. However, we also see anti-blackness prominently in a diverse array of Native spaces, including Native pageants (the first Black-Navajo Miss Navajo Nation, Radmilla Cody, experienced widespread racism and bullying despite being an enrolled tribal member fluent in Diné language and culture), communities of Native inmates in prisons, and Native basketball tournaments and sports media (from which Black-Indian players have been excluded and made to feel unwelcome).

Finally, each of the words printed on the map are emblematic of extremely hurtful behavior that occurs in our communities. They were not placed on the image lightly. Many of the words are

insults and violence that have been hurled at me personally—descendant, slut, ghetto, halfbreed, whore, bad family, blood quantum, rape, misogyny, domestic violence, classism. For that reason, this map is not only attempting to drag these issues into the light for all Native people; it also is a defiant act of bearing witness to the violence that has been perpetrated against me. And though I use English language to convey this violence, I have written it across the entirety of the page in large, bolded letters; this is outside both Western politics of respectability regarding taboo topics, and hegemonic notions of professionalism and ‘acceptable’ cartographic aesthetics. I have written these words in a way that is both purposeful and confrontational—looking the other way or minimizing the issue is no longer an option. My notes on each individual line are below:

- pretendian greed patriarchy – Pretendian is a derogatory word for someone who is alleged to be a ‘pretend Indian,’ or in other words, faking their identity. When used against an actual Native person (usually someone who is racially mixed and does not ‘look Native’), it is very hurtful. However, there are real pretendians in the world, who most often assume the role of male ceremonial leaders, and sometimes even dupe Native people themselves into believing they are Native and participating in their fraudulent ceremonies. These men are often driven by greed, charging exorbitant prices for participation in ceremony, and sometimes even sexually assaulting the people that participate.
- descendant slut violence – Descendant is a new term that some tribes are using for people that have documented tribal blood, but not enough to grant them enrollment as a member. Descendants receive limited tribal benefits, but are often forced into humiliating acts like acquiring a permit to live on their reservation, or clarifying to tribal services that they are branded with a D and thus are not eligible for the same services as their relatives. Slut, however is used both in and outside Native communities to damage a person’s reputation and sense of worth. That said, when taking into account the extremely high rates of sexual violence Native women and girls experience, the word slut takes on an added hurt.
- look the other way ghetto – This line refers to the status of impoverished Indian communities, which are often purposefully overlooked not just by settler media and policymakers, but by our own people. Many of us have seen the extreme poverty our relatives live in, but look the other way—some because they feel powerless to change it, others because they do not care. At very best, we are complicit in the violence of chronic poverty when we make the choice to make no effort in helping our relatives out of substandard housing, struggling with hunger and unemployment, and going without access to basic services.

- colonized halfbreed whore – All three of these words are slurs utilized by some Native people as a form of lateral violence. To call a Native person colonized is to rub salt in every wound from colonial violence they have, and remind them that they are being judged by their own due to things like where they live, their participation in cultural activities, and proficiency in tribal language. Halfbreed is a more common epithet, for anyone who is not full-blood (a characteristic totally out of their control). One person featured in the other map of this chapter recalled his grandmother banning her halfbreed grandchildren from her home, and calling them a word that translates to ‘dirty blood’ in their language. Like slut, whore is a term used in communities of all races and backgrounds, but takes on an especially hurtful edge when considering the extremely high rates of sexual assault and sex trafficking in Native communities.
- bad family blood quantum – The phrase ‘bad family’ is often used by Native people to describe a family that has low social standing, due to a combination of poverty, substance abuse, violence, and incarceration. These families are often excluded and judged, and are not invited to participate in traditional activities. The exclusion from traditional activities and community judgement often becomes a self-perpetuating cycle in which the entire community is complicit; access to traditional activities and an accepting community can make the difference in helping an individual or family heal and change their circumstances and behaviors. The insistence to use blood quantum as a marker of belonging on behalf of many tribes fuels this even further, as families that become racially mixed are further judged and excluded.
- homophobia exclusion – Homophobia is common in many Native families and communities, which often leads to exclusion from social and traditional activities. This prejudice and exclusion is not just an act of violence against those that it targets, but our ancestors and cultures. Many Native cultures have ideas of sexuality that strongly differ from Western ideologies; for example, some Plains tribes not only condoned homosexuality, but celebrated it and had specific leadership roles for homosexual community members.
- rape city molestation rez – Sexual violence has become a fact of life for every Native community, urban or reservation, though rates vary on area. 1 in 3 Native women will be sexually assaulted in their lifetimes, and 71% of Native victims of rape report knowing their assailant (National Indigenous Women’s Resource Center). In a graduate seminar, a white male student once told me that if Native women do not wish to be raped, they should leave the reservation; this line argues against that kind of ignorance by highlighting the lack of choice for Native people—rates of sexual violence are so high, it often feels inevitable no matter what kind of community you live in. Indeed, acknowledging that feeling of inevitability, the Native American Women’s Health Education Resource Center recently published an illustrated book titled *What to Do When You’re Raped: An ABC Handbook for Native Girls*.
- blind eye apple corruption – Apple is a derogatory term used to describe Native people who do not ‘act Native’ or identify as Native. The word apple connotes a person who is perceived to be red on the outside, but white on the inside. These so-called apples tend to turn a blind eye to the struggles their own people fight to survive. In this line, I propose that those perhaps most befitting of the title of apple are tribal leadership that not only turn a blind eye, but engage in corruption.

- Siphoning of tribal monies by leadership is nothing new or rare, despite that practice being far from traditional ideas of leadership. The problem is so widespread, in 2015 the following meme was widely circulated on Native social media (text printed on an image of a coffin in the ground): “When I pass I would like chief and council to lower me in the ground, so they can let me down one more time.” This represents both literal corruption of leadership, and corruption of culture and governing traditions.
- urban banishment misogyny – Banishment is a new tactic that tribes are using to attempt to eliminate crime on reservations. Those convicted of crimes like sex trafficking or drug sales can be banished from their own reservation, permanently barred from attending community and cultural activities or visiting family, for life. Banishment is lacking as a form of justice; it does nothing to address why an individual may engage in something like drug sales, why there are huge markets for drugs on reservations, healing for their victims and customers, or rehabilitation for offenders. Oftentimes, offenders are forced to move to urban areas, and are disconnected from their people and culture for life, and many have children and grandchildren that inherit that disconnect. Moreover, banishment of an offender creates a gap in ‘services’ that another person will quickly fill, because the roots of the issue have not been addressed. Misogyny intersects with these banishments when victims of sex trafficking, sex workers, and women in the drug industry are banished as criminals, rather than accepted and offered assistance as victims of systematic violence that forces them into such labor.
 - n***er disenrollment gossip: Anti-blackness is common in Native communities, particularly those that have complex relationships with African Americans. Native language words for Black are often used pejoratively, and Black Natives tend to be excluded, looked down on, and not considered ‘real Natives.’ The “Five Civilized Tribes”³³ of the South (Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole) have very long history of mixing with Black communities, and many smaller tribes near urban areas have increasing mixed Black-Native membership. One of the most publicized acts of anti-blackness is the ongoing Cherokee Freedmen controversy; in 1866, all newly freed slaves formerly held by Cherokees became citizens of the Cherokee Nation, but in the 1980s, the tribe chose to disenroll descendants of the freedmen, who to this day seek re-enrollment. In the wake of their disenrollment, more tribes across the country began the practice of retroactive disenrollment based on histories of racial mixing; some tribes in the Seattle area, for example, have disenrolled members with assertions that their blood quantum is insufficient due to ‘new data’ that their ancestors were mixed Native-Chinese or Native-Filipino. Many allege that this disenrollment is due to greed and corruption—if the number of tribal members decreases, each member’s cut of casino profits increases.
 - domestic violence classism – 39% of Native women and girls experience domestic violence in their lifetime, 40% of Native children experience 2 or more acts of violence by the age of 18, and 3 out of 5 Native women will be physically assaulted in their lifetime. Native women are subjected to domestic violence at a rate 2.5 times

³³ This moniker is a remnant from the early 19th century; because the Cherokee had their own written alphabet, they and their four allies were considered “civilized” by settlers and for that reason, were permitted to own Black slaves.

higher than any other race, and women on some reservations and in Alaska villages report rates of domestic violence at 10 times higher than the national average. Natives comprise 37% of assailants identified (all statistics from the National Indigenous Women's Resource Center). Domestic violence is extremely common in Native communities, yet it is often ignored or dismissed as something that happens in 'bad families' (who are often labeled as such due to poverty and related phenomena like substance abuse and incarceration). This idea of domestic violence as only affecting 'bad families' and thus not important is a particularly egregious form of violence; it falsely defines domestic violence along classist lines, and uses classism as an excuse to blame victims and ignore abuse.

- transphobia bullying sexism – Like homophobia, transphobia runs rampant in Native communities and is emblematic of the violence of imposition of Western ideologies. Many tribes have ideas of gender that are much more fluid. For example, traditionally, Cheyenne culture recognized a spectrum of gender & performance—hetane (man who acts like a man), -he'émáne (man who acts like a woman), he'émáné'e (man who identifies as a woman), he'émane (both man and woman), hetanémáné'e (woman who identifies as a man), -hetanémáne (woman who acts like a man), hě'e (woman who acts like a woman). He'émane'e were acknowledged as spiritual leaders, carrying medicine that people of other genders did not.

The aesthetics of this map were also both purposeful and confrontational, rooted in my own experiences of violence. I selected this shade of purple to honor the bruises my abuser gave to me, the shattered glass to depict the windshield and television and bones he shattered, and the maze to represent the mazes of trauma I and my loved ones struggle to navigate daily. The background hearts each contain images of colonial trauma, and obstacles that my loved ones and I struggle to overcome in building healthy relationships—incarceration, racism, poverty, domestic violence, boarding schools, patriarchy, gangs, and suicide.

Though this is painful imagery representing topics that are difficult and uncomfortable to discuss, it is my hope that this map jars its readers into some critical introspection, and opens up a space for some dialogue.

Locating Genocide in the Present & Personal: Trauma & Survival in the Lives of 21st Century Natives

This chapter began as an essay theorizing decolonial love...about three paragraphs into it, I realized all I was an expert in was failures in such endeavors. Aside from the broader community-based violence discussed above, I had also experienced quite a few failures in decolonial romantic love. For that reason, this portion of my thesis became an exercise in coming to terms with my own broken relationships, as a means to explore how colonialism can impact the ways we love one another, and attempt to build homes and families.

I have been deeply inspired by Billy-Ray Belcourt's poetry, which provides beautiful and haunting testimony to the difficulties in finding and building love as an indigenous person in today's world. In his poem "Love and Other Experiments," he writes,

1. He told me he was into natives, but he couldn't love the traumas hidden in my breathing.
2. How do you tell a ghost that it's already dead, that its body is a fairy tale you stopped reading a long time ago?
3. What happens when wounds start to work like bandages?
4. One time I slept with a man who looked like he was dying. Each time his body found mine it felt like he was collecting fragments of it. It was as if I were an elixir, a potion that could extend his life if he just took me long enough.
5. Sometimes love feels like vanishing, like taking apart pieces of yourself and giving them to someone who can't use them.
6. He was native, too, so I slept with him. I wanted to taste the same histories of violence that I couldn't get rid of with mouthwash. I wanted to smell his ancestors in his armpits, the aroma of their decaying flesh, how they refuse to wilt into nothingness. I wanted to touch his brown skin, to make a kind of friction so complex other worlds would emerge in our colliding.
7. What happens when 'decolonial love' becomes a story you tell yourself after he falls asleep?
8. He was my own kind of drug: the more I used him, the better I felt; the worse I felt.
9. I tell him: you breathe us, we are in you, look at the blood on your hands.
10. Sometimes not loving is the most radical thing you can do.

When I first read this poem, I was nursing my wounds as a refugee in my childhood home. A month prior, I had checked the love of my life into the psych ward and packed my things into a taxi at 2AM and left. It was the third night of the month that I thought he was going to kill us

both. While he was lying in the street begging for cars to run him over, I was burying all our knives in the backyard so that he couldn't find them. As the paramedics strapped him into the stretcher and carried him to the ambulance, he laughed and swore he would kill me. A few hours later, he convinced a nurse to remove his restraints, and he escaped the hospital, running through our neighborhood with no shoes on trying to find me.

I had survived countless nights like that over the course of the last nine months. I had begged medicine people for help; they all told me there was a bad spirit following him, drawing strength from his pain and rage. I saw that spirit when he was drunk or when his PTSD was triggered...he would talk incoherent Indian and writhe on the floor, only to rise up slowly like a monster out of a movie, his eyes filled with hatred and fear. He would beg the spirit to leave him, crying and saying it terrorized him by sitting on his chest and scratching at his neck with its long toenails.³⁴ In this state, he would beat anyone who made eye contact with him. He eventually started having seizures and heart attacks during these episodes. The first time I called the paramedics, he smashed my television. Another time, he was convinced they were the FBI coming to kill him, and he ripped my toenail out. He refused any kind of medical or spiritual help, and as he turned to self-medicating with alcohol and methamphetamine, the abuse got worse.

There was a morning his cousin had to stop him from beating me with a wooden bat because there was no milk for his cereal. There was a night he punched me in the face in the middle of our street, and forced me to convince our neighbors everything was okay while he drove off with another woman and blood was still seeping through my teeth. I have scars all over my body from

³⁴ This is a common story among Plains tribes.

where he used to pin me down and bite me—he explained that he preferred biting over punching because he did not want to break my nose or give me a black eye, and that it was “more humane.” One night I asked him to go to the movies with me, and he threw his phone at my face; I blocked it with my hand and it shattered bones. He then threw me against the wall and repeatedly punched me in the stomach. And despite everything, I loved him. I thought the ride-or-die style of love practiced by my ancestors during the Indian Wars and the version glorified by marginalized communities today were the same thing, and that that was the true mark of a ‘good woman.’ It didn’t help that the two lifestyles were conflated even more by the Native gang members in my life, who understood gang life as the warrior societies of today.

After moving 800 miles away and reading Belcourt’s poem, I realized those two things were completely different. Lines 5, 7, and 10 of “Love and Other Experiments” tore holes through wounds in my heart I did not realize were there. Decolonial love *had* become a story I told myself when he fell asleep...elaborate fiction I told myself would someday be reality—our baby girl Kate in a lavender satin jingle dress, the ranch we would build on his land on the rez, the freedom and peace we would both eventually feel. I had to learn the hard way that not loving *really was* the most radical thing I could have done in that situation.

I have named this chapter from a line from another of Belcourt’s pieces, “On ‘Moving Too Fast,’ or Decolonial Speed.” In this piece, Belcourt writes the sentence “Indigeneity is meant to self-destruct, not to love or be loved” in reference to the ongoing genocide against indigenous peoples, and “the war the settler state refuses to lose.” We are socialized to destroy one another, and to watch each other be destroyed. In a world where our lives are assigned so little value,

indigenous people are not meant to experience transformative, empowering love. We are meant to have relationships like the one I described above, because that is all settlers can imagine of us, and because it is part of the colonial genocidal structure of settler societies to look the other way as we traumatize and kill each other.

I have created the map below to bear witness to the ways in which I have experienced this destructive and traumatic love with the three men I have loved thus far in my lifetime. It is both a form of testimony to the violence I have experienced and that is characteristic of many communities across Native America, and a call to arms in the war Belcourt writes of—we *must* speak of the violence and tell our stories in ways that honor how the settler state is utilizing our trauma and our love to perpetrate continued genocide.

When I first created this map, I was afraid of sharing these stories in a candid manner. I also felt like these stories were private, and were not mine to share—they belonged to each of these men. However, upon further reflection, I came to see that these *are* my story (or part of it at least), and in sharing them without those concealments, I am sharing a much more liberating narrative.

██████████ is on the run. On the run from the law, the spirits that visit him at night, the creature that sits on his chest while he sleeps, love, incarceration, meth, coyotes, and the racist white boys that like to jump him when he walks down the road alone. I miscarried his baby. I prayed to the ancestor rocks and made a deal—I would raise the baby in their ways if they sent him back to me. They could not fulfill their end of the deal...I walked myself home from the hospital while he was being beaten over the head with a tire iron by his new fiancé. He travels the reservations of the Plateau, adopting abandoned dogs and collecting girlfriends along the way.

Locating Genocide in the Present & the Personal: My Own Story of Failed Decolonial Love

██████████ was taught that violence is the element that structures all relationships. His father pimped his mother. His grandmother ran him over with her car just to teach him the people that love you hurt you sometimes, though she also shielded him from bullets on numerous occasions and taught him fluency in his tribal language. His family helped to finance AIM via drug trafficking, and his favorite childhood memory is the day his grandfather broke out of prison to take him and his brother to a powwow. He didn't learn to read until he went to prison himself, at 15. He started beating me when he started using meth so he could stay awake while binge drinking. He has extreme psychotic episodes triggered by PTSD, and the night I left, I checked him into the psych ward because that was the third night that week I thought he would kill both of us. He longs for a warrior's death, but they don't exist anymore.

I did, though, take some precautions; in the telling of these stories, each of the men are referred to by the first initial of their Indian names—only someone from their tribal community, who knows them well, would recognize them. I also layered the background photos underneath an aerial photo of the land that serves as the base map, and a textured pattern of shapes that are key pieces of our interwoven stories—handcuffs, guns, horses, tipis, books, and graduation caps. On the map itself, the background layer I created is only partially visible, which gives a bit more privacy. Finally, I blocked out each of their names, birth dates, and partial faces. While these items are publicly accessible, and I want to tell my story in an honest and raw form, I do not want to further traumatize these men or put them at risk of legal consequences.

The background image is composed of photos of the three men whose stories are shared, plus screenshots of abusive text messages, jail records, Facebook posts about cheating on me, and some tweets I posted about my experiences of rape. They do not tell a complete story, but together they do create a mosaic of snapshots of the men that I have loved and the violence that tore us apart.

Every photo and jail record is public access; the only private images included are direct messages between myself and that person. My hope is that Native people seeing this collage will be able to identify with it in some way, to recognize patterns of violence in their own relationships or between people in their community. Even though many people who experience the violence I have do not choose to share it widely, I know that I am not alone and my story is not unique. Every single one of my close friends who is a heterosexual Native woman under the age of 35 has a love story almost identical to one of my own. It is scary to share these stories in

such an open manner, and to put faces and names to stories, but it is also liberating to speak our truths, to give them to our peoples and to the spirits that watch over us.

When I was being abused, I used to walk the streets of my neighborhood late at night and whisper these stories to my ke'éehe, who I felt watching over me. She knew that one day I would be strong enough to say those stories out loud, and encouraged me to practice them, letting the words like beating and rape become easier and easier for my mouth to form each time I told her. She is a rape survivor as well, and we are bonded by our mutual fight to survive and carve a space in the world for ourselves, in the midst of incredible violence. She looks down on me with pride and love, and whatever courage I have in giving my stories to our people in hope of change comes from her. It is my prayer that this map, along with the other in this chapter, show Native survivors of violence and traumatic relationships that they are not alone and are immeasurably powerful, and inspire all Native people to reflect on the ways genocide and colonialism shape the ways we relate to one another.

Conclusion

I have written this thesis because I am tired. I am tired of men's hands on me, tired of being stalked, raped, beaten, spat on, called and treated as garbage. I am tired of being afraid to walk down the street in the dark because I know I could be found dead in a dumpster and the world would not care. I am tired of watching our men go to jail, making babies they don't help to raise, and walking around with the same combination of fear, mistrust, rage, and apathy in their eyes that caged animals do. I am tired of Native people confusing aggression for bravery, money for sovereignty, violence for strength, and lack of self-value for loyalty. I am tired of driving through the reservation and seeing that food stand where that girl hung herself, that intersection where that boy was shot, that tree where the whites used to lynch people, that building where Indian women bartered their bodies for food for their children, that dope house where that guy I knew overdosed. I am tired of being in a perpetual state of mourning and prayer for better days. I am tired of traversing the city that now sits on my grandfather's lands just to see a museum exhibit on my ancestors where middle-age white ladies tell me people like me really shouldn't drink and their husbands tell me about the skeletal remains of my grandmother's son they keep in a cardboard box in the backroom of their tourist attraction gift shop. I am tired of professors that tell me colonialism is "so passé." I am tired of settlers classifying ongoing mass death of indigenous peoples as a special interest "Native issue." I am tired of watching my people die. I am tired of being told that we are all already dead.

I would like to share another poem by Apache writer Margo Tamez, titled "Smooth Pink Blossoms." I feel that it speaks to both the motivation for this work, as well as the process and the power of storytelling in mobilizing towards restorative justice.

We can't take back or clench in our throats this damage
Like replacing one cheap necklace for another

Our words run hard through certainty's only door
The guilty accused and forced into light

Not saying anything more
Before the fight
I unmask
On the lookout for new protections

My body and three sacred openings three sacred sisters
Smooth velvet vulva pink and wrecked

My own and my children's bodies trumpet the horrific

Against the will of violation I plant a garden
I take it all infliction and bounty

We are not inherently violable
We are not inherently violable

Earth has no name for this no name no name no name

My body
A smashed forest

Inside my womb
Flesh is storm skies

With my unborn dead buried my bones broken all I've become
Staring back at me
You! You! You! All I've become shrieking a wind
Caught in between cracks of the doorjamb and the door

I'm curling over for hard winds
Daily the wounds dry and close
Smooth pink blossoms

I dance with dawn skirts shell necklaces cedar sage
Tobacco
Chanting firehearth songs of all the brightness
I promise
I promise
I promise

I promise

From my perch above the elderberry
My aim separates identifies lets go my arrow

Into the beast on the bare forest floor

Make the medicine

These maps are my medicine. They are my power and my truth, and the gifts that I give and have been given. I cannot and will not hold this damage in my throat anymore. Bite marks, cigarette burns, and vaginal scar tissue decorate skin draped over bones that didn't set right, an ear drum that will never again work right, a skull that grows hair thin and greying from stress, a cervix that cannot be examined without sedation. As in the poem, my body trumpets the horrific. And yet, again, as in the poem, I resist against the continued violence and destruction—I cultivate, I grow, I heal, I draw my arrow and make my medicine.

We are not inherently violable, we are not inherently violable. These are the words I repeat to myself when faced with stories like Ashlynn Mike's, like Rocelyn Gabriel's, like W's, like my own. Ma'heo'o, nehpo'oeševahemeno—that is the prayer that I say each time I mourn and bear witness to this violence. Roughly translated, it means "Creator, please release us from this trauma [PTSD/historic trauma.]" This thesis is another form of that prayer, offered up not only to Creator, but to Native people and to the people we share our lands with.

Works Cited

- Abourezk, Kevin. "Oglala Sioux Tribe sues Whiteclay stores, beer makers, distributors." *Rapid City Journal*, 10 February 2012.
- American Indian Relief Council. "Resources—Living Conditions." http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_livingconditions. Accessed 14 November 2015.
- Barrera, Jorge. "First Nation infants subject to "human experimental work" for TB vaccine in 1930s-40." *Aboriginal Peoples Television Network*, 24 July 2013.
- Barerra, Jorge. "Family questions RCMP's handling of 20-year-old Ojibway woman's death." *Aboriginal Peoples Television Network*, 28 January 2014.
- Belcourt, Billy-Ray. "On Moving Too Fast, Or Decolonial Speed." *Nakinisowin*, 20 August 2015, <https://nakinisowin.wordpress.com/2015/08/20/on-moving-too-fast-or-decolonial-speed/>. Accessed September 29, 2016.
- Belcourt, Billy-Ray. "Love and Other Experiments." *Nakinisowin*, 27 August 2015, <https://nakinisowin.wordpress.com/2015/08/27/love-and-other-experiments/>. Accessed September 29, 2016.
- Bosman, Julie. "Pine Ridge Indian Reservation Struggles with Suicides Among its Youth." *New York Times*, 1 May 2015.
- Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. New York: Picador, 1970.
- Brown, Matthew. "Officials agree to slaughter 600 to 900 Yellowstone bison this winter." *Billings Gazette*, 5 January 2016.
- Bureau of Indian Affairs. "FAQ." <http://www.bia.gov/FAQs/>. Accessed 14 November 2015.
- Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. "The American Buffalo". *Conservation Note*, January 1965.
- Burns, Ryan. "Rash of Suicides Prompts Yurok Tribe to Declare State of Emergency." *Lost Coast Outpost*, 22 January 2016.
- Carlson, Leonard. *Indians, Bureaucrats, and Land: The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 1981.
- Carlson, Kathryn Blaze. "The death and life of Cindy Gladue." *The Globe and Mail*, 25 June 2015.
- Casolo, Jennifer. "Unthinkable Rebellion and the Praxis of the Possible: Ch'orti' Campesin@ Struggles in Guatemala's Eastern Highlands. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 2011.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. "Minority Health: American Indian and Alaska Native Populations," "Alcohol Use." CDCP, <http://www.cdc.gov/minorityhealth/populations/REMP/aian.html>, <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/alcohol.htm>. Accessed 14 November 2015.

Center for Indian Country Development. "High Death Rates on the High Plains: A Call for Better Data on American Indian Communities." *CICD Blog*, <https://www.minneapolisfed.org/indiancountry/resources/cicd-blog/high-death-rates-on-the-high-plains>. Accessed November 25, 2015.

Chief Dull Knife College Culture Center. "Fort Robinson Breakout." *Lame Deer: Chief Dull Knife College*, 18 April 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xAQ21z6dR0U>. Accessed 18 October 2016.

Clavin, Tom; Drury, Bob. *The Heart of Everything That Is: The Untold Story of Red Cloud, an American Legend*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014.

Crey, Ernie; Fournier, Suzanne. *Stolen From Our Embrace. The Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities*. Vancouver: D&M Publishers Inc., 1998.

Echo-Hawk, Walter. *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided*. Golden: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010.

Egley, Arlen Jr.; Major, Aline K. "2000 Survey of Youth Gangs in Indian Country." Tallahassee: National Gang Center, 2000.

Estrin, James. "An Indigenous Way of Life Threatened by Oil Sands in Canada." *New York Times*, 30 July 2013.

Fixico, Donald L. *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.

Friesen, Joe. "The Ballad of Daniel Wolfe." *The Globe and Mail*, 24 August 2012.

Garrigan, Mary, "Courage, with grace: Tribal police chief accomplished dancer too." *Rapid City Journal*, 1 September 2011.

Garrison, Steve; Grover, Hannah. "Police say Ashlynn Mike bludgeoned, left to die." *Farmington Daily Times*, 4 May 2016.

Goeman, Mishuana. *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

Gould, Corrina. "Buried." *Injunuity*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OFovOCyRACI>. Accessed 11 November 2013.

Greene, Jerome A. *Washita, The Southern Cheyenne and the US Army*. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2004.

Haraway, Donna. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism & The Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1988, pg. 575-599.

Hardorff, Richard G. *Lakota Recollections of the Custer Fight: New Sources of Indian-Military History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Hernandez, Elizabeth. "Gov. Hickenlooper apologizes to descendants of Sand Creek Massacre." *The Denver Post*, 3 December 2014.

Him, Chanrithy. *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge*. New York: WW Norton & Company, 2001.

Hoig, Stan. *The Peace Chiefs of the Cheyennes*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

Holland, Eva. "The Death and Afterlife of Ramona Wilson." *Hazlitt*, 16 June 2015.

Hopkins, Ruth. "Fighting with Spirit: How Greasy Grass Was Won." *Last Real Indians*, 25 June 2014.

Horwitz, Sari. "A man of healing, a saga of suffering." *Washington Post*, 28 December 2014.

Human Rights Watch. "Those Who Take Us Away: Abusive Policing and Failures in Protection of Indigenous Women and Girls in Northern British Columbia, Canada." New York: Human Rights Watch, 2013.

Hyde, George E. *Life of George Bent Written from His Letters*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.

Johnson, Clair. "Hanna Harris killer sentenced: 'You threw away my daughter like a piece of trash.'" *Billings Gazette*, 12 February 2015.

LaDuke, Winona. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Brooklyn: South End Press, 1999.

Lakota People's Law Project. "The Case for Tribal IV-E: Investigation and Research Into the Disappearance of Lakota Children." Rapid City: Lakota People's Law Project, 2014.

Loomis, Ilima. "The Akaka Bill." *Maui Nō Ka 'Oi Magazine*, July 2009, <http://mauimagazine.net/the-akaka-bill/>. Accessed September 29, 2016.

Loomis, Brandon. "Abandoned uranium mines continue to haunt Navajos on reservation." *AZ Central*; 4 August 2014.

Lorde, Audre. *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*. Berkeley: The Crossing Press, 1982.

Magid, Paul. *George Crook: From the Redwoods to Appomattox*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.

Marquis, Thomas Bailey, and Thomas D. Weist. *The Cheyennes of Montana*. Reference Publications, 1978.

Martin, Glen. "Salmon kill linked to level of Klamath River's flow—reduced for irrigation—played a role in huge die-off, US study finds." *SF Gate*, 19 November 2003.

McCovey, Mavis. *Medicine Trails: A Life in Many Worlds*. Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2009.

Minnesota Indian Women's Sexual Assault Coalition; Prostitution Research and Education. "Garden of Truth: The Prostitution and Trafficking of Native Women in Minnesota." Saint Paul: William Mitchell College of Law, 2011.

Moya, Paula ML. "The Search for Decolonial Love: An Interview With Junot Díaz." *Boston Review*, 26 June 2012, <https://bostonreview.net/books-ideas/paula-ml-moya-decolonial-love-interview-junot-d%C3%ADaz>. Accessed September 29, 2016.

National Indigenous Women's Resource Center. "31 Days of Domestic Violence Awareness." Facebook, October 2014, https://www.facebook.com/niwrc/photos/?tab=album&album_id=701721753242698. Accessed March 5, 2016.

National Park Service. "The Life of Silas Soule." *Sand Creek Massacre*, <http://www.nps.gov/sand/learn/historyculture/the-life-of-silas-soule.htm>. Accessed December 11, 2015.

Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center. *What to Do When You're Raped: An ABC Handbook for Native Girls*. Marty: self-published, 2015.

Nikiforuk, Andrew. "A Smoking Gun on Athabasca River: Deformed Fish." *The Tyee*; 17 September 2010.

Norton, Jack. "Traversing the Bridges of Our Lives." *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1989, pg. 347-358.

Oglala Sioux Tribe, Office of the President. "Demanding Results to End Native Youth Suicides." Pine Ridge: Oglala Sioux Tribe, http://www.indian.senate.gov/sites/default/files/upload/files/6.24.15%20Witness%20Testimony%20-%20President%20Steele_0.pdf, 24 June 2015. Accessed March 25, 2016.

Ojibwa. "President Reagan and the Indians." *Native American Netroots*, 19 February 2012, <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1262>. Accessed 19 October 2016.

Otis, DS. *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.

Paddock, Richard C. "Native Americans say Berkeley is no place for their ancestors." *Los Angeles Times*, 13 January 2008.

Peltier, Leonard. *Prison Writings: My Life is My Sun Dance*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.

Pérez, Emma. *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas Into History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Pérez, Emma. "Decolonizing Chicana History." *Women's Review of Books*, Vol. 17, No. 5, 2000, pg. 13-14.

Prengaman, Kate. "Court overturns nearly century-old conviction for fishing at traditional Yakama location." *Yakima Herald*, 8 November 2015.

Public Broadcasting Service. "Documents on the Sand Creek Massacre." *New Perspectives on the West: Documents on the Sand Creek Massacre*, 2001, <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/four/sandcrk.htm>. Accessed December 11, 2015.

Puxely, Chinta. "Manitoba First Nation declares state of emergency over suicide epidemic." *The Canadian Press*, 9 March 2016.

Rennie, Steve. "Big spike in Aboriginal women behind bars, study finds." *CBC News*, 2 December 2014.

Rickert, Levi. "Navajo Nation Leadership Declares State of Emergency After Spate of Suicides." *Native News*, 19 September 2015.

Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, & the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.

Rutecki, Gregory W. "Forced Sterilization of Native Americans: Late Twentieth Century Physician Cooperation with National Eugenics Policies." Deerfield: The Center for Bioethics & Human Dignity, Trinity International University, 2010.

Sandoz, Mari. *Cheyenne Autumn*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Schwartz, Stephanie. "Stats on Pine Ridge." Backpacks for Pine Ridge, http://www.backpacksforpineridge.com/Stats_About_Pine_Ridge.html. Accessed November 14, 2015.

Sok, Monica. "On Fear, Fearlessness, and Intergenerational Trauma." *VIDA: Women in Literary Arts*, 11 January 2016, <http://www.vidaweb.org/on-fear-fearlessness-and-intergenerational-trauma/>. Accessed September 29, 2016.

Spotted Eagle, Faith; White Plume, Debra. "Be Careful Who You Dance For...It Might be Big Oil!: Coyote Sneaks Into Oceti Sakowin." *Last Real Indians*, 29 February 2016.

Staff. "A radioactive legacy on Native American land." *Al Jazeera*, 23 August 2013.

Staff. "Justice System Rejected Protecting Selena Keeper from Man Accused of Murdering Her." *Red Power Media*, 9 October 2015.

Staff. "Damien Taylor convicted of 2nd degree murder of pregnant girlfriend CJ Fowler." *CBC News*, 14 October 2015.

Tamez, Margo. *Raven Eye*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.

Tasker, John Paul. "Confusion reigns over number of missing, murdered indigenous women." *CBC News*, 16 February 2016.

Townes, Carimah. "Nearly No Consequences for Drunk Executives Who Poured Beer on Native American Children's Heads." *Think Progress*, 22 July 2015.

Trudell. Directed by Heather Rae, performance by John Trudell. Passion River, 2007.

United States Army. "Medal of Honor: The Nation's Highest Medal of Honor for Valor." US Army, <https://www.army.mil/medalofhonor/history.html>. Accessed 18 October 2016.

Vasey, Dave. "Stopping Line 9: Communities mobilize for Ontario's tar sands battle." *Rabble*, 11 September 2012.

Wamariya, Clemantine. "Everything is Yours, Everything is Not Yours." *Matters*, 29 June 2015, <https://medium.com/matter/everything-is-yours-everything-is-not-yours-d6f66bd9c6f9#.b39ihhv6b>. Accessed September 29, 2016.

WoLakota. "Board." WoLakota, <http://wolakota.org/board.html>. Accessed March 1, 2016.

Wooster, Robert. *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996.