

DISRUPTING RACE, CLAIMING COLONIZATION:  
COLLECTIVE REMEMBERING AND RHETORICAL COLONIZATION  
IN NEGOTIATING (NATIVE)AMERICAN IDENTITIES IN THE U.S.

by

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Disrupting Race, Claiming Colonization: Collective Remembering and Rhetorical Colonialism in Negotiating (Native)American Identities in the U.S.

Dissertation directed by Associate Professor Lisa A. Flores

## ABSTRACT

This critical rhetorical critique interrogates rhetorics of memory in negotiations of national identity, especially as they address race and colonialism. We need to rethink race in more complex ways that disrupt homogenous conceptions of who belongs in the U.S., instead embracing the possibilities offered in those liminal spaces of racial national identities, such as (Native)American. Doing so requires acknowledging the reverberations of past rhetorics in contemporary sense-making and how those echoes vary across communities. In exploring how we (mis)remember race and colonization in relation to nation, my concern lies in exposing some of the persistent rhetorical strategies that impede social justice efforts by marginalized communities, as well as the resistive rhetorics these communities respond with.

Pursuing this project, I rely on investigating rhetorical mnemonic strategies of race, nation, and colonialism in everyday discourses about the relationship(s) between a Euro-American community in Lawrence, Kansas and a pan-Indian community associated with Haskell Indian Nations University (HINU) to reveal how we negotiate national identities in relation to the past and to one another. At its core, this ideological critique of rhetorics of race, nation, memory and colonialism is an investigation of identity negotiation among two representative communities in disparate positions of power, their places constituted across several centuries of racist discourses that we too-often continue to rely on. In examining historic Assimilation Era discourses from Haskell Indian Boarding School as well as recent discourses produced by the Lawrence, Kansas, and HINU communities about a local land controversy, I interrogate the role of memory in contemporary negotiations of identity and reveal ways the normative assumptions of U.S. citizenship are profoundly raced. I also propose the idea of “enabling uncertainty” as a perspective that explicitly troubles narrow and limiting conceptions of racial identities, highlighting the idea through discussion of the complex ways (Native)Americans navigate the interstices between Native and American identities.

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## CHAPTER 1

### RHETORICS OF REMEMBERING RACE, NATION, AND COLONIZATION

*“The regulations of the Interior Department require the flag to float over all government institutions from 9 o’clock to 4, and so the flag has been dutifully run up and as dutifully hauled down every day for a dozen years or more, but [Haskell] Superintendent Peairs was not satisfied with this perfunctory performance. He loves the flag, and he wants the 600 boys and girls, of aboriginal blood, the “real” Americans under his charge to love it, too. Every morning at sunup, and every evening at sundown, these 600 pupils gather and salute the flag as it goes up, and as it is lowered.”*

*- Isabell Worrell Ball, 1900  
“How Patriotism is Taught at Haskell”<sup>1</sup>*

*“For a town that’s supposed to be hip there really is prejudice. You can walk down the street on any day and get a reaction. You hear it. Sometimes it’s just the way people look at you.”*

*- Joseph Powless, Haskell Student, 1983<sup>2</sup>*

*“[W]e just encourage people to speak to the Native American people respectfully, treat us with dignity, and you know, give us a seat on these tables in regards to our environment, in regards to how our education systems are made, in regards to how Mother Earth is being treated, and in regards to social justice.”*

*- Millicent Pepion (Navajo and Blackfeet), 2013  
Haskell Indian Nations University Student  
Former President, Wetlands Preservation Organization<sup>3</sup>*

Whether we realize it or not, our negotiations of national identity are intricately entwined with rhetorics of race. We characterize our communities based on collective remembrances of race, calling on how it has been defined in the past and implicitly applying those assumptions today. These racial mnemonic discourses resonate throughout our everyday, from the streets to the courtroom to the Senate, shaping our lives in relation to one another. No matter the racial prefix attached to our national identity (Euro, African, Asian, Mexican, Native...) social presumptions and conceptions about race inform our negotiations of national identity, albeit in very different ways. Efforts to delineate the supposed place(s) of racially defined communities, such as debates over immigration, often rely on rhetorics of race and nation, sometimes more

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<sup>1</sup> Isabel Worrell Ball, “How Patriotism is Taught at Haskell,” *Indian Leader*, September 21, 1900, v. 4, no. 25, 2.

<sup>2</sup> No Author, *University Daily Kansan*, September 27, 1983, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Millicent Pepion, interview by KMZU John Chojimicki, “Native Americans Walking to D.C.,” May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>



obviously than others. While in recent years the Birthers, DREAMers, and Arizona's SB1070 have kept immigration debates at the forefront of national conversations, we often forget that while the U.S. is a nation of immigration, it is also one of colonization. Although frequently overlooked, colonialism is not merely a past act, but a way of thinking that remains a defining feature of who we are as a society, a relationship between the past and the present, and one worth investigating in terms of racial and national identity. When dominant discourses fail to acknowledge colonialism or relegate its existence to the past, particularly in the midst of interactions with Indigenous communities, they also in effect declare those communities, their members, their experiences, to be anachronisms—remnants of a national past better left in the past, with no place in the modern nation. These instances demonstrate the ideological framing of time. While the past is rarely completely *forgotten*, entirely erased from existence, it is often *misremembered* in ways that support the power dynamics constituted through dominant narratives.<sup>4</sup>

In exploring how we (mis)remember race and colonization in relation to nation, my concern lies in exposing some of the persistent rhetorical strategies that impede social justice efforts by marginalized communities, as well as the resistive rhetorics these communities respond with. At its core, this ideological critique of rhetorics of race, nation, memory and colonialism is an investigation of identity negotiation among two representative communities in disparate positions of power, their places constituted across several centuries of racist discourses that we too-often continue to rely on today. Specifically, I interrogate negotiations of national, racial, and colonial identities by mapping historic and contemporary mnemonic rhetorical strategies between a dominant EuroAmerican public and a pan-Indian counterpublic. These

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<sup>4</sup> Kendall R. Phillips, "The Failure of Memory: Reflections on Rhetoric and Public Remembrance," *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 2 (2010): 208-223.

discourses of race and nation reveal an ongoing reliance on rhetorical colonialism, rhetorics that function to limit members of marginalized communities from acceptance as full members of the nation through reinforcing embedded racist colonial social structures. However, they also reveal how members of a marginalized pan-Indian community can engage these racist remembrances in a variety of ways. While discourses past and present call attention to Native peoples' state of colonization in the U.S., they do so in different ways. For instance, in the historic rhetoric examined in the first part of this project, members of Indigenous communities are represented as embracing racist depictions of their peoples and making efforts to "advance" themselves from their supposedly backwards state into assimilated members of the modern nation. In recent decades, however, the discourse reveals rhetorical efforts that complicate conceptions of Native peoples' place within the U.S. as simultaneously citizens and colonized subjects. These mnemonic rhetorics of resistance call attention to Indigenous communities' ongoing colonization, actively advocate for acceptance of their lifeways, and embody a (Native)American identity through which they navigate the intersections of their Native and U.S. American national communities.

At any time over the past half century we could likely unearth examples of interactions between Indigenous and European peoples in North America. I have chosen to study the discourses produced by and about a pan-Indian community that would not exist without colonialism, its members brought together by U.S. policies of assimilation. Haskell Indian Nations University (HINU), as it is now known, began its existence as the U.S. Indian Industrial Training School in 1884, an Indian boarding school run then and now by the U.S. federal government. From the beginning, the school has brought together students from multiple federally recognized tribes, first as a means of assimilating them into U.S. American culture and

the nation, and today as a place to celebrate and perpetuate Native lifeways while offering a University education meant to prepare students for life off of their peoples' reservations. Thanks to its status as the only federal Indian boarding school to become a federally-run pan-Indian University and its location since its opening within a predominantly EuroAmerican town (Lawrence, Kansas), discourse by and about Haskell is a unique case for investigating Indigenous-U.S. relations across time and communities. As described in a report for the National Register of Historic Places, "Haskell is an example, unique in many ways, of the good and the bad in American history," an example that

well represents the large policy questions in American history and the roles of individuals, interest groups, bureaucracies, and ethnic groups, as well as church and reform organizations, in the development of major national movements. Haskell also represents, and can connect today's citizens with, the impacts of these complex and sweeping policies on the individuals most affected, Indian students, their families, and their communities.<sup>5</sup>

Haskell's history and continuous existence since the Assimilation Era in U.S.-Indigenous policy allows me to explore both historic and contemporary examples of discourse between these EuroAmerican and pan-Indian communities, parsing out how past discourses affect present ones, informing the rhetorical strategies each community uses to perpetuate and resist racial assignments within the nation.

I rely on investigating rhetorical mnemonic strategies of race, nation, and colonialism in everyday discourses about the relationship(s) between a Euro-American community in Lawrence and a pan-Indian Haskell community to reveal how we negotiate national identities in relation to the past and to one another. We need to rethink race in more complex ways that disrupt

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<sup>5</sup> Paul E. Brockington and Bruce G. Harvey, "Documentation and Recommendations Concerning Determination of Eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places of Haskell Indian Nations University and the Baker Wetlands Douglas County, Kansas; Prepared for U.S. Army, Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District, and Kansas Department of Transportation." (Douglas County, Kansas: December 2001). Accessed September 11, 2011, [http://southlawrencetrafficway.org/downloads/Brockington%20Report/Main\\_Report.pdf](http://southlawrencetrafficway.org/downloads/Brockington%20Report/Main_Report.pdf)

homogenous conceptions of who belongs in the U.S., instead embracing the possibilities offered in those liminal spaces of racial national identities, such as (Native)American. To this end, I suggest we explicitly challenge the narrow labels and definitions commonly used, working instead from a perspective of *enabling uncertainty*—embracing the possibilities of not quite knowing and challenging the power-laden racial and national labels that currently limit us. Doing so requires acknowledging the reverberations of past rhetorics in contemporary sense-making and how those echoes vary across communities. To facilitate these conversations throughout this project, below I explain the significance of *The Indian*, a EuroAmerican strategy of rhetorical colonialism and the subsequent material effects of marginalizing racially defined communities within the nation, after which I map the coming chapters. This project is intended to foreground the importance of critically considering mnemonic discourses in rhetorics of race and nation, furthering our understanding of rhetorical strategies in negotiations of national identities. In the process, this work adds to our rhetorical history, turning attention to Native American discourses that are still only rarely addressed among rhetoricians but are important for understanding memory within rhetorical constructions of racial and national identity and inclusion.

### Rhetorically Colonizing The Indian

Rhetorics are symbolic and material, shaping our lives, making sense of our world, allowing us to define and regulate one another.<sup>6</sup> How we make sense of people and their subsequent acceptance or marginalization by dominant society is largely constituted through how they are named. Imbued with power, discourses define who we are, drawing borders that over

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<sup>6</sup> Carole Blair, “Reflections on Criticism and Bodies: Parables from Public Places,” *Western Journal of Communication* 65, no. 3 (2001): 271-294; Kevin Michael DeLuca, “Unruly Arguments: The Body Rhetoric of Earth First!, ACT UP, and Queer Nation,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 36 (1999): 9-21; Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook, “Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Place in Protest,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no.3 (2011): 257-282; Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott, eds., *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Gerard A. Hauser, “Incongruous Bodies: Arguments for Personal Sufficiency and Public Insufficiency,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 36 (1999): 1-8.

time may become naturalized, complicating their crossing. The constraints of identity labels such as race are amplified as public perceptions and discourses become reified through law and policies. As Nadine Ehlers explained,

Ultimately, this juridical policing of ‘racial borders’ has rendered ‘race’ a literal and figurative vehicle of containment. This containment has been executed through constraining the possible interpretations and articulations of racial subject-hood—*constraints that have functioned to call into being or produce the very racial subjects* that legislation and legal judgments have claimed only to classify and keep separate.<sup>7</sup>

Racist rhetorics serve to (re)construct hierarchical social structures among communities through naming particular people in such a way “so that they will be looked upon as creatures warranting suppression and annihilation.”<sup>8</sup> The relationships between Euro- and Native Americans emerges through how the communities make sense of one another, especially how dominant publics within the nation collectively remember Native Americans and their role in the nation. Crucial to this process are the rhetorics constructed through these remembrances. Explicit in the historic discourses addressed here are how a dominant EuroAmerican public names Native peoples as behind-the-times, supposed anachronisms unable to “advance” into the modern nation largely because of their adherence to “uncivilized” lifeways. These explicitly racist rhetorics are echoed in contemporary discourses between the communities, but are now often quietly inferred rather than boldly stated. Through defining Indigenous peoples as anachronisms, remembering them as always behind-the-times, dominant rhetorics construct them as confined to the past as if they no longer exist, marginalizing Native peoples.

Through framing Indigenous peoples as members of the national past, not its present, this strategy of rhetorical colonization also serves to frame colonialism as past, a regrettable incident

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<sup>7</sup> Nadine Ehlers, “Hidden in Plain Sight: Defying Juridical Racialization in *Rhineland v. Rhineland*,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 1, no. 4 (2004): 316, my emphasis.

<sup>8</sup> Haig A. Bosmajian, “Defining the ‘American Indian’ A Case of Study in the Language of Suppression,” *The Speech Teacher* 21, no. 2 (1973):89. (Un)intelligibility is also addressed by Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 218-222; Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1961), 76-81.

in the nation's history rather than an ongoing structure. Additionally, when colonialism *is* recognized, rhetorically (mis)remembering Native peoples as anachronisms in need of "catching up" to the advancing modern nation serves to legitimize the national narrative of colonization. Lorenzo Veracini explains, "Narratives and their availability matter. Narratives are a fundamental part of everyday life, and their construction constitutes an act that allows nations, communities, and individuals to make sense of the world."<sup>9</sup> As he states, we make sense of our worlds through the discourses and the power structures enabled through them. In turn, these discourses and power structures are intimately related to constructions of identity, compelling us to ask how presuppositions about aspects of identity, such as race, come "to function as a presupposition about how the world is structured."<sup>10</sup> Scott Lauria Morgensen explains that discursive sense-making or interchanges between "Native and non-Native people locate them in power-laden spaces of relationship," inextricably binding these communities' identities together through ubiquitous power structures.<sup>11</sup> Five hundred years of colonization and the rhetorical strategies that uphold these long-standing colonial structures have resulted in colonized and colonizer identities that "constantly interpenetrate each other and overlap each other in a variety of ways."<sup>12</sup> In the case of the U.S., key among these interpenetrations is the definition of American identity through and in relation to Native Americans.<sup>13</sup>

A crucial strategy in marginalizing Native peoples in relation to EuroAmericans was the invention of "the Indian," a homogenous and racist representation of Indigenous peoples that defined them as anachronisms, uncivilized savages who, much like the wilderness in which they

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<sup>9</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 96.

<sup>10</sup> Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 215.

<sup>11</sup> Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), x. My emphasis.

<sup>12</sup> Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 20.

<sup>13</sup> Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). See also Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Discovering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786-1789," *The Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (1992): 841-873; Mary E. Stuckey and John M. Murphy, "By Any Other Name: Rhetorical Colonialism in North America" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25, no. 4 (2001):73-98.

lived, must be settled, civilized, or eliminated on behalf of the new nation.<sup>14</sup> As Jason Edward Black explains, “the Indian’ was a rhetorical maneuver whereby the many Native American nations in North America were collapsed into a singular category of ‘Indians,’ a move that facilitated brutality and violence. Though ‘Indians’ were fictional, this category became an integral part of America.”<sup>15</sup> “The Indian” term invented by EuroAmericans was used to justify colonial violence through the negative definitions and connotations attached to the term, such as talking about The Indians as pests (for example, wolves, bears, those who harass farmers and their crops); as savages who didn’t cultivate land so didn’t need it; and as warlike and savage beings that needed to be removed to make room for progress and the civilized people they threatened.<sup>16</sup> The dehumanization of Indigenous peoples was further perpetuated through the suppressive language of the state and church that assigned their people(s) new names and banned them from using their own languages and lifeways.<sup>17</sup> These naming practices allowed the U.S. to impose “colonial rule in the name of saving indigenous people from their own weakness and backwardness, that is, savagery.”<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to be American?: Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Jason Edward Black, “U.S. Governmental and Native Voices in the Nineteenth Century: Rhetoric in the Removal and Allotment of American Indians” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2006); 73; Stephen Cornell, “American Indians, American Dreams, and the Meaning of Success,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 11, no. 4 (1987): 59-70; Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> Jeremy Engels, “‘Equipped for Murder’: The Paxton Boys and the ‘Spirit of Killing All Indians’ in Pennsylvania, 1763-1764,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8, no. 3 (2005): 355-382; Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name.” The reation of fictional and essentializing terms for racial groups is common, as demonstrated in the construction of the label “Hispanic” to encompass myriad heterogeneous peoples across several continents, as well as conversations about how identity terms Black and African American have different associations for ethnic identity. Martha E. Gimenez, “Latino/Hispanic”-Who Needs a Name? The Case Against a Standardized Terminology,” *International Journal of Health Services* 19, no. 3 (1989): 557-571; Phillip B. Gonzales, “The Political Construction of Latino Nomenclatures in Twentieth-Century New Mexico,” *Journal of the Southwest* 35, no. 2 (1993): 158-185; Linda Kathryn Larkey, Michael L. Hecht and Judith Martin, “What’s in a Name? African America Ethnic Identity Terms and Self-Determination,” *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 12, no. 4 (1993): 302-317; Ben L. Martin, “From Negro to Black to African American: The Power of Names and Naming,” *Political Science Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (1991): 83-107.

<sup>16</sup> Engels, “Equipped for Murder,” 361; see also Bosmajian, “Defining the ‘American Indian,’” 90-91.

<sup>17</sup> Bosmajian, “Defining the ‘American Indian,’” 95.

<sup>18</sup> Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 81.

With the birth of the U.S., EuroAmericans primarily defined themselves through what they were not, which initially meant defining themselves as not Europeans, but it also meant separating themselves from the land's Native inhabitants.<sup>19</sup> Philip Deloria argues that the Native peoples provided an Other for EuroAmericans to imagine themselves against while simultaneously identifying with them. The Indian was seen as the spirit of the country, wild and free, instead of trapped within the limits of European logic and social order.<sup>20</sup> EuroAmericans were able to identify with Native peoples because of their connections to the land of the new nation, while simultaneously imagining themselves against Native peoples because the Indigenous were not white, both factors that helped shaped EuroAmerican identity, and ones that also legitimated the "dispossession and conquest of actual Indian peoples."<sup>21</sup> The U.S. was defined through the meeting of savagery and civilization. Through being exposed to and gradually conquering native wild(er)ness, European colonists became "American."<sup>22</sup> As such, EuroAmerican national identity is inherently contradictory for the ways it is defined both through and against those they deemed uncivilized, and is inherently racialized for the ways one's level of "civilization" was conflated with "race." This dichotomous representation of whites as civilized citizens versus nonwhite uncivilized Indians "suggests that the definition of the U.S. nation and the U.S. conception of American Indians were inextricably intertwined and

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<sup>19</sup> Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 3.

<sup>20</sup> This construction through juxtaposition is true of race in general. For instance, Ruth Feldstein's *Motherhood in Black and White: Race and Sex in American Liberalism, 1930-1965* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000) discusses how good white mothers were constructed in opposition to bad Black mothers. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) explains how during the U.S. Progressive Era, civilized whiteness was framed in comparison to savage Blackness, and David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991/1998) discusses how since the founding of the American colonies, white European settlers defined themselves as hard workers in comparison to "lazy" Black slaves and Native Americans.

<sup>21</sup> Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 182.

<sup>22</sup> Stuckey and Murphy, "By Any Other Name," 87.



interdependent,” a state of affairs that demands more investigation of how these identities are discursively negotiated today.<sup>23</sup>

As witnessed in the material effects of marginalization practices based on racial definitions, rhetorics create something real.<sup>24</sup> According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 5.2 million people, or 1.7% of the overall US population, identify as Native American.<sup>25</sup> Especially for those on reservations, Indigenous peoples suffer poverty rates at nearly double the national average, higher rates of disease, violence, depression, incarceration, suicide, homicide, and lower life expectancy and levels of education.<sup>26</sup> Despite possessing U.S. citizenship since 1924, Native Americans continue to be framed as outside the nation, conceived of as “relics of the past,” much like the colonialism that many Americans forget still occurs within the nation, a position that often limits them from accessing much-needed national resources.<sup>27</sup> Anachronistic conceptions of Native peoples are perpetuated through depictions in popular media, sports teams’ mascot names, and “even mainstream education on history and social studies,” from elementary school to academia, and have been for centuries.<sup>28</sup> As Patty Loew observed, “If art imitates life, the

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<sup>23</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 33.

<sup>24</sup> Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

<sup>25</sup> James Anaya, U.N. General Assembly. Human Rights Council, 21<sup>st</sup> session. “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Addendum: The Situation of Indigenous Peoples in the United States of America,” 30 August, 2012, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Anaya “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur,” 10. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (<http://www.hhs.gov/PublicAffairs/IHSBrochure/Disparities/.asp>), the life expectancy for Native Americans is 5.2 years less than the national average, and death rates are higher from: alcoholism (514% higher), tuberculosis (500% higher), diabetes (177%), unintentional injuries (140% higher), homicide (92% higher) and suicide (82% higher). Meanwhile, according the National Center for Education Statistics 2008 report *Statistical Trends in the Education of American Indians and Alaska Natives* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education), 77 percent of Native Americans over 25 years old hold a high school diploma or equivalent, in comparison to 86% of the general population, and 13% of Native Americans have a basic university degree in comparison to 28% of the broader population.

<sup>27</sup> Anaya “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur,” 6.

<sup>28</sup> Anaya “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur,” 6. See also: Ward Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1990), 168-179; Deloria, “Marginal and Submarginal” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, Inc., 1996); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *So You Want to Write About American Indians? A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); N. C. Peroff, “Indian Identity,” *The Social Science Journal* 34, no. 4 (1997): 485-494.

world has long gazed upon a surrealistic portrait of Indigenous people.”<sup>29</sup> Although stereotypes of Indigenous peoples in the U.S. have varied over time, ranging from “historic depictions of Indians as uncivilized primal men and winsome women belonging to a savage culture, to present day Indians as mystical environmentalists, or uneducated, alcoholic bingo-players confined to reservations,”<sup>30</sup> all of these stereotypes depict them as never quite in touch with modern society, always behind the times. Problematically, these inaccurate mnemonic rhetorics of race “Obscure understanding of the reality of Native Americans today and instead help to keep alive racially discriminatory attitudes.”<sup>31</sup>

### *The Indian*

At the heart of these categorization and dehumanization efforts was the rhetorical category of “The Indian,” a simplified depiction of the myriad peoples who inhabited the lands gradually claimed by the U.S. The label represents “a creation, a fiction, a pedagogical device that does not speak to the conditions of contemporary indigenous communities in the U.S. or abroad. ...[and] cannot speak to the conditions of contemporary indigenous communities because it is a fiction exclusively from the documents of the colonizer.”<sup>32</sup> Jo Carrillo refers to this rhetorical construction as the “symbolic Indian [sic],” a symbol that takes the place of the real people affected by colonial violence and assimilation policies, but one now so engrained in our social imaginary to function as a “disabling certitude”: a presumption that does not change, that “occlude[s] our vision” and is even embedded in the law, shaping interactions with those defined as “Indian.”<sup>33</sup> Disrupting “disabling certitudes” such as that of the symbolic Indian is

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<sup>29</sup> Patty Loew, “Introduction: Finding a New Voice—Foundations for American Indian Media” in *American Indians in the Mass Media*, eds. Meta G. Carstarphen and John P. Sanchez (Norman, OK; University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 3.

<sup>30</sup> Miheesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*, 9.

<sup>31</sup> Anaya “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur,” 6.

<sup>32</sup> Jo Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance: An Essay about the Role of Mythologies in Law,” *PoLAR*, 25, no. 1 (2002): 37.

<sup>33</sup> Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance”; Jo Carrillo, “Disabling Certitudes: An Introduction to the Role of Mythologies of Conquest in Law,” *University of Florida Journal of Law and Public Policy* 12 (2000-2001): 13-31.

crucial to contemporary racial and national equality because they have become so entrenched and “so time-worn that today they are transmitted and accepted unconsciously,” to the point that their use deflects discussions of lived genocide.<sup>34</sup>

Interestingly, while (Euro-)American identity values individuality and members of dominant (Euro-)American society see themselves as individuals, those myriad peoples assigned “The Indian” identity are seen as an essentialized group.<sup>35</sup> Hilary N. Weaver (Lakota) reiterates the negative impact of the stylized and symbolic Indian so often referred to in our national narratives. She states,

The label ‘Indian’ has served to reinforce the image of indigenous people as linked to a romantic past. ‘Indians’ are the images in old photographs, movies, and museum cases. It is a label for people who are fundamentally unknown and misrecognized by nonindigenous people. Indeed, an ‘Indian’ is constituted in the act of naming. Those who are relatively powerless to represent themselves as complex human beings against the backdrop of degrading stereotypes become invisible and nameless.<sup>36</sup>

Echoing this idea, Louis D. Owens (Choctaw and Cherokee) observed, “The Indian in today’s world consciousness is a product of literature, history, and art, and a product that, as an invention, often bears little resemblance to actual, living Native American people.”<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Renee Cramer argues that “Most contemporary stereotypes of American Indians are rooted in these colonial encounters and constructions, and the popular culture tells and retells about the American founding, and about Indian identity.”<sup>38</sup> Relying on and perpetuating these fictions supports those national narratives that overlook the colonial violence and dehumanizing practices

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<sup>34</sup> Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance,” 40; see also page 45.

<sup>35</sup> Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 397.

<sup>36</sup> Hilary N. Weaver, “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?” *The American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2001): 243. For more on stereotyping and essentializing of The Indian, see: G. Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); C. West, “The New Politics of Cultural Difference,” in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh-ha, and C. West (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), 19-36; Peroff, “Indian Identity.”

<sup>37</sup> Louis Owens, quoted in Elvira Pulitano, *Toward a Native American Critical Theory* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 3.

<sup>38</sup> Renee Ann Cramer, “The Common Sense of Anti-Indian Racism: Reactions to Mashantucket Pequot Success in Gaming and Acknowledgement,” *Law and Social Inquiry* 31, no. 2 (2006): 318.

that continue to shape U.S.-Indigenous relations in many cases. Furthermore, dominant society's reliance on "The (symbolic, stereotyped) Indian" to identify Native peoples affects Indigenous peoples' ability to define themselves and non-Native acceptance of their self-definition, influencing formal instances of identification from university admissions to government-to-government relations.<sup>39</sup>

While often perceived as such, Indigenous communities within the U.S. are far from homogenous, actually incorporating hundreds of sovereign tribal nations and countless other Native communities that may not be legally recognized by the U.S. government.<sup>40</sup> Despite colonial attempts at and assumptions of amalgamation, Native peoples strive to maintain their individual cultures while also creating pan-Indian communities of shared struggles.<sup>41</sup> John Sanchez and Mary Stuckey explain, "American Indian peoples did not cease to think of themselves in terms of their tribal communities, but many of them also began to think of themselves as 'American Indian,' as people who, regardless of differences, had similar group interests and who faced similar challenges and obstacles."<sup>42</sup> While peoples' identities and lifeways are distinct within tribal nations and communities, they may also identify with a pan-Indian community whose members share a history of colonial violence, removal from their homelands, and forced integration at schools and in urban centers. Though many peoples from various tribes identify with one another through this shared experience of colonial violence, even within their home communities they are heteroglossic, incorporating different religions,

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<sup>39</sup> Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education," *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2006): 434.

<sup>40</sup> Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 397.

<sup>41</sup> Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996); John Sanchez and Mary E. Stuckey, "The Rhetoric of American Indian Activism in the 1960s and 1970s," *Communication Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2000): 120-136.

<sup>42</sup> Sanchez and Stuckey, "The Rhetoric of American Indian," 122.

languages, naming practices, and perspectives of authenticity.<sup>43</sup> As is the case with all identities, Indigenous identities are formed through complexly woven facets of history, culture, race, gender, class, sexuality, as well as being profoundly affected by the colonialism endemic to North America.<sup>44</sup> As Haskell student Ruth Bronson warned in 1932, “One must guard every general statement about Indians for, as you know, Indian localities and conditions therein differ so greatly that exceptions can be made to every statement one may make. Even on the same reservation and in the same village there are so many degrees and states of Indian and white cultures that such subtle things as opinions and attitudes vary almost as often as individuals.”<sup>45</sup>

Bronson’s 1932 reminder about the “many degrees and states of Indian and white cultures” continues to serve us well 70 years later. Although throughout this project I assess discourse from particular EuroAmerican and pan-Indian (counter)publics, my analysis of discourses produced in their encounters draws out some of the many states of these communities and cultures, especially in relation to one another and the U.S. nation. For instance, I find that in both historic and contemporary discourses, Lawrence, Kansas community members assume that Native peoples, such as those at Haskell Indian school, should assimilate into the U.S. nation, upholding the U.S. nation’s racialized norms instead of pursuing their peoples’ lifeways. Meanwhile, the discourses of members of the pan-Indian Haskell community (at least as they are depicted in mainstream media of the eras) are more varied. In the early years of Haskell,

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<sup>43</sup> Weaver, “Indigenous Identity”; Shari R. Veil and Jilane E. Rodgers, “Reaching At-Risk Populations: The Inconsistency of Communication Channels Among American Indian Tribes and Nations in Oklahoma,” *Public Relations Review* 36, (2010): 302; Miheuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*.

<sup>44</sup> Taiaiake Alfred, “Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as Ground of Contention,” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Miheuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 88-99; Weaver, “Indigenous Identity”; Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of the US National Space* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009). While the heteroglossia and contrasting opinions of different Indigenous peoples, as well as those within the communities, are often lost in scholarly work, it is unfortunately not a project I am able to pursue here. As an inter-tribal school since its founding, Haskell’s discourses are delivered in a pan-Indian voice as individuals speak on behalf of themselves as members of a pan-Indian community (even as they may simultaneously specifically position themselves within their home tribal nation). My thanks to Danielle Endres for pointing out this limitation in current scholarship and the implications of not hearing competing discourses within marginalized communities.

<sup>45</sup> Ruth Bronson, “The Indians Attitude Toward Co-Operation,” *Indian Leader*, December 16, 1932, v. 36, no. 16, 1.

discourses produced by Native rhetors featured in the school news rely on remembering The Indian to argue on behalf of racist and colonizing policies that advocated for assimilation of Native peoples. In other words, students' discourse advocated "killing the Indian" in themselves in order to "save the man" and render them intelligible enough to join the U.S.<sup>46</sup> While the historic discourses of both communities blatantly discuss race, colonization, and the racial and racist implications for fitting into the U.S. nation, contemporary dominant discourses *infer* race. Although often not explicit, these inferences still serve to legitimize national racial ideologies, often by entirely overlooking the existence of colonialism, let alone its effects on the present. Contemporary counterpublic discourses of the Haskell community continue to blatantly address race and colonialism, but to a much different end than at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this time airing their oft-overlooked experiences of colonialism in hopes of enacting change on behalf of their communities.

Across the discourse, the relationship(s) constituted over time between the Lawrence and Haskell communities was importantly shaped by these communities' relationships to the U.S. nation. Dominant national narratives served as a medium through which to address (or avoid) the complexities of race, colonialism, and identity, with members of both communities making sense of themselves today through how these factors had interacted in the past. The reliance on mnemonic rhetorics throughout these publics' discourse highlights the role of memory in contemporary negotiations of identity and reveals ways the normative assumptions of U.S. citizenship are profoundly raced. From this analysis of how memory functioned rhetorically for these communities emerged examples of mnemonic rhetorical strategies of resistance and of maintenance. Of the two, I spend more time parsing out how mnemonic rhetoric serves the

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<sup>46</sup> I cannot stress enough that this assimilation advocacy was not enacted by all students, and those who did likely had good reason, as it was presented as the only avenue of survival for their peoples. I address the complications of this discourse again in later chapters.

Haskell counterpublic as a resistive rhetorical move against contemporary strategies of rhetorical colonialism. However, mnemonic rhetorics can also serve to maintain the status quo, as was apparent in the historic discourse of the *Indian Leader* and implied in the recent discourses from Lawrence community members that remained silent about colonialism while calling out Native peoples' raced (and therefore presumed inferior) identities. Despite this dominant public's efforts to maintain the status quo, the contemporary pan-Indian Haskell community strives to trouble the simple racial definition assigned them and the essentialized, anachronistic remembrances of the "Backward Indian" upon which it is based. Instead, their rhetorics of resistance challenge continued expectations of assimilation and offer reminders that there are multiple ways to be Native in the U.S. and to enact (Native)American identity, a key to which is acknowledging the role of colonialism.

### *My Language Use*

With these conversations about the power-laden implications of naming and labels in mind, I pause here for a moment to address my language use throughout this project.<sup>47</sup> There is an important distinction to be made between my references to The Indian throughout this work and the reality of the heterogeneous peoples who compose the Native peoples of the North American continent and U.S. nation. As such, the terms I use vary, determined by the discourse under discussion. In general, I use specific tribal affiliations when possible in identifying individuals. However, this project revolves around discourse produced by and about

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<sup>47</sup> My thanks to Danielle Endres for her reminder that being a non-Native scholar writing on this topic "requires unrelenting self-reflexivity," a position I have strived to embody throughout this project. For instance, the decisions about what language to use were difficult to make, and I continue to question them because of the political implications of each. From the beginning, I have had hesitations about pursuing a project about Native American discourses because it often feels presumptuous to be another white woman assuming she can understand experiences neither she nor her ancestors have been subjected to. I see white people who co-opt dream weavers, pottery, totems and spirit animals and I cringe – am I doing the same thing here? I hope not. My attempt throughout this project is to add one more voice on behalf of understanding and equality. I do not pretend to have had these experiences, but I do hope I am able to point out how and why discourses of oppression surrounding and reinforcing the experiences of Native Americans continue in the U.S.

communities associated with Haskell Indian Nations University and its previous instantiations, beginning with the U.S. Indian Industrial Training School in 1884. From the beginning, the school and the Indigenous community associated with it has included members from multiple tribes, reflecting both the U.S. tendency to treat the various peoples as indistinct and its efforts at the amalgamation of Native peoples into the U.S. As such, the Indigenous community of Haskell is a pan-Indian one, and individual tribal affiliations from the early years of the school are often lost to time, omitted from discourses by and about the students.

In recognition of this pan-Indian community, their heterogeneity as distinct peoples and their presence on the land before the colonization by Europeans, I generally use the terms Indigenous peoples and Native peoples, occasionally including use of Native American because it is generally recognizable to most Americans.<sup>48</sup> When other terms appear, they are references to those used in the discourse being analyzed. My use of the term The Indian is specific and intentional, denoting instances where the discourse reveals a reliance on the racist, essentialized, stereotyped, symbolic Indian explained above. Also worth noting is that I often refer to Haskell when referencing policies, discourses, or identities that apply generally to the community associated with the school or across its history. When being chronologically specific, I refer to the name of the school used at that time.<sup>49</sup> When referring to dominant society within the U.S., I often use the term EuroAmerican to reinforce its White racial identity, and although my pairing of “U.S. nation” may seem repetitive to some, important to remember is that within the borders of the U.S. exist over 500 sovereign (but dependent) tribal nations. The members of these tribal nations are also U.S. citizens, and references to (Native)American infer the complicated

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<sup>48</sup> For more on the politics and implications of labeling Native peoples, see: Basson, *White Enough to be American?*; Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, ix; Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*, 16; Rifkin, *Manifesting America*; Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name”; Weaver, “Indigenous Identity”.

<sup>49</sup> For instance: U.S. Indian Industrial Training School, Haskell Indian Boarding School, Haskell Normal School, Haskell Junior College, Haskell Indian Nations University



intersections of Native identity and American citizenship experienced by Indigenous peoples, marking moments of national racial identity negotiation.

### My Project

This critical rhetorical analysis of mnemonic discourses and rhetorical colonization aims to “denaturalize” racial ideologies about national identities and relationships.<sup>50</sup> Through it, I join the ranks of scholars advocating for social justice, in particular to raise awareness of ongoing racial assumptions that are crucial to acceptance in the U.S. and national inclusion’s attendant benefits. Parsing out the role of power in the discursive construction of national identities allows us the opportunity to work toward change, challenging the social injustices currently built into understandings of what it means to be American. While I am by no means the first to interrogate the role of discourse and rhetoric in relation to Indigenous peoples in the U.S., the texts under analysis are often limited to a single film, newspaper, legal case, political situation, or the commodification of a particular Indigenous person or image, such as Sacagawea or Kokopelli.<sup>51</sup> This is not to say that the critical project of analyzing colonialism in U.S.-Indigenous relations from a communication perspective has not begun, as the work of Jason E. Black, Danielle Endres, Jeremy Engels, Casey R. Kelly, Mark Sanchez, Mary Stuckey and others attests to.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us*, 2; see also Robert Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

<sup>51</sup> See, for instance: Jason E. Black, “Sacagawea as Commodity, Currency, and Cipher: Consequences of the US Mint’s Gold Dollar for American Indian Women,” *Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 1, no. 2 (2005): 226-230; Danielle Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2009):39-60; Engels, “Equipped for Murder,” Autumn Miller and Susan Dente Ross “They Are Not Us: Framing of American Indians by the Boston Globe,” *The Howard Journal of Communication* 15, (2004):245-249; Richard A. Rogers, “Deciphering Kokopelli: Masculinity in Commodified Appropriations of Native American Imagery” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4, no. 3 (2007):233-255.

<sup>52</sup> Many of these pieces have already been listed throughout this chapter, but in addition, see for instance: Jason E. Black “Remembrances of Removal: Native Resistance to Allotment and the Unmasking of Paternal Benevolence,” *Southern Journal of Communication* 72, no. 2 (2007): 185-203, Jason Edward Black, “Native Resistive Rhetoric and the Decolonization of American Indian Removal Discourse,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no.1 (2009): 66-88; Danielle Endres, “American Indian Activism and Audience: Rhetorical Analysis of Leonard Peltier’s Response to Denial of Clemency,” *Communication Reports* 24, no. 1 (2011): 1-11; Casey Ryan Kelly, “Rhetorical Counterinsurgency: The FBI and the American Indian Movement,” *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 10 (2007): 223-258; Casey Ryan Kelly, “Orwellian Language and the Politics of Tribal Termination (1953-1960),” *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 4 (2010): 351-371; Casey Ryan Kelly, “Blood-Speak: Ward Churchill and the Racialization of American Indian Identity,” *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no.3 (2011): 240-265; Mary E.

However, it seems that the bulk of the work done by communication scholars to date has focused on one of several topics: a) re-evaluation of Native speech patterns as compared to white discourse patterns especially for the purpose of improving education across cultures; b) the critical analyses of athletic mascots; or c) American Indian protest movements or rhetoric.<sup>53</sup>

While focused on discourses from and about Haskell and its community, this project addresses a broad swath of rhetoric about Indigenous and U.S. relations, spanning over a hundred years and a variety of public texts in hopes of interrogating how we make sense of nation and race in terms of collective remembering.

### *Chapter Preview*

In the chapters that follow, I analyze public discourses produced by and about Haskell ranging from 1897 to 2013. Revealed through the discourses of two communities—a EuroAmerican public in Lawrence, Kansas and a pan-Indian Haskell (counter)public—are how

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Stuckey and Richard Morris, "Pocahontas and Beyond: Commodification and Cultural Hegemony," *World Communication* 28, no. 2 (1999): 45-67.

<sup>53</sup> See, e.g.: a) intercultural education: Ruth M. Arrington, "Some American Indian Voices: Resources in Intercultural Rhetorics and Interpretation," *The Speech Teacher* 24, no. 3 (1975): 191-194; Bosmajian, "Defining the 'American Indian,'" Patricia Olivia Covarrubias, "Masked Silence Sequences: Hearing Discrimination in the College Classroom," *Communication, Culture & Critique* 1 (2008): 227-252; Patricia O. Covarrubias and Sweeney R. Windchief, "Silences in Stewardship: Some American Indian College Students Examples," *The Howard Journal of Communications* 20 (2009): 333-352; Lynn R. Osborn, "Speech Communication and American Indian High School Student," *Speech Teacher* (1968): 38-43; Carol Robinson-Zafartu, "Serving Native American Children and Families: Considering Cultural Values," *Language, Speech and Hearing Services in Schools* 27 (1996): 373-384; John Sanchez, "How American Public Schools Using Down-Linked News Media Shape American Indian Identity," *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 14 (2003): 39-48; Edna C. Sorber, Jon A Halstead, and Ruth A Thrun, "American Indian Speaking: An Intercultural, Interdisciplinary Approach," *The Speech Teacher* 24, no. 3 (1975): 181-190; Bernard Spolsky, "American Indian Bilingual Education," *International Journal of the Society of Language*, (1977): 57-72. Shari R. Veil and Jilane E. Rodgers, "Reaching At-Risk Populations: The Inconsistency of Communication Channels Among American Indian Tribes and Nations in Oklahoma," *Public Relations Review* 36 (2010):302-305; b) athletic mascots: Mary Jiang Bresnahan and Kelly Flowers, "The Effects of Involvement in Sports on Attitudes Toward Native American Sport Mascots," *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 19 (2008): 165-181; Ray Gamache, "Sport as Cultural Assimilation: Representations of American Indian Athletes in the Carlisle School Newspaper," *American Journalism* 26, no. 2 (2007): 7-37; David Wahlberg, "Ending the Debate: Critical Communication Analysis of One University's American Indian Athletic Identity," *Public Relations Review* 30 (2004): 97-203 or c) American Indian protest movements or rhetoric: Casey Ryan Kelly, "Rhetorical Counterinsurgency: The FBI and the American Indian Movement," *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 10 (2007): 1536-2426; Sanchez and Stuckey, "The Rhetoric of American Indian Activism"; Cynthia Duquette Smith and Teresa Bergman, "You Were on Indian Land: Alcatraz Island as Recalcitrant Memory Space," in *Places of Public Memory*, eds. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2010), 160-190.

they negotiate their identities in relation to one another, demonstrating that “a subject can only emerge as the product of a complex and dialogic interaction with multiple others.”<sup>54</sup>

Incorporating historical examples of discourse about this relationship is crucial to understanding the rhetorical production of subject positions today. As Celeste Condit and John Lucaites explained, “A rhetorical history is not only a description of the role that public discourse has played in a community’s past, it is also an affirmative, critical reconstruction of that past as it actively impinges on the present life of the community. It is thus a vital engagement with the rhetorical culture from which both the past and the present are constituted, and out of which the community’s future will emerge.”<sup>55</sup> The early chapters reconstruct the racist national rhetorics that frame the present relationship between the EuroAmerican and Indigenous communities within the U.S. Across the later chapters, collective remembering discourses produced by members of the Haskell counterpublic function as attempts to “reorganize a shared U.S.-Native Past” through raising awareness of ongoing colonization and exhibiting that Indigenous peoples are also members of the U.S. national community.<sup>56</sup> These analyses of contemporary discourses reveal Haskell community members’ efforts to transform their marginalized subject position from being conceived of as primarily raced to colonized through calling on different collective remembrances than the dominant EuroAmerican public, in the process challenging rhetorical colonization strategies that gloss the history of (ongoing) colonial violence in the U.S.

Before offering my analysis of the rhetorical strategies at play in rhetorics about U.S.-Indigenous relationships, I situate my reading of the Haskell-related discourses in chapter two,

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<sup>54</sup> Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name,” 75.

<sup>55</sup> Celeste Michelle Condit and John Louis Lucaites, *Crafting Equality: America’s Anglo-African World* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 218.

<sup>56</sup> Black, “Remembrances of Removal,” 192.

further explaining the methodological and theoretical foundations of this project. I explain the critical rhetorical mnemonic perspective applied throughout my analysis, as well as the tenets of TribalCrit, an interdisciplinary off-shoot of Critical Race Theory that informed my reading of the communities' rhetorics. Also integral to my reading are understandings of national communities as discursively formed and maintained, the racial foundations of the U.S. national community, and the history of settler colonialism within the nation, all of which I review. Chapter three, "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" builds upon this grounding, providing the reader a brief background on historic U.S.-Indigenous racial ideologies, and the development of the Indian boarding school system as a tool of assimilation and structural genocide. This chapter also explains the creation of the U.S. Indian Industrial Training School in 1884, which a few years later became Haskell Indian Boarding School and is now Haskell Indian Nations University.

In chapter four, I focus on discourses produced by and about Haskell from 1897 to 1936, largely relying on the school's newspaper the *Indian Leader* to analyze how the Indigenous students, alumni and families were represented in relation to the U.S. Through discourses about the "Indian Problem," I argue that collective remembering is a key strategy in the construction of publics. In this chapter, I address how a primary tool in discursive efforts of assimilation by the dominant EuroAmerican public was the use of memory genres, in this case negatively framing the "Backward Indian" as behind, never able to catch up with the progressive, "Modern American." In the mnemonic rhetorics examined here, The Indian is racialized as Other, forever an anachronism, whereas "American" is conflated with "white" and "civilized" and is represented as a racial goal to aspire to (but unlikely to be attained). I clarify how these strategies of collective remembering function as rhetorical colonization, perpetuating structural genocide attempts against Native peoples in the U.S.

From this analysis of historic discourses, in chapter five I move forward in time to examine discourses about a recent debate over the construction of the South Lawrence Trafficway through land that was once part of Haskell campus. This body of discourse spans 1993 to 2012, and reveals tensions between members of the Haskell community and members of the Lawrence/Kansas community, even after a century of co-existing in the same city. The collection of texts examined in this chapter include regional and national news stories, government documents, stakeholder meeting transcripts, and websites produced by those involved in the issue. These discourses reveal how contemporary communities rely on collective remembering to negotiate their identities in relation to one another. In discourses produced by the dominant EuroAmerican public, rhetors implicitly relied upon the mnemonic genres of “Backward Indian” and “Modern American” revealed in chapter four to reiterate the assumption of the U.S. as a space of whiteness, and marked Native Americans as racialized Others who did not support the good of the nation. In contrast, members of the Haskell pan-Indian (counter)public resisted narrow racial definitions of themselves, instead foregrounding their identities as both members of the U.S. national community and as colonized peoples, accomplishing this strategy through explicit references to collective remembrances of past colonial violence as it continues to shape their lives today.

The discourses examined in chapter six are also related to the South Lawrence Trafficway debate, but focus on how thirteen members of the Haskell community protested the construction on behalf of pan-Indian identity and sacred places across the U.S. Walking the Trail of Broken Promises from Lawrence, Kansas to Washington, D.C. during the summer of 2012, these individuals explicitly used emplaced, enacted, and embodied rhetorics to challenge narrow conceptions of who belongs in the U.S., disrupting conceptions of The Indian and advocating for

acceptance of their peoples' lifeways. I argue that through their assertions and enactment of existing in a thirdspace between U.S. and Indigenous lifeways, the Trail of Broken Promises group serves to disrupt the disabling certitude of The Indian. In doing so, they instead offer an example of the possibilities of uncertainty, of living in between, crossing and re-crossing the boundaries between national and cultural identities and advocating for widespread acceptance of difference within the nation. Finally, in chapter seven I discuss the significance of rhetorics of race, nation, colonialism, and memory as they play out in our lives, and how our awareness of them can move social justice efforts forward.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**“TAKE A LOOK FROM THE OTHER VIEWPOINT ONCE IN A WHILE”:  
 METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL COMMITMENTS**

*“Why does the racism that degrades American Indians continue to blatantly exist within the fabric of the modern Nations of the Americas? The answer is simple; most of the modern Nations of the Americas, due to their Eurocentric founding, will not willingly do what good conscience and justice demands: that is, to teach the truth about the European invasion and colonisation of the two continents.”*

*- Daniel N. Paul  
 in “Hidden Histories of the Americas”<sup>57</sup>*

The difficulty of teaching “the truth about the European invasion and colonisation” of the American continents is that doing so undermines the national narrative upon which the U.S. and other settler societies are founded. Across these founding tales are rhetorics of racism and colonialism that serve to legitimize the colonization of the Native peoples, rhetorics that persist even as they are increasingly obscured by what Frankenburg aptly named “race-evasive” language, and by a studied avoidance of addressing the colonialism that remains endemic to Indigenous peoples’ experience within the U.S.<sup>58</sup> The discourses produced by a dominant EuroAmerican public and a pan-Indian counterpublic reveal the ways racial inequalities are systematically entrenched in our negotiations of national identity, and how these rhetorics are dependent on the (mis)remembering of colonialism within the U.S. Critical studies of colonialism try “to redo such epistemic structures by writing against them, over them, and from below them by inviting reconnections to obliterated pasts and forgotten presents that never made their way into the history of knowledge,” troubling existing dominant narratives.<sup>59</sup> These dominant narratives are anything but static, incorporating a variety of rhetorical strategies across time and situation, and yet I argue that they persistently reiterate that American identity is

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<sup>57</sup> Daniel N. Paul, “The Hidden History of the Americas: The Destruction and Depopulation of the Indigenous Civilizations by European Invaders,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no.1 (2011): 170

<sup>58</sup> Ruth Frankenburg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

<sup>59</sup> Raka Shome and Radha S. Hegde, “Postcolonial Approaches to Communication: Charting the Terrain, Engaging the Intersections,” *Communication Theory*, 12, no. 3 (2002): 250.

dependent on racist colonial structures and marginalized Indigenous communities are left the task of navigating the intersections of their (Native) American identities in a nation that has worked from the beginning to eliminate them.

The rhetorics of identity produced by various communities within the nation reveal how contemporary race relations are bound up with those of the past and some of the complicated ways peoples make sense of themselves and their relationships with the nation. As demonstrated throughout this analysis of rhetorics of identity, memory, race, and nation is the crucial importance of the structural relationships between “an apparently finished text” and its sources, culture, and its influence.<sup>60</sup> Michael Calvin McGee’s analysis that texts are fragmented and incomplete, only “apparently finished” at any given time, is apt considering the resiliency of those strains of discourse identifying and delineating what it means to be (Native)American. He states, “Since all apparently finished discourses presuppose taken-for-granted cultural imperatives, all of culture is implicated in every instance of discourse,” highlighting the need to draw out the silent *doxa* informing rhetorics.<sup>61</sup> While the discourses about the place of Indigenous peoples in the U.S. nation are often clearly and consistently stated by dominant EuroAmericans—their presence is a problem that must be solved, they are standing in the way of national (western frontier) progress, they are caught behind the rest of the nation and must be changed, improved, removed—even when blatantly obvious to those peoples deemed “problem,” the racist implications of these discourses are often overlooked by the EuroAmerican publics *producing* the discourse. So while the *doxa* of racism informing discourses about American

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<sup>60</sup> Michael Calvin McGee, “Text, Context, and the Fragmentation of Contemporary Culture,” *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 54, no. 3 (1990): 280.

<sup>61</sup> McGee, “Text, Context, and the Fragmentation,” 281.



identity is often already revealed to some, on the whole the racial implications go unremarked by those participating in the rhetoric, perpetuating what Goldberg refers to as the “racist nation.”<sup>62</sup>

Since before its founding, racial differences have been a key defining feature of people and their (social and spatial) places within the nation. Racial politics are so tied up with state politics that we often cannot separate the two, rendering the racial foundations of the nation invisible.<sup>63</sup> While some instances are more evident than others, the routine inclusion of racist national discourses about the role of Native Americans in the U.S. nation persisted across the discourses addressed throughout this work, from 1887 to 2012. While the racist elements of the discourses often went ignored, they would occasionally be recognized and critiqued. For instance, in 1915, Haskell’s *Indian Leader* newspaper published a story featuring two young white men passing through what was once Indian Territory on a train, having a conversation about Indians. Seated near them, “they espied the big, neatly dressed Indian three seats in front of them, who, but for the hue of his skin, was not unlike in appearance and bearing to the rest of the people in the car.” In hopes of settling an argument, they asked the Indian man who had been the most “notorious ‘bad’ Indian” – Sitting Bull or Geronimo. The unnamed Indian replied by asking them who “was the worst, Washington or Lincoln?” In the story, the young men protested that Washington and Lincoln were both great men and true patriots, to which the Indian replied:

So, my friends, we Indians think of Geronimo and Sitting Bull. They are our great patriots. Though now we see different, then they did exactly what the white man’s heroes might have done in like circumstances: they fought, bled, and died for their homes, people, and country. We think none the less of them because they lost in this struggle. Destiny decreed that civilization should win; and it did.

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<sup>62</sup> David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002).

<sup>63</sup> Lisa A. Flores, Dreama G. Moon and Thomas K. Nakayama, “Dynamic Rhetorics of Race: California’s Racial Privacy Initiative and the Shifting Grounds of Racial Politics,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 3, no. 3 (2006):181-201; Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 98.

For those who may have missed it in the reading, the moral stated at the end of the tale reads, “Take a look from the other man’s viewpoint once in a while.”<sup>64</sup> Apparent in this story are several rhetorical strategies of colonization, those methods that frame differences as natural and racial, in the process sustaining racist colonial practices. In this case, the brief story depicts all Indigenous peoples as the essentialized symbolic Indian, reiterates that The Indian is not quite human although he can manage to be “not unlike in appearance and bearing to the rest of the people,” and advocates for the idea that the purported civilized nature of EuroAmericans was destined to overcome the savagery of the Native peoples. While these are all aspects of rhetorical colonization that appear throughout much of the discourse, this passage in particular is worth drawing out for the ways it highlights how members of the various communities interpret the rhetorics produced about the U.S.-Indigenous national relationships. In it, the different readings often conducted by the various communities become apparent, as Indigenous peoples see and call out the racist *doxa* they are subject to, while EuroAmericans foreground their own experiences, assuming a narrow perspective on who counts within the national narrative, blithely overlooking its racist implications, despite the exhortation at the end of the story to look at the world from another’s viewpoint.

In this work, my aim was to analyze and interpret “apparently finished texts” about race and the nation, drawing out the power structures and implications embedded in rhetorics about U.S. national identity, specifically in relation to those peoples who were displaced to make room for the nation – Indigenous tribal nations. This process reveals ways discourses about the nation are inherently raced, as many have previously observed.<sup>65</sup> What also became apparent in my

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<sup>64</sup> Clifford Cooke (Ottawa), “Patriots All: A True Story,” *Indian Leader*, May 1915, v. 38, no. 38, 5.

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance: Robert DeChaine, ed., *Border Rhetorics: Citizenship and Identity on the US-Mexico Frontier* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2012); Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, second edition (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2000); Anne Demo, “Sovereignty Discourse and Contemporary Immigration Politics,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 3 (2005):291-311; Lisa A. Flores, “Constructing Rhetorical Borders:

examination of discourses produced by and about Haskell and its pan-Indian community across its history are the interrelationships between rhetoric, identity, collective remembering, colonialism, and place. The discourses examined here are woven through with examples of how the various communities' collective remembering and experiences of colonialism shape their rhetorics, how places such as Haskell and the Trail of Broken Promises are bound up with identity narratives, and how these colonial rhetorics affect the Haskell community's experiences within the nation while they often remain overlooked by members of the Lawrence community. Whether surprising or not, what became apparent in examining both historic and contemporary discourses about Haskell is that, while now more subtle, the message conveyed to members of pan-Indian (counter)publics by many members of EuroAmerican publics is one of expected assimilation. Whether 1912 or 2012, the discourse conveys the idea that conforming to a narrow definition of what it means to be American is "for the greater good" of the nation, the nation here importantly defined as the U.S., not the myriad tribal nations whose members (or ancestors) attend(ed) Haskell or identify as members of pan-Indian communities across the U.S.

While examining these discourses from a rhetorical perspective that recognized the intrinsic role of the past in the contemporary U.S.'s race relationships, I also relied upon a critical mnemonic perspective that explicitly acknowledges the role of collective remembering in the construction and reading of supposedly static texts such as news articles. The colonialism of the U.S. is inseparable from discussions of Indigenous-EuroAmerican relations, so also informing my reading of the texts are theories of the formation of nations, of settler colonialism (ideas inextricably bound to the place of the nation), of rhetorical colonialism, and of who counts

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Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration" *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20, no. 4 (2003): 362 - 387; Michael G. Lacy and Kent A. Ono, eds., *Critical Rhetorics of Race* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2011); Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002); Thomas K. Nakayama and John Krizek, "Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81, (1995).

as members of the U.S. national community, particularly in relation to race. Importantly, I do not claim to speak for Native communities within the U.S., as there are many from within these communities who do this work.<sup>66</sup> Instead, my aim here is to examine rhetorical negotiations of identity, the possibilities for disrupting racist national rhetorics, and the significance of these rhetorical strategies.

While the heart of this study is a rhetorical critique of texts about national identity and race, my approach is transdisciplinary, calling on the range of critical methods and theories best suited to uncover the various power dynamics at play in these discourses. After first reviewing and explaining how one uses a critical rhetorical mnemonic perspective, I detail my own methods of text selection and analysis. I then explain the tenets of TribalCrit, a transdisciplinary perspective that aims to expose the ongoing colonization of Native peoples within the U.S. as well as its implications. Because “theoretical assumptions and implications lurk behind the most practical forms of criticism, even the most text-oriented interpretations and evaluations,” to clarify my selection and use of these methodological perspectives, I provide a background of those theories that influence my analysis of the texts.<sup>67</sup> These include: the development of national identity and the relationship to publics, the socio-politico-cultural implications of national identity and belonging, and specifically, the dominant conception of “American identity.” I draw out racial and racist aspects of American identity narratives, particularly in relation to the colonization of the U.S. and the subsequent structural genocide experienced by Indigenous peoples. These reviews provide a background for the coming chapters, in which I first offer a history of the Indian Boarding School system and Haskell in particular, after which I

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<sup>66</sup> For examples both in and outside the academy, see the work and activities of G. Taiaiake Alfred, Paula Gunn Allen, Sherman Alexie, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Vine Deloria, Jr., Philip J. Deloria, Larry Echo-Hawk, Louise Erdrich, Suzan Shown Harjo, Devon A. Mihesuah, N. Scott Momaday, Simon Ortiz, Leonard Peltier, Leslie Marmon Silko, Andrea Smith, Haunani-Kay Trask, Gerald Vizenor, Waziyatawin, and Michael Yellowbird, among many others.

<sup>67</sup> Elvira Pulitano, *Toward a Native American Critical Theory* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 3.

delve into texts produced by and about Haskell. In these analysis chapters I call on the ideas and theories offered here in order to reveal historic and contemporary examples of negotiating raced national identities and the potentials for disrupting them.

### Critical Rhetorical Mnemonic Methodology

#### *What It Is*

Underlying this critical project of rhetorical critique is a critique of colonialism as a structure that perpetuates inequality in the U.S. A critique of the ongoing processes of colonialism is at its root an ideology critique that “seeks to understand the ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and values underlying what we see and hear” in a range of discourses.<sup>68</sup> According to Kent A. Ono, an ideology critique searches “for the *system* of ideas, beliefs, attitudes and values the audience actually receives and sometimes believes. Ideology critique attempts to expose the disjuncture between the social world and the world of [media]. Thus, the main function of ideology critique is to explain consistent patterns of what critics call ‘representation’ across multiple popular cultural texts.”<sup>69</sup> The representations Ono describes are not evidence of reality, but are the fictions produced to sustain the ideological projects of those in power. As Chatterjee observed, “Hegemonic power is always a combination of force and the persuasive self-evidence of ideology,” highlighting the ways power structures are dependent on popular complicity with them.<sup>70</sup>

How the past is called upon to explain and define the present is integral to hegemonic processes and power structures. For Foucault, historical events were not simply a chronological timeline of linear events, but a recounting of occurrences that depicted relations of power and/or

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<sup>68</sup> Kent A. Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture and the Remnants of a Colonial Past* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2009), 73.

<sup>69</sup> Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 73.

<sup>70</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 56.

their shifts, often marked by changes in vocabulary, or the entry or exit of “Others.”<sup>71</sup> Many of Foucault’s examinations of power were studies tracking the movements of various markers of power (such as those marking “difference”) through society over time, and their spread through daily micro-practices and discourses.<sup>72</sup> Foucault’s mapping of micro-practices and discursive power is in effect a tracing of how we call upon past discourses to makes sense of our present. Michael Schudson explained that, “the past endures in the present not only in formal commemorative practices...but also in fundamental processes of social life that are not specifically or self-consciously dedicated to memory.”<sup>73</sup> He argues that memory is more social than it is individual because individual memories “piggyback” on the resources provided by social institutions, such as through laws, rules, standardizations, records, memorials, and commemorations.<sup>74</sup> There is not a single version of the past, and often, collective public memories are generated from and mediate the contest between public and vernacular discourses, and are created, altered, sustained at various levels of society, often not to the same ends.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Jennifer Ladino, “Longing for Wonderland: Nostalgia for Nature in Post-Frontier America,” *Iowa Journal of Cultural Studies*, 5 (2004): 91.

<sup>72</sup> Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1965); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol 1.*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1978), 142-143; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1991).

<sup>73</sup> Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1992): 65.

<sup>74</sup> Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*, 51

<sup>75</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 19. For more on the importance of examining collective memories, especially from a rhetorical perspective, see for instance: Jason Edward Black, “Remembrances of Removal: Native Resistance to Allotment and the Unmasking of Paternal Benevolence,” *Southern Journal of Communication* 72, no. 2 (2007): 185-203; W. James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice* (Ithaca, NY & London: Cornell University Press, 2006); Astrid Erll, “Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction” in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, eds. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin & NY: De Gruyter, 2010), 1-15; Ekatarina V. Haskins, ““Put Your Stamp on History”: The USPS Commemorative Program *Celebrate the Century* and the Postmodern Collective Memory,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 89, (2003): 1-18; Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzsky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader* (London: Oxford University Press, 2011); A. Susan Owen and Peter Ehrenhaus, “Communities of Memory, Entanglements, and Claims of the Past on the Present: Reading Race Trauma Through *The Green Mile*,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 27, no. 2 (2010): 131-15; Kendall R. Phillips, ed., *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2004); G. Mitchell Reyes, “Memory & Alterity: The Case For and Analytic of Difference,” *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 43, no. 3 (2010):222-252; Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*, 209; Bradford Vivian, “Jefferson’s Other,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 3 (2002): 284-302; and Bradford Vivian, *Public Forgetting: The Rhetoric and Politics of Beginning Again*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

Memories produced by peoples serve as an expression of their shared past and values and as such are crucial in defining their cultural identities. In many cases, a particular version of the “origin” or identity story is foregrounded, often based on the power dynamics between those doing the remembering.<sup>76</sup> Memories, then, serve as rhetorical battlegrounds where those with the most power get to tell the past from their perspective, a version that in many cases comes to be deemed the “true history” of the past. Echoing the aphorism that “history is written by the winners,” it is indeed the privileged group that constructs the dominant histories and their interpretations that we expose ourselves and future generations to, silencing and marginalizing alternate experiences of the past.<sup>77</sup> These silenced groups may have their own reserves of memory to share, but not enough historical, social, or economic capital to ensure their perspective is told.<sup>78</sup> A key critical mnemonic project by scholars recognizes that the commonly accepted “true” written histories often are but one version of events, and work to reveal those peoples’ memories often overridden or silenced by dominant forces.<sup>79</sup> In addition to disseminating a particular origin story, collective memory also serves to help us understand (our place in) society through delineating both *prescriptive* and *proscriptive* constraints. Through collective memories we are told what is not acceptable to do or say and learn what to avoid because they are deemed dirty, dangerous, or degenerate. Collective memory also provides us prescriptions on what we *should* be doing or saying, ordering society and our lives and creating duties and requirements we are expected to follow through on. Each of these types of constraint

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<sup>76</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*. 30.

<sup>77</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America*, p. 30; Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; Astrid Erll, “Cultural Memory Studies”; Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Barbie Zelizer, “Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12, no.2 (1995): 211-239.

<sup>78</sup> Pierre Nora, “Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* no. 26 (1989): 7-24.

<sup>79</sup> Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; Zelizer, “Reading the Past Against the Grain,” 216.

is constantly under revision, shaping our social taboos, affecting our discourse and setting boundaries around our identities.<sup>80</sup>

Thanks to the ways memories are bound up in past events that inform our current identities, public collective memories construct an ideological system, one that helps us understand (our place in) society.<sup>81</sup> Jeffrey K. Olick asserts that collective memory is not merely a static thing, such as an unchanging memory held by one person and passed whole-cloth to others, even for material edifices such as constructed memorials big or small. Instead, he argues that collective memory is “process-relational,” and that “mnemonic practices are made... in the ongoing and reflexive interactions between [the past and the present]: remembering as meaning-making in time rather than as the production of static objects.”<sup>82</sup> Olick pushes mnemonic scholars to be concerned with the *active process of remembering*, to remember that there is not a discrete, singular starting point in either society or an individual for remembering topics in a certain way, nor is the meaning of memories *a priori*.<sup>83</sup> Remembering is relational, and we are always influenced by what came before, a concept familiar to communication scholars. In recognition of the constantly active and processual nature of memory making and the rhetorics associated with it, I generally refer to “collective remembering” rather than “collective memory.” For instance, in chapter four, I discuss how the Haskell community continues to explicitly incorporate their peoples’ experiences of historic events such as Columbus’ “discovery” of the Americas, and the Battle of Little Horn into their lives today through references and comparisons to the Columbian Legacy and General Custer.

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<sup>80</sup> Jeffrey K. Olick, *The Politics of Regret: Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility in the Age of Atrocity*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>81</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14; Olick, *The Politics of Regret*.

<sup>82</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 104 and 90, respectively.

<sup>83</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*; Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 9.



The past serves as a terrain upon which groups struggle for position, competing in the present over whose version of the past is “correct,” or who “won,” (re)shaping the past through how they remember it.<sup>84</sup> As noted above, history is often constructed by the privileged group, silencing and marginalizing alternate experiences of the past by those groups who are not dominant.<sup>85</sup> Often, histories written by those in higher places of power are not inclusive of marginalized groups’ experiences. Due to power struggles such as colonialism, some groups possess reserves of memory, but no historical capital to ensure their perspective is told.<sup>86</sup> Olick argues that although historians seek a singular, “true” representation of the past, in memory there is no correct version because even distorted memories may be authentic as long as they are honest. Critical approaches to memory studies seek to remedy this narrow vision of a “true” past, and should attempt to rupture history, blasting it open and examining the relations of privilege, power, and subordination within dominant historical narratives.<sup>87</sup> The political possibilities within memory studies are based in the idea that collective memory can become stronger, gaining power over time as society shifts, such as the alterations made to U.S. frontier narratives when Native American collective memory was taken into account.<sup>88</sup> Memory can serve to challenge and disrupt official versions of memory and the past and demand that past wrongs be addressed.

### *Enacting a Critical Rhetorical Mnemonic Perspective*

Addressing collective remembering from a critical-rhetorical perspective entails acknowledging that some narratives are more dominant than others and the peoples advocating for them are thus more likely to possess the resources and status to be remembered through

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<sup>84</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*.

<sup>85</sup> Sturken, *Tangled Memories*; Zelizer, “Reading the Past Against the Grain”.

<sup>86</sup> Nora, “Between History and Memory”.

<sup>87</sup> Henry A. Giroux, “Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy, and the Responsibility of Intellectuals,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 1, no.1 (2004): 59-79.

<sup>88</sup> Zelizer, “Reading the Past Against the Grain.”

popular media. Over time, this allows their version to be defined (even if primarily by themselves) as the accurate vision of events of the past – as history. This process consigns alternate experiences and memories to the margins instead of recognizing their equally valid claims to remembrance. Publics possess the ability to accept or reject different discourses of memory, hence the importance of interrogating the dynamic and multiple aspects of memory, and how both the dominant and marginalized collective memories and attendant identities shift over time (or with audiences). As Marouf Hasian, Jr., observed, critical scholars should go beyond simply recounting memories to address the rhetorical processes behind the formation of memories, as well as to critically evaluate the ways the past is being used in the present, and the consequences of such use.<sup>89</sup> *History* (as opposed to active remembering) is “a concept [that] divorces chronological-lived experience from the present in order to account for some ‘objective’ gloss of the past; this past ‘is no longer part of our lives,’” whereas addressing collective remembering as rhetorical allows us to challenge that univocal and supposedly unchangeable narrative.<sup>90</sup> McGee explained in relation to the definition of rhetoric, “whether we conceive it in an Aristotelian sense as the art of persuasion, or in a Burkean sense as the social process of identification, rhetoric is *influential*.”<sup>91</sup> Similarly, whether we perceive the main function of collective remembering to be suasive, encouraging or prohibiting particular actions, or identificatory, providing an origin story for peoples, it is undoubtedly influential, helping them make sense of themselves as a collective, “building ‘symbolic bridges between today and yesterday.’”<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Marouf Hasian, Jr., “Authenticity, Public Memories and the Problematics of Post-Holocaust Remembrances: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Wilkomirski Affair,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 3 (2005): 231-263.

<sup>90</sup> Black, “Remembrances of Removal.”

<sup>91</sup> McGee, “Text, Context, and the Fragmentation,” 279.

<sup>92</sup> Bruce Gronbeck, quoted in Black, “Remembrances of Removal,” 192.

Importantly, a collective's remembering is specific to it; instead of a unified memory spanning society, remembering generally occurs within smaller divisions of the population based on any number of distinguishing differences. This is not to say that there are not widespread national memories called upon, such as the memory of the founding of the nation and the subsequent American Dream. But it is important to remember that this collective narrative is not a memory held by all in the nation, and that many peoples' experiences and collective memories explicitly contradict the official national history and dominant memory. In fact, the struggles over these memories both internal and external to the collectives play a role in the memories themselves, particularly considering that many people are part of multiple collectives or publics whose narratives may contradict one another.<sup>93</sup>

Contemporary rhetorical scholars pursuing mnemonic studies see public memory "as activated by concerns, issues, or anxieties of the present. That is, groups tell their pasts to themselves and others as a way of understanding, valorizing, justifying, excusing, or subverting conditions or beliefs of their current moment."<sup>94</sup> The memories called upon, and how, are strategic rhetorical choices. Analyzing these strategies means asking: what events are marked for remembering? How are they remembered? By whom? In other words, how are members of various publics being asked to remember the past? Memories of past events can be stabilized through rhetoric and marked as "true" or "natural," their discursive construction naturalized and overlooked as time passes.<sup>95</sup>

Key here is interrogating how different memories of the past weave themselves into the present, and how communities' understanding of and investment in the past varies as present

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<sup>93</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 93

<sup>94</sup> Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian L. Ott, "Introduction: Rhetoric/Memory/Place" in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, eds. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama, 2010), 6.

<sup>95</sup> Kendall R. Phillips, "Failure of Memory: Reflection on Rhetoric and Public Remembrance," *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no.2 (2010): 218.

needs and conditions change.<sup>96</sup> Instead of trying to “measure collective memory as an independent variable, a thing determined or determining,” critical mnemonic scholars need to look at “‘figurations of memory,’—developing relations between past and present—where images, contexts, traditions, and interests come together in fluid, though not necessarily harmonious ways.”<sup>97</sup> Olick suggests, for instance, that a collective’s profile should be taken into account when analyzing its memories, a concept that includes “images of the past, identitarian claims, rhetorical styles, attributions of present responsibility, policy characterizations, types of heroes, styles, sense of inside and outside, moral and practical purposes, and procedures.”<sup>98</sup> Taking a collective’s profile into account recognizes that collective remembering is an “integral part of political cultures without which they wouldn’t be conceptually possible,” and encourages us to take the interwoven facets of identity into account, rather than reducing complex identities to their discrete parts.<sup>99</sup>

### *Text Selection*

One can’t understand remembrances without taking into account past and present negotiations of identity, and vice versa. In order to account for this, the texts analyzed for this project span a broad range of time, and are related to or produced by Haskell Indian Nations University *and* its earlier instantiations. In line with McGee’s concept of textual construction from “fragments” of cultural discourse, and critical/cultural studies inclinations of selecting texts that are largely accessible to the publics which they affect, such as newspaper articles and popular discourses, I selected a broad range of texts in order to highlight the overlapping and

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<sup>96</sup> Bradford Vivian, “‘A Timeless Now’: Memory and Repetition,” in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips, (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 205; Blair, Dickinson, and Ott “Introduction,” 7.

<sup>97</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 91.

<sup>98</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 108.

<sup>99</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 107 - 108.

entwined nature of rhetoric across multiple times, sites, and modes of discourse.<sup>100</sup> Four days in the archives of the Haskell Cultural Center resulted in my collecting a body of historic discourses produced by and about the school primarily through the school newspaper, the *Indian Leader*, ranging from the first school newspaper published in 1897 to 2011. However, the limited amount of time I was able to spend in the archives had practical consequences; I could not read every issue across these 114 years, a situation also complicated by the incomplete corpus of issues.<sup>101</sup> To account for these limitations, I narrowed my search by spending more time reading newspapers from significant years in school and national history (for instance, WWI, WWII, the years the school shifted from Industrial school, to Normal school, to Junior college, to University, the year Henry Roe Cloud served as the first Native superintendent, and the school's 25<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, 75<sup>th</sup>, and 100<sup>th</sup> anniversaries, among others). I also randomly selected several issues from other years to try and account for “everyday” issues that may have been occurring at the school in years that I had not marked as significant. Because of availability, many of the issues I collected range from 1897-1910, with smaller samplings from 1914-1918, 1924-1933, 1941-1950, 1961-1970, 1992-1994, and 2009-2011.

Within these years, I selected issues for inclusion largely based on the titles and topics of the articles contained within, specifically looking for discussions of nation, race, identity, and the relationship between Haskell and the Lawrence, Kansas community where it is located. I focused on collecting issues across a range of decades that featured one or more of the following:

- recounts of school life such as student letters, descriptions of campus life, daily activities, commencements, and expectations of student behavior;

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<sup>100</sup> McGee, “Text, Context, and the Fragmentation”; Ono and Sloop, *Shifting Borders*; John M. Sloop, *Disciplining Gender: Rhetorics of Sex Identity in Contemporary U.S. Culture* (Amherst & Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004).

<sup>101</sup> The end date of 1936 used in chapter four’s analysis was selected later in the research process based on the timeline of U.S.-Indigenous policies.

- indications of the relationship between Haskell and the local community of Lawrence, such as the relationship between the Haskell and University of Kansas campuses (both located in Lawrence), and Haskell events attended by Lawrence community members;
- explicit references to the role or place of Indigenous peoples within the U.S. nation, such as reprints of new federal policies, stories and speeches about “The Indian Problem,” “Indian Education,” “Indian as Patriot” and similar key terms.

In total, I collected 157 newspaper issues and one annual journal (also named the *Indian Leader*). These historic discourses, specifically between 1897 – 1936, are my specific object of study in chapter four about historic examples of mnemonic genres at work, and also play an important role contextualizing the project as a whole.

While the *Indian Leader* provided crucial examples of discourses produced by members of the school, I was also interested in examining the discourse produced by members of the Lawrence and Kansas EuroAmerican communities *about* the Haskell community. For this, I focused on an ongoing debate between the communities: the proposed building of the South Lawrence Trafficway (SLT), an issue that I knew from my years living in Lawrence was the topic of numerous news articles and local debates. In addition to looking for this topic in the Haskell newspaper, I was able to locate information about it on the school’s website. I also electronically searched through both Google and the Lexis Nexis news archives for information about the “South Lawrence Trafficway,” “SLT,” “Haskell,” and “HINU” (in various combinations). The result was a corpus of local and national news stories from 1993 to 2012, and documents and webpages produced by range of entities such as: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Kansas Department of Transportation, Kansas Historical Society, Osprey (the mediation company employed in the community debate), and the Kansas Sierra Club, among others. In addition, I continued to follow the story until the SLT opposition’s final court appeal was lost in 2012, both in news articles and through the Facebook and social media pages of the Trail of

Broken Promises, a group of mostly Haskell students protesting the SLT. In chapters four, five, and six, I detail further the texts selected for analysis.

In addition to the newspapers, also available in the archives were documents that at minimum provided historical and cultural contextualization of the texts I chose for analysis. As McGee explained, as critics we are also responsible for being aware of the contexts from which the fragments arise: “If you can account for the sources of discourse, but have difficulty understanding the cultural milieu in which it was socially and politically significant, you reduce the communicative event to a simple stimulus-response mechanism wherein discourse is said to have discrete and independent effects on history,” a perspective that does not acknowledge the complicated ways discourses affect multiple aspects of our lives over time.<sup>102</sup> With this in mind, my analysis was also influenced by a range of historic texts about Haskell and the U.S. – Indigenous relationship. These included the new student handbooks published by the school spanning the years 1941 – 1989, clippings of newspaper articles published by various sources in the area about Haskell or its relationship with the community of Lawrence, and government reports produced by the U.S. federal government that relate directly to understanding the situation and discourses of Haskell and Indigenous Education policies over time. These are: a 1901 government publication titled, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States, Industrial and Literary*; a 1936 publication, *Highlights of Haskell Institute: A Brief Sketch of the Half Century of Indian Education at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas*; and the 1969 Senate Report on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*.

Despite conducting a rhetorical critique of ideologies, I am not examining specific ideographs in use across the history of Indigenous-U.S. interactions. Instead, I am concerned with gaining insight into how particular “social and political problems are constituted and

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<sup>102</sup> McGee, “Text, Context, and Fragmentation,” 283.

negotiated through public discourse” over time.<sup>103</sup> As such, while conducting a diachronic analysis of the rhetoric produced in particular eras, I am largely concerned with the ways that specific chronological usage is linked and affected by the deployment of similar rhetoric in other eras. So while I am not limiting my examination to specific references to “The Indian,” or “The Indian Problem,” I am using such terms as markers, among others, of discourse about what it means to be (Native)American, and the colonial relationship within the U.S.

Choosing to not examine ideographs allowed for a more nuanced discussion of contemporary race relations in the nation because while historic texts often explicitly included discussion of race, the nation, and/or the “Indian Problem,” in more contemporary discourses, these aspects of the relationship between Indigenous and EuroAmerican publics were instead inferred. This is likely due to a contemporary reticence on the part of the members of EuroAmerican publics to recognize the ongoing existence and implications of race in a nation often touted as a “melting pot” where anyone can succeed if only they try hard enough, race notwithstanding.<sup>104</sup> While not specifically examining ideographs within these discourses, acknowledging the synchronic and diachronic aspects of these ideologies as expressed in the discourse allows a different perspective than when thinking of dominant ideology as imposed from above. Instead, according to Celeste Condit and John Lucaites, “there is no dominant ideology that inexorably governs social and political action. Instead, there is the rhetorical process of public argumentation in which various organized and articulate interest groups

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<sup>103</sup> Celeste Michelle Condit and John Louis Lucaites, *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African World* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), xiv.

<sup>104</sup> Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, 217-232. Catherine Squires, Eric King Watts, Mary Douglas Vavrus, Kent A. Ono, Kathleen Feyh, Bernadette Marie Calafell and Daniel C. Brouwer, “What Is This ‘Post-’ in Postracial, Postfeminist . . . (Fill in the Blank)?” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 34, no. 3 (2010): 210-253.



negotiate the problems of resources distribution in the collective life of the community,” a negotiation in which some groups have more say than others.<sup>105</sup>

### Theoretical Groundings

#### *TribalCrit*

As explained above, at its core this project is an ideology critique of largely popular discourses from a critical rhetorical mnemonic perspective. More specifically, it is an ideological critique of contemporary colonialism, a distinction that requires drawing out and explaining colonialism’s “multiple levels of oppression (race, gender, class, sexuality) and their connectedness, or ‘webbed-ness’ as historically produced within the United States.”<sup>106</sup> Ono’s explanation of ideological critique is well-suited to the principles of TribalCrit, a primary tenet of which is to recognize “the endemic nature of colonization and its processes in society. TribalCrit functions to ‘expose the inconsistencies in structural systems and institutions... [to] make the situation better for Indigenous [peoples].’”<sup>107</sup> This is particularly important considering that Native Americans’ histories are often overlooked in popular recounts of North American history, although academic history and interdisciplinary departments often do strive for inclusion of Indigenous experiences to varying levels.<sup>108</sup> The “contemporary telling of Indian pasts continue to be tied” to the workings of power and “can have political consequences for the present,” so revealing the role of race and colonialism in contemporary national narratives is crucial for challenging ideologies of power that often go unmarked.<sup>109</sup> One of my aims in this analysis of historic and contemporary negotiations of identity between EuroAmerican and

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<sup>105</sup> Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, xv.

<sup>106</sup> Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 73.

<sup>107</sup> Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, quoted in Jeanette Haynes Writer, “Unmasking, Exposing and Confronting: Critical Race Theory, Tribal Critical Race Theory and Multicultural Education,” *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 10, no. 2 (2008): 3.

<sup>108</sup> Frederick E. Hoxie, “Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the U.S.,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1153 – 1167.

<sup>109</sup> Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to American Indian History*, eds. Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury (Malden, MA, & Oxford, UK : Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 5.

Indigenous peoples within the U.S. is to further discussions of ongoing colonial oppressions within the U.S. and the material implications of these rhetorics.

Influential in my thinking across this project are the principles of Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit), an interdisciplinary theoretical perspective developed “to address the complicated relationship between American Indians and the United States federal government and begin to make sense of American Indians’ liminality as both racial and legal/political groups and individuals.”<sup>110</sup> Drawing from Critical Race Theory, Anthropology, American Indian Studies, Political/Legal Theory, Education, and American Indian Literatures, Bryan Brayboy (Lumbee) explains that TribalCrit is also:

rooted in the multiple, nuanced, and historically- and geographically-located epistemologies and ontologies found in Indigenous communities. Though they differ depending on time, space, place, tribal nation, and individual, there appear to be commonalities in those ontologies and epistemologies. TribalCrit is rooted in these commonalities while simultaneously recognizing the range and variation that exists within and between communities and individuals.<sup>111</sup>

Crucial in TribalCrit is that while Native peoples are distinctly different from one another, a shared experience of colonialism connects them, providing commonalities that can be assessed with the aim of critiquing and changing existing colonial structures. Jeanette Hayes Writer also addressed this aspect of TribalCrit, noting, “It is important to provide a note of caution here. Although the term Indigenous is used, it entails hundreds of distinct groups. I do not assume that CRT and TribalCrit will work for all or be appropriate for all.”<sup>112</sup> She also states that, “CRT and

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<sup>110</sup> Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education,” *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2006): 427. While TribalCrit does indeed stem from Critical Race Theory in part, its focus extends beyond the legal contexts that CRT often foregrounds.

<sup>111</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 427.

<sup>112</sup> Jeanette Haynes Writer, “Unmasking, Exposing and Confronting: Critical Race Theory, Tribal Critical Race Theory and Multicultural Education,” *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 10, no. 2 (2008): 2.

TribalCrit may be useful alongside, or in support of, traditional teachings and knowledges; however, others may not utilize them at all.”<sup>113</sup>

With these caveats in place, the nine basic tenets of TribalCrit, as suggested by its initial theorist Bryan Brayboy are, briefly, as follows:

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.
7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change.<sup>114</sup>

Of these nine, the foundational tenet informing the others is that “colonization is endemic to society. By colonization, I mean that European American thought, knowledge, and power structures dominate present-day society in the United States.”<sup>115</sup> Edward Said explained that “neither imperialism nor colonialism is a simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are

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<sup>113</sup> Writer, “Unmasking, Exposing and Confronting,” 2.

<sup>114</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 429-430.

<sup>115</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 430-431; Brayboy also discusses specific ways this has happened, such as through boarding schools.

supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations that include ... forms of knowledge affiliated with domination.”<sup>116</sup> For communication scholars Raka Shome and Radha S. Hegde, the role of colonialism in enforcing Eurocentric worldviews and knowledge structures is a key aspect informing critical communication perspectives. They argue that (communication) scholarship concerned with critiquing colonial structures is a needed “interruption to established disciplinary content that was, and continues to be, forged through structures of modernity and histories of imperialism.”<sup>117</sup> In the context of this work, I strive to explicitly note when the perspectives being offered by the various communities are dependent upon the knowledge structures of the community in question, for instance when an Enlightenment-based “modern” perspective precludes EuroAmerican community members from acknowledging the lifeways embraced by some members of a pan-Indian Haskell community.

While all of the TribalCrit tenets become apparent throughout the following chapters, in addition to this foundational understanding that colonialism is endemic to the U.S. and Indigenous relations, there are four that stand out as being addressed in this work. Chapters four and five expose ways that in both historic and contemporary circumstances tenet six, federal policies of assimilation, is an ongoing issue for Indigenous peoples. As revealed through discourse about Haskell when it was an Indian boarding school and also in recent debates about the building of a trafficway across what was once Haskell land, the assumption by EuroAmerican community members that Native peoples should assimilate to EuroAmerican ways for their own good as well as that of the nation as a whole becomes apparent. In chapter six, tenet six is apparent as I discuss some of the ways that Indigenous peoples occupy and navigate a liminal space between the U.S. and tribal nations are explicitly discussed. Across all

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<sup>116</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1993), 9.

<sup>117</sup> Shome and Hegde, “Postcolonial Approaches to Communication,” 251.

of these chapters runs the idea of the eighth principle, that “Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.” This tenet is intimately linked to number nine, that “Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change.” The discourses examined across these chapters reveal an inclination by EuroAmerican community members to write off the stories and experiences of members of the Haskell community as illegitimate, affecting everything from their interactions with one another to the outcome of court cases. That Native lifeways are deemed illegitimate and Other simply for being different calls for intervention, a primary tenet of critical studies.<sup>118</sup> Overall, working from a TribalCrit perspective in conjunction with rhetorical mnemonic methods of critique “creates a possibility for recognizing and validating Indigenous knowledge and perspectives on representation. Decolonizing methodologies acknowledge misrepresentation and seek to rectify issues related to Indigenous knowledge production and representation,” in this case specifically related to negotiating national and racial identities.<sup>119</sup>

Important to note here is that one of the tenets of TribalCrit is that “Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.” While negotiating national identities lies at the heart of this project, my focus is not on how individuals within the pan-Indian community associated with Haskell have sought sovereign status for their tribal nations. Scholars currently pursuing work along these lines

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<sup>118</sup> A central tenet of critical cultural and rhetorical studies is a commitment to intervention on behalf of social justice. See, for instance, Joshua Gunn and John Louis Lucaites, “The Contest of Faculties: On Discerning the Politics of Social Engagement in the Academy,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 96, no. 4 (2012): 404-412; Thomas Rosteck, “Introduction: Approaching the Intersection of Identity, Politics, and Critical Practice,” in *At the Intersection: Cultural Studies and Rhetorical Studies*, ed. Thomas Rosteck (New York & London: Guilford Press, 1999), 8; John M. Sloop and Mark Olson, “Cultural Struggle: A Politics of Meaning in Rhetorical Studies,” in *At the Intersection: Cultural Studies and Rhetorical Studies*, ed. Thomas Rosteck (New York and London: Guilford Press, 1999), 248- 265; Philip Wander, “The Ideological Turn in Modern Criticism,” *Central States Speech Journal* 34 (1983): 1-18.

<sup>119</sup> John Paul Rangel, “Moving Beyond the Expected: Representation and Presence in a Contemporary Native Arts Museum,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 27, no. 1 (2012): 38.

include Kristen A. Carpenter, Wallace Coffey, Lincoln Davies, Paul DeMain, Miriam Jorgensen, Sarah Krakoff, Haunani-Kay Trask, and Rebecca Tsosie, among others.<sup>120</sup> Instead, in line with tenet four, I address whether and/or how members of an Indigenous counterpublic practice self-identification, or “the ability and legitimacy for groups to define themselves and to create what it means to be Indian.”<sup>121</sup> In general, I do so through analyzing how members of the Haskell community present themselves and their perspectives in the discourse, often in relation to both their Native communities as well as the EuroAmerican communities in which they are embedded.

Further, I analyze the ways members of a dominant EuroAmerican public make sense of and represent members of Indigenous communities in the discourses. Doing so allows me to parse out widespread tendencies of publics as they talk about one another, affecting their interpretations and understandings of one another without necessarily delving into the legal ramifications of sovereignty, a strain of discourse that is rare in the texts examined for this project. Although not my focus of study here, I fully support the importance of tribal nations and other Indigenous communities pursuing projects of tribal sovereignty, autonomy, and self-

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<sup>120</sup>Kristen A. Carpenter, “A Property Rights Approach to Sacred Sites Cases: Asserting a Place for Indians as Nonowners,” *UCLA Law Review* 52 (2004-2005): 1061-1148; Wallace Coffey and Rebecca Tsosie, “Rethinking the Tribal Sovereignty Doctrine: Cultural Sovereignty and the Collective Future of Indian Nations,” *Stanford Law and Policy Review* 12, (2001): 191-222; Lincoln Davies, “Skull Valley Crossroads: Reconciling Native Sovereignty and the Federal Trust” *Maryland Law Review* 68, no. 2 (2009): 290-376; Paul DeMain, “The Notion of Somebody Sovereign: Why Sovereignty Is Important to Tribal Nations” in *American Indians in the Mass Media*, eds. Meta G. Carstarphen and John P. Sanchez (Norman, OK; University of Oklahoma Press, 2012): 169-184; Miriam Jorgensen, ed., *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development* (University of Arizona Press, 2007); Sarah Krakoff, “A Narrative of Sovereignty: Illuminating the Paradox of the Domestic Dependent Nation,” *Oregon Law Review*, 83, no. 4 (2004): 1109-1202; Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai’i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993); Rebecca Tsosie, “Land, Culture, and Community: Reflections on Native Sovereignty and Property in America,” *Indiana Law Review*, 34 (2000-2001): 1291-1312. See also: The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions Under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination* (Oxford University Press, 2007); Steven Andrew Light and Kathryn R. L. Rand, *Indian Gaming and Tribal Sovereignty: The Casino Compromise* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2005); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Ann E. Tweedy, “Connecting the Dots Between the Constitution, the Marshall Trilogy, and the United States v. Lara: Notes Toward a Blueprint for the Next Legislative Restoration of Tribal Sovereignty,” *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* 42, no. 3 (2009); Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005).

<sup>121</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 434.

determination, projects that if successful provide “the ability of communities and tribal nations to have control over existing land bases, natural resources, and tribal national boundaries. . . . the ability to interact with the U.S. and other nations on a nation-to-nation basis. . . . [and] the ability to define what happens with autonomy, how, why, and to what ends, rather than being forced to ask permission from the United States.”<sup>122</sup>

Jeannette Haynes Writer eloquently stated the goals and possibilities of TribalCrit, explaining:

Indigenous Peoples must be removed from the collective “minority” status in the general public discourse and moved to the reality of being members of culturally and politically sovereign nations. As well, we must also be removed from artifacts of the historical past, to actors in a transformative present. Indigenous Peoples around the world have challenged colonization and the imposition of whiteness as property; we have resisted, not accepted, the normativity of whiteness. Resistance, however, is taxing on mind, body, and spirit. As we tell our stories and speak our words, we heal ourselves and reclaim our humanity and knowledge about the world around us.<sup>123</sup>

Her statement clarifies how TribalCrit is well suited to serve as a theoretical underpinning of this rhetorical project. The aspiration that Indigenous peoples and their perspectives be recognized in more widespread and dominant discourses highlights the importance of discourse in society, both popular and official, especially in relation to issues of race and nation. Writer’s explanation also addresses the crucial role of memory in studies of U.S. identity, because Indigenous peoples are often deemed “artifacts of the historical past” instead of “actors in a transformative present” that would provide possibilities for change in national relations. The role of race in these relations is apparent, as Writer acknowledges the normativity of whiteness that shapes U.S. values, including colonization and current (even if unspoken) expectations of assimilation. Finally, as with any critical project, Writer emphasizes the need to advocate for social justice, a difficult and draining process, but one that need not only be pursued by Indigenous peoples themselves.

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<sup>122</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 433-434.

<sup>123</sup> Writer, “Unmasking, Exposing and Confronting,” 10.

In the sections that follow, I review topics mentioned above that inform my analysis of the Haskell-Lawrence discourses in relation to negotiations of national identity and race. As noted in the discussion of rhetorical mnemonic studies, acknowledging the role of the past is crucial to understanding discourses of the present. As I address in the explanation of TribalCrit, in the case of the U.S., past (and present) is bound up with and in many cases defined by colonialism, a system of oppression integral in the formation of the nation. Below I first briefly address the formation of nations and national collectives, specifically addressing American identity in relation to race. I then review ways race plays an integral role in national identity in the U.S., the central role of settler colonialism in U.S. national formation and subsequent memories of the national narrative.

### *National Narratives*

National collectives are dependent on national narratives, those shared stories that allow people to identify with one another *as* members of a nation. These narratives are necessary because nations are not naturally occurring entities, but are political collectives developed to support economic success within particular arbitrary geographic lines. Anne McClintock explains, “Rather than expressing the flowering into time of the organic essence of a timeless people, nations are contested systems of cultural representation that limit and legitimize peoples’ access to the resources of the nation state.”<sup>124</sup> However, with the aid of a founding myth and national narrative, a sense of cohesion and patriotism among otherwise disparate peoples may develop. Over time, these lines and those peoples deemed belonging within them become naturalized, their constructed nature popularly forgotten. They delineate both national geography and identity, as demonstrated by Anthony E. Smith, a key theorist of nation-state formation, who observed:

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<sup>124</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 353.



Nations are historical phenomena, not only in the generic sense that they are embedded in particular collective pasts and emerge, sometimes over long time-spans, through specific historical processes, but also because, by definition, they embody shared memories, traditions, and hopes of the populations designated as parts of the nation.<sup>125</sup>

As Smith noted, constructing identities over time is crucial to demarcating national insiders and outsiders, a process that requires collective remembering practices. Modern state formation is largely dependent on the perception of homogeneity in the nation to create a sense of national coherence, basically through constructing lines of national inclusion and exclusion.<sup>126</sup>

Citizenship and nationhood are not fixed institutions, but “historically constructed and contested social practices and sets of relationships.”<sup>127</sup> The exclusions built into national definitions of self are so internalized as to often be rendered invisible, sewn “into the seams of the social fabric, normalizing them through their naturalization.”<sup>128</sup>

How people make sense of and enact national belonging and citizenship largely depends on what they remember (or forget) about the nation’s past, and how that past is remembered.<sup>129</sup>

A mnemonic perspective in national formation and identity recognizes that constructing meaning and identity are *end goals* in politics, not merely a means to an end or a side product.<sup>130</sup> By presenting themselves through “rhetorically fixed national identities,” those in power are able to manipulate perceptions of space-time and legitimate themselves and their goals.<sup>131</sup> Some versions of the past persist more than others because they better serve the needs of those in

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<sup>125</sup> Anthony Smith, “Ethnosymbolism and the Study of Nationalism,” in *Nations and Nationalism, A Reader*, eds. Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 23; Goldberg, *The Racial State*.

<sup>126</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*.

<sup>127</sup> Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough To Be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous people, and the Boundaries of State and Nation*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 12.

<sup>128</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, quoted on page 10. Also see pages 9 and 250.

<sup>129</sup> For more on the specific role of collective remembering in the formation of national identity, see, for instance: Jason Edward Black, “Remembrances of Removal”; Bodnar, *Remaking America*; Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*; Ladino, “Longing for Wonderland”; Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*; Sturken, *Tangled Memories*.

<sup>130</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 109.

<sup>131</sup> Boyarin, quoted in Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 88; also see Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 108.

power.<sup>132</sup> In the case of the U.S., “the moment of its political founding in the 1770s continues to dominate the way its politics and culture are organized even today.”<sup>133</sup> As Barbara Biesecker recognized, hegemonic forces possess the capacity to craft the appearance of memories, and the ability to make those desirable to their ends appear constant instead of shifting, factors that allow these supposedly constant memories to be politicized and crafted into the idea of national identity.<sup>134</sup>

The success of these national projects is largely dependent on the support of the people associated with them, particularly through instilling national pride and a sense of community, a difficult task considering the myriad peoples who make up a nation (especially in the case of the U.S., whose population is primarily based on immigration from other nations). Nations are, in essence, collectives of collectives, all bound up in matrices of relations that form the socio-economic-political-cultural atmosphere of the nation. Relationships between various communities within the nation are complexly entwined and are integral to defining social and political life in the nation. While citizens do make up much of the national collective, the bounds of a nation’s civil society also include informal members who don’t possess formal citizenship.<sup>135</sup> These collectives are publics of varying sizes, collections of people with interests or facets of identity that link them together. Further complicating things, people are generally members of multiple publics, some larger than others, some contradictory to one another, others not.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*.

<sup>133</sup> John A. Agnew, “Introduction,” in *American Space/American Place: Geographics of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 1.

<sup>134</sup> Barbara Biesecker, “Renovating the National Imaginary: Prolegomenon on Contemporary Peregoric Rhetoric,” in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall Phillips (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 212-247.

<sup>135</sup> Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, “Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies – Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies,” in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, eds. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London & Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publishing, 1995), 18.

<sup>136</sup> Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer, “Introduction: Reconfigurations of the Public Sphere,” in *Counterpublics and the State*, eds. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 6; Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking

Although all members of the nation, formal or not, influence and are influenced by the national collective identity, it's worth mentioning the distinction because formal citizens are those *recognized* as belonging. Robert Asen explained that citizenship is a legal category of national belonging that, while

Typically upheld as honorific, citizen accords its members important legal, social, economic, and political rights and privileges. As a category, citizen includes and excludes, and it may be invoked to silence non-citizens or to coerce citizens. To deny citizens possession of citizenship is to open up a critical space between the two that enables exploration of each from the perspective of the other.<sup>137</sup>

Citizenship doesn't depend merely on legal status, but on belonging within the (national) community. Being a subject of national belonging requires aligning with the national narrative, discourses and practices that involve both private, everyday life and public and private sphere narratives.<sup>138</sup> Aihwa Ong refers to citizenship as the "cultural process of 'subject-ification'" through which people become subjects.<sup>139</sup> Citizenship is a process, and "ultimately a matter of the state and communities within the state that construct varying forms of belonging and produce particular kinds of individuals. In other words, cultural citizenship attends to the complex power dynamics that produce cultural subjects."<sup>140</sup> These complex power dynamics occur not only between people and institutions, but between the "state and civic institutions that work to produce desirable and productive cultural citizen-subjects."<sup>141</sup> Those named "citizen" possess

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the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text* no. 25/26, (1990): 66; Catherine R. Squires, "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres," *Communication Theory* 12, no. 4 (2002): 446-468; Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version)" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4 (2002): 414.

<sup>137</sup> Robert Asen, "A Discourse Theory of Citizenship," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90 (2004): 204.

<sup>138</sup> Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 10.

<sup>139</sup> Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996): 737; Kent A. Ono, "Guilt without Evidence: Informal Citizenship and the Limits of Rationality in the Case of Wen Ho Lee," *National Communication Association Conference on Argumentation Proceedings*, (2000): 76-88.

<sup>140</sup> Claudia A. Anguiano and Karma R. Chávez, "DREAMers' Discourse: Young Latino/a Immigrants and the Naturalization of the American Dream," in *Latina/o Discourse in Vernacular Spaces: Somos de Una Voz?*, eds. Michelle A. Holling and Bernadette M. Calafell (London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), 88.

<sup>141</sup> Anguiano and Chávez, "DREAMers' Discourse," 88.

rights, privileges, and obligations that others may have in varying degrees based on how far they (or the identity groups with which they identify) have come in the process of being recognized as subjects of the nation.<sup>142</sup>

While many in the nation do possess formal citizenship, numerous others are still engaged in the process of attaining it, while still others actively try to avoid the attention of immigration authorities, knowing they are not desired in the nation despite their own wishes. As Lauren Berlant explained, “citizenship is a status whose definitions are always in process. It is continually being produced out of a political, rhetorical, and economic struggle over who will count as ‘the people’ and how social membership will be measured and valued. It must, then, be seen as more than a patriotic category.”<sup>143</sup> Despite its common presentation as a binary in popular discourses, national membership is not as simple as “citizen or not.” (Native)Americans in particular play a crucial role in the U.S. nation’s defining of itself, through both linking American identity to the wild(er)ness that freed EuroAmericans from the strictures and overcrowding of their European home countries, and, paradoxically, through juxtaposing Native wildness or “savagery” with white civilization as an argument to take over North American lands.<sup>144</sup>

Since 1924, all enrolled members of tribes possess U.S. citizenship in addition to their tribal citizenship.<sup>145</sup> In effect, they are dual citizens, formally members of the U.S. and of the

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<sup>142</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 12; Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007). Regarding the Indian Citizenship Act, Kevin Bruyneel states, the “American liberal democratic settler-state has always been ambivalent about whether and how indigenous people should be included in the American polity. This ambivalence was apparent in the legislative language of the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act,” which placed them as both citizens in the nation but also in their tribes, a positioning that demonstrated that the federal government could neither fully include or exclude Indigenous peoples in the nation (p.120).

<sup>143</sup> Berlant, *The Queen of America*, 19.

<sup>144</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 1998); Jeremy Engels, “‘Equipped for Murder’: The Paxton Boys and the ‘Spirit of Killing All Indians’ in Pennsylvania, 1763-1764,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8, no. 3 (2005): 355-382; Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of the US National Space*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>145</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 99.

sovereign dependent nation(s) of their peoples. The Indian Citizenship Act (ICA) meant that Indigenous peoples were formal U.S. citizens but still considered wards in need of protection and regulation by the federal government. As Kevin Bruyneel explained, “Taken alone or together, the dual citizenship and citizens-ward interpretations of the ICA show that from the U.S. perspective indigenous people were neither fully inside nor fully outside the American polity.”<sup>146</sup> While legally members of the nation, my intent here is not to analyze the formal, legal aspects of Indigenous peoples’ membership in the U.S. Instead, my concern lies in uncovering the ways people negotiate identities in relation to one another. In this case, how do people represent Native American identity in relation to U.S. identity? How does race and colonialism play a role in discourses about this relationship?

(Discursively) Imagining National Communities.

Integral to investigating these questions is the rhetoric of national identity, the narratives of belonging and exclusion employed by people across the spectrum of citizenship. If national identity is not based solely on formal membership (i.e., citizenship), what does bring collectives together? Following Benedict Anderson, Michael Calvin McGee, Maurice Charland, and others, I argue that national collectives are brought together through rhetoric, that nations are imagined and idealized through narratives, discourses that constitute a collection of people *as a people*.<sup>147</sup> Anderson is well known for his theory that modern discursive practices such as newspapers and novels allowed peoples temporally and spatially distant to imagine themselves as a coherent

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<sup>146</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 101.

<sup>147</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 13; Maurice Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case of the *Pueble Québécois*,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 73, no. 2 (1987): 133-150; Jolanta Drzewiecka, “Reinventing and Contesting Identities in Constitutive Discourses: Between Diaspora and Its Others,” *Communication Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (2002): 1-23; Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity: The Iconic Photograph of the Flag Raising on Iwo Jima,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4 (2002): 363-392; Susana Martínez Guillem, “European Identity: Across Which Lines? Defining Europe through Public Discourses on the Roma,” *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 4, no. 1 (2011): 23-41; Michael Calvin McGee, “‘In Search of ‘The People’: A Rhetorical Alternative,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 61, (1975).

body of people forming the national collective, as an “imagined political community.”<sup>148</sup> He argues that the modern technologies of print were crucial to sharing discourses across space, offering strangers a way to engage with one another without ever having met. However, the highly contextual and dynamic qualities of discourse mean that a single message will not maintain its power in the same form over time, but must be constantly reiterated.

Nationalism is not only a *political* movement, but also a *social* one, our identities tied up with the nation(s) and collectives we engage in.<sup>149</sup> The social identity aspects of individuals’ political membership helps makes sense of “the value or meaning that he or she attaches to such membership.”<sup>150</sup> Largely overlooked in Anderson’s conception of imagined nations are people’s emotional connections to the nation and the others in it, and the potential effects of this patriotism in interactions between people.<sup>151</sup> Also glossed in Anderson’s theory of imagined communities is that his idea of “horizontal comradeship” is also imagined – a fiction in reality, but one that supports the dominant ideology of the nation. Anderson’s perception of comradeship neglects the reality that *social* discourses play a crucial role in *political* identity, defining who fits within the community or not, and who stands on equal footing with one another. As Condit and Lucaites explain, political principles *are* “rhetorical, for their meanings are a function of the full range of *usages in public* available within a particular rhetorical culture,” and people use public language to “shape and negotiate the common interests of governance.”<sup>152</sup> Nations and national identity are not merely political assignments and legal rights, but also complex social

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<sup>148</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 6. Despite the popularity of his theories, Anderson is not without detractors. For instance, Chatterjee (*The Nation and Its Fragments*) fairly critiques Anderson’s theory as Eurocentric, precluding the possibility that (post-) colonial peoples may imagine alternative conceptions of national community than those already imagined.

<sup>149</sup> Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*, 5.

<sup>150</sup> Deborah J. Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century: Public Opinion in the Age of Immigration*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 5.

<sup>151</sup> Jolanta A. Drzewiecka and Kathleen Wong, “The Dynamic Construction of White Ethnicity in the Context of Transnational Cultural Formations,” in *Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity*, eds. Thomas K. Nakayama and Judith N. Martin (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing, 1999), 198-216.

<sup>152</sup> Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, 20.

identities constituted through membership in discursively developed communities. However, as Dreama Moon observed, “Once established, relations of domination do not persist on their own momentum but must constantly be reproduced in materialized discursive ways.”<sup>153</sup> For Indigenous peoples within the U.S., while the specific discourses and practices of control shift over time, across these changes persists a consistent relationship of domination by EuroAmerican society.

Nations and Publics.

As mentioned above, nations are, in essence, collectives of collectives. Embedded within a broader national community are matrices of overlapping publics of varying sizes and compositions. While there is not a single public of the nation, the rhetoric of citizenship does provide “important definitional frames for the ways people see themselves as *public*,” ways that vary based on the multitude of factors influencing how membership in the community is experienced.<sup>154</sup> Ronald Greene reiterates the connections between people and politics in publics, observing that, “A public is a material accomplishment made possible by the linkage between a political system, discourses, and the norms of interaction.”<sup>155</sup> Understanding publics is integral to understanding national identity and formation through a rhetorical lens. Maurice Charland and Michael Calvin McGee stressed the discursive constitution of peoples, an idea strongly echoed in Warner’s and other current scholarship on publics.<sup>156</sup> All too often, the “notion of ‘the community’ itself assumes an organic wholeness with given, ‘natural’ boundaries, which does not allow for the continuous ideological and material reconstructions of the boundaries

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<sup>153</sup> Dreama Moon, “White Enculturation and the Bourgeois Identity: The Discursive Production of Good (White) Girls,” in *Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity*, eds. Thomas K. Nakayama and Judith N. Martin (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing, 1999), 187.

<sup>154</sup> Berlant, *The Queen of America*, 10.

<sup>155</sup> Ronald Walter Greene, “Rhetorical Pedagogy as a Postal System: Circulating Subjects Through Michael Warner’s ‘Publics and Counterpublics,’” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4 (2002): 442.

<sup>156</sup> Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric”; Drzewiecka, “Reinventing and Contesting Identities”; Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere”; McGee, “In Search of ‘The People’;” Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere”; Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version)”.

themselves.”<sup>157</sup> However, as an “ongoing space of encounter for discourse,” a public, while smaller than the nation, offers the possibility of being a place to maintain the ideological conversations about community and national involvement.<sup>158</sup>

The development of publics closely mirrors Anderson’s concept of “imagined communities” that are limited (as in, they cannot include everyone), and in the sense that people across the nation can envision themselves as part of a larger entity.<sup>159</sup> Warner observes that although some texts within a public are specifically addressed—such as Haskell student letters to home and alumni letters back to the school—in general for texts within a public, “the available addressees are essentially imaginary, which is not to say unreal: the people, scholarship, the republic of letters, posterity, the younger generation, the nation, the left, the movement, the world.... These are all publics. They are in principle open-ended. They exist by virtue of their address.”<sup>160</sup> In Anderson’s case, he addresses the discursive formation of a nation, whereas the concept of publics I use throughout this work is explicitly *not* national. However, this does not prevent people within a dominant public from imagining themselves as part of *THE national public* and attempting to influence public policy accordingly, in line with the desires of their public. The negative implications of this tendency become clear in the next section’s review of national communities and narratives as racial, and all too often, racist.

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<sup>157</sup> Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, “Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies,” 18. See also Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); and Nira Yuval-Davis, “The Citizenship Debate: Women, Ethnic Processes and the State,” *Feminist Review* 39, (1991):58-68.

<sup>158</sup> Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 420.

<sup>159</sup> Anderson’s ideas are popular, but also point to issues that should be of concern to critical scholars studying nation, such as the marginalization of many within the nation. For instance, Anderson’s imagined national community does not take into account the experiences of colonized, or previously colonized nations, and is therefore similar to Habermas’s concept of the public sphere as critiqued by Fraser for its Westphalian underpinnings. In neither case—imagined communities or publics—are the consequences of colonialism taken into account, but the critiques of each apply to the other. Due to these limitations, Fraser’s and others’ concept of counterpublics is key for the ways it acknowledges the overlapping, multiple groups that make up a population. For more background on this, see: Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*; Marivel T. Danielson, *Homecoming Queers: Desire and Difference in Chicana/Latina Cultural Production*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 46; Nancy Fraser, “Transnational Public Sphere: Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World,” *Theory Culture Society* 24, no. 7 (2007); Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

<sup>160</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 417.



## Raced and Racist Nation.

Just as memory is not static, neither are nations. As David Goldberg explains, the (racial) state is not a static thing; instead, it is “a *political force* fashioning and fashioned by *economic, legal, and cultural forces* (forces of production, of sociology, and of cultural representation).”<sup>161</sup> It is through popularly accepted national narratives that the presumed characteristics of identity become commonplace or expected. This dominant narrative is fundamentally based on collective understandings of what makes the American nation distinctive. Additionally, the state is imbued with the power to “authorize official narrations of historical memory” based on existing claims to power.<sup>162</sup> In turn, these understandings emerge in part through the collective remembrances of the stories of our national past. As such, although they can be challenged, to do so is difficult, as peoples (and the structures of society) become invested in the narratives to explain their nations and selves.<sup>163</sup> Raka Shome makes this point quite clearly: “whiteness needs to be studied through the *interlocking axes of power, spatial location, and history*.”<sup>164</sup> The relationship between Indigenous peoples and EuroAmericans began before the nation did, and it plays a prominent role in the founding myths of the nation.

Birthered as a modern nation founded in reaction to the “class animosities, entrenched poverty, and lack of individual opportunity that afflicted Europe,” the U.S. is represented as having skipped the usual growing pains of a new nation thanks to the Enlightenment ideals it was founded upon.<sup>165</sup> Jonathan Smith argues that the sense of American exceptionalism is “grounded in the belief that here, as nowhere else, the promise of the Enlightenment was being daily

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<sup>161</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 109.

<sup>162</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 8-9.

<sup>163</sup> Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*, 207; Vivian, 2004.

<sup>164</sup> Raka Shome, “Whiteness and the Politics of Location: Postcolonial Reflections” in *Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity*, eds. Thomas K. Nakayama and Judith N. Martin, (Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publications, 1998), 109; emphasis in original.

<sup>165</sup> Agnew, “Introduction,” 9.

realized.”<sup>166</sup> The U.S. nation’s founders and framers are often remembered as the thinkers of the age who applied the modern Enlightenment ideals and prepared the nation for all the future may hold. Michael Schudson noted, for instance, that Americans possess a “peculiar focus on a document written two hundred years ago that established the outlines of our form of government.” He went on to explain that many Americans perceive their nation’s history (and their identity as Americans that stems from it) as unique and unproblematic despite its Eurocentric founding.<sup>167</sup> This assumption of American (spatial and cultural) homogeneity, because it is based on Enlightenment ideals, was presumed “a form of consciousness known as American mind that is acceptable to, indeed irresistibly attractive to, all free and rational humans,” a perspective that inferred that those not desiring the same things were backward and perverse (much as the Native Americans who tried to pursue their own life ways were named).<sup>168</sup> The persistence of a singular American story serves to construct a national collective, a nation, through the ways collective remembering is used as a tool in “articulating national boundaries and establishing the legitimacy of national principles.”<sup>169</sup>

Across the national narrative, the standards for good American membership, for achieving the “American Dream,” are rooted in a culture of private property and individual hard work, which in turn are perceived as advancing the nation.<sup>170</sup> According to Berlant, the American Dream “fuses private fortune with that of the nation: it promises that if you invest your energies in work and family-making, the nation will secure the broader social and economic

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<sup>166</sup> Jonathan M. Smith, “American Geographical Ironies: A Conclusion,” in *American Space/American Place: Geographics of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 325.

<sup>167</sup> Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*, 61, 63.

<sup>168</sup> J. M. Smith, “American Geographical Ironies,” 325.

<sup>169</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 86.

<sup>170</sup> Joseph L. DeVitis and John Martin Rich, *The Success Ethic, Education, and the American Dream* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 3.

conditions in which your labor can gain value and your life can be lived with dignity.”<sup>171</sup> The supposed key to success is hard work, and through that, achieving the material goods that symbolize your accomplishments, particularly those such as private property or a house.<sup>172</sup> In (Euro-)American culture, people are often “seen to be largely free to create an identity through preferences and consumption,” shaping their identity and national experiences through their own choices.<sup>173</sup>

This perspective of individual choice does not take historic race relations and structural inequalities into account. As Katherine Newman observed, “the culture of individualism and self-determination that has been the country’s hallmark almost since its inception locates blame and credit in the character and actions of individuals and for the most part subtracts the history that has shaped their options.”<sup>174</sup> For a nation that represents itself as the land of opportunity, the list of factors limiting individuals from success is long, including factors such as race, ethnicity, (dis)ability, socio-economic status, age, gender, sexuality, family status, and education level, among others.<sup>175</sup> These oft-unspoken limitations help ensure that success goes to those who are perceived as best embodying the character of the nation. Possessing national citizenship can, in many cases, increase participation, pride, and a sense of obligation to the national community, but many members of ethnic minority groups who suffer from discrimination despite their formal national membership face the double standard of being held accountable to a national narrative

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<sup>171</sup> Berlant, *The Queen of America*, 4.

<sup>172</sup> Melanie E. L. Bush, “United Statesians: The Nationalism of Empire” in *Handbook of the Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, eds. Hernán Vera and Joe R. Feagin (New York: Springer, 2007), 305; Matt Wray, *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 129.

<sup>173</sup> Benjamin Forest, “A New Geography of Identity? Race, Ethnicity and American Citizenship,” in *American Space/American Place: Geographics of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 236.

<sup>174</sup> Katherine Newman, quoted in Kate Willink, *Bringing Desegregation Home: Memories of the Struggle toward Integration in Rural North Carolina* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 184.

<sup>175</sup> Berlant, *The Queen of America*; Patricia Hill Collins, “Like One of the Family: Race, Ethnicity, and the Paradox of U.S. National Identity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001), 14; Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston, Beacon Press, 2003), 14; David R. Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Saskia Sassen, “The Repositioning of Citizenship: Emergent Subjects and Spaces for Politics,” *The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 2 (2003): 48.

that assumes differences and individual success are “products of free, voluntaristic choices,” while experiencing the racism endemic to a system that foregrounds white identity.<sup>176</sup>

Despite the range of peoples included in the national collective, the officially sanctioned national narrative is largely characterized by the identity and values of those who possess citizenship rights.<sup>177</sup> The U.S. is often represented as seemingly homogenous in its dominant national narrative, even though empirical observation points instead to a widely heterogeneous body of national constituents.<sup>178</sup> This raises the question, why the inclination to inaccurately depict the composition of the national collective? The demarcation of group identity is enacted on multiple levels of society, from individuals to institutions. For instance, defining one’s “self,” whether an individual or a nation, requires defining an “other,” demarcating a boundary between you.<sup>179</sup> In the case of the U.S., in one of many examples of separation based on race, the frontier was ostensibly a geographic boundary used to racially separate self/colonizer from other/Indigenous people, demarcating identities based on the existence of one another, rendering EuroAmerican and Indigenous identities co-constitutive.<sup>180</sup> Institutions often function to establish and (re)produce homogeneity; as the state is a collection of institutions, by extension, “one could say that the state inherently is the institutionalization of homogeneity.”<sup>181</sup> Thanks to a long series of U.S. laws since the settling of the North American continent that limit immigration

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<sup>176</sup> Collins, “Like One of the Family”; Forest, “A New Geography of Identity?” 235; see also: Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2007); Ruth Feldstein, *Motherhood in Black and White: Race and Sex in American Liberalism, 1930-1965* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Deborah J. Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century*, 15.

<sup>177</sup> Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, “Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies,” 18.

<sup>178</sup> Agnew, “Introduction,” 3; Goldberg, *The Racial State*.

<sup>179</sup> Drzewiecka and Wong, “The Dynamic Construction of White Ethnicity,” 199.

<sup>180</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>180</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 829-865; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London & New York, NY : Cassell, 1999), 165.

<sup>181</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 30.

and/or citizenship based on race and country of origin, the national character is based on the assumption and desire of a white, protestant national collective.<sup>182</sup>

One of the primary limiting factors in national acceptance is race, and as long ago as EuroAmerican settlers, whites have presented themselves as hardworking compared to racial Others such as Native Americans and Africans, using these supposedly “natural” traits as “evidence” supporting racist policies.<sup>183</sup> According to Goldberg, nation states are often *racial*, and in many cases, *racist*. He states that they are racial because of how they are structured to (re)produce “racially shaped spaces and places...” largely through “their modes of population definition, determination, and structuration. And they are *racist* to the extent such definition, determination, and structuration operate to exclude or privilege in or on racial terms, and in so far as they circulate in and reproduce a world whose meanings and effects are racist.”<sup>184</sup> Such is the case in the U.S., where the history of the nation is largely dependent on interactions between peoples based on racial identities, and where *de facto* and *de jure* segregation and racism prevented Indigenous and Black populations (as well as immigrant populations) from attaining complete ability to enjoy rights of citizenship.<sup>185</sup> George Lipsitz also addresses ways

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<sup>182</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*, (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 227-241; Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 179; Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, “Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies.” Some of the legal instances specifically limiting Native American citizenship or rights were: the U.S. Constitution, which initially excluded Native Americans from citizenship rights; *State v. Wise* (1897), a Minnesota law that stated Indigenous peoples were not as civilized or moral as Whites; *In re Liquor Election in Beltrams County*, 163 N W 988 (1917), a Minnesota law denying voting rights to Native Americans; Arizona laws that banned Native Americans from voting until 1948, declaring they were unfit because they were persons under guardianship; and a Utah State Supreme Court case *Allen v Merrell* (1956) that withheld voting from Indians on the grounds that they were assumed illiterate and uncivilized, despite the state’s lack of literacy voting requirements. For more on these, see Haig A. Bosmajian, “Defining the ‘American Indian’: A Case Study in the Language of Suppression,” *The Speech Teacher* 21, no. 2 (1973).

<sup>183</sup> David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, NY: Verso, 1991), 17- 21.

<sup>184</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 104. For further discussion of the ways sociopolitical boundaries of nation are often dependent on race, see Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 2.

<sup>185</sup> Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 5. In depth discussions of U.S. history as related to racial identities, are also found in: George Lipsitz, “Walleye Warriors and White Identities: Native Americans’ Treaty Rights, Composite Identities and Social Movements,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 1, (2008): 101-122; Benjamin Forest, “A New Geography of Identity?”, 236; Gloria Ladson-Billings, “Just What is Critical Race Theory, and What’s It Doing In a Nice Field Like Education?” in *Race Is ... Race Isn’t: Critical Race Theory and Qualitative Studies in Education*, eds. Laurence Parker, Donna Deyhle, and Sofia Villenas (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 20.

race, a cultural construct, has material aspects associated with it through its connection to national narratives and structures. He stated, “Conscious and deliberate actions have institutionalized group identity in the United States, not just through the dissemination of cultural stories, but also through the creation of social structures that generate economic advantages for European Americans through the possessive investment in whiteness.”<sup>186</sup> Goldberg also argues that with increased hybridity and racial mixing in societies, efforts to fix and reify race and define it as outsider also increase.<sup>187</sup> We’ve seen this play out in the U.S. when minority population numbers threaten to surpass the percentage of the population labeled white and marginalized groups deemed “almost-white” (such as Irish, Polish, or Jewish immigrants) are entered into the fold to maintain a dominant majority over other “Others,” such as African Americans.<sup>188</sup>

The (racial and national) identities examined throughout this work are not merely labels easily assigned or discarded, because identities are not just subjective terms, but are also “anchored in laws and policy.”<sup>189</sup> This is certainly the case for racial identity, which is largely “conceived, authored, and legitimated in good part by state action and speech,” policies shape the nation in ways that support the desired narrative.<sup>190</sup> For instance, at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, “race was arguably the dominant ascriptive criterion employed in distinguishing” who gets “full national membership.”<sup>191</sup> Constitutive rhetoric can preexist a formal public collective, defining what/who they are before they formally become it, as Charland demonstrated in his analysis of the *peuple québécois*. Paradoxically, the rhetoric constitutes the group’s identity “as it

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<sup>186</sup> George Lipsitz, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 2.

<sup>187</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 28.

<sup>188</sup> Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*.

<sup>189</sup> John Torpey, *Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship and the State* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.

<sup>190</sup> Goldberg, *The Racial State*, 161.

<sup>191</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 2; see also Ladson-Billings, “Just What is Critical Race Theory,” 18.

simultaneously presumes it to be pre-given and natural, existing outside of rhetoric and forming the basis for a rhetorical address.”<sup>192</sup> The American national narrative of whiteness shaped the laws and formal citizenship of the nation, demarcating narrow bounds of acceptable identities and lifeways for inclusion. Those who did not fit these requirements were deemed “Other,” their success and even survival at risk because they did not align with the dominant public’s representation of itself.

For Indigenous peoples, their lifeways challenged the Eurocentric modernity being embraced by Americans and their possession of desirable land posed a threat to the creation and expansion of the U.S. nation, both of which marked them for removal for the good of the U.S. nation. As I explain in later sections, this removal sometimes took the form of physical removal from lands through genocide or forced relocation, and other times relied on removing the Native American from the nation through assimilation practices that required a cultural death of Native lifeways. Because of Indigenous peoples’ complex and unique position(s) in the nation, having been here before the colonists, they had to be dealt with differently than those groups who did not pre-date Euro-Americans, such as the descendants of African slaves. In the next section, I explain how, despite a broad continuum of racial and ethnic identities, the U.S. racial demographic is often talked about in terms of a Black-White racial binary. I then complicate this binary through addressing how or where Native peoples enter this equation.

*Complicating the Racial Binary.* Despite the multiracial and ethnic composition of the national population, both formal and informal, when making sense of race in the U.S., many people unwittingly fall back on what Ong calls “the hegemonic bipolar white-black model of American

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<sup>192</sup> Charland, “Constitutive Rhetoric,” 137.

society.”<sup>193</sup> The appeal of the binary is that it lines up well with perceptions of desirable citizens. As she explains, “The ideological formation of whiteness as the symbol of ideal legal and moral citizenship today continues to depend on the ‘blackening’ of less desirable immigrants. Immigrants situated closer to the black pole are seen as at the bottom of the cultural and economic ranking.”<sup>194</sup> However, populations within the nation are in reality racially and ethnically diverse, incorporating Native peoples and immigrants from all parts of the globe (whether willing or not, as in the case African slaves and their descendants).<sup>195</sup>

Critical Race Theory initially developed from this Black-White binary understanding of race, an approach that does not adequately address the experiences of members of other groups. Largely due to settler colonialism, the historical race relations based in Black, White, and Native American identities are entwined in complicated ways.<sup>196</sup> In response to the thus-far limited ways to talk about race in the nation, particularly in relation to one another, other race-oriented critical theories have developed, such as TribalCrit, which “includes tenets and principles that are culturally specific to Indigenous people and communities.”<sup>197</sup> Dominant national narratives are persistently too narrow to accommodate the experiences of marginalized peoples, hence the importance of examining how different rhetorical strategies of identity negotiations are bound up with race, offering possibilities for revealing and challenging the racial ideologies that underlie national identity. As clearly stated in the tenets of TribalCrit, colonialism is endemic to the U.S.

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<sup>193</sup> Ong, “Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making,” 742; see also Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*; James N. Leiker, “Race Relations in the Sunflower State,” *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 25, no. 3 (2002): 217.

<sup>194</sup> Ong, “Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making,” 742.

<sup>195</sup> For an insightful discussion of blood quantum as used to determine race, and the experiences of mixed-race peoples in the U.S. and how they inherently defied US monoracial policies, both official and not, see Basson, *White Enough to be American?* See also Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pages 18-21 about the complexities of Native identity, especially in relation to racial dynamics in the context of the formation of white settler nations.

<sup>196</sup> Scott Lauria Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now” *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, (2011): 53-76; Casey Ryan Kelly, “Orwellian Language and the Politics of Tribal Termination (1953-1960),” *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 4 (2010): 357; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 13.

<sup>197</sup> Angelina E. Castagno and Stacey J. Lee “Native Mascots and Ethnic Fraud in Higher Education: Using Tribal Critical Race Theory and the Interest Convergence Principle as an Analytic Tool,” *Equity and Excellence in Education* 40, no. 1 (2007):4; see also Rangel, “Moving Beyond the Expected”.



and a fundamental aspect of the experiences and identities of Indigenous peoples, particularly in relation to U.S. identity.<sup>198</sup>

### *Ongoing Settler Colonialism*

The U.S. serves as an example of *settler colonialization* because its colonizers did not come merely to extract resources and use the locals as labor. Instead, they came to make themselves a home, ignoring, removing, or destroying the local inhabitants as the need arose. The frontier and constant expansion of the nation(al ideas) are key to American identity, and serve as a root of its self-perception as a self-made nation with an exceptional history, unlike any other nation.<sup>199</sup> The U.S. sees itself as “‘pastless,’ constructed as totally modern and democratic against a European (or some other) Other.”<sup>200</sup> Unlike those marginalized Others it was constructed against, the U.S. is imagined as a place of freedom and opportunity and in the process overlooks its own internal stratification. Ono argues that the colonization of the U.S. is now footnoted instead of foregrounded, seen as an anachronism in our modern society and disruption to our national narrative, despite its presence as an intrinsic part of our identity.<sup>201</sup> However, when addressing

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<sup>198</sup> The differences behind the Black and Indigenous racial experiences in the U.S. have been theorized by several scholars as dependent on economics and colonialism. Cornell argues that although Native Americans have ostensibly been granted more invitations to participate in pursuing the American Dream than Black people, they have been less participatory. Cornell explained that this variation may be due to the economic basis of the different intergroup relations between white people, Black people, European migrants, and Indigenous peoples. He stated, “At the heart of those relations, for both blacks and European migrants, was labor. Europeans chose to come to the United States; blacks were forced to come. But in each case what was of interest to the larger society was their labor power. Each, ultimately, was integrated into the labor market, and integrated *as individuals*—not, for the most part, as solidary groups. ... At the heart of Indian-white relations, on the other hand, was land. Excepting only the earliest period of those relations... what has been of greatest interest to the larger society has been not Indians themselves or their labor, but the lands and resources they have controlled” (Cornell, pages 66-67). Warren urges us to consider that these populations also had had different goals in relation to EuroAmerican society, because Black communities wanted to be able to assimilate while Native American populations wanted to maintain their cultural separateness. For more, see: Stephen Cornell, “American Indians, American Dreams, and the Meaning of Success,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 11, no. 4 (1987):66-67; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 2-4; Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 388.

<sup>199</sup> John A. Agnew and Joanne P. Sharp, “America, Frontier Nation: From Abstract Space to Worldly Place,” in *American Space and American Place: Geographies of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 80 & 83.

<sup>200</sup> Agnew and Sharp, “America, Frontier Nation,” 83.

<sup>201</sup> Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism: A Concept and Its Uses,” in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century* eds. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005); Mary E. Stuckey and John M. Murphy, “By Any Other Name: Rhetorical Colonialism in North America” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25, no. 4 (2001):73-98; Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 6; Ono believes that the term “settler colonialism” “tends to

how ideas of race and nation inform each other, colonialism is an ongoing structure and experience that continues to shape the racial and national relationship between the U.S. and Indigenous communities.<sup>202</sup> As Native scholar Taiaiake Alfred (Mohawk) explained,

Colonialism is not an historical era, nor is it a theory or merely a political and economic relationship. It is a total existence, a way of thinking about oneself and others always in terms of domination and submission that has come to form the very foundation of our individual and collective lives.<sup>203</sup>

The general failure of acknowledging the colonial aspects of the U.S. reinforces the importance of studying how settler colonialism has influenced conceptions of what it means to be American, and how those within its borders continue to be affected by this history. The ongoing inequalities that result from colonial policies should not be deemed exceptional and outside examination. In the U.S., the role of whiteness in the nation began with its foundation; from the beginning, EuroAmerican settlers “established structures encouraging a possessive investment in whiteness. The colonial and early national legal systems authorized attacks on Native Americans and encouraged the appropriation of their lands.”<sup>204</sup> This system was largely allowable because colonists came as settlers seeking a new home (in addition to the economic advantages their presence provided their home nations and patrons).<sup>205</sup> The appropriation of the

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depoliticize the effects of contemporary colonialism...settler colonialism carries with it the connotation that colonists lived here peaceably. Its euphemism ‘settler’ implies migrants gently landed, built homes, and lived their lives, rather than suggesting that they were part of a centuries-long campaign consisting of the mass slaughter, subjugation, and disempowerment of indigenous peoples” (page 14). He goes on, saying the term settler colonialism does not recognize the role of immigration/immigrants within the system of colonialism and conveys the idea that colonialism is confined to the past, when people settled the land. While his discussion that the term settler colonialism does not infer an active, ongoing colonialism, I adhere to the strain of scholarship that names it such because of their focus on the various forms of violence required to conquer and keep the lands. Ono’s term neocolonialism suggests to me a focus on only looking at new instantiations of colonialism, not the centuries-long occupation that continues to shape the lives of Indigenous peoples.

<sup>202</sup> Hoxie, “Retrieving the Red Continent,” 1153 - 1167; Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*; Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*; Norbert Finzsch, “[...]Extirpate or Remove That Vermine’: Genocide, Biological Warfare, and Settler Imperialism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 2 (2008): 220; Elkins and Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism”; Sherene H. Razack, “Introduction: When Place Becomes Race” in *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene H. Razack, (Toronto, Ontario: Between the Lines, 2002), 1-20.

<sup>203</sup> Taiaiake Alfred, “Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as Ground of Contention,” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 89.

<sup>204</sup> Lipsitz, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, 2.

<sup>205</sup> Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*.

new land and exploitation of the Indigenous inhabitants was justified through myths “woven in to settler colonization practices”: *terra nullis*, the idea that the land was already empty (because the Indigenous peoples did not count); the disappearing indigene, stating that the native peoples were already leaving or dying off; manifest destiny, in which case God had willed the settlers’ success so it didn’t matter if the area was inhabited because God would not have allowed their land to be taken if he supported them being there; and the doctrine of fatal impact, in which the settlers could not be held accountable for a law of nature.<sup>206</sup>

Related to these myths is an ongoing rhetorical trope that the U.S. was “discovered” instead of “conquered.”<sup>207</sup> These myths serve to construct a national narrative founded on the idea that EuroAmerican settlers were intrepid adventurers, working and advancing the nation in the name of God, conveniently obscuring the violence of colonialism.<sup>208</sup> When the formation and settling of the nation is seen as a “clean break with the past,” the national community is better able to relate to it despite past injustices because the narrative suggests the nation is able to start fresh (as it did with the Revolution), offering “potential for present and future inclusion.”<sup>209</sup> Such a view of the nation also provides a fixed and acceptable tale of the past with which new generations can identify, marking the importance of collective remembering in national development.<sup>210</sup> According to Ono, “Part of what makes colonialism difficult to discuss and address is its ghost-like presence,” because we make such efforts to forget it that we often only see fragmentary remains in contemporary media. Those fragments are then difficult to place within the larger historical context of colonialism because we know so little about them.<sup>211</sup> The

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<sup>206</sup> Stasiulis and Yuval-Davis, “Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies,” 18; see also Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*.

<sup>207</sup> Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 4-5.

<sup>208</sup> Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 4-6; Razack, “Introduction”.

<sup>209</sup> Agnew, “Introduction,” 7.

<sup>210</sup> Agnew, “Introduction,” 7.

<sup>211</sup> Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 4. Hoxie (“Retrieving the Red Continent,” page 1159) also addresses that settler colonial narratives are not “rooted in the ‘clash of cultures,’” instead directing attention to a series of confrontations that engage, first,

rhetorical strategies that have in effect “papered over” the horrors of colonialism are central to the misremembering of the past often reiterated in the U.S. nationalistic narratives offered at many museums and memorials.<sup>212</sup>

Largely thanks to rhetorical strategies such as these foundational myths, over time settler colonialism gradually becomes invisible and legitimated, at least to those who benefit from it. As time and the nation move on, the original settlers of the nation are joined and hidden by later migrants. Lorenzo Veracini explains, “Settler societies... can then be recoded as postcolonial migrant societies. The migrant blocks out the ‘settler,’ independence (the ‘post’) occludes the ‘colonial,’ and the ‘settler colonial’ is thoroughly concealed.”<sup>213</sup> As the nation forms, the settler community establishes itself as normative, as the standard against which to measure inclusion in the national community they have developed.<sup>214</sup> The development of hegemonic norms is not done overnight, but through ongoing practices and discourses.<sup>215</sup> This is exactly the case with settler colonialism and the (racial) power dynamics that develop, underpinning the nation and its narratives, constituting settler and Native identities in relation to one another.<sup>216</sup> Rather than being a single event of defeating Indigenous peoples, settler colonialism is composed of a system of relationships reenacted over time, a structure of inequality that becomes intrinsic to national systems.<sup>217</sup> As Norbert Finszch explained, “Rather than single and singular events, settler imperialism denotes a series of repetitions of... occurrences or “micro-politics””<sup>218</sup> The

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invaders and defenders and, later, a complex array of collaborators, mediators and deal-makers operating on all sides of the confrontation,” a narrative that makes it difficult to see any side as entirely in the wrong and worthy of complete removal.

<sup>212</sup> Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture*, 6. For examples of minimizing colonial experiences at museums, see for instance: Greg Dickinson, Brian L. Ott, and Eric Aoki, “Memory and Myth at the Buffalo Bill Museum,” *Western Journal of Communication* 69, no. 2 (2005): 85-108; Joshua Ewalt, “A Colonialist Celebration of National <Heritage>: Verbal, Visual, and Landscape Ideographs at Homestead National Monument of America,” *Western Journal of Communication* 75, no. 4 (2011): 367-385.

<sup>213</sup> Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 108.

<sup>214</sup> Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 18.

<sup>215</sup> Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004): 219; Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 141

<sup>216</sup> Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us*, 18.

<sup>217</sup> Elkins and Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism,” 3; Hoxie, “Retrieving the Red Continent,” 1157; Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 52; Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*.

<sup>218</sup> Finszch, “[...]Extirpate or Remove That Vermin,” 220.

structural embedding of these micropolitics means that settler colonialism shapes “all political, economic and cultural processes” of the settler and Indigenous societies.<sup>219</sup> Although rarely remembered, the settler colonization of the U.S. continues to affect Indigenous communities. Different tribes had a range of experiences with colonization, but as European populations expanded, land was taken, and whites asserted economic and military authority, some common experiences did arise. These common experiences were and are often related to the federal policies that affect Indigenous communities, as well as the stereotypes that have developed about Native peoples and continue to affect their perceived membership in the nation.

### Structural Genocide.

The practice of drawing lines between Indigenous and settler populations is crucial to the development and maintenance of settler colonial structures. These inequalities are often codified in law and develop a “caste division between the settler and the indigene [that] is usually built in economy, the political systems, and the law.”<sup>220</sup> Colonialism of lands, particularly settler colonialism, is dependent on “*unforming* or re-forming the communities that existed there already,” in other words “turning indigenous peoples into refugees.”<sup>221</sup> While the Indigenous populations were nearly decimated in the early centuries of the Columbian Legacy, the elimination of Indigenous peoples can also be effected through destructive practices that eliminate Indigenous peoples without necessarily bodily killing them.<sup>222</sup> The term “genocide” is often not applied to the European settlement of North America, but Björn Beyen and Hanno

<sup>219</sup> Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism,” 53.

<sup>220</sup> Elkins and Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism,” 4.

<sup>221</sup> Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 2. Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 35; Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 388. See both Loomba and Veracini for more on the methods through which this was accomplished.

<sup>222</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 176; Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism.” Among the arsenal of genocidal tools was sexual violence and trying to breed the Indian out of the nation. See also: Basson, *White Enough to be American?*; Kristen Tegmeier Oertel, *Bleeding Borders: Race, Gender, and Violence in Pre-Civil War Kansas*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2009); Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005); Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 30; Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 394.

Scheerer suggested that genocide is not limited to violent massacres, but also occurs piecemeal, through systematic changes on the microlevel and through long term practices of changing local ecologies. In this view, genocide does not necessarily require the military, but can be enacted, for example, through alterations in geopolitical recognition (fencing, land borders), demographics, social change, and economic change, all changes largely dependent on discourse.<sup>223</sup>

Through these varied strategies, settler colonialism is dependent on a “logic of elimination” through which Native peoples are eliminated, either physically or culturally, making room for the settler colonists.<sup>224</sup> However, this logic of elimination can manifest as genocide in ways other than military violence, similar to those examples cited by Beyen and Scheerer. Patrick Wolfe suggests the term “structural genocide,” which recognizes “settler colonialism’s structural induration...[and] also enables us to appreciate some of the concrete empirical relationships between spatial removal, mass killings and biocultural assimilation.”<sup>225</sup> While settler colonialism is inherently eliminatory, it should not be known merely as a form of genocide because its genocidal outcomes vary across situation, place, and time, often enacted through amalgamation efforts.<sup>226</sup> In addition, genocide may occur in the absence of settler colonialism.<sup>227</sup> For these reasons, throughout this work I refer to the assimilative practices put in place to destroy Indigenous peoples or their lifeways as practices of structural genocide.

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<sup>223</sup> Björn Beyen and Hanno Scheerer, “Towards an Analytical Framework of Genocide: Governance and Settler Imperialism in North America and Australia” (paper presented at the Critical Ethnicities Conference, Riverside, CA, March 10-12, 2011).

<sup>224</sup> Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 402; see also Elkins and Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism,” 2; Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism,” 56; Finzsch, “[...]Extirpate or Remove That Vermin”; Wolfe suggests the term “logic of elimination” in part because the usual definitions of genocide often link it to the Holocaust but do not recognize many of the ongoing genocidal aspects of policies against indigenous peoples.

<sup>225</sup> Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 403; Wolfe does not like term “cultural genocide” because it may convey an either/or of biological vs. cultural, which glosses the effects events known as “cultural genocide” may have on a “people’s capacity to stay alive” (p. 394).

<sup>226</sup> Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us*. See the following for further discussion of the sexual violence associated with settler efforts at Indigenous amalgamation: Basson, *White Enough to be American?*; A. Smith, *Conquest*; Shari R. Veil and Jilane E. Rodgers, “Reaching At-Risk Populations: The Inconsistency of Communication Channels Among American Indian Tribes and Nations in Oklahoma,” *Public Relations Review* 36, (2010): 302; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*; and Hilary N. Weaver, “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?” *The American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2001): 240-55.

<sup>227</sup> Finzsch, “[...]Extirpate or Remove That Vermin,” 215; Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.”

Although the U.S. has always avoided a “formalized policy of physical genocide,” genocidal acts across the spectrum have been perpetrated against Indigenous peoples throughout the nation’s history.<sup>228</sup> The early 1800s saw the beginning of “the Indian Assimilation period when most whites turned away from policies of extinction toward efforts meant to absorb Native Americans completely into white society.”<sup>229</sup> The practices and structures of colonialism and genocide are intimately linked, and “As practised by Europeans, both... have typically employed the organizing grammar of race.”<sup>230</sup> The repressive policies and treatment of Indigenous people was often justified by “characterizing Indigenous people as too far behind the times to be active agents within territorial, legal, and/or political space of modern life,” defining them as anachronisms to the nation based on their race.<sup>231</sup> This hierarchical racialization often led to “inclusive and exclusive policies and practices operat[ing] simultaneously,” such as the legal solidification of racial white versus not white categories while granting U.S. citizenship to some Native Americans through the 1887 Dawes Act.<sup>232</sup> However, a noteworthy observation about the era is that, “Even the [Indian] who managed to become a citizen (prior to 1924) could not discard his or her ‘Indian-ness’ sufficiently to participate in white society.”<sup>233</sup> Important to note here is that Native scholar Waziyatawin (formerly Angela Cavender Wilson, a member of the Upper Sioux Community of the Dakota) expressed concern that when white scholars cover Indigenous histories, the genocide and terrorism experienced by the communities is overlooked.<sup>234</sup> In the discussions of structural genocide that occur throughout this work it is not my intention to

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<sup>228</sup> Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 186.

<sup>229</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 7. Importantly, although assimilation policies were less overtly violent than the “frontier homicide” that was a common aspect of U.S.- Indigenous relations before this point, assimilation policies were rife with “deleterious features” of their own. See also Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*.

<sup>230</sup> Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 387.

<sup>231</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 7.

<sup>232</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 32.

<sup>233</sup> Bosmajian, “Defining the ‘American Indian,’” 95.

<sup>234</sup> Angela Cavender Wilson, “Reclaiming Our Humanity: Decolonization and the Recovery of Indigenous Knowledge,” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 69-87.

overlook or trivialize the physical horrors of colonialism, but to make visible the overlooked discourses that perpetuate colonial structures.

(Mis-)Using the Land.

Colonialism is largely based on possession of land and the resources it contains, the “implanting of settlements on distant territory.”<sup>235</sup> Settler colonialism in particular “is predominantly about territory,” a necessary component of developing a new home for settlers.<sup>236</sup> The importance of land as a new home and a much-needed resource for that community’s new home was clearly demonstrated as the supposed Native “mis-use” of land was a primary argument to support the displacement of Indigenous peoples from land desired by EuroAmerican settlers.<sup>237</sup> Settler colonialism was dependent on acquiring and keeping land, a practice that was often supported through arguments that land of the North American continent was not being adequately used in ways that the colonists understood, neither as farmers nor as “Enlightened Europeans.”<sup>238</sup> As Kristen Oertel explained, “Indian agricultural practices and gender rules contradicted the ideal vision of the free labor family white (male) members formed land enclosed by fences and boundaries created by man, not nature.”<sup>239</sup> Thomas Jefferson’s agrarian farmer narrative was a key aspect of the belief that American identity was tied to the land. He stated, “Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds.”<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 9.

<sup>236</sup> Elkins and Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism,” 2; Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 81.

<sup>237</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 431; Agnew, “Introduction;” see also Jason Edward Black, “Native Resistive Rhetoric and the Decolonization of American Indian Removal Discourse” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no. 1 (2009): 66-88.

<sup>238</sup> Elkins and Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism,” 8; for more discussion of Lockean principles and how they affected concentrations of land and discovery rights in the Americas, see Kelly, “Orwellian Language,” 358.

<sup>239</sup> Oertel, *Bleeding Borders*, 35

<sup>240</sup> Thomas Jefferson, quoted by Timothy W. Kelsey, “The Agrarian Myth and Policy Responses to Farm Safety,” *American Journal of Public Health* 84, no. 7 (1994): 1172.



The narrative affected the development of national social and political policies, and continues to do so because of the ways prioritizing individual property rights (originally for agriculture) was built into law and national expectations, and the subsequent ways U.S. rights were based on property rights. European colonialism and modernity are inextricably linked, with “colonial land and labour” supplying and powering the Industrial Revolution.<sup>241</sup> The capitalistic interests of North America’s colonizers restructured the ecologies and economies of the conquered land, creating economic imbalance, the lines of which often coincided with those of race.<sup>242</sup> Lockean principles that espouse Eurocentric views of property such as freedom, emancipation, equality, and liberation have served in the U.S. as an “ethical obligation” and “rationale for both revolution and dispossession of Indian lands.”<sup>243</sup> As colonists/settlers claimed the land from the original inhabitants, they also attached a moral aspect to the seizure, “civilizing” the uncultivated land, creating a modern nation as they went.<sup>244</sup>

These standards of private property were also written into the land policies about EuroAmerican dealings with Indigenous peoples, ignoring Native peoples’ existing relationships to and use of the land.<sup>245</sup> Indigenous peoples were gradually forced to cede their lands, through a series of treaties, policies, and laws, making way for EuroAmerican settlers.<sup>246</sup> Many groups were moved farther and farther west, often several times as the U.S. frontiers expanded. Many were moved into “Indian Territory,” which before the U.S. Civil War was not legal U.S. territory, merely somewhere “out of the way” to move Indigenous people (until it too was

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<sup>241</sup> Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 394.

<sup>242</sup> Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2.

<sup>243</sup> Kelly, “Orwellian Language,” 359.

<sup>244</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*, 15-17; Ladson-Billings, “Just What is Critical Race Theory,” 17; Tarla Rai Peterson, “Jefferson’s Yeoman Farmer as Frontier Hero: A Self Defeating Mythic Structure,” *Agriculture and Human Values* 7, no. 1 (1990): 9-19.

<sup>245</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 44-45.

<sup>246</sup> Dolores Janiewski, “Gendering, Racializing and Classifying: Settler Colonization in the United States, 1590- 1991,” in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, eds. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London & Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publishing, 1995), 132-160.

claimed and settled by whites). Any groups who did not try to adopt the “modern” ways of the new nation were moved or eliminated, freeing the land for EuroAmerican claims. Some Native peoples did take up EuroAmerican agricultural practices, but this was often not enough to prevent their displacement.<sup>247</sup> Claiming and developing the land meant that the new nation could expand based on its own resources, drawing from itself rather than from an outside source, ensuring its success over time, and the concurrent destruction of Indigenous ways. As Wolfe explained, “Through its ceaseless expansion, agriculture... progressively eats into Indigenous territory, a primitive accumulation that turns native flora and fauna into a dwindling resource and curtails the reproduction of Indigenous modes of production. In the event, Indigenous people are either rendered dependent on the introduced economy or reduced to the stock-raids that provide the classic pretext for colonial death-squads.”<sup>248</sup>

#### Settler Colonialism and Memory.

As they were moved off of desirable lands and out of the way of EuroAmerican settlers, Indigenous populations dwindled, as did the perception that they were a threat to the nation. Despite their limited numbers and resources, when Native peoples were no longer a physical threat to the nation, their presence still “signified a differently grounded rival memory which contradicted the national narrative upon which a homogenous [national] citizenship was predicated.”<sup>249</sup> Their mere existence challenged the legitimacy of the dominant, supposedly homogenous, national narrative.<sup>250</sup> While policies to physically eliminate Indigenous peoples shifted in favor of focusing on cultural elimination (see the next chapter for more details), one

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<sup>247</sup> Black, “Native Resistive Rhetoric”; Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 29; Kelly, “Orwellian Language”; A. Smith, *Conquest*; Patrick Wolfe, “After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in U.S. Indian Policy,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, (2011): 13-51.

<sup>248</sup> Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 395.

<sup>249</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 34.

<sup>250</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*.

way of maintaining legitimacy was through presenting a national narrative that diminished the existence of the land's original inhabitants.

The tendency to actively misremember the past is crucial to the formation of nation(al identities) because it allows peoples to define themselves as existing continuously across time, and to remember themselves in ways supportive of their self-definitions.<sup>251</sup> The complete erasure of the past is rarely possible, such as when those who suffered by the actions maintain memory practices within their own communities that may not be recognized by official histories.<sup>252</sup> Instead of being forgotten, the past is instead *misremembered*, often intentionally.<sup>253</sup> This is particularly the case when the past is deemed shameful by today's standards, and as such may limit our present possibilities. How we address or ignore shameful periods in our collective pasts affects our current collective identifications, as Olick demonstrated in his discussion of the various ways Germany has tried to account for or ignore its role in the Holocaust.<sup>254</sup> Modern nations are often born in blood, a national past ill-suited to narratives of progress and leadership, and so the past is rewritten to better accommodate the perceived values of the nation, whatever they may be. Because nations are dependent on developing a national identity that collectives can, or want to, identify with, misremembering the past, even going so far as purposeful dissemination of "historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation."<sup>255</sup> The narrative of who we are springs from what we have done, so as ethics shift with the eras, so too do the ways we remember our past. Anderson succinctly observed: "All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such

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<sup>251</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 108.

<sup>252</sup> See Zelizer, "Reading the Past Against the Grain," about histories being rewritten to account for Native American experiences of frontiers. Howard Zinn is often named as a popular example of disrupting official versions of history.

<sup>253</sup> Kendall R. Phillips, "The Failure of Memory: Reflections on Rhetoric and Public Remembrance," *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 2 (2010): 208-223.

<sup>254</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*.

<sup>255</sup> Renan, quoted in Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 105.

oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives.”<sup>256</sup> The violence through which a nation is constituted is one of the most often misremembered national narratives.<sup>257</sup> In the case of the U.S., narratives of settling the frontiers and expanding the nation often suffer “mnemonic myopia” regarding the presence of Indigenous people when settlers arrived, and of the violence used to remove them.<sup>258</sup>

Similarly, the narratives of attempts to assimilate (and eliminate) Indigenous peoples through such methods as the Indian Education system are often overlooked or misremembered in attempts to better suit a unitary national narrative of American identity.<sup>259</sup> The forcible removal of students from their homes, years-long separations from their families, strict school guidelines meant to kill their cultures, and indoctrinating them to believe their peoples’ ways of life were primitive, insufficient and naturally dying out were all misremembered as a moral battle on behalf of “saving” the Red Man from himself. In the process, proponents of the Indian education system also aimed to bolster their own (Euro-)American society, because “In order to preserve Anglo-Saxon hegemony, the threatening ‘other,’ immigrant and Indian alike, had to become Americanized” through enacting whiteness. This was largely accomplished through strict discipline in everything from changing the students’ names, requiring they only speak English, wearing uniforms, and learning agricultural and industrial methods of their colonizers.<sup>260</sup>

Students were disciplined into remembering their home ways as primitive and backward while

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<sup>256</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 204.

<sup>257</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 105.

<sup>258</sup> Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 89-91.

<sup>259</sup> While many Indigenous peoples did resist assimilation policies, not all completely resisted colonization in their own actions, nor have they successfully overthrown it. Stephen Silliman, “‘Old West’ in the Middle East: U.S. Military Metaphors in Real and Imagined Indian Country” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 243 and 245.

<sup>260</sup> For more on student experiences with assimilation and Indian education policies, see: Theresa Milk, *Haskell Institute: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival* (Lawrence, KS: Mammoth Publications, 2007); Clifford E. Trotzer, Jean A. Keller, Lorene Sisquoc, eds. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928*, (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2008); Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*; Important to note here is that while many did resist assimilation policies, some students and/or their families likely desired assimilation, particularly for the ways it would provide them more opportunity within a nation that was rapidly changing.

simultaneously crafting a narrative of the U.S. as a nation of benevolence and opportunity where they could, with hard work, achieve modern civilization through enactments of whiteness. In order to achieve the American identity students were told they should desire, they needed to first learn how to enact the tenets of modernity entrenched in the U.S.'s idea of itself, such as industriousness and self-sufficiency, and to reject the ways of their own peoples. The narrative of hard work and opportunity that became known as the “American Dream” was represented as the access point into modern civilization, framed in comparison to students’ families and homes which were depicted as stuck in the past, hindering Indigenous and national progress.<sup>261</sup>

The webs of power in which we are caught are not static lines, and we are continuously being made and making ourselves and others as citizens. Our interactions with one another and the publics in which we are embedded are dynamic, constantly shifting in relation to one another. Because there is no transhistorical essential “citizen” identity within the U.S. or any other nation, developing a more thorough understanding of how we negotiate national identities requires looking across time at how understandings of race have shifted (or not) in relation to rhetorics of national belonging. The complicated interrelationships of citizenship, national narratives, and race call for looking across a range of situations in American history in order to develop a more complete picture of how people understand and act upon what they think of as American identity.

In the next chapter, I provide background context specific to the development of the Indian Boarding School system in the U.S. and the reasons for its development in relation to

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<sup>261</sup> The stereotypes associated with Indigenous peoples are numerous, most of them echoing from the early days of white-Native interactions. For instance, they are often depicted homogenously, with black hair in braids, bronze skin wearing buckskin and moccasins, living in teepees, unable to read or succeed in school, and as alcoholics who, thanks to government treaties, get a “free ride” through society. For more on stereotypes about Native peoples, particularly as depicted in contemporary media, see Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation*, Revised Edition (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities*, (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, Inc., 1996), 13; Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *So You Want to Write About American Indians? A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Louis Owens, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

popular perceptions of race and the nation. From here, I focus on discursive negotiations of national identities as related to race, starting with an analysis of historic rhetoric produced by Haskell. I then move to a contemporary debate about land occurring between Haskell community members and community members from Lawrence, Kansas, where the school is located. Reading these collections of discourses, I looked for discussions of the nation, race, identity, and particularly for relationships between the communities. As I demonstrate in the following chapters, colonialism—past and contemporary—continues to have a profound impact on negotiations of identity in the U.S., altering the relationship between Native counterpublics to dominant EuroAmerican publics. How genres of memory are called upon by various publics affects their relationships with one another, revealing the material implications of rhetoric in our everyday lives.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**“KILL THE INDIAN, SAVE THE MAN”:**  
**INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLING IN THE U.S.**

*“The conditions of disadvantage of indigenous peoples undoubtedly are not mere happenstance. Rather, they stem from the well-documented history of the taking of vast expanses of indigenous lands with abundant resources, along with active suppression of indigenous peoples’ culture and political institutions, entrenched patterns of discrimination against them and outright brutality, all of which are figured in the history of the settlement of the country and the building of its economy.”*

*– James Anaya  
 United Nations Special Rapporteur  
 on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples<sup>262</sup>*

In 1899, Anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing observed in his study of the Zuni people that the Indian “belongs to an earlier status of mind and conditions of human life than our own,” but granted that, “Of all the savages of whom I have read—certainly all of the savages I have seen, though they be many—the American Indian is intellectually the most alert and superior.”<sup>263</sup> Nearly two decades later, in an article from the Haskell school newspaper, the *Indian Leader*, John Sloane wrote of continued attempts by white society to protect the Indian “from his own inexperience, his own childlike credulity, and his own lack of business ability; in short, from himself.”<sup>264</sup> These brief excerpts begin to demonstrate the ways Indigenous peoples within the U.S. were deemed not intelligible or rationale people at all, but savages and children who were depicted as needing saving from themselves. Also apparent in the historical discourse of the Progressive era is the presumption that Indian savages could be saved, but only with the intervention of EuroAmericans, who could teach them how to get along in a world that was supposedly moving beyond “primitive” Indigenous ways.

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<sup>262</sup> James Anaya, U.N. General Assembly. Human Rights Council, 21<sup>st</sup> session. “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Addendum: The Situation of Indigenous Peoples in the United States of America,” 30 August, 2012, 11.

<sup>263</sup> Frank Cushing, “Studying the Indian,” *Indian Leader*, September 15, 1899, 1. Interesting to take into account when reading Cushing’s critiques of the Indian as an advanced type of savage is that he was deemed a strong supporter of Indigenous peoples at the time, and was critiqued by his colleagues for “going native” in his studies of the Zuni, even decorating his New York apartment as a Zuni kiva. See Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998): 119.

<sup>264</sup> John Sloane, “Saving the Indian from Himself,” *Indian Leader*, January 23, 1928, 1.

How to deal with the Indigenous population of what was to become the United States, the "Indian Problem," is an issue spanning the nation's history, beginning when the land started being claimed by Europeans.<sup>265</sup> In short, the "problem" is summed up in the question: "What is to become of the Indians?" particularly in cases where Native peoples possess (or have been assigned) land and its resources coveted by white individuals and governments.<sup>266</sup> As stated in a 1933 *Indian Leader* article, "What to do with our Indian Population and how this population should be managed has been a favorite subject of discussion from our earliest national history. The intensity of this discussion is about as great today as during the years past and gone."<sup>267</sup> The government had been working on solving the "problem" for as long as EuroAmericans had colonized the land, trying methods such as extermination, relocation, and assimilation.<sup>268</sup> A prominent strategy after the 1870s, assimilation policies aimed to eliminate "savages" from the U.S. through education, supposedly turning them into civilized, productive members of EuroAmerican society.

The policies developed for the Indian education system at the time reflected society's beliefs in a racial hierarchy and in a national identity of progress that was achievable through individual industry. A system of schools for Indigenous students was developed both on and off reservations that would purportedly help students assimilate into the civilized nation and

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<sup>265</sup> For more details of how the Indian Problem has been addressed in scholarship from 1881 until the present, see: Jason Edward Black, "U.S. Governmental and Native Voices in the Nineteenth Century: Rhetoric in the Removal and Allotment of American Indians" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2006); Ray A. Brown, "The Indian Problem and the Law," *Yale Law Journal* 39, no. 3 (1930): 307-331; Matthew L. M. Fletcher, "Supreme Court's Indian Problem," *Hastings Law Journal* 59 (2007-2008): 579-642; Susan Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Carl Schurz, "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," *North American Review*, 133, no. 296 (1881):1-24.

<sup>266</sup> Schurz, "Present Aspects of the Indian Problem," 4.

<sup>267</sup> "What is the So-Called 'Indian Problem,'" *Indian Leader*, March 24, 1933, 1.

<sup>268</sup> See the following for further discussion of the history of relocation, sovereignty, and treaties experienced by some Native peoples: Jason Edward Black, "Native Resistive Rhetoric and the Decolonization of American Indian Removal Discourse" *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 95, no. 1 (2009): 66-88; Haig A. Bosmajian, "Defining the 'American Indian': A Case of Study in the Language of Suppression," *The Speech Teacher* 21, no. 2 (1973); Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Casey Ryan Kelly, "Orwellian Language and the Politics of Tribal Termination (1953-1960)," *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 4 (2010): 351-371; Patrick Wolfe, "After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in US Indian Policy," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, (2011): 13-51.



abandon their backward ways. In order to better understand the cultural and historical contexts in which discourse about Haskell was and is produced, in this chapter I note how the widespread belief in racial hierarchies of “natural” superiority and inferiority supported the development of the Indian school system in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>269</sup> The system was founded on the premise that education could be used to “kill the Indian, save the Man,” a motto that was reflected in the pedagogy applied across the school system. I then recount the early history of Haskell, which opened as the United States Indian Industrial Training School in 1884, and discuss how Indian school curricula was meant to prepare Indigenous students to become members of the nation, whether they were legal citizens or not.

### Social Darwinism and Assimilation

The perceived need to develop a system of education for the Indigenous peoples of the nation was primarily based on EuroAmericans’ racialized and racist opinions of The Indian as behind the times and in need of white guidance along the path to modernity and progress.<sup>270</sup> As the 1969 U.S. Senate Report on the state of Indian Education stated, “From the first contact with the Indian, the school and the classroom have been a primary tool of assimilation... it was in effect an attempt to wash the ‘savage habits’ and ‘tribal ethic’ out of a child’s mind and substitute a white middle-class value system in its place.”<sup>271</sup> Widespread belief in a hierarchical system of race and Social Darwinism affected educational policies and practices developed during the allotment and civilization era beginning in the 1880s, which then laid the groundwork

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<sup>269</sup> Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London & NY: Cassell, 1999): 173.

<sup>270</sup> Stephen Cornell, “American Indians, American Dreams, and the Meaning of Success,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 11, no. 4 (1987): 59-70; K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, “When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal” *American Educational Research Journal* 39, no. 2 (2002): 279-305; John Sanchez, “How American Public Schools Using Down-Linked News Media Shape American Indian Identity,” *The Howard Journal of Communications* 14 (2003): 39-48; For a more in-depth review than offered here of US-Indigenous relations from contact to the Indian New Deal in 1934, see Black, “U.S. Governmental and Native Voices in the Nineteenth Century”.

<sup>271</sup> United States Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, by the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 9.

for the future Indian education system policies. Arguments based on Social Darwinism supported assimilation policies that worked to remove Indigenous students from their peoples and cultures and expose them instead to the “more advanced” influences of white society, supposedly for the students’ own good and the good of the nation. While the white settlers of the U.S. perceived themselves as “righteous,” Indigenous peoples were instead labeled as undesirable and degraded, in need of regulation on behalf of the national community.<sup>272</sup>

Peaking in popularity between the Civil War and the Civil Rights Era, proponents of Social Darwinism believed in a racial hierarchy that ranked people on a scale of primitivism/savagery to civilization.<sup>273</sup> By this standard, Indigenous peoples who were perceived as “primitive” for their ways of life were cast at the far end of the spectrum from whites who lived in modern capitalist agricultural and industrial societies.<sup>274</sup> Although white “modern” societies were ranked as the peak of civilization, because the system was not based on a simple racial binary, non-white individuals could advance themselves and their progeny up the hierarchy if they appropriated more “civilized” traits (i.e. those valued by EuroAmerican society). Similarly, even white individuals could devalue themselves if they did not conform to normative expectations.<sup>275</sup> Because the “natural” progression to civilization was defined largely through the achievement of EuroAmerican standards, through Social Darwinism, racist perspectives were naturalized and racist policies defined as beneficial to those peoples who still

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<sup>272</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 170; Scott Lauria Morgensen, “Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism within Queer Minorities” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, nos. 1-2, (2010): 111.

<sup>273</sup> Philip J. Deloria, “Historiography,” in *A Companion to American Indian History*, eds. Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, (Malden, MA, & Oxford, UK, 2002), 11; David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 74; Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 37-40.

<sup>274</sup> Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

<sup>275</sup> Matt Wray, *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2006).

needed to advance. As Julian B. Carter noted in his discussion of white normativity and sexuality in Progressive Era America, at the time, this version of evolution explained:

the progressive development of peoples and nations from generation to generation. It was therefore an immensely attractive conceptual resource for racism. While evolutionism's interest in explaining change allowed for the argument that modern civilization was a natural improvement over 'primitive' forms, its emphasis on continuity across time facilitated the position that American civilization was the hereditary property of modern white persons whose ancestors had founded the original thirteen colonies.<sup>276</sup>

Following this belief of modern EuroAmerican civilization as an improvement over the "primitive" cultures it encountered, the U.S. American state could argue for colonial rule over Indigenous lands "in the name of saving indigenous people from their own weakness and backwardness, that is, savagery."<sup>277</sup> Even with the "improvements" provided by an education in whiteness, with such a racialized philosophical foundation, Indigenous peoples would always be marked as racial Others who could not reach the heights of the hierarchy and whiteness. As explained by a Native Haskell student in 1902, a commonly perceived "mistake" in Indian education was assuming they can "make a white man of him" when the differences between the races "extend below the surface."<sup>278</sup>

Bringing "primitive" darker races into the light through racist policies was often perceived as the moral responsibility of white society, who represented themselves in comparison as pinnacle of civilization.<sup>279</sup> In this perspective, although the races they sought to "help" were limited from achieving complete civilization by their inherited savagery and retarded social development, they could be brought farther along the path of progress with white

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<sup>276</sup> Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>277</sup> Kevin Bruyneel *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 81.

<sup>278</sup> Carrie Morrison, "A Necessary Lesson," *Indian Leader*, July 4, 1902, 1.

<sup>279</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 22, 25.

society’s help.<sup>280</sup> A crucial step on the road to evolutionary development was an education that would prepare individuals for achieving national normative expectations of modern progress. The Indian education system that became a nation-wide network of on- and off-reservation boarding schools was the brainchild of Colonel Richard H. Pratt, who believed The Indian simply needed exposure to civilization in order to *become* civilized. In hopes of effecting the most progress in the race in the shortest time possible, Indian education programs focused on children, who were considered more malleable than adults.<sup>281</sup>

For some, the strict racial hierarchical ladder of race-based levels of civilization and ability began to fade in the early 1900s, altered by shifting scientific and anthropological theories. While the perception that The Indian was inferior persisted, for some whites, “[t]he old view that Indian cultures had nothing to offer American society, that the sooner they were destroyed and replaced the better, gave way little by little to an interest in Indian ways and then to positive appreciation of Indian art and other contributions.”<sup>282</sup> Philip Deloria noted that much of this interest was due to the ways American identity was defined both in relation and opposition to “Indian” identity—as a counterpoint to EuroAmerican civilization, but also as a representation of the wilderness the nation was being carved from.<sup>283</sup> While whites “played Indian,” they did not necessarily respect the cultures they appropriated, often reinforcing the problematic essentialization of Native peoples and maintaining a racial divide between the communities.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 12.

<sup>281</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 36.

<sup>282</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, 1985, quoted in Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 108.

<sup>283</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?*; Black, “U.S. Governmental and Native Voices in the Nineteenth Century,” 73; Cornell, “American Indians, American Dreams;” Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*.

<sup>284</sup> Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

*Education for Progress*

That Indigenous peoples were believed to need help on the road to civilization was visible in the discourse of the day, which often explained Indigenous peoples' society as the result of being cut-off from the civilized, literary pursuits that would have helped them grow beyond their savagery. For example, in an editorial from the local *Osage Journal*, reprinted in the *Indian Leader* in 1900, the author exhorts those readers who wonder why "the Indian clings to his old ways and customs and does not appreciate the ways of the white man" to "stop for a moment to consider the past history of the race, and of the white man." The author explains that the history of The Indian is similar to that of whites, although several hundred years "behind" because they have been "Cut off from science, literature and art" for "untold generations" and as such "it is no wonder that he has been what he has." The author explains that when the white man first came to the continent, he made no effort to "civilize the Indian," who was thought incapable of benefiting from such efforts.<sup>285</sup>

Unlike the Anglo-Saxons of epochs past, the belief of progressive white society of the mid-1800s onward was that The Indian "can be educated and trained to be a citizen. *Education is the force that is needed and it should be compulsory.* It may not be the work of a few years. It took centuries to raise the Anglo-Saxon up to the present standard of civilization. The work should and will go on and the Indian will become a credit and honor to the land of his birth."<sup>286</sup> A 1934 *Kansas City Star* article about the Haskell Institute's (an Indian Boarding School) 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary stated that the audience "will gaze in admiration at the young braves who have been afforded the white man's education and who have become closely akin to the white men in mental development," reiterating the perception that education would advance Indigenous

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<sup>285</sup> "Indian Progress," *Indian Leader*, September 21, 1900, v. 4, no. 25, 1.

<sup>286</sup> "Indian Progress," 1, emphasis added.

peoples while maintaining white superiority.<sup>287</sup> Educating and training Indigenous students in EuroAmerican ways was less for labor market preparation than it was “about disciplining aspirations and policing the boundaries of race,” according to Ann Laura Stoler.<sup>288</sup> U.N. Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples James Anaya describes the government- and church- run boarding schools as “a direct assault on indigenous cultural expression” with “devastating consequences, which are still felt today.”<sup>289</sup>

The understanding that members of the Indian race were not as developed as EuroAmericans was also expressed in the educational policies that were developed for them. As Stoler explained, Indian reservation and boarding school systems were an element “of political technologies that crafted microenvironments to carry out public policy on race. . . . that were grounded in imperial concerns over the distinctions of race.”<sup>290</sup> In the *Course of Study for the Indian Schools* published in 1901, Indian School Superintendent Estelle Reel based her pedagogy on the idea that The Indian “is just starting on the road to civilization.”<sup>291</sup> These authors expressed the belief that the ways and customs, “the accumulations of the ages,” of The Indian must be changed in order for them to progress as a people and race, for them to attempt to catch up with their EuroAmerican conquerors. This is a process that would take time, however. In 1902, the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs noted that although the system was not yet entirely successful, proponents of Indian education should persevere, bearing in mind that “We sometimes forget that the efforts of superior races to elevate inferior ones at a single stroke generally meet with failure, as new conditions are introduced for which the latter

<sup>287</sup> P. E., “Haskell Institute Prepares to Observe the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its Founding,” *Kansas City Star*, October 16, 1934.

<sup>288</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 845.

<sup>289</sup> Anaya “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur,” 12.

<sup>290</sup> Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties,” 850.

<sup>291</sup> Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States, Industrial and Literary*. By Estelle Reel. Washington, D.C.:U.S. United States Government Printing Office, 1901: 5, emphasis added.

have no standard. In order to lift them up to or near the standard of civilization, it must be left to education, extended through several generations.”<sup>292</sup> In his U.S. federal government-sponsored review of the first fifty years of Haskell Indian School’s history, Reverend William P. Ames summed up the changes witnessed in new students when they joined the school: “the first year of experience at the school, on the part of the Indian pupils, produced a remarkable transformation ... A change in manners, in facial expression, in ability to understand and to express thought, and in many cases a much higher moral tone were all results plainly discernible in the Indian boys and girls.”<sup>293</sup> Their education was described as an agent of change, transforming students from primitives into people who had finally gained the “ability to understand and express thought,” and who had gained a “higher moral tone” than they had arrived with. Ames’ account reflects Social Darwinian beliefs of the time that through exposure to civilization and education, those lower in the evolutionary hierarchy (The Indians) could be raised up for their own benefit to become useful members of society.

Efforts to educate those generations were sometimes met with frustration, however. Discourse produced by dominant publics at both the U.S. national (government) and local (Haskell) level often focused on the disinclination of The Indian to learn or apply themselves, and the deficiencies of their race due to The Indian way of life. Because Indigenous students were seen as underdeveloped and behind, Reel’s *Course of Study* explained that educational models must take into account that the usefulness of standard methods and subjects were limited, and that instead, “such methods must be employed as will develop the various powers and capacities with which the child is endowed, and by systematic industrial training to give him the skill in various directions to be serviceable in meeting the demands of active life, *making him a*

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<sup>292</sup> “Extracts from Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,” *Indian Leader*, January 24, 1902, v.5, no.42, p. 1..

<sup>293</sup> William P. Ames, “Highlights of Haskell Institute: A Brief Sketch of the Half Century of Indian Education at Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas” (USA Work Program, 1936), 5.

*willing worker as well as an inquiring learner.*”<sup>294</sup> Reel’s observation that students must be molded into willing workers and inquiring learners reflects “popular impressions” of the time that The Indian was taciturn, sullen, or, when more positively framed, simply shy and reticent.<sup>295</sup> Frank Cushing, the anthropologist noted above who referred to American Indians as “intellectually the most alert and superior” savages he had come across, echoed the idea that they were unwilling students, although he also said “It is a mistake to suppose that the Indian . . . is inapt at learning.” He went on to explain that that they are merely “disinclined to learn as we would have him, and the first work we ought therefore to do in attempting to teach him, should be to lead him to see and appreciate—to really wish for—the education we are so ready to give him.”<sup>296</sup>

A primary concern about the pedagogy adopted by the Indian school system appears to have been whether the students could learn *at all*. Based on the discourse of the time, authors often assumed that Indigenous students would not be able to learn as white students did. According to Ames’ review of Haskell Indian School’s first half century, “The difficulties attending the teaching of the Indian children of that day could hardly be appreciated by anyone who had not the experience with youth *who know little or nothing of the language to be taught and who were total strangers to all habits of industry and economy.*”<sup>297</sup> He argued that upon entering the school, students (as well as their families and friends) entertained only a vague notion that they were expected to “learn the white man’s way’ . . . [but] They had no conception of the particular subjects of study nor of the time and effort called for in the mastering of them. Aversion to manual labor, as well as mental, was fixed not only by heredity but by prejudice,

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<sup>294</sup> *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, 5, emphasis added.

<sup>295</sup> “The Real Indian,” *Indian Leader*, February 15, 1899, v. 2, no. 18, 1; W. H. Hailman, “Present Organization of Indian Schools,” *Indian Leader*, March 2, 1901, v. 5, no. 3, 1.

<sup>296</sup> Frank Cushing, “Studying the Indian,” *Indian Leader*, September 15, 1899, v. 3, no. 12, 1.

<sup>297</sup> Ames, “Highlights of Haskell Institute,” 4; emphasis added.



especially on the part of the Indian boy of that early day. It was necessary to find and keep some incentive to industry before the pupils at all times."<sup>298</sup> Similarly, in 1903, a different Supervisor of Indian Schools, J. F. House, stated after a tour of the schools that, "It is hardly fair to make a comparison between white and the Indian children, in point of scholarship, for the reason that many of the Indians enter the schoolroom without the least knowledge of the English language, and as a consequence the progress at the beginning is slow."<sup>299</sup>

Because the Indigenous students who were the focus of these programs were represented as just beginning their journey "on the road to civilization," some authors opined that it would be several generations before Indigenous children could be compared to white children who had the benefit of being members of an advanced race. Simon Redbird, a former Haskell student writing in 1909 about "An Indian's View of the Indian Problem," expressed this idea when he stated that "We cannot compare Indian children with white and, therefore we ought not to expect the Indian child to be educated as fast as the white child; there is a great deal of difference. *In other words, it is impossible to educate and civilize the Indian race in one generation.*"<sup>300</sup> That same year, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert G. Valentine also stated that Indians were not as advanced as whites because they were "a people without generations back of them trained more or less in the ways of civilization."<sup>301</sup> A difference in Valentine's discourse, however, is that he believed the process must be sped up: "Within the next few decades we must foreshorten the

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<sup>298</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 4.

<sup>299</sup> J. F. House, *Indian Leader*, February 27, 1903, v.6 no. 49, p.3 (reprinted from *Milwaukee Sentinel*). Although teaching industry was an important educational goal at this time, House also noted that such a focus held students back from scholastic achievement and attributed part of the reason that Indian students could be compared to white was because "the Indian schools are all industrial and only a portion of the time is occupied with studies, and the literary progress under these circumstances is very much slower than in white schools."

<sup>300</sup> Simon Redbird, "An Indian's View of the Indian Problem," *Indian Leader*, May 14, 1909, v. 13, no. 21, 1.

<sup>301</sup> "Address of Commissioner Valentine at the Mohonk Conference" *Indian Leader*, November 12, 1909, v. 13, no. 41, 2.

road which is really centuries long, and while leading the Indian along it we must of necessity try to do in months what nature should do in years."<sup>302</sup>

### Kill the Indian, Save the Man

But why this perceived need to catch The Indian up? What was the impulse behind EuroAmerican interests in educating peoples they had done so much to destroy? The power EuroAmericans held over the life and death of Indigenous peoples is a critical consideration in examinations of race relations as the nation developed, as is examining the power they held over the *lives* the Indigenous led, and how they were allowed to fit into society and the nation.<sup>303</sup> The United States' self-definition as a progressive modern nation and of its Native inhabitants as primitives marked them as outsiders who could not be accepted into the national community until they could be civilized. Pedagogy in Indian schools was developed with the goal of creating an Indigenous population with "better morals, a more patriotic and Christian citizenship and ability for self-support."<sup>304</sup>

The need for Indigenous peoples to align with the desires of EuroAmerican society became more pressing as the U.S. sought more land to expand the nation.<sup>305</sup> As the nation developed and its white population spread, Indigenous populations were deemed more and more in the way, and even their reserved lands were coveted by white settlers.<sup>306</sup> Mark Rifkin suggests that according to the Jeffersonian views that guided much of the U.S.'s national development,

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<sup>302</sup> "Address of Commissioner Valentine at the Mohonk Conference," 2.

<sup>303</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Vol. 1*, trans. Robert Hurley, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1978), 142-143.

<sup>304</sup> *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, 6.

<sup>305</sup> Joseph L. DeVitis and John Martin Rich, *The Success Ethic, Education, and the American Dream* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 2.

<sup>306</sup> For a more thorough discussion of land policies that displaced Indigenous peoples to make room for white settlers, see, for instance: Jason Edward Black, "Remembrances of Removal: Native Resistance to Allotment and the Unmasking of Paternal Benevolence" *Southern Journal of Communication* 72, no. 2 (2007): 185-203; Black, "Native Resistive Rhetoric"; Dolores Janiewski, "Gendering, Racializing and Classifying: Settler Colonization in the United States, 1590- 1991," in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, eds. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, (London & Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage Publishing, 1995), 132-160; Kelly, "Orwellian Language;" Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*; Wolfe, "After the Frontier."

"Civilization is correlated with the inevitability of the territorial 'extension' of American settlements" which occurred both through land acquisition and population expansion.<sup>307</sup> Kevin Bruyneel writes similarly, pointing out that the land policies applied to Indigenous peoples were based on the U.S.'s liberal democratic framework and not reflective of Native peoples' beliefs and communal use of land. As the nation expanded, Indigenous peoples were displaced, often to "Indian Territory," (which before the U.S. Civil War was not legal U.S. territory,) making way for settlers and their (infra)structures, such as the railways.<sup>308</sup> According to the 1969 U.S. Senate report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, "The implicit hope was that a 'civilized Indian' would settle down on his 160 acres and become a gentleman farmer, thus freeing large amounts of additional land for the white man."<sup>309</sup> As the lands available to tribes dwindled, they became more and more dependent on the U.S. government for survival, despite their legal status as sovereign nations.<sup>310</sup> The increasing tensions over land were a primary factor in the development of the Indian School system, which provided a venue to train Indigenous peoples into a new way of life more suited to EuroAmerican society's needs. For example, relating the founding of Haskell, Ames described the belief in the 1880s that Indian schools were established because,

The prairies and the plains as well as the rich river valleys were no longer the hunting, fishing and farming grounds of the red men. Gradually had these domains of this earlier habitation been withdrawn or wrested from his use and possession. With these restrictions of resource the problem of subsistence for the Indian had become a pressing and vital one. *Civilization or extermination appeared to be the inevitable alternative.*<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of the U.S. National Space* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 89.

<sup>308</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 29-45.

<sup>309</sup> *Indian Education: A National Tragedy*, 9.

<sup>310</sup> For more on Native American sovereignty, see, among others: Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*; Wallace Coffey and Rebecca Tsosie, "Rethinking the Tribal Sovereignty Doctrine: Cultural Sovereignty and the Collective Future of Indian Nations," *Stanford Law and Policy Review* 12, no. 2 (2001): 191-221; Carole Goldberg, "Members Only? Designing Citizenship Requirements for Indian Nations," *Kansas Law Review* 50 (2001-2002): 437-471; Sarah Krakoff, "A Narrative of Sovereignty: Illuminating the Paradox of the Domestic Dependent Nation," *Oregon Law Review* 83, no. 4 (2004): 1109-1201.

<sup>311</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 8, emphasis added; see also Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005), 36.

At other times in its history, extermination had been national policy, but as a self-identified modern, civilized nation, many in the U.S. began to feel instead that they were honor bound to try and raise the lesser races from darkness to the light of progress. As Commissioner Valentine in his 1909 address to the Mohonk Conference explained:

It is possible to do only two things with the Indians—to exterminate them, or to make them into citizens...the country has set itself to make the Indians into citizens. It has no business to bungle this job as it is now doing...Our present course is, as a matter of fact, a cross between extermination and citizenship. If we would escape a disgrace greater than any which has attended this Indian business yet, we must stop at the beginning of this twentieth century and think clearly about the Indians, and set ourselves resolutely to certain clean and high courses.<sup>312</sup>

Although it is unclear how widespread was the sentiment that the U.S. had thus far “bungled” and “disgraced” itself in dealing with Indigenous peoples, as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, appointed by President William Howard Taft, Valentine’s advocacy for the “clean and high course” is worth noting as it likely reflects that of other influential figures on the national scene.<sup>313</sup> Valentine’s goals for the Bureau during his tenure were to help Indian populations through improving their health, education, and industry with the hope that these changes would help them on the road to becoming civilized. Although these goals were more likely to preserve the Indian body than the culture, for Valentine they did follow the moral high road of working to civilize and citizen-ize, rather than exterminate the nation’s remaining Native populations.

Valentine was not the first to advocate for solutions to the Indian Problem other than physical extermination. The driving force behind the desire to educate The Indian seems to be that much of white society was moving away from a desire to completely destroy the Indigenous

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<sup>312</sup> “Address of Commissioner Valentine at the Mohonk Conference,” 2.

<sup>313</sup> For more about the Commissioners of Indian Affairs and their policies, see Tom Holm, *The Great Confusion in Indian Affairs: Native Americans and Whites in the Progressive Era* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005).

peoples who remained, aiming instead for amalgamation. However, in order to preserve their *lives*, their *way of life* had to die. This drive within the U.S. nation to control Indigenous lives instead of advocating for their extermination reflects the impulse of modern nations, where sovereign powers opt to replace the ability “to take life or let live’ with a governmentality that enacts ‘the power to “make” live or “let” die.’”<sup>314</sup> In opting to control the subject’s lives, they preserve and control a population that can advance the interests of those in power, applying political instead of military strategies to accomplish their ends. For Michel Foucault, “what might be called a society’s ‘threshold of modernity’ has been reached when the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies.”<sup>315</sup> In this case, as the U.S. embraced its place within modernity, it found more use in eliminating its Indigenous populations through cultural death rather than physical, sustaining their lives while mandating they follow the path prescribed for them.

This idea served as the bedrock of the Indian School System, embodied in Pratt’s motto, “*Kill the Indian, Save the Man*,” which set the course of national policy for years to come.<sup>316</sup> Pursuing this moral high ground of “Saving the Man” meant finding what were deemed humane ways to “Kill the Indian,” a feat the nation sought to accomplish through the development of the Indian Boarding School system and a primary example of the structural genocide enacted against Native peoples. The influence of the Indian education system on EuroAmerican perceptions of The Indian should not be discounted. As Ames recounted after the system had existed for more than 50 years, Indian education had thus far served to discredit “the old libel against the red man

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<sup>314</sup> Scott Lauria Morgensen, “The Biopolitics of Settler Colonialism: Right Here, Right Now,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, (2011): 54.

<sup>315</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 143.

<sup>316</sup> Richard H. Pratt, quoted in Clifford E Trotzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, “Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System,” in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, eds., Clifford E Trotzer, Jean A. Keller, Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 13.

that 'the only good Indian was a dead Indian.'"<sup>317</sup> He went on to observe that, instead, "From the cumulative good results of this educative venture of the *humane-hearted* general and of his like-spirited successors and followers, there has also been made possible a happy revision of the phrase, 'Lo, the poor Indian', as expressive of the lot of the race," highlighting that changes brought about by Indian Education were deemed beneficial to The Indian, at least according to white society.<sup>318</sup> The perceived benefit of the systems to its Indigenous students was demonstrated in Kansas Governor William Stanley's address to the 1900 Commencement class of Haskell when he stated: "As I went through the shops and school-rooms a little while ago, I was astounded that the descendants of a people that scarcely more than a generation ago roamed over the plains of Kansas in all liberty and freedom of that prairie life, should show such development and marked progress as I saw in these halls."<sup>319</sup> The progress of the race was perceived as coming from leaving the prairie and entering the school room, learning the ways of the whites who wished to see them there. As Myriam Vučković argued, evolutionary arguments and the struggle over land were fundamental to the development of Indian education: "Protestant ideology, the civilization-savagism paradigm, and the continuing hunger for Indian land provided the ideological backdrop for the nation's emerging Indian education policy."<sup>320</sup>

Education's ability to salvage the humanity of The Indian was a common theme in discourse about "the Indian problem" during the 1890s into the first decade of the 1900s, and the argument was even adopted by self-identified Indians. For instance in an 1893 oration to Tacoma High School about "The Indian Problem" (reprinted in the *Leader* in 1899), Matthew Seattle stated: "Education in the broad sense... is the Indians' only salvation. With it they will become

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<sup>317</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 1.

<sup>318</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 1 (emphasis added).

<sup>319</sup> "Commencement Day," *Indian Leader*, June 22, 1900, v. 4, no. 16, 3.

<sup>320</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 12.

honorable, useful, and happy citizens of a great republic.”<sup>321</sup> In 1909, Simon Redbird spoke similarly about “An Indian’s view of the Indian Problem,” stating, “Schools are the greatest weapon to use when you want to subjugate any nation; when educated they will come under the law and when under the law, they will not need looking after.” He went on to argue that Indians were not yet developed enough to be integrated in white schools and therefore needed an education system of their own so that they may become educated, develop leaders, and stand as “upright and full-fledged citizen[s].”<sup>322</sup> In other words, when Indians became developed enough to “come under the law” and act as “upright” citizens, they would be saved from the savagery that had to date afflicted them.

### *Educating Into the Nation*

Education was understood to be a crucial attribute of becoming a member of the national community, a good citizen, for all people in the U.S., not only its Indigenous population. An important characteristic of American identity, education provides access to the American Dream of success through individual industriousness, providing the skills necessary to take advantage of the market opportunities available to the members of the nation.<sup>323</sup> It was believed that education would provide the knowledge and skills so that students could enter careers after school that would provide them financial security and the improved social status that would come with it.<sup>324</sup> As they became educated in skills deemed useful for EuroAmerican society, students’ own use-value increased, and they themselves became more valuable commodities within the market and

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<sup>321</sup> Matthew Seattle, “The Indian Problem,” *Indian Leader*, September 15, 1899, v. 3, no. 12, 4.

<sup>322</sup> Redbird, “An Indian’s View of the Indian Problem,” 2.

<sup>323</sup> M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Cartographies of Knowledge and Power: Transnational Feminism as Radical Praxis,” in *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis*, eds. Amanda Lock Swarr and Richa Nagar (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), 13; The importance of education for success in the U.S. was recognized by the Civil Rights and the Women’s movements, both of which fought for educational access and reforms.

<sup>324</sup> Alexander and Mohanty, “Cartographies of Knowledge and Power,” 2.

to the national community.<sup>325</sup> The skills and knowledge acquired at the schools presumably gained students entry into the American dreamscape where all supposedly had equal opportunity to succeed. What is often ignored in the Dream, however, is that “Individuals are supposed to ‘get over’ the road blocks, despite the fact that these obstacles may be inherently unfair or excessively debilitating even for very talented and driven people.”<sup>326</sup> Also assumed in this idea is that all people should be sharing the same dream, and steering the nation toward a shared idea of its modern future.

The importance of advancing themselves through education was an important topic of discussion addressed to Haskell’s Indigenous students, as was the need to change with the times, and more importantly, to acknowledge the necessity of the change for their own betterment. In looking back on the first twenty-five years of Haskell, former superintendent Dr. Charles F. Meserve spoke to students in a “keenly sympathetic and encouraging address” in which he exhorted them to “not be discouraged because the old order is changing. That is the experience of every race that is today occupying advanced ground. Where was this boasted Anglo-Saxon race two thousand years ago? Observe the process of development through which it has had to pass and you can see nothing but inspiration for your own. . . . *‘Killing the Indian’ is the not the right way, but kill the evil in him –that is your part.*” Meserve also “urged the students to cling to the good that is now theirs and to leave the past behind with all its dark memories, to turn their faces to the light and past away.”<sup>327</sup> He advocated for students to walk forward from the darkness of their past and the stain of their race’s ignorance – the “evil” that was inherent in the Indian. Instead, he exhorted students to embrace the (en)lightening that education could provide them,

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<sup>325</sup> David A. Gabbard, “Education is Enforcement! The Centrality of Compulsory Schooling in Market Societies,” in *Education as Enforcement: the Militarization and Corporatization of Schools*, eds. Kenneth J. Saltman and David A. Gabbard (New York, NY: Routledge Falmer, 2003): 65.

<sup>326</sup> Katherine Newman, quoted in Kate Willink, *Bringing Desegregation Home: Memories of the Struggle Toward Integration in Rural North Carolina* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 184.

<sup>327</sup> “The Quarter Centennial: A Resumé of the Week,” *Indian Leader*, July 2, 1909, v. 13, nos. 27 & 28, 7; emphasis added.



and to follow in the footsteps of the “advanced” Anglo-Saxons. The Indian students should look to the white race who Meserve implicitly defined as reaching the heights of civilization, a race worth looking to for inspiration in the students’ own endeavors.

### *Indian Boarding School System History*

Well before the United States was founded as a nation, attempts were underway to inculcate the native peoples of the Americas into the ways of Europeans, often because Indigenous knowledge and belief systems were considered primitive, inadequate, and ungodly.<sup>328</sup> The precursor of the U.S. Indian Boarding School system was founded during the colonial era by the Spanish, French, and English, the focus of which was Christianization, not necessarily academics. After the U.S. Revolutionary War, the focus of Indian education remained on Christianization but also incorporated vocational education, teaching them enough to become laborers, but not intellectuals, within the nation. The Indian Civilization Act of 1819 provided financial support of Indian Education and declared that “persons of good moral character” were to be employed by the government to teach The Indians agriculture and provide them a basic education. Most of the people who took up this call were Christian missionaries instead of federal employees. After the U.S. Civil War, more reforms for Indian Education were enacted, and the government became more directly involved in Indian Education, although policies were still based on EuroAmerican perspectives of what needed to be taught/learned.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>328</sup> Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, eds., *A Companion to American Indian History* (Malden, MA, & Oxford, UK, 2002), and Sanchez, “How American Public Schools Using Down-Linked News Media” address Indigenous systems of knowledge, education, and spirituality in more depth than I can here.

<sup>329</sup> Trotzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, eds. *Boarding School Blues*. It should also be noted that Indigenous peoples had been educating their children well before EuroAmericans arrived and during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, some Indigenous peoples (such as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogees, and Seminoles) did develop their own formal public education schools for their children, a situation that deserves more attention than I can provide here. Their ways were generally deemed insufficient and inappropriate by colonizers, who soon developed schools “on behalf of” the Indigenous they encountered as another facet of colonization attempts. See, for instance, Henrietta Mann, “Prologue: Elder Reflections,” in *The Renaissance of American Indian Higher Education: Capturing the Dream*, eds. Maenette K. P. Benham and Wayne J. Stein (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence, Erlbaum Associates, 2003); and Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*.

The development of the U.S. off-reservation Indian Boarding School system was primarily thanks to Colonel Pratt, who after the Civil War worked with Indigenous prisoners of war at Fort Marion, in St. Augustine Florida.<sup>330</sup> His prisoners, who had been transported from Oklahoma after the Red River war in 1875, were dressed in uniform and taught military discipline, English, and industry, all elements that he believed would be useful for the Indigenous population as a whole, thereby possibly ridding the nation of "The Indian Problem." Pratt believed in *tabula rasa*, and that the Indigenous individuals he worked with were savages only because they had been "Left in the surroundings of savagery."<sup>331</sup> He believed that it was possible to "Kill the Indian in him and save the man," if The Indian could be segregated from the detrimental influences of his family and culture and exposed instead to white civilization.<sup>332</sup> In the early 20th century, the common belief about educating Indigenous peoples became grounded in "a racial and racist position that Indians were too inferior to benefit greatly from formal education," resulting in a largely industrial and agricultural pedagogical focus instead of literary endeavors.<sup>333</sup> Demonstrating the desire to train Indigenous children in the ways of the EuroAmerican nation, a 1902 report from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated, "The ultimate result of all Indian educational processes should be the preparation of the younger elements of the tribes for the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship."<sup>334</sup> This was despite the fact that legal citizenship for all Indigenous peoples in the U.S. was not granted until the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, although some people did gain U.S. citizenship before that

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<sup>330</sup> For a review of the contemporary Indian education system and policies, see: Lomawaima and McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy," and Henrietta Mann, "Prologue: Elder Reflections".

<sup>331</sup> Richard H. Pratt, quoted in Trotzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction: Origin and Development," 13.

<sup>332</sup> Richard H. Pratt, quoted in Trotzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction: Origin and Development," 1, 13-14.

<sup>333</sup> Trotzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, "Introduction: Origin and Development," 13; see also A. Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*.

<sup>334</sup> "Extracts from Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 1.

time.<sup>335</sup> In 1879, the Carlisle school in Pennsylvania, operated by the U.S. Federal Government, was the first to open on Pratt's model, and in 1882 three more schools were commissioned by the federal government, one of them to be located in Lawrence, Kansas.<sup>336</sup>

### Forced Attendance

As we now recognize, the goal of eliminating the culture and life-ways of Indigenous peoples of the nation was neither moral nor easy, but that didn't prevent the attempt from being made. A vital strategy in these efforts was the development of off-reservation boarding schools in addition to day schools and on-reservation boarding schools, in order to separate students from the perceived detrimental effects of remaining in their home communities. In the discourse during this time, Indigenous students were often deemed incapable of achieving equity of knowledge and character with their EuroAmerican counterparts in a single generation, an inability often attributed to the home situation of the students, both their home culture and their specific home environment. As discussed above, some of the blame is attributed to stunted racial progress due to being "cut off" from literary and scholarly endeavors for the generations leading up to the arrival of the white man. However, in many cases the Indian home specifically is represented as detrimental to the progress of students for its inability to support the lessons the children are meant to be learning.

Because students' potential to become fully developed/civilized was supposedly hindered when they stayed with their people, Indian education supporters advocated for children to be removed from their reservations in order to gain the most benefit from the education they were being provided.<sup>337</sup> Henry Roe Cloud, who later became the first Native American Superintendent

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<sup>335</sup> For more on the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, see: Bosmajian, "Defining the 'American Indian'"; Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 115-121; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 4; Patrick Wolfe, "After the Frontier."

<sup>336</sup> A. Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, 5.

<sup>337</sup> Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties," 849.

of Haskell, observed in 1915 that "Education in the Indian home is almost universally lacking. The scant amount of education which white children receive in their homes... goes to make up for deficiencies in the public schools. The Indian youth goes back from school into homes that have dominant interests altogether different from those he has been taught at school."<sup>338</sup> This clash of interests between home and school that hindered the education students were supposed to be receiving had been observed since at least the late 1800s, and had led to recommendations that students be removed from their home environments as much as possible. As seen early in this chapter, Haskell's first Superintendent, Haworth, was pleased to receive a group of young students during the school's first year, in order to "test the feasibility of training younger pupils ... away from all camp associations."<sup>339</sup>

This forced removal required significant sacrifice on the part of students and their families. As students arrived at Haskell from their homes on the reservation, the expectation by school and government administrators was that they learn a new way of life better adapted to the character and needs of the U.S. nation. Much of this training into a new way of life was enacted through maintaining a strict schedule and routine, the echoes of the military life Pratt led before shifting his focus to Indian education. Students were separated from influences presumed detrimental to the civilizing efforts, such as family, and regimented in their daily lives to teach them, literally, their place in society. Discipline requires the enclosure of bodies into a "place of disciplinary monotony," where students were confined from outside influences.<sup>340</sup> The boarding school model was the ideal venue for this, and according to many accounts, students were

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<sup>338</sup> Henry Roe Cloud, "The Home Problem of the Indian," *Indian Leader*, February 1915, 16.

<sup>339</sup> James M. Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 1885," reprinted as "Report of Haskell Institute Twenty-five Years Ago" *Indian Leader*, June 11, 1909, v. 13, nos. 25 & 26, 1; (emphasis added).

<sup>340</sup> Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141.

prevented from going home or having family visit, even in cases of illness or death.<sup>341</sup> Within the disciplinary space of the school, students wore uniforms, marched in formation, and followed strictly regimented daily time tables. Theresa Milk (Oglala Lakota) emphasizes the hardships endured by students separated from family, home, and culture:

Native students at Haskell in the late 1800s were forced to abandon all that they knew and replace it with 'civilized' behaviors and knowledge. In other words, the students had to sacrifice. Some sacrificed more than others, but they all had to sacrifice some part of themselves. For some it was their name, their identity. For many the sacrifice was in being separated from their families for years. And for a few it was their health, a limb or their life.<sup>342</sup>

This method was endorsed by Superintendent Reel in a 1901 statement reprinted in the *Leader* explaining a recent shift in government policy to now require compulsory education for Indian students.<sup>343</sup> Previously the government had only been concerned that Indian students receive some kind of education, but with the new policy, students were to be removed from day and reservation schools when possible to advance their rate of attainment for civilization.<sup>344</sup> In the statement issued by Reel, she stated, "...you are advised that it is believed *essential to the ultimate civilization of the Indian that he should be gotten away from the reservations as much as possible*. The work of the reservation day and boarding schools is not by means minimized, but *the transfer of pupils to non-reservation schools brings them into broader contact with civilization and tends more to enlarge their aspirations*."<sup>345</sup> Reel further explained that ideally, students would attend reservation schools for several years, learning English and completing the

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<sup>341</sup> See Theresa Milk, *Haskell Institute: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival* (Lawrence, KS: Mammoth Publications, 2007), 17, and Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*.

<sup>342</sup> Milk, *Haskell Institute*, 17.

<sup>343</sup> This change in policy was apparently suggested and endorsed by H. B. Peairs, the Superintendent of Haskell who worked both at the school in multiple capacities and for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<sup>344</sup> According to Hailman in the *Leader* article "Present Organization of Indian Schools," when Reel's statement was issued, the Indian School System was organized into day schools and boarding schools located on the reservations, off-reservation boarding schools, and industrial and normal training schools. The purpose of on-reservation schools was largely to bring "the message and desire of better ways of living" as well as to learn English. Little time was spent on "conventional school work," with the focus instead on learning obedience, cleanliness, and industry or agriculture (p. 1).

<sup>345</sup> "Compulsory Education," *Indian Leader*, November 8, 1901, v. 5, no. 31, 1; Reel was appointed to the position of Superintendent of Indian Schools in 1898 by President William McKinley.

curriculum there, at which point they would be assessed as to "whether additional educational advancement in a non-reservation school will be to his or her interest. If not further continuance in the reservation school is undesirable... It is not the purpose of this office to maintain reservation schools for the purpose of retaining pupils on the reservations."<sup>346</sup> In other words, if the students did not show the aptitude after initial training to be removed from the reservations to learn how to become more civilized, further effort and money should not be spent on them, leaving them to their own devices, separated from EuroAmerican society. However, if students showed enough aptitude to continue learning the ways of civilization, they should be removed from the negative influence of their home and reservations in order to help them on their way into the world of civilized humanity.

In addition to separating children from their families to encourage literary endeavors, the reservations were also represented as hotbeds of disease and evil because they were stuck in the primitive ways of the past. In June 1909, N.B. Hurr, the Superintendent of Pine Point School in Minnesota and a Haskell alumnus, warned students of the dangers (largely of tuberculosis) and evils they faced on the reservations that were their homes. He said,

...you are living in an atmosphere of ideality with law-abiding and Christian people. When you return to the reservation, you will find all this changed. It will be comparative stagnation. You will have to make a place for yourselves among a class of people where might makes right and wrong-doing is more popular than right-doing. Where are you going to stand? What are you going to do? Will you profit by your training here, and live a life of usefulness, or will you yield to temptation, waste your accomplishments and add yourself to those who are on the road to prison and hell?<sup>347</sup>

Hurr's comments demonstrate the widespread belief—even by Indigenous individuals—that the reservations remained primitive in opposition to the schools and EuroAmerican communities that featured "an atmosphere of ideality with law-abiding and Christian people." Instead, the homes

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<sup>346</sup> "Compulsory Education," *Indian Leader*, November 8, 1901, v. 5, no. 31, 1, (emphasis added).

<sup>347</sup> "To Haskell Students," *Indian Leader*, July 16, 1909, v. 13, nos. 27 & 28, 1.

the students had come from were full of temptations, wastrels, and "those who are on the road to prison and hell." The purpose of the Indian schools was to help Indigenous students escape the fate of their people, and through education, to realize the dream offered them in 1909 by Mayor Bishop of Lawrence, Kansas: "The day is coming when you will receive your reward, when you will come into your inheritance, when you will take your places in the great amalgamated American people."<sup>348</sup>

The off-reservation boarding schools that were meant to provide the opportunity of membership, of amalgamation, in the nation tended instead to reinforce the separation of Indigenous students from the EuroAmerican communities they were meant to join. They were expected to assimilate, but by being kept largely separated from white communities, first on reservations and then in Indian schools, students often had a difficult time fitting in after leaving school.<sup>349</sup> In 1932, Ruth M. Bronson, a self-identified "Indian," presented a paper about this growing concern at the National Conference of Social Work in Minneapolis, which was then reprinted in Haskell's *Indian Leader*. In it, she observed:

The third type of Indian is increasing with every graduating class from Government and mission schools... This type of Indian does not stay on the reservation for long. He gets out, as I did, where there is promise of something better than the starvation which faces him at home. ... He migrates to the city, for that is where the jobs are to be found. Sometimes he finds a good job. More often, because of lack of training and his background, he is forced to enter this new life in the city on the lowest social scale. *He, too, is ignorant of the resources of the city into which he goes. He has been kept apart from whites on the reservation—and he feels the lack of self-confidence and security among white people.* ... His case is different from the foreigner who goes into the city, for the foreign boy usually has some friend or relative who opens the way to all these things for him. But the Indian boy goes in alone and slips silently into whatever niche is most obvious and easy to find. He wears out his sickness in silence... and ekes out the barest existence in the city until he becomes overwhelmed by the increasing burdens and responsibilities and so returns to the reservation to be even more unhappy and discouraged.<sup>350</sup>

<sup>348</sup> "The Quarter Centennial: A Resume of the Week," *Indian Leader*, July 2, 1909, v. 13, nos. 27 & 28, 1-2.

<sup>349</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 2-3.

<sup>350</sup> Ruth Bronson, "The Indians' Attitude Toward Co-Operation," *Indian Leader*, December 16, 1932, v. 36, no. 16, 1.

Bronson's account of the post-graduation experience for Indian students reflects the alleged difficulties they faced both on and off the reservation, and the separation they have experienced, despite 50 years of forced assimilationist policies before her writing. Despite pedagogy aimed at making students part of the EuroAmerican national community, racist ideologies and practices of separation that were disguised as attempts at assimilation instead maintained Native peoples as Others.

### Indian School Pedagogy

The perceived Otherness of students in the Indian education system was apparent through the curricula they were expected to pursue, most of which was explicitly designed to adapt them to partake in the U.S. nation.<sup>351</sup> In 1902, Haskell student Carrie Morrison wrote supportively about what she saw as the goal of Indian education, stating, "The policy of government schools is to fit the individual for a life of usefulness ... to make of the Indian the true American citizen."<sup>352</sup> Her perception reflects the 19th century educational trend of shifting the "responsibility for citizenship training" from homes to schools.<sup>353</sup> Designed to remove students from their families and homes, the Indian education system was ideally positioned to take on this role, requiring instruction that it was felt would help students become civilized enough to participate in the national community. Educational curriculums were (and often still are) based on "master scripts" that legitimized white middle-class standards as normative, omitting other cultures and perspectives as less than desirable for the both the individual and society.<sup>354</sup> In the

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<sup>351</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, and *Indian Education: A National Tragedy* provide more detail about the quality of and shifts in the Indian Education curricula in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>352</sup> Carrie Morrison, "A Necessary Lesson," 1.

<sup>353</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 6.

<sup>354</sup> Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Just What is Critical Race Theory, and What's It Doing In a Nice Field Like Education?" in *Race Is... Race Isn't: Critical Race Theory and Qualitative Studies in Education*, eds. Laurence Parker, Donna Deyhle, and Sofia Villenas (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 21-23.



case of Indian schools, a "Proper education meant suppression of . . . Indian culture and adherence to white, middle-class, social and gender norms."<sup>355</sup>

Every subject was taught with the goals in mind of engendering civilized, patriotic citizenship, and "preparing future citizen-farmers and workers to function in the dominant culture."<sup>356</sup> Specifically, this meant that students were required to learn English and to learn how to be industrious. These general topics were seen as the primary teaching goals of the time, an aim seemingly supported by the public. In 1903, the *Leader* reprinted an article from the Boston, Massachusetts' *Journal of Education* which called Reel's *Course of Study* "a masterpiece in its line. [Reel] has accomplished something far beyond heretofore attempted. She has the highest ideals for Indian education, and her faith is supreme that these ideals can be attained through securing the most practical immediate results. The general introduction of the Course of Study will improve the education of the Indian beyond expression."<sup>357</sup> Reel's plan focused more on manual than literary labor, undergirded with the need for students to learn English. Hailman's description of the organization of Indian schools provides insight into the priorities within the classroom: "The aim of the school, in so far as the instruction is concerned, is to give to the pupils ability to read and write English within the limits of ordinary primary school work, practical control of arithmetic for the needs of ordinary daily life, clear rudimentary notions of geography and United States history, drawing and singing, a knowledge of the laws of hygienic living, garden work, the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, and familiarity with the simpler requirements of agricultural and domestic industries suited to the locality."<sup>358</sup> As noted here, teaching Indigenous students English was seen as a primary goal of the education provided them,

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<sup>355</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 36; For those interested, Warren offers an insightful comparison of Black and Indian schooling in Kansas during the Progressive Era and the differing political situations and desires of each system, as well as how they relate to current issues of race in the U.S.

<sup>356</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 100.

<sup>357</sup> Dr. A. E. Winston, no title, *Indian Leader*, February 27, 1903, v. 6, no. 49, 3.

<sup>358</sup> Hailman, "Present Organization of Indian Schools," 1.

a policy Reel clarified in her 1901 *Course of Study*: "The aim of the course is to give the Indian child a knowledge of the English language, and to equip him with the ability to become self-supporting as speedily as possible."<sup>359</sup> Especially in the early years, the primary instruction within the classroom was about learning English, paired with the banning of students' tribal languages.<sup>360</sup>

A second primary goal of the education provided Indigenous students was the pursuit of industrial training. Reel explained the logic of the time as to why this was a priority, writing: "All races need manual training, because a living is made by the masses by some form of manual exertion... Manual training concentrates the forces of the brain, hand, and eye to accomplish a set task, *and the Indian stands in great need to such training as a means of race development, since as a race he has but little experience in handling affairs.*"<sup>361</sup> Her description points out the racial beliefs that pervaded the education system developed on behalf of "improving" The Indian, or saving him from himself. In 1915, Haskell student Bessie Hazen (Chippewa) echoed Reel's message about the importance of work for the Indian: "The best training, I think, for the Indian in this school is where they are taught what work is, and how to do it in the best possible way. When the Indian was the only one living in this country he had work to do and he did it in his own way. But time has passed and all of his own ways of doing work are ways that can not be used now. Better ones have to take their places. So the Indian must go to school and learn."<sup>362</sup> One of the ways Haskell students were taught industry was through the "outing system," originally suggested by Pratt's plan and implemented at Haskell in 1892, lasting until at least

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<sup>359</sup> *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, 5.

<sup>360</sup> This policy was softened after the publishing of the 1928 report by the Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, also known as the Merriam report, when some schools began allowing bilingual education. Later, in 1941, BIA Commissioner John Collier supported students' rights to their own languages. For more information, see Lomawaima and McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy;" Caskey Russell, "Language, Violence, and Indian Mis-Education," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 26, no. 4 (2002): 97-112 and Bernard Spolsky, "American Indian Bilingual Education," *International Journal of the Society of Language* (1977): 57-72.

<sup>361</sup> *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, 264.

<sup>362</sup> Bessie Hazen, "Important Training for the Indian" *Indian Leader*, November 1915, v. 19, no. 12, 7.

1934. In this system, "Indian girls and boys were taken into the homes of white people where not only did they learn the white man's way of living, but was able to partly pay their way through school."<sup>363</sup> In most respects, this system mirrored indentured servitude for students, placing them in white homes for weeks or months of the year so that they may learn industry and morals from homes deemed more appropriate than their own. Their small pay was often returned to the school to defray costs and supplement government funding, resulting in students essentially paying to be removed from their homes for an education that was not in all cases wanted.

Underlying the policies of teaching English and industry was a desire to make Indigenous students self-supporting, relieving the government of their "burden." As noted above by Reel, for many EuroAmericans, teaching Indigenous students to become self-sufficient was a necessary lesson on the way to achieving American identity. For many, doing so would resolve the Indian Question the nation had thus far struggled with, as demonstrated by this excerpt from the 1902 annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs stating the need to "Abolish rations and annuities, throw the educated Indian on his own resources, and the settlement of the Indian question is the natural sequence."<sup>364</sup> Reel wanted students taught "the general character of the Government of the United States and how it is conducted. Explain its relations with the Indians. Show its liberality in providing a free education and training for the Indian children, and that after they leave school it expects them to make use of their education and support themselves. *Teach them that they have not a natural right to a living from the Government.*"<sup>365</sup> Her suggested curriculum extolling the virtues of the government in its "relations with the Indians" appears to have been effective for some at the time, as demonstrated by Haskell student Carrie Morrison's 1902 essay, "A Necessary Lesson." In it, she stated,

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<sup>363</sup> P.E., "Haskell Institute Prepares to Observe the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its Founding, *Kansas City Star*, October 16, 1934.

<sup>364</sup> "Extracts from Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 4.

<sup>365</sup> *Course of Study for the Indian Schools*, 146; emphasis added.

It seems almost impossible to make the Indian realize that much money is appropriated yearly by Congress for his special benefit. Make him see this clearly; *have him understand that the government, the United States of America, is caring for him, is giving him money, better than money,—opportunity—the greatest, grandest opportunity that the whole world can offer—the opportunity for which the white man fought and died—the opportunity which would have been eternally impossible for the Red Man had not the white man fought for it and won it—the opportunities for which thousands of foreigners are pushing into our ports each year, the opportunity of citizenship in the grandest man-made government in the world.*<sup>366</sup>

A year later in a 1903 *Leader* article, Randall Mackey also praised the generosity of the U.S. government’s efforts: “The bounteous giver of all [the Haskell students] enjoy is Uncle Sam, who has so scrupulously endeavored in the last two decades to civilize the Indian and fit him to provide for himself and his family under the new government regime.”<sup>367</sup> Pushing students toward self-sufficiency was not only meant as an expression of gratitude for the government. In addition, the ability to self-support is a foundational trait of the American identity, and only those who work hard on their own behalf can gain access to “the Dream” of American success. The key to the dream lay in education. The EuroAmerican belief that all people should align with their social values was reflected in the system of mandatory education imposed on Native peoples and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. To this end, in 1884 the federal government opened the United States Industrial Indian Training School in Lawrence, Kansas.

### *The Founding of Haskell*

The U.S. Industrial Indian Training School, later known as Haskell Indian Boarding School, was one the places students were removed to in efforts to kill their Indian and find their inner Man. Educationally, the policies and practices in place at Haskell reflected broader national trends, and are generally representative of the Indian education system during the assimilation

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<sup>366</sup> Morrison, “A Necessary Lesson,” 1; emphasis added.

<sup>367</sup> Randolph H. Mackey, “Haskell Institute,” *Indian Leader*, March 13, 1903, v. 6, no. 51, 1.

period of the 1880s to 1930s.<sup>368</sup> As the following chapters focus on discourse produced by and about Haskell and the local and national communities it is embedded in, to better situate Haskell within the broader scope of the Indian education system, I here provide some brief background about the school.

On September 17, 1884, the U.S. Industrial Indian Training School opened under the aegis of the general Superintendent of Indian Schools of the United States, Major James M. Haworth.<sup>369</sup> Upon opening, enrolled were 17 boys and 5 girls from the Ponca, Chilocco, and Ottawa tribes. Enrollments from the Cheyenne, Pawnee, and Arapaho tribal nations continued throughout the year as Indian agents around the country sent more students, resulting in 280 students at the end of the first year.<sup>370</sup> From the Cheyenne Agency arrived students of all ages, but thirty of the students, "twenty-four girls and six small boys" were of particular interest, as they had been "transferred from the Territory by Superintendent Haworth *to test the feasibility of training younger pupils, especially girls, away from all camp associations,*" demonstrating the initial experimental nature of the Indian Boarding School system.<sup>371</sup>

Lawrence was selected as the location for the new school thanks to the efforts of Dudley C. Haskell, a Lawrence resident, Congressman from the Second District of the State of Kansas and Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Indian Affairs.<sup>372</sup> Due to his "untiring efforts in the interest of promoting the school program for the Indians," Haskell was granted the honor of selecting the location of one of three planned Indian Boarding Schools. (The school was renamed in 1890 in honor of Haskell, who died in 1883 before it opened.)<sup>373</sup> He selected Lawrence based on its convenient geographical location to several states, but the

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<sup>368</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 24-25.

<sup>369</sup> Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 1.

<sup>370</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 20-21.

<sup>371</sup> Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs" 1; emphasis added.

<sup>372</sup> For more on the petitioning for the school to be located in Lawrence, see Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 21.

<sup>373</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 32; also see Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs."

proximity of the state university, also in Lawrence, "may well have had its influence," as did the educated and liberal population (mostly from the East coast) of Lawrence who were seen as "possessing high ideals and principles for the community life and believers in the spread of such culture and betterment of life for any and all people."<sup>374</sup> The support of the Lawrence community for the Indian school was demonstrated by the donation of 280 acres of land to the federal government for the industrial school.<sup>375</sup>

The first superintendent of the U.S. Industrial Indian Training School was Dr. James Marvin, a minister and former of chancellor of the nearby University of Kansas.<sup>376</sup> The school opened with a principal and "four lady assistants," presumably the primary teachers, for the school also employed assistant teachers, disciplinarians, bakers, assistant bakers, laundresses, cooks, carpenters, and other positions that are generally overlooked in descriptions of the school's opening. Two more "lady assistants" were added later in the school year to help with the 280 students. According to Dr. Martin's report of the opening of the school, "These teachers have all resided in the buildings and have assisted in the supervision of pupils in the dining-halls, in the care of the sick, and in general oversight of the dormitories. The industries taught are carpentry, shoemaking, farming, sewing and housework."<sup>377</sup> With the help of a local farmer and six "Indian boy assistants" who had been sent the previous spring to work throughout the summer, at its opening the school housed dairy cows, mules, horses, swine and had prepared farmland, pasture and an orchard.<sup>378</sup> The lands and stock provided training grounds for students, as well as a level of self-sufficiency for the school. This desire for self-sufficiency by the school supported one of the primary points of emphasis in the United States Industrial Indian Training

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<sup>374</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 2.

<sup>375</sup> Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs" 1.

<sup>376</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*.

<sup>377</sup> Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 1885," 1.

<sup>378</sup> Marvin, "Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs of 1885," 1.

School: "How to do any kind of work in hand with dispatch and faithful thoroughness," the other emphasis being the teaching of the English language.<sup>379</sup> In order to help accomplish these, the first Superintendent, Dr. Marvin, focused on "imparting Christian morality as the key to knowledge and understanding of the white world."<sup>380</sup>

Over time, the enrollment of Haskell Institute increased, and by March 1897 it was the second largest Indian School in the nation, with over 500 students.<sup>381</sup> A prominent influence and proponent of assimilation at Haskell and on the national scene was Superintendent Harvey B. Peairs, who served the school and the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 42 years.<sup>382</sup> The focus on vocational and industrial training remained predominant in the school curriculum throughout most of the Allotment and Citizenship Era, until 1933 when Dr. Henry Roe Cloud (Chippewa) became the first Native American Superintendent of the school and shifted the curriculum to emphasize native culture.<sup>383</sup> In the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Haskell was well-known for its athletics programs, and the building and commemoration of the stadium and memorial arch, funded entirely by donations from tribal nations and individuals, made national news as an example of pan-Indian pride and (Native) American patriotism.<sup>384</sup>

Enrollment numbers fluctuated, but many years saw nearly 1000 students from over 100 tribes at the school. In 1912, Haskell discontinued enrolling any students below third grade, with the goal of gradually raising the minimum age of students so that all students would engage in the industrial aspects of school, "following the training offered in some definite trade, or

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<sup>379</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 4.

<sup>380</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 19.

<sup>381</sup> "Haskell Institute," *Indian Leader* March 6, 1897, v. 1, no. 1, 2.

<sup>382</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 29-32.

<sup>383</sup> Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 166-173; Roe Cloud and other Indian advocates such as Ella C. DeLoria (Dakota) believed that American citizenship for Indigenous people drew on both cultures.

<sup>384</sup> For more on Haskell athletes and discourse about the stadium's opening Pow-Wow, see Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*.

institutional course of study and practice."<sup>385</sup> In 1921, Haskell became a fully accredited high school, and in 1928 all grades below junior high were eliminated.<sup>386</sup> In 1970, Haskell became a two-year college and was renamed Haskell Indian Junior College. The scope of the school changed again in 1993 when it became Haskell Indian Nations University. At the time of this writing in 2013, Haskell (HINU) is one of two remaining colleges administered by the Bureau of Indian Education (an office within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, formerly known as the Office of Indian Education Programs).<sup>387</sup> Haskell continues to serve approximately 1000 students each semester, all of whom are members of tribal nations or Alaskan natives from across the U.S. Over the years, the curriculum has shifted, reflecting changing national policies and racial beliefs.

### Conclusion

Understanding the widespread public opinions about race, progress, and American identity in which the Indian education system developed provides insight into historical practices and their echoes today. The belief that Indigenous peoples were racially inferior but could potentially move up the hierarchy of civilization with the aid of education also requires taking into account that civilization was equated with a particular definition of industrious American identity, and an understanding that although they could advance, Indigenous students could never achieve complete amalgamation. Instead, they were expected to attempt assimilation while simultaneously remaining racially and geographically separated from the EuroAmerican society they were supposed to adopt.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Ames, "Highlights of Haskell Institute," 32.

<sup>386</sup> Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*.

<sup>387</sup> The other school is the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI). For more information on the difference between the federal schools (HINU and SIPI), and the Tribal Colleges and Universities system (TCU), see the website of the American Indian College Fund ([www.collegefund.org/content/tcu\\_timeline](http://www.collegefund.org/content/tcu_timeline)) or Mann, "Prologue: Elder Reflections."

<sup>388</sup> For an in-depth discussion about blood-quantum and racial mixing, see Basson, *White Enough to be American?*



In the chapters that follow, I use this contextual backdrop to make sense of discourses produced by and about Haskell. In chapter four, *Solving the Indian Problem*, I directly continue the historical discussion started above, focusing on discourse from the Assimilation era, spanning approximately the first 50 years of Haskell's existence from 1884-1936. In chapter five, *Disrupting Race, Claiming Colonization*, this history of the Indian education system serves as a backdrop to the contemporary struggle over community identities as the town of Lawrence and state of Kansas argues to build a trafficway through former Haskell land. The historic assumptions of Indigenous inferiority and expectations of assimilation again come into play in chapter six, *The Trail of Broken Promises*, as Haskell Indian Nations University students trek from Kansas to Washington, D.C., to raise awareness about saving Native American sacred places and request respect as equals within the U.S.

**CHAPTER 4**  
**SOLVING “THE INDIAN PROBLEM” THROUGH (RHETORICAL) COLONIALISM:  
 MNEMONIC GENRES AND ASSIMILATION DISCOURSES**

*“I am trying hard to get the education for which I have longed ever since I have gotten old enough to see how ignorant I am. I am an Indian and Indians, as some people see them, are ignorant, dirty, slouchy savages, who will never amount to anything, even if they are given a chance. Now, I want to show such people what an Indian can amount to. ... I intend to graduate from this Institution if possible and after doing so, I want to enter some medical college and prepare myself for a career as a physician.”*

*- Charles Edick, 1901, a junior at Haskell Institute<sup>389</sup>*

Appearing in the Haskell school newspaper, the *Indian Leader*, in the midst of the Assimilation era, student Charles Edick’s statement encapsulated the common EuroAmerican perception of The Indian at the time. He knew himself to be seen as one of many “ignorant, dirty, slouchy savages, who will never amount to anything, even if they are given a chance.” But that Edick even had an opportunity to become a physician through his education at Haskell also demonstrates that although “some people” see Indigenous peoples as hopeless savages, others did believe they could be educated, civilized, and assimilated into EuroAmerican society. Edick’s opportunities through Haskell Institute are representative of a common Assimilation Era attempt by EuroAmericans to “solve the Indian Problem” in as efficient manner as possible.<sup>390</sup> Previously, attempts to resolve “the problem” had taken the form of extermination efforts, but with the realization that war was more costly than peace, eradication efforts shifted to assimilation education, taking as their masthead Colonel Richard Pratt’s motto, “Kill the Indian to Save the Man.”<sup>391</sup> Edick’s professed desire for education and to prove doubters wrong reveals that assimilation hopes and efforts crossed racial lines and the *Indian Leader* served as an outlet for their voices, both Native and white.

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<sup>389</sup> Charles Edick, “What I Intend to Do After Leaving Haskell,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS) May 3, 1901, 1.

<sup>390</sup> Briefly, the “Indian Problem” was the dispute over what should be done with the remaining Indigenous population of the U.S. in order that they not hinder the development of the nation founded on land they once lived throughout.

<sup>391</sup> Joel Spring, *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality: A Brief History of the Education of Dominated Cultures in the United States*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Publishers, 2001); Clifford E. Trotzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, “Introduction: Origin and Development of the American Indian Boarding School System,” in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, eds. Clifford E Trotzer, Jean A. Keller, Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 1, 13-14.

The *Indian Leader* newspaper was developed to speak to a particular audience, into a public that had existed since the EuroAmerican population started addressing what they termed “The Indian Problem.” As noted in the previous context chapter, the relationship between these groups was (and remains) complicated, inflected with racialized power struggles over land, resources, rights, religion, and civilization. When first published in 1897 and at least throughout the Assimilation policy era addressed here, this public was composed of EuroAmericans concerned about the amalgamation of the Indians into the U.S. and also came to include those Native peoples subject to their assimilation efforts. The *Indian Leader* was one text in a larger discourse that included, among other things, conferences about the “Indian Problem” (such as the annual Mohonk conference), texts and speeches produced by organizations such as the Society of American Indians, statements and reports issued by the U.S. government (the President, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Supreme Court among them), tribal government discourses and activities, scientific reports [such as those by Arthur C. Parker, (Seneca)], local and national news stories pertaining to Indigenous peoples, and newspapers published by other Indian Schools. The widespread nature of this public resulted in its self-presentation as *the* public, its concerns supposedly of import to all who cared about the nation.

After briefly reviewing the basic tenets of publics, I explain the concept of rhetorical colonialism introduced by Mary Stuckey and John Murphy. Within this section, I explain why collective remembering, particularly mnemonic genres, are significant within a public’s discourse, and I detail the role they play within colonial rhetoric of the U.S.’s Assimilation Era. I then turn to analysis of the *Indian Leader*, a regular publication of Haskell Indian Boarding School, to demonstrate how a dominant public of the U.S. at the time presented itself as *the* public of the nation and highlight the uniting theme of the public, to “solve the Indian Problem.” After laying this foundation, my primary concern in this chapter is to demonstrate the ways this

public employed collective remembering as a discourse, specifically calling on the mnemonic genres of “Backward Indian” compared to “Modern American” to help make their case for the necessity of assimilation, and to uncover the ways these discourses function as rhetorical colonialism.

### *What Is A Public?*

Publics are social spaces “created by the reflexive circulation of discourse” among people.<sup>392</sup> Included within this discursive social space are the people attending to the issues and opinions circulating, even if they do not interject their own. More importantly, a public is constituted by those people who see themselves being addressed by particular strains of discourse linking them to other people with similar concerns, more so than it is a collection of physical bodies.<sup>393</sup> Publics are always “partial” because there “could be an infinite number of publics within a social totality.”<sup>394</sup> A public is not the sum of bodies within a place or nation, for some within those spaces may not see themselves as being addressed by the discourse of this public. This doesn’t prevent members of dominant publics from often seeing themselves as *THE* public, particularly in relation to national publics, where the dominant public assumes it comprises the “social totality” of a nation. Despite this perspective, a public is not all inclusive, nor is it the State itself, although they do influence one another.<sup>395</sup> For instance, public discourse may affect administrative decisions, just as government actions can influence a public’s

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<sup>392</sup> Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4, (2002): 420.

<sup>393</sup> Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer, “Introduction: Reconfigurations of the Public Sphere” in *Counterpublics and the State*, eds. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 1-32; Elizabeth Butler Breese, “Mapping the Variety of Public Spheres,” *Communication Theory* 21 (2011): 137; Michael Warner, ed., *Publics and Counterpublics: The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999): 49-90.

<sup>394</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 414.

<sup>395</sup> Kevin Michael DeLuca and Jennifer Peeples, “From Public Sphere to Public Screen: Democracy, Activism, and the ‘Violence’ of Seattle,” *Critical Studies of Media Communication* 19, no. 2 (2002): 125-151; Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” *Social Text* no. 25/26 (1990): 75; Catherine Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres,” *Communication Theory* 12, no. 4 (2002): 446-468.

members’ discourse, forming a reflexive relationship between state policies and a public’s stated opinions.

With such a relationship, it should come as no surprise that publics are, as Michael Warner states, “world making” in the ways they affect our individual and social world at multiple levels.<sup>396</sup> Our identities are tied up with the publics where we enact membership. Nancy Fraser argued that “public spheres are not only arenas for the formation of discursive opinion; in addition, they are arenas for the formation and enactment of social identities.”<sup>397</sup> It is within publics that we learn who we are, how to act accordingly, and what that entails for ourselves and others. This is particularly the case when *A* public deems itself *THE* public, relegating those outside of the dominant public to the margins. For instance, when members of a dominant public construct a specific discursive identity as members of *the* national body (such as an assumed white Protestant body embracing capitalistic values), Others’ bodies may be stranded outside that public, deemed unintelligible and excluded as potential members of an imagined national public.<sup>398</sup> In the case of Indigenous peoples within the U.S. during the Assimilation Era (1887 - 1934), taking part in a public that was explicitly concerned with the Indian Problem seemed to serve as an avenue toward intelligibility and even “success” within the nation (as defined by the dominant public). As clarified in the next section, this dominant public relied heavily on mnemonic devices such as genres to stereotype Native peoples as stuck in the past and needing help to escape their primitiveness and to justify EuroAmerican assimilation policies as good for the Indian and the nation.

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<sup>396</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 422.

<sup>397</sup> Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere,” 68. See also Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere.”

<sup>398</sup> See Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 218-222 for further discussion about being rendered (un)intelligible.

## Rhetorical Colonization

Although Warner’s explanation of publics is not explicit about the role of memory in publics, his assertion that the (re)circulation of texts is integral to publics indicates the usefulness of considering mnemonic practices within a public’s discourses. Very few examples of scholarship linking the role of collective remembering to publics exist thus far, but the two concepts inform one another, extending our understanding of both. The existence of a public requires the circulation of texts, and those texts need to “circulate through time,” whether in original form or as references and citations in order to gain a following.<sup>399</sup> A public, its texts, and their circulation form “an interactive unity,” functioning together to create a “temporal and spatial landscape of cross-referencing.”<sup>400</sup> This landscape is shaped by the texts flowing over it, molding its public and the memories they call upon to make their case, highlighting that cultural identities are dependent on expressions of a shared past.<sup>401</sup>

As they influence our interactions and make our worlds, publics shape our understandings of the world and our identities within it through discourse.<sup>402</sup> Robert Hariman and John Lucaites explained that, “The norms, interests, political effectivity, self-awareness, and substantive claims characterizing public culture are defined by the composition and circulation of texts.”<sup>403</sup> Public memories, mnemonic practices, function as key social texts in this process, facilitating meaning-making through ongoing and reflexive interactions between the past and present.<sup>404</sup> The identity of publics is processual, as are the memories formed through collective

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<sup>399</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 421.

<sup>400</sup> Ronald Walter Greene, “Rhetorical Pedagogy as a Postal System: Circulating Subjects Through Michael Warner’s ‘Publics and Counterpublics,’” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 88, no. 4 (2002): 435.

<sup>401</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1992), 30.

<sup>402</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 422. See also Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere,” 68.

<sup>403</sup> Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity: The Iconic Photograph of the Flag Raising in Iwo Jima,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 88, no. 4, (2002): 364.

<sup>404</sup> The scholarship on how collective memory relates to meaning making is extensive. See, for instance, Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott, eds., *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama, 2010); Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, eds., *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010);

interaction, and each call on texts from the past in order to help make sense of or define ourselves in the present. But how do efforts to construct a unitary collective identity through mnemonic practices fit with the fact that times and people change, as do their opinions and perceptions? Collective remembering is inherently processual, its practices shifting over time, place, person, occurrence—largely dependent on the moral order of the times.<sup>405</sup> And yet, some genres persist. Although the details of public discourses about progress, race, and the nation do alter, the same genres of “Modern (Euro-)American” and “Backward Indian” can be called upon across the eras, reinforcing collective remembrances of the need for Indigenous salvation through amalgamation.<sup>406</sup>

I argue that collective remembering is a vital text in the identity of a public, allowing it to define itself and its goals, as well as delineating outside “Others.” In the case of the public concerned with the “Indian Problem,” memory genres served to reinforce the assimilation mission of the public by presenting EuroAmericans and the U.S. American nation as modern and progressive, while reinforcing a stereotyped “Indian” who was stuck in the past and could never fit into the nation while adhering to his own culture.<sup>407</sup> Throughout the discourse, both

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Marouf Hasian, Jr., “Authenticity, Public Memories and the Problematics of Post-Holocaust Remembrances: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Wilkomirski Affair,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 3 (2005): 231-263; Ekatarina V. Haskins, “‘Put Your Stamp on History’: The USPS Commemorative Program *Celebrate the Century* and the Postmodern Collective Memory,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, (2003): 1-18; John Lynch, “Memory and Matthew Shepard: Opposing Expressions of Public Memory in Television Movies,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 31, no. 3 (2007): 224; Pierre Nora, “Between History and Memory: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations* 26 (1989): 7-24; Jeffrey K. Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 104; Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzsky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader* (London, Oxford University Press, 2011); A. Susan Owen and Peter Ehrenhaus, “Communities of Memory, Entanglements, and Claims of the Past on the Present: Reading Race Trauma through *The Green Mile*,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 27, no. 2 (2010): 131-154; Kendall R. Phillips, ed., *Framing Public Memory* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2004); Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley, CA: University of CA Press, 1997).

<sup>405</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 12.

<sup>406</sup> Steven Sabol, “Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization: The ‘Touch of Civilisation’ on the Sioux and Kazakhs,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2012). See also Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven, CT & London: Yale University Press, 1998) for his discussion on how Indian stereotypes have been appropriated, celebrated and utilized in different ways over the years to reinforce “American” identity.

<sup>407</sup> Jo Carillo, “Getting to Survivance: An Essay about the Role of Mythologies in Law,” *POLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 25 (2002):37-47; Jeremy Engels, “‘Equipped for Murder’: The Paxton Boys and ‘the Spirit of Killing all Indians’ in Pennsylvania, 1763–1764,” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 355-81; Mary E. Stuckey and John M. Murphy, “By

EuroAmerican and Indigenous authors of the discourse called on the past to explain the current situation and suggest a path for the future, i.e., assimilation. This discourse served as a key example of rhetorical colonization.

Colonialism is often thought of in terms of the forcible possession of land and physical domination of that land’s original inhabitants, but in conjunction with this physical violence, the role of discourse in maintaining colonialism cannot be underestimated. Although much work remains to be done, Communication scholars have begun the critical project, sparked by Raka Shome and Radha Hegde’s calls in joint and individual projects to examine and disrupt colonization through a critical Communication perspective.<sup>408</sup> Along these lines, Mary Stuckey and John Murphy emphasize that we need to “explore the communicative practices that maintain colonialism,”<sup>409</sup> a goal pursued within Communication by Kent A. Ono’s work on neocolonialism, and scholars such as Randall Lake, Jason E. Black, Casey Kelly, Danielle Endres, and Jeremy Engels, among others, who have worked to reveal discursive aspects of the historic and ongoing colonization of Native Americans within the United States.<sup>410</sup> Examining

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Any Other Name: Rhetorical Colonialism in North America,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25, no. 4 (2001):73-98.

<sup>408</sup> Radha S. Hegde, "A View From Elsewhere: Locating Difference and the Politics of Representation from a Transnational Feminist Perspective," *Communication Theory* 8 (1998): 271-297; Raka Shome, "Postcolonial Interventions in the Rhetorical Canon: An 'Other' View," *Communication Theory* 6 (1996): 40-59; Raka Shome and Radha S. Hegde, "Culture, Communication and the Challenge of Globalization," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19, no. 2 (2002):172-189.

<sup>409</sup> Danielle Endres, "The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2009):43.

<sup>410</sup> See, for instance: Jason Edward Black "Remembrances of Removal: Native Resistance to Allotment and the Unmasking of Paternal Benevolence," *Southern Journal of Communication* 72, no. 2 (2007): 185-203; Jason Edward Black, "Native Resistive Rhetoric and the Decolonization of American Indian Removal Discourse," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no.1 (2009): 66-88; Danielle Endres, "American Indian Activism and Audience: Rhetorical Analysis of Leonard Peltier’s Response to Denial of Clemency," *Communication Reports* 24, no. 1 (2011): 1-11; Jeremy Engels, "Equipped for Murder;" Casey Ryan Kelly, "Rhetorical Counterinsurgency: The FBI and the American Indian Movement," *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 10 (2007): 223-258; Casey Ryan Kelly, "Orwellian Language and the Politics of Tribal Termination (1953-1960)," *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 4 (2010): 351-371; Casey Ryan Kelly, "Blood-Speak: Ward Churchill and the Racialization of American Indian Identity," *Communication & Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no.3 (2011): 240-265; Randall A. Lake, "Enacting Red Power: The Consummatory Function in Native American Protest Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (1983): 127-147; Randall A. Lake, "Between Myth and History: Enacting Time in Native American Protest Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77 (1991): 123-151; Autumn Miller and Susan Dente Ross "They Are Not Us: Framing of American Indians by the *Boston Globe*," *The Howard Journal of Communication* 15, (2004):245-249; Catherine Helen Palczewski, "When Times Collide: Ward Churchill’s Use of an Epideictic Moment to Ground Forensics Argument," *Argumentation and Advocacy* 41, no. 3 (2005): 123-138; John Sanchez and Mary E. Stuckey, "The Rhetoric of American Indian Activism in the 1960s and 1970s," *Communication Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2000):120-136; Cynthia Duquette Smith and Teresa Bergman, "You Were on Indian land: Alcatraz Island as



how colonial projects can be expressed through language practices is important for the ways they affect colonizers’ views of themselves and world, and for the ways they “displace Indians from any meaningful role in political or cultural life in the United States.”<sup>411</sup>

The U.S.’s colonizing history (which continues into the present) is an intrinsic part of our national identity and needs to be acknowledged as such.<sup>412</sup> As Taiaiake Alfred (Mohawk) explained, “Colonialism is not an historical era, nor is it a theory or merely a political and economic relationship. It is a total existence, a way of thinking about oneself and others always in terms of domination and submission that has come to form the very foundation of our individual and collective lives.”<sup>413</sup> Patrick Wolfe, best known for his work on settler colonialism, asserts that we cannot examine settler colonialism merely as a bounded event but must instead reveal the ways it serves as a structure, shaping our society and lives.<sup>414</sup> Particularly in cases of settler colonialism where invading peoples have claimed the land as “home” instead of merely a temporary resource for goods and labor, colonial power is perpetuated through “repetitions of ... occurrences or ‘micro-politics’” enacted in our everyday lives, such as the public discourses about “The Indian” featured throughout this chapter.<sup>415</sup> These discourses perpetuate stereotypes

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Recalcitrant Memory Space,” in *Places of Public Memory*, eds. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2010), 160-190; Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name,” Mary E. Stuckey and Richard Morris, “Pocahontas and Beyond: Commodification and Cultural Hegemony,” *World Communication* 28, no.2 (1999): 45-67.

<sup>411</sup> Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name,” 81. See also page 76.

<sup>412</sup> Ward Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 1990); Vine Deloria, Jr., “Marginal and Submarginal” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, Inc., 1996); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *So You Want to Write About American Indians? A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Kent A. Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture and the Remnants of a Colonial Past* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2009); N. C. Peroff, “Indian Identity,” *The Social Science Journal* 34, no. 4 (1997): 485-94.

<sup>413</sup> Taiaiake Alfred, “Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as Ground of Contention,” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004): 89.

<sup>414</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 52; Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism: A Concept and its Uses,” in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pederson (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3.

<sup>415</sup> Norbert Finzsch, “[...]Extirpate or Remove That Vermine’: Genocide, Biological Warfare, and Settler Imperialism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 2 (2008): 220. See also Frederick E. Hoxie,

about Indigenous and EuroAmerican peoples within the U.S. during the Assimilation Era, and largely do so through relying on ingrained collective memories of who The Indian is in comparison to EuroAmericans. In what follows, I focus on two primary goals: clarifying the goal and membership of a dominant public during the Assimilation Era of U.S.-Indigenous relations and theorizing the ways this public’s discourse relied on mnemonic genres, perpetuating rhetorical colonialism. To do so, I illustrate the two primary mnemonic genres utilized in the discourse about the Indian Problem during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, focusing on the ways Indigenous peoples were essentialized, depicted as primitives whose time in the world, and nation, was past.

#### Texts

Discourses from and about Indian Schools such as Haskell offer insight into rhetorics of race, nation and U.S. colonization because they reveal ways ideologies about national membership manifested in discussions about Indigenous students and their school. In 1899, an unnamed author observed, “the newspapers, which now constitute so great a portion of the reading matter of the American public, seldom print anything about the Indians except in connection with massacres and uprisings,” highlighting the need to examine publicly accessible texts that expand beyond these topics.<sup>416</sup> Covering a diverse range of topics relating to the school, local community, and nation, the *Indian Leader* newspaper printed by Haskell presents such an opportunity. Newspapers and other forms of print communication allowed people across broad swathes of land to relate to one another as members of a national public and community by reading about and imagining themselves as leading similar lives, sharing similar values, and

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“Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the U.S.,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1156.

<sup>416</sup> “The Real Indian,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February 15, 1.

advancing their local communities in similar ways despite intervening territory or state lines.<sup>417</sup>

In so doing, they shaped the identity of those lives and their sense of community, because, as Fraser explains, journals and newspapers such as this act as “culturally specific rhetorical lenses that filter and alter the utterances they frame.”<sup>418</sup> The *Indian Leader*, the Haskell school newspaper, served this need for the Haskell community beginning in 1897, publishing not only stories about the day-to-day activities of the students and alumni, but through reprinting news from around the nation, especially as it applied to Indigenous communities.<sup>419</sup> In its inaugural issue in March 1897, the paper described its mission:

to carry greetings from Haskell Institute to former pupils who have returned to their homes, or who are at work in other schools; to bear items of news to them about their former instructors and school-mates; to give them a word of cheer, a helping hand. This is not the LEADER’s only duty however. It hopes to win new friends, to enter the homes of many who know but little of Indians and their capabilities, showing them that though of a different race, many of them are intelligent and progressive; that they have for their motto, ‘Onward and Upward’ and are trying to live up to this. May both missions be successfully fulfilled is the earnest wish of the LEADER.<sup>420</sup>

Based on this description, the *Leader* aims to create a relation among strangers, uniting them through the circulation of discourse, a key trait of Warner’s publics and Anderson’s imagined communities.<sup>421</sup> The range of strangers who created this public was broad, as demonstrated by the paper’s intended audiences of Indigenous students both present and former, the tribes from which the students had come, the Lawrence community where Haskell was located, the national community, and even those “who know but little of Indians and their capabilities.” As expressed in issues over the years, the topics and readership also encompassed government offices such as

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<sup>417</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006): 26, 36.

<sup>418</sup> Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere,” 69.

<sup>419</sup> Kim Cary Warren has noted that Indian Boarding School newspapers served a disciplinary function, publishing stories about student punishments and arrests (even from other schools) in order to deter further insubordination. Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>420</sup> *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), March 6, 1897, 2.

<sup>421</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 418.

the BIA, other Indian schools, Indian agents on reservations, the families of students, and Lawrence community members, among others.<sup>422</sup>

In addition to the *Indian Leader*, I also reference a 1936 report by Reverend William P. Ames, *Highlights of Haskell Institute: A Brief Sketch of the Half Century of Indian Education at Haskell Institute*, commissioned by the U.S. federal government through the USA Work Program (WPA). In his history of Haskell, Ames succinctly demonstrated that race and nation were key considerations in the Indian Boarding School system. His report was compiled from “annual reports of successive superintendents of the school” as well as from issues of the *Indian Leader*, “and from various printed and verbal accounts gathered from numerous sources.” Ames’ report was prepared in “an attempt at a review of the half-century long service of this notable school for the training of life service of the youth of the ‘noble red man.’”<sup>423</sup> Apparent from this description, the government report is far from objective, reflecting instead the existing opinions and biases about the Native students, their families, tribes, and cultures. Publics are constituted through “the reflexive circulation of discourse,”<sup>424</sup> Ames’ compilation from so many sources and his commentary on them in the re-publishing firmly situates his report as a discourse within the dominant EuroAmerican public. Considering his commission from the U.S. Government to

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<sup>422</sup> For instance, many issues included references to Bureau of Indian Affairs policies, or updates on issues being addressed in Washington, D.C., such as “News from the Indian Office,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), September 11, 1914, 3; Henry Roe Cloud, “The Home Problem of the Indian,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February 1915, 16; “E.B. Meritt Addresses Pueblo Indian Council,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), November 16, 1928, 1. Other issues included notes about the ongoing scientific debates about The Indian’s race: Arthur C. Parker, “The Red Man is Not a Tanned Mongolian,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February, 1915; “The White Indians of Darien,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS) November 7, 1924, 1. Notes about occurrences at other schools and news about former students were regularly featured, such as John Richards, “Will Organize a Literary Society,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February 27, 1903, 2; “News of Returned Students,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), November 1914, 17; “Indian Citizenship Day at Hampton Institute,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February 1915, 8; Helen W. Ball, “Reminiscences,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), June 1920, 16. Issues during WWI were addressed to students and communities on the tribal reservations, often focusing on Haskell students and alumni serving in the armed forces as well as fund-raising goals: “Indians in the Naval or Military Service of the Government” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February 18, 1918, 1; and Louis R. Gourd, “The Native American in the World War,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), May 31, 1918.

<sup>423</sup> William P. Ames, *Highlights of Haskell Institute: A Brief Sketch of the Half Century of Indian Education at Haskell Institute*, (Lawrence, KS: USA Work Program, 1936), i.

<sup>424</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 420.

create the report, his text also serves the important role of bridging the gap between public and state, helping to mediate policies that affect individuals in this public.

Why examine century-old discourses in this attempt to understand publics, race relations, and contemporary colonization within the U.S.? My purpose in doing so is two-fold: to unearth the ways people in the U.S. talked about membership in the nation, particularly in terms of racial belonging, and to deepen our understandings of the role of collective remembering in publics’ discourses of colonization. Because the Assimilation Era, also called the Allotment and Citizenship Era, of U.S.-Indigenous relations marked a significant change in U.S. policy towards Indigenous peoples, my analysis in this chapter covers selected texts produced between the years 1897 and 1936.<sup>425</sup> In later chapters I build upon this historical foundation, comparing how these same issues manifest in contemporary cases of U.S.-Indigenous interactions and the publics that form around the issues. In the meantime, the sense-making depicted across historic discourses about Haskell provides insight into the racial and national ideologies of the time, revealing expectations for attaining membership in the nation and the workings of the dominant public at the time. Below, I delineate what I argue was a dominant public within the U.S. during the Assimilation Era, those concerned with solving the Indian Problem, and explain how and why Indigenous Peoples themselves were also included within this public. I then address the role of collective remembering in this public, and the use of memory genres of “Backward Indian” and “Modern America” within the public. Across this discussion, I argue that rhetorical colonization

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<sup>425</sup> Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 7. Although Bruyneel lists the era as lasting 1887-1934, until the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act, I have extended the end date of my analysis to include a 1936 report written by Reverend William P. Ames on behalf of the U.S. Government Works Progress Administration (WPA) that reviews the first 50 years of Haskell’s history. In Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1983), they delineate the history of U.S.-Indigenous relations into slightly different eras, but their Allotment and Assimilation Phase overlaps much of the same years, from 1887 until 1928. Both sets of authors note that the reduction of reservation lands through allotment and the assimilation of Indigenous peoples through the development of the boarding school system were key aspects of this time. For more on the allotment period, see also Patrick Wolfe, “After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in US Indian Policy,” *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1, 2011: 13-51.

is integral to this public and to historic understandings of who “should” be part of the American national community.

### The “Indian Problem” Public

#### *What Are The Concerns Of The Public?*

Publics are numerous, overlapping, and in many cases, transient, existing only as long as people engage one another through the discourse.<sup>426</sup> As witnessed through the Haskell *Leader*, concern about the Indian Problem existed throughout the Assimilation Era of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (and, as demonstrated in later chapters, well into today). Publics “exist by virtue of their address,” constituted through the attention people pay to a set of discourses, whether that be creating the texts, or merely observing them.<sup>427</sup> These discursive flows and public fora allow for the “communicative generation of public opinion,” and “as a vehicle for marshaling public opinion as a political force... [that] is supposed to hold officials accountable and to assure that the actions of the state express the will of the citizenry.”<sup>428</sup> The driving force of the public examined here, the public opinion that became a political force, was ostensibly the hope that the “Indian Problem” could be solved through Indigenous assimilation into EuroAmerican culture. Salvation through assimilation also meant saving Native peoples from their supposedly primitive, backward ways. Unsurprisingly, dominant groups often engage in self-aggrandizement in order to keep others in their places, for instance, through declaring Native ways “primitive” in comparison to the “civilization” of EuroAmerican norms.<sup>429</sup> How this public’s discourse serves as rhetorical colonialism is an important investigation, as is how those

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<sup>426</sup> Hariman and Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity,” 364; Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 414, 419.

<sup>427</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 417; Asen and Brouwer, *Counterpublics and the State*.

<sup>428</sup> Nancy Fraser, “Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World,” *Theory Culture Society* 24, no. 7 (2007): 7.

<sup>429</sup> Dreama Moon, “Interclass Travel, Cultural Adaptation, and ‘Passing’ as Disjunctive Inter/cultural Practice” in *Constituting Cultural Difference Through Discourse*, ed. Mary Jane Collier (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing, 2000), 231.

supposedly being “fixed,” the colonized Native population of the nation, played a role in this public.<sup>430</sup>

Who partakes in a public can be varied and surprising. Warner argues that people’s group memberships outside of the public at hand are less important than an individual’s interest in engaging with a public’s discourse.<sup>431</sup> However, in opposition to Habermas and Warner, Fraser points out that brushing aside identities, material conditions, and personal experiences when engaging with a public is not feasible.<sup>432</sup> Fraser and others argue that who we are continues to affect us and the discourses with which we engage.<sup>433</sup> Thanks to the ways Indigenous individuals explicitly engaged in this public as “Indian,” this chapter extends their arguments that we bring our identities to bear in publics. Across this “Indian Problem public” discourse, members’ racial identities, particularly those of Indigenous members of the public, were called on to further assimilation arguments for solving the Indian Problem.

Although the *Indian Leader* is but one relatively small text in a larger discourse about what should be done about The Indian in the U.S., it served as a repository of articles, letters, conference proceedings, and government reports. This school newspaper served as a sounding board of popular opinion of the era, echoing and recirculating texts and ideas from across the nation. Its dual missions of sharing news within Indigenous communities and “to win new friends... who know but little of Indians” situate it as an important voice in the ongoing debates about how to deal with The Indian(s) in the nation.<sup>434</sup> The *Leader* provided Indigenous students

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<sup>430</sup> Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism” and Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name.”

<sup>431</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 419.

<sup>432</sup> Fraser, “Transnationalizing the Public Sphere,” 7. See also Allison Laubach Wright, “Counterpublic Protest and the Purpose of Occupy: Reframing the Discourse of Occupy Wall Street.” *Plaza: Dialogues in Language & Literature* 2, no. 2 (2012): 138-146; and Catherine Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres” *Communication Theory* 12, no. 4 (2002): 446-468.

<sup>433</sup> See, for instance, Daniel C. Brouwer, “Counterpublicity and Corporeality in HIV/AIDS Zines” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 22, no. 5, (2005):351-371; Thomas R. Dunn, “Remembering Matthew Shepard: Violence, Identity, and Queer Counterpublic Memories,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 13, no.4 (2011): 611-652; Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere.”

<sup>434</sup> *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), March 6, 1897, 2.

and alumni a platform to partake in the national debate about what should be done about them, and often, at least as presented in the *Leader*, their answer was the same as that of the dominant EuroAmericans—assimilation through education. This was aptly summed up in a 1899 *Leader* article “Why Are We Here?,” which stated: “We are here to solve the Indian problem. We are here to shatter the theory that the only good Indian is a dead one and to convince the world that the American Indian has a mind to cultivate and a soul be saved.”<sup>435</sup> Clear here is the assumption that The Indian is salvageable, but only if “cultivated,” refined and improved through adopting EuroAmerican lifeways.

The question guiding the article—Why are we here?—points to the integral role of Haskell and its people in trying to “solve the Indian Problem.” The article’s location in an issue of the school newspaper suggests that the “here” referenced is Haskell Institute itself, implying the article is written by someone at the school. Additionally, considering the widespread intended audiences of the paper, the “We” could also be extended to include all those readers across the nation interested in the goings-on at Haskell, presenting the public with reassurance about the goal they hoped to accomplish. No specific author is named for the piece, raising the question of who actually wrote it, whether Indigenous student or EuroAmerican faculty member.<sup>436</sup> The piece is largely presented as a treatise expressing the goals of the Haskell students, a move that positions students as supporters of assimilation policies advocated by the EuroAmerican public. As the supposed writers of such a piece, combined with their attendance at Haskell, students are portrayed as supporters of Colonel Pratt’s motto, “Kill the Indian to Save

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<sup>435</sup> “Why Are We Here?” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), April 1, 1899, 2.

<sup>436</sup> Although Indigenous faculty members did and do work at Haskell, the Haskell faculty at this early date were almost exclusively EuroAmerican. In the early years of the *Leader*’s printing, white printing supervisors ran the print shop with the help of Indigenous student assistants. Haskell Institute, *Indian Leader*, February 1, 1899, v. 2, no. 17, 1.



the Man.”<sup>437</sup> The authors of the piece, purportedly Indigenous students, go on to assure others of their public that “We are here to verify the statement that the Indian is capable of reaching the highest place of intellectual, physical and moral development... by learning the great secret of a successful life.”<sup>438</sup> Such verification legitimizes the hopes of the public’s members that The Indian was worth saving, even if his culture was not.

If such a piece *was* written by Indigenous students, this text legitimizes the public itself. This is because if a public’s membership is perceived as inclusive, its goals are represented as those of *THE* public and not merely *A* public that dominates the others. As Fraser explained, “Insofar as the process is inclusive and fair, publicity is supposed to discredit views that cannot withstand critical scrutiny and to assure the legitimacy of those that do.”<sup>439</sup> With this in mind, the inclusion of Native voices within the public serves to legitimize the discourse of the public even more so than EuroAmerican voices. Potentially concerned outsiders may assume Indigenous peoples would not advocate for policies harmful to themselves, overlooking the power structures that dictate they do so (i.e. the desire for physical survival, even at the cost of cultural death). Important to note here, particularly when considering historic texts with murky origins, is that the *perception* of a dominant public and its opinions as “inclusive and fair” serves equally well to discredit alternative views, especially those of marginalized publics. Even if the Indigenous voices within the public are socially coerced into speaking on behalf of their own social destruction, that they do supports the assumption that the “Indian Problem Public” represents the desires of Indigenous peoples, potentially drowning out those peoples who still advocated for maintaining their own lifeways in the face of EuroAmerican encroachment.

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<sup>437</sup> Important to note here is that many students did not support assimilation policies, and often attended and remained at school only through force. For more on Haskell students’ resistance to boarding school, see Theresa Milk, *Haskell Institute: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival* (Lawrence, KS: Mammoth Publications, 2007) and Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2008).

<sup>438</sup> “Why Are We Here?” 2.

<sup>439</sup> Fraser, “Transnationalizing the Public Sphere,” 7.

An account of a white traveler in Oklahoma in a 1900 issue of the *Leader* also highlighted the ways U.S. assimilation policies could solve the Indian Problem. The unnamed white author was stranded overnight at a homestead, where, “to my surprise and almost consternation,” he was greeted by a neatly dressed, “matronly” Indian woman with a “soft and pleasant” voice. After a comfortable and friendly night passed with the English-speaking family members, who were all “very dark but handsome,” the traveler “begged them to tell me how it all came about that they—full-blooded Indians—should be just like other people.”<sup>440</sup> The traveler reports that he “rode away a wiser man than when I came the evening before, for new things had been learned, and I was now convinced of these facts: Education, the ability to work intelligently, the allotting of lands and ‘grit’ were making good and respected citizens of the once dreaded Indians and thus the troublesome Indian problem was being happily solved.”<sup>441</sup> Clear here is that the supposed solution to the “Indian Problem” was to make The Indian into a “good and respected citizen.” Because the national narrative, often labeled the “American Dream,” was one of “individual success and personal improvement,”<sup>442</sup> even these “very dark... full-blooded Indians” had a chance of becoming “just like other [civilized white] people” if they were willing to abandon their peoples’ ways in favor of assimilation to EuroAmerican society.

This suggestion lasted the course of the Assimilation era. In 1909, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert G. Valentine informed his audience at the Mohonk Conference that “It is possible to do only two things with the Indians—to exterminate them, or to make them into citizens... Our present course is, as a matter of fact, a cross between extermination and citizenship.”<sup>443</sup> Valentine went on to clarify that the country had an obligation to select the

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<sup>440</sup> “A Lesson Learned,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February 19, 1900, 1.

<sup>441</sup> “A Lesson Learned,” 1.

<sup>442</sup> See John A. Agnew, “Introduction,” in *American Space/American Place: Geographics of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 4, about the tenets of the American Dream.

<sup>443</sup> “Address of Commissioner Valentine at the Mohonk Conference” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), November 12, 1909, 2.

“clean and high course” of the two, and that such a course “demands of us more than would be demanded in the case of the backward among our own people [whites], or in the case of the immigrant,”<sup>444</sup> a reminder that The Indian was seen as a special case of race relations in the nation, largely thanks to their existence on the land before the continent was “discovered” by Europeans. Nations of settler colonialism such as the U.S. are more concerned with the ideological elimination of Indigenous peoples than their physical elimination, because as Patrick Wolfe explains, the primary goal is the creation of a single unifying national narrative that legitimizes the conquest and continued occupation.<sup>445</sup>

Decades after Valentine’s statement in 1933, an *Indian Leader* article titled “What is the so-called ‘Indian Problem,’” continued to stress both the perceived racial divide between Indigenous peoples and the EuroAmericans, as well as the benevolence of the U.S. Government, stating: “the Federal Government has done more to elevate the Indians within our national boundaries than has ever been done elsewhere by any other government for any primitive people.”<sup>446</sup> For all of these practices and policies then, many within EuroAmerican society saw the nation’s Assimilation policies as benevolent, a philanthropic mission to raise The Indian from the depths of primitivism to the light of civilization as represented by U.S. citizenship. Indigenous communities were meant to thank the colonizers who had removed them from their homes, killed off their populations, and were working to eliminate their cultures through insidious means. Encouraging students and readers to see the nation as benevolent provider served to reinforce a national tendency to misremember practices of structural genocide as acts of welfare. Dreama Moon observed that even in cases where members of marginalized groups do attempt to pass, such as when Native students advocate on behalf of anti-Indian government

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<sup>444</sup> “Address of Commissioner Valentine,” 2.

<sup>445</sup> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999).

<sup>446</sup> “What is the so-called ‘Indian Problem?,”” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), March 24, 1933, 5.

policies, their actions and discourses are results of the “power relations that usually undergird inter/cultural interactions.”<sup>447</sup> Such rhetorical strategies are the keystone of rhetorical colonization in that they legitimize a dominant public’s narrative that naturalized racist policies, characterizing them as necessary to save Indigenous peoples from their own backward ways and bring them into the light of modern (EuroAmerican) civilization. For a public concerned with “solving the Indian Problem” through assimilation, representing the U.S. government’s colonial policies as benevolent reinforced their public’s self-identification as philanthropists “saving” the Indian from himself.

#### *Who Is Part of This Public?*

The perceived legitimacy of a public, a key component of its goals’ success, is largely dependent on who partakes in it. In the case of dominant publics who deem themselves *the* national public, such as the public concerned with the “Indian Problem,” beyond getting a sense of people who were engaged in the issue, such inquiries also point to those with an influential voice in national politics. Although publics are separate from the state itself, as Catherine Squires explained, “Political strategies and activities emerge from exchanges of ideas and inspiration, and the primary function of a public sphere is to support such discourse.”<sup>448</sup> What is said on whose behalf can have profound effects, especially in the case of Others whose own voices often go unheard.<sup>449</sup> As noted above, because the *Indian Leader* is mailed to students, alumni, their family and friends, other Indian schools, government agencies, and more, the public being addressed by the *Leader* includes members of Indigenous and EuroAmerican communities. Many of the articles and reprinted letters within the paper are written by Haskell students, alumni, faculty members, “friends,” and Lawrence community members, demonstrating high

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<sup>447</sup> Moon, “Interclass Travel, Cultural Adaptation,” 219

<sup>448</sup> Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere,” 452. For more on the separation of publics from the state, see DeLuca and Peoples, “From Public Sphere to Public Screen;” Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version).”

<sup>449</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 217.

levels of individual participation within the public discourse. According to Warner, on an individual level, “speaking, writing, and thinking involve us—actively and immediately—in a public, and thus in the being of the sovereign,” participation that offers a chance to influence the nation and, in this case, the future of marginalized Native peoples.<sup>450</sup>

Considering the significant implications of public opinions expressed about “The Indian” on social and national policies, who actively participated within this public is an important concern. Embodied within the public interested in solving the Indian Problem were the EuroAmericans interested in what to do with The Indians living within the U.S., as well as the Indigenous peoples subject to their policies and exposed to the discourse on the topic: students enrolled in Indian Boarding schools, their families, Indian school alumni, and tribal members who interacted with them. The widespread membership in this public was demonstrated over the years through comments made in the *Leader*. In many cases, the audience was explicitly assumed to embody the entirety of the nation, presenting this public as *the* public. Assumed across the discourse was the idea that “intelligent” and philanthropic people across EuroAmerican society would be interested in solving the Indian Problem because it was perceived as profoundly affecting the U.S. nation.

The seeming widespread interest of EuroAmericans in assimilation efforts were demonstrated in the early years of the school, such as when the *Leader* reprinted Haskell Superintendents’ reports detailing the Lawrence community’s response to the opening of the school. According to these reports, members of the Lawrence community were eager to hear how the “grand experiment” went on, and present at the school’s opening ceremony in 1884 was “An audience of citizens from Lawrence and vicinity [that] attested the deep interest of an intelligent

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<sup>450</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 414.

people in this new enterprise.”<sup>451</sup> A quarter century after its opening ceremony, the same Superintendent, James M. Marvin, reflected back on events, reporting that, “The social, moral, and religious aspects of this [Indian Education] service deserve the careful scrutiny of *every friend of humanity*,” and went on to state that “the public should have all the light possible” about the potential schools held for solving the Indian problem.<sup>452</sup> Marvin’s comments demonstrate the perception that the Indian problem was one of general concern for “every friend of humanity” within the general public of the U.S. Upon reading the statements above, few people are likely to reject that they are interested in the topic, as doing so suggests that they are not members of the “intelligent people” concerned with “social, moral, and religious aspects,” being addressed here. As few people are likely to represent themselves so negatively, the audience concerned with Haskell and Indian education potentially spans numerous “friends of humanity,” those people with any interest in the public good.

Taxpayers and the government were later explicitly added to the roster of humanitarians and philanthropists who should be interested in solving the “Indian Problem,” highlighting the ways publics and the government become entwined. In 1936, William P. Ames made clear the breadth of people and systems involved in the issue when he described the atmosphere in which Haskell and the Indian Boarding School system had developed fifty years previously. He explained, “As more attention was now being given to the education and civilization of the Indians than ever before, and large appropriations were being made from the public treasury for such purposes, it was important that the situation should be clearly envisaged [sic] and appreciated by the voters and taxpayers as well as by the federal government.”<sup>453</sup> Although he was supposedly recounting the state of affairs in 1888, that he was commissioned in 1936 by the

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<sup>451</sup> James M. Marvin, “Report of Haskell Institute Twenty-Five Years Ago,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS) June 11, 1909, 1; also see Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 18.

<sup>452</sup> Marvin, “Report of Haskell Institute,” 1, 4, my emphasis.

<sup>453</sup> Ames, *Highlights of Haskell Institute*, 8

Federal Government to write his account of Haskell demonstrates that public concerns about Indian schooling persisted across the Assimilation Era. By his account, this is a topic that should be “appreciated by the voters and taxpayers as well as by the federal government” because of the ways it affects their nation and therefore lives.

In 1909, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Robert G. Valentine reiterated the assumed widespread interest in the topic when he stated that “we must stop at the beginning of this twentieth century and think clearly about the Indians... *The whole American people must do this thinking.*”<sup>454</sup> Valentine’s comments demonstrate that the public being addressed is a broad one – “the whole American people”—and that all members of that people are supposedly involved in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the U.S. Also of note in Valentine’s comments is that although Indigenous peoples were part of the public being addressed, they were still considered distinct from the EuroAmerican faction. Valentine makes clear that “the Indians” are not included within his idea of who the “American people” are when he points out that, “we... must think clearly about the Indians,” or, in other words, about “them.” However, considering that this speech excerpt was published in the *Indian Leader*, it was read by numerous Haskell students, families, alumni, and members of other Indian Boarding Schools, which means they are indeed also part of the public being addressed. In addition, the annual Mohonk conference where Valentine was speaking frequently featured Native American speakers, several of whom were Haskell alumni. That their speeches were disseminated along with those of government and society leaders demonstrates that the discourse of this public was produced and consumed by both EuroAmericans and Native peoples across the U.S.

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<sup>454</sup> “Address of Commissioner Valentine,” 2, my emphasis.

## Indians as Part of the Public

The role of Indigenous peoples within a public dominated by a EuroAmerican agenda is of particular interest because of their unique status as members of colonized nations within the U.S. The existence of the *Indian Leader*, its content, and its readership all point to the inclusion of Haskell’s students, alums, and their families, friends, tribes as crucial members of this public. While directed at a wide range of audiences, across the first half-century of the school the *Leader* explicitly self-identified as an Indian publication, as demonstrated by the headings it sported in 1910 (“Put to press by apprentices,” i.e. Indigenous students), 1914 (“The *Indian Leader*: A periodical printed by and for Indians”), and 1928 (“A weekly publication devoted to Indians and Indian Education”).<sup>455</sup> Although the policies concerning the “Indian Problem” inextricably affected their lives, as subjugated Others, Indigenous peoples did not necessarily have to be included as part of this public. If excluded from the discourses about the Indian Problem directed at EuroAmericans, Indigenous peoples could have instead supported or resisted assimilation through alternate counterpublics. Many Indigenous peoples were instead involved in the dominant public (or at least represented as such), their voices used to speak on behalf of the assimilation many white Americans sought.<sup>456</sup>

The extensive array of peoples addressed by this dominant public—EuroAmericans from across the social and political strata and Indigenous peoples from hundreds of tribes across the U.S.—underlines that publics are essentially “a body of strangers united through the circulation of their discourse.”<sup>457</sup> But as individuals, discourses will resonate differently with members from

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<sup>455</sup> The *Leader*’s header changed every few years to suit the times. For instance, at other times it has read: “The *Indian Leader* is dedicated to Haskell Men in the Armed Forces” (1942); “The *Indian Leader* is Dedicated to Haskell War Veterans” (1947); “Registered National Historic Landmark” (1966); and “The Oldest Native American Student Newspaper” (2010).

<sup>456</sup> This is not to say that these same people were not part of other resistive counterpublics. As demonstrated by others (see, for instance Milk, *Haskell Institute* and Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*), resistance to assimilation policies was rampant throughout Indigenous discourse of the era and beyond. However, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Haskell’s *Indian Leader* did not serve this purpose, instead acting as a text supportive of the larger pro-assimilation goal.

<sup>457</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 418.



across the spectrum. Clearly practiced in the *Leader* discourses is the tactic of spreading a public’s message “in a venue of indefinite address, and hope that people will find themselves in it.”<sup>458</sup> The *Leader* accomplishes this through the range of textual fragments included within the paper, such as letters from students and alumni, convocation speeches, news bits of individuals “succeeding” after graduation, national news tidbits, reproductions of government reports and conference proceedings, and extended parables of students willingly converting from “blanket Indians” to paragons of society.

Particularly in the first quarter-century of the school, the *Leader’s* content often featured stories about and by students advocating assimilation into white society through adopting EuroAmerican language, values, careers, names, fashion, and religion. Many issues featured letters to home informing parents and friends of the fun students were having at the school, the useful skills and knowledge they were acquiring, and their hopes for the future. Overall, excerpts of student letters selected for reprint in the school paper are overwhelmingly positive about the students’ experiences: “This school is just like home to me. I haven’t been homesick yet since I have been here,”<sup>459</sup> “I have been very glad that I came to Haskell Institute. It is a very nice school and I think I will learn many things up here. I have seen very many nice things.”<sup>460</sup> Many of the letter excerpts proselytized to students’ family and friends at home, urging them to also seek an education and enter the fold of assimilation: “Maybe you feel badly when you think of me, but you should not, because if I stayed at home I should not learn anything. Here I shall learn many useful things ... Haskell is a good place,”<sup>461</sup> “It is so much better for me to be here than to be at home because I can learn so much here at Haskell. I am happy here and wish the rest of my

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<sup>458</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 418.

<sup>459</sup> Unnamed third grader, “Extracts from Home Letters,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), January 12, 1900, 1.

<sup>460</sup> “Extracts from Home Letters,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), October 9, 1908, 1.

<sup>461</sup> Unnamed fourth grader, “Extracts from Home Letters Written January 2” *Indian Leader*, January 15, 1899, 1.

family were here.”<sup>462</sup> These letter excerpts, only a few of the many reprinted in the newspaper, infer that the students of Haskell appreciate, enjoy, and benefit from their attendance at Haskell. Even if unwittingly, these included letters support the dominant public’s aims of Indian cultural eradication through assimilation.<sup>463</sup>

In addition to the brief letters home, in many issues the *Leader* also featured complete reprints of speeches, articles, and stories apparently supportive of assimilation goals and deemed relevant to the students and readership. For instance, the *Leader* reprinted the June 13, 1909 commencement address at Haskell offered by N.B. Hurr, a Haskell alumnus who had risen to become an Indian School Superintendent. During his talk, Hurr highlighted for his audience the importance of embracing Haskell and government education:

We must be loyal and faithful to Haskell Institute. We must ever remember that it is an honor to be a graduate of the greatest Indian school in the world ... If we perform this duty, this mission, ever unfurling the banner of Jesus Christ, whether it be for individual advancements or the benefit of our race, the ultimate result will be on the credit side of the book of progress, and add to the renown of Haskell Institute, besides proving that education of the Indian is not an unsolved problem but a glorious fact. Arise, my friends, and show to the whole world that our race is worthy of a place among men, and that the shackles of idleness and poverty are no longer our inheritance.<sup>464</sup>

The letters and Hurr’s statement advocate for Haskell students to embrace the education they have been subject to and to further carry the banner of assimilation to their people, firmly demonstrating that many Native people played an insider’s role within this dominant public. The inclusion of Indigenous voices within this dominant public is a significant step on behalf of

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<sup>462</sup> Margaret Coleman, “Extracts from Home Letters,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), January 12, 1900, 1.

<sup>463</sup> Milk, *Haskell Institute*; Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*. Important to note is that the inclusion of these positive comments in the *Leader* does not necessarily mean that these examples tell the entire tale. Thorough histories of Haskell conducted by Milk and Vučković reveal the harsh lives that students at the school lived, with many students regularly trying to run away despite the punishments it incurred. In addition, Ames reports that uncensored letters home caused problems at times, with parents complaining to administration about poor health conditions, unhappy students, and an inability to see their children when requested. Perhaps unsurprisingly, across the *Indian Leaders* I examined between 1897 and 1936, these concerning letters did not appear, suggesting that the paper contents were censored, or at least carefully selected, to present Haskell and its students in a particular light. This is not surprising considering Warner’s observation that discourse perceived as not directed to the public is unlikely to be included (in this case, texts going against assimilation goals), constraining the speech of a public. [See, for instance, Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (Abbreviated Version),” 416].

<sup>464</sup> “To Haskell Students” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), July 16, 1909, 1.

EuroAmericans advocating for assimilation to achieve their goals. This is because as a collection of strangers bound only by discourse, a public’s rhetoric is by necessity largely addressed to strangers. Particularly in the case of dominant publics who view themselves as *the* national public, their address must be framed as “the universal discussion of the people” in order to advocate its position.<sup>465</sup> Anderson argues that general discourse directed at strangers and deemed personally relevant is the foundation of a sense of “horizontal comradeship,” providing strangers the sense of connection with one another.<sup>466</sup> The difficulty of achieving this sense of equality lies in producing discourse that the greatest range of people can still identify with. Including Indigenous voices in pro-Assimilation rhetoric served both sautory and identificatory functions: justifying colonizing policies to the EuroAmericans of the public and nation; and providing Native American people a voice within this dominant public to identify with.<sup>467</sup> As Warner explained, when a public’s discourse appears to be directed to us as well as to strangers, “Our subjectivity is understood as having resonance with others, and immediately so,” a situation that is necessary for motivating members to action.<sup>468</sup> In order for Indigenous members of the public to perceive themselves as part of the larger democratic society being advocated by the public they were partaking in, their inclusion was necessary to affirm a sense of equality, a characteristic “necessary for social cohesion in a democratic society.”<sup>469</sup>

That these statements appeared in the *Indian Leader*—“A periodical printed by and for Indians”—is significant in that it means some alumni, and likely students also, believed them and

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<sup>465</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 423.

<sup>466</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7. Anderson’s assumption that members within the community can attain this “horizontal comradeship” has been critiqued by others as ignoring structural inequalities. See, for instance, Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>467</sup> Hariman and Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity,” 365. Hariman and Lucaites observed that if a “specific embodiment” such as white male property owner were to become completely dominant, the public “ceases to exist, having been displaced by a specific social group.”

<sup>468</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 418. See also Hariman and Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity.”

<sup>469</sup> Hariman and Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity,” 365.

that the producers of the *Leader* believed it a message worth getting out. Obvious in the above descriptions of the Indian Problem and its possible solution is the goal of the dominant public to eliminate The Indian from American shores, if not physically than culturally. Despite this, in their statements, Indigenous speakers such as Hurr overlook the reasons they were forced to become educated in EuroAmerican ways, instead remaining silent, at least in these discourses, about the oppressive systems in place against Indigenous peoples. Considering the *Leader*'s audiences of teachers, alumni, students, students' families and home communities, Indian agents who sent children from the reservations, other Indian schools, and the local EuroAmerican community, it is no wonder the school wished to ensure the *Leader* only presented the education and atmosphere it provided in the most positive way. As the ones experiencing the system first hand, including discourse from students within Indian schools served to reassure their own peoples that this was the right course, as well as quelling the concerns of any doubters within the wider public. Having the students who are subject to the system advocate for it legitimizes the chosen course of action—assimilation, or, “killing the Indian” and “saving the man.”

#### Collectively Remembering “Modern Americans” and “Backward Indians”

Thus far I have addressed that the primary concern of this public was solving the “Indian Problem,” and have demonstrated who partook in the discourses. What remains is clarifying the discursive tactics used to accomplish their goal, and the implications for race relations within the nation. I argue that collective remembering, specifically the use of two primary memory genres—“Modern American” and “Backward Indian”—were used in this public's discourse to demonstrate the supposed necessity of assimilation policies and as such are strategies of rhetorical colonization.<sup>470</sup> As the excerpts above suggest, Indigenous students were depicted

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<sup>470</sup> Scholarship about memory-related rhetorical strategies of publics is not yet widespread, but see, for instance, Houston A. Baker, Jr., “Critical Memory and the Black Public Sphere” in *The Black Public Sphere*, ed. The Black Public Sphere Collective (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7-37; Thomas R. Dunn, “Remembering Matthew Shepard”; Thomas R. Dunn,

through *Leader* discourse as wanting to assimilate by attending Haskell (and other Indian schools) to “learn many useful things” and “show to the whole world that our race is worthy of a place among men.” The suggestion of wanting to “kill the Indian” and “save” themselves thus far faintly whispered in the discourse is in many more cases a rampant shout as students, alumni, and interested EuroAmericans denigrate “blanket Indians” and extol the virtues of assimilation.

Unlike ideographic phrases, the mnemonic genres utilized throughout these examples of rhetorical colonization do not rely on the same specific language use recurring in different texts over time. Some terms, such as “the Indian” and the “the Indian Problem” do indeed appear consistently, but in most cases references to existing stereotypes and understandings (i.e. memories) of Indigenous peoples and EuroAmericans are inferred through a broad range of language use. The racial meanings and their implications for the nation are often overt, but others are what Eyal Zandberg, Oren Meyers, and Motti Neiger refer to as “dog whistle memories.” In other words, those members of communities attuned to the specific cultural “sounds and frequency” employed are able to interpret embedded cultural references that others may miss.<sup>471</sup> In the case of rhetorics about Indigenous peoples, while most readers will gather that it is a reference to EuroAmerican and Native American history, fewer will recognize the negative racial implications of the discourse. For instance, as Stuckey and Murphy observed, the plethora of sports mascots and place names based in Indian figures and names are rarely “evidence of ill will (with a few obvious exceptions), but of a colonialist ideology,” because many people, in cheering the teams and admiring the “euphonious Indian names” believe that “they are honoring indigenous peoples... the noble denizens of a bygone and more pastoral age.” But seeming admirers though they are, even these people, “are themselves captured by the language of

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“Remembering ‘A Great Fag’: Visualizing Public Memory and the Construction of Queer Space,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no.4 (2011):435-460.

<sup>471</sup> Eyal Zandberg, Oren Meyers and Motti Neiger, “Past Continuous: Newsworthiness and the Shaping of Collective Memory,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 29, no.1 (2012): 75.

colonialism, *which is constituting a national reality even as it encourages the belief that such language is merely reflecting reality.*”<sup>472</sup> As tribal nations, activists, and critical scholars call out these seemingly innocuous references, the ubiquitous presence of colonizing and degrading rhetoric becomes apparent, even beyond overtly negative terms such as “redskin,” “squaw,” or “savage.”<sup>473</sup>

Across the historic public discourse addressed in this chapter, it is therefore important to examine not only blatantly racist terms, but also the racial meanings inferred, especially in rhetoric about national inclusion and identity. In many cases, Indigenous peoples, particularly those perceived negatively, were often described in comparison to their white counterparts. More so than direct definitions of what it meant to be white or “Indian,” these rhetorical contrasts reveal the dominant public’s racial ideologies. For instance, in the following excerpt, the mnemonic genres of “Backward Indians” and “Modern Americans” are inferred and are defined in opposition to one another, the meaning of one largely dependent on the identity of the other:

The industrial situation on the reservations is full of hope and promise. The ‘man with the hoe’ sometimes has a bronze-brown cheek. Some Indians, it is true, remain thriftless and indifferent...Love of wild life—of hunting, fishing, wandering is not eradicated and never will be entirely eradicated. But our red brothers are catching the spirit of the times.<sup>474</sup>

Apparent in this 1909 excerpt is the way The Indian was framed as “thriftless and indifferent” in juxtaposition to EuroAmerican values of industriousness and agriculture. Revealed in the above description is the idea that “our red brothers” are capable of advancing, and indeed there is “hope and promise” of it, but only when their perceived “thriftless and indifferent” traditional ways of life are eradicated in favor of “catching the spirit of the times” and industriously taking up the hoe. This piece exemplifies the stereotyped concept of “The Indian” explained in the

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<sup>472</sup> Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name,” 90, my emphasis.

<sup>473</sup> Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name,” 84.

<sup>474</sup> William J. Harsha, “Indians as Workers,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), January 15, 1909, 2.

introduction chapter—the essentialized depiction of all Indigenous peoples as primitive (and often savage), lazy, dirty, wandering hunters.<sup>475</sup> It is an image that willfully ignores the true heterogeneity and practices of the peoples spread across the continent and displaced by EuroAmericans, but one that discourse about Indigenous peoples relied upon to spread the gospel of assimilation. By this time in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, this essentialism, or “disabling certitude,” as named by Carrillo, was reiterated through the tales “popular culture tells and retells about the American founding, and about Indian identity,” shaping the ways the EuroAmerican public thought about and treated the indigenous population.<sup>476</sup> The telling and retelling of the stories, the recirculation of texts over time, is also collective remembering by another name, and it affects how generations of Americans think of and relate to Native peoples. Wide spread public opinions can have profound impacts, as demonstrated when collective memories of Indigenous people were consistently employed to characterize them as “too far behind the times to be active agents within territorial, legal, and/or political space of modern life” was often used to justify repressive policies and treatment of them.<sup>477</sup>

In Haskell’s early years, many of the *Leader’s* opening stories supported the dominant public’s goal of “Solving the Indian Problem” through assimilation education geared toward “killing the Indian and saving the Man.” In the *Leader* texts, and in line with the Social Darwinism of the time, Indigenous people were depicted as primitive but salvageable; learning to embody modern progress offered them an avenue for avoiding physical extermination in favor of cultural genocide. Wolfe observes that Social Darwinism legitimates colonialism because of the ways members of other races and nations are seen as being in the “the past” and farther down the

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<sup>475</sup> Engels, “Equipped for Murder;” Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name.”

<sup>476</sup> Renee Ann Cramer, “The Common Sense of Anti-Indian Racism: Reactions to Mashantucket Pequot Success in Gaming and Acknowledgement,” *Law and Social Inquiry* 31, no. 2 (2006): 318; see also Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance.”

<sup>477</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 7.

evolutionary scale.<sup>478</sup> In cases where Native individuals had not yet adopted or had refused to adopt EuroAmerican ways, authors employed the “Backward Indian” memory genre, reinforcing negative Indian stereotypes. Doing so served as rhetorical colonialism, promoting the idea that Indigenous peoples were unintelligible as civilized “Man” as long as they maintained an “Indian” identity. With this justification, those who did not assimilate and were unwilling to advance themselves or their race were portrayed as undeserving of inclusion in the modern, progressive nation that was trying to help them. Those perceived as “choosing” to not take up (modern) American values and behaviours were deemed unfit as members of the U.S., demonstrating “the interweaving of ideologies of racial difference with liberal conceptions of citizenship.”<sup>479</sup>

In 1897 to 1899, the first years of the *Indian Leader*, the paper overtly promoted Haskell’s assimilation practices, recounting extended tales of new students arriving at the school as “blanket Indians” and quickly becoming credits to themselves, their people, and the school by adopting EuroAmerican norms. This undertaking was openly declared in the paper’s mission statement addressed earlier, which stated that students “have for their motto, ‘Onward and Upward’ and are trying in earnest to live up to this.”<sup>480</sup> Across the *Leader’s* pages, students are depicted as caught in the “spirit of the times,” shedding the “Backward Indian” they were in favor of becoming a “Modern American,” advancing themselves and marching forward, tangible evidence of the greatness of the nation. These early stories and ongoing descriptions of students’ home reservations served to remind readers and students of the “primitive” conditions from whence they came, painting an image of Indians who were stuck in the ways of the past, but who

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<sup>478</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 173. See also Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880 - 1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

<sup>479</sup> Aihwa Ong, “Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States,” *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996): 739.

<sup>480</sup> *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), March 6, 1897, 2.



could become useful members of the nation if given the chance through assimilation. The excerpts selected for inclusion here demonstrate some of the changes students and their homes experienced as they were exposed to EuroAmerican ways, and they were chosen because of their representative nature; their themes reflect those of the bulk of stories across the early years of the paper, and, to a lesser extent, topics of discourse throughout the remainder of the Assimilation era.

The story of Pe-che-tha-ta, detailing “how rapidly a bright Indian student can learn a new language and new ways,” is representative of the *Leader’s* front-page matter over the first three years of its existence. Published in the *Leader* in September of 1897 by an unnamed former teacher of Pe-che-tha-ta, the story clearly recounts the perceived primitiveness of students arriving to Haskell, and the ways assimilation could transform Indigenous students, setting them on the path to join the nation.

The name [Pe-che-tha-ta] does seem rather queer doesn’t it? It seemed so to us at first, though no queerer than the little Indian boy to whom it belonged seemed then. What an excitement there was in the small boys’ building the first night of his arrival, for [Haskell] being a non-reservation boarding school very few pupils come in their camp attire; so Pe-che-tha-ta was quite a curiosity. Fringed leggings of bright colored cloth covered the thin legs; a dingy blanket was wrapped closely about him and held in place by the claw-like hands. A mop of tangled black hair fell in confusion about the weird little face, from which gleamed mischievous dark eyes. Not at all confused was this atom of humanity by the curious gaze of the crowd that surrounded him. He only folded his blanket more closely about him and looked around at the wondering faces in a dignified and self-possessed way that was charming.

The next day he appeared cleansed, his hair closely trimmed, and clothed in a new suit of blue cloth with brass buttons. The little feet that were bare on the evening of his arrival now wore substantial shoes that were the delight of this heart. He gazed admiringly at them, touched them caressingly with his little brown fingers and seemed as proud of them as a small boy usually is of his first pair of new boots, or the youth of tender years of his mustache. *With the change in his clothes his manner changed.* He clattered noisily through the halls... He soon became acquainted with everyone and showed great affection toward those who petted him... In a short time he knew many English words and how to use them... Pe-che-tha-ta has now been in the school between two and three years. He speaks good English, is well-behaved, healthy, and happy all the time. He is still eager to learn all about new things and asks many quaint questions. This

shows how rapidly a bright Indian student can learn a new language and new ways, for Pe-che-tha-ta is only one of many.<sup>481</sup>

Through this story the author conveys the experience of interacting with a student who had come straight from his people, describing Pe-che-tha-ta as “a curiosity,” with “claw-like hands,” and a “weird little face” who was dirty to boot, all of which suggest an animal-like quality to the child. The strangeness, the unintelligibility, attached to Pe-che-tha-ta lasts only until he is bathed, shorn, and dressed in civilized clothing—a suit and shoes—which seem to render him capable of interacting with those in his new environment, able to “learn a new language and new ways.”<sup>482</sup> The author explicitly noted the effect of the trappings of civilization on the student, saying “With the change in his clothes his manner changed.” From a silent, “self-possessed” and animal-like being, he was transformed into a “well-behaved, healthy, and happy” little boy thanks to the influences of entering Haskell.

Stories such as this, celebrating how Haskell had salvaged the humanity of supposedly primitive savages who appeared on its doorstep, were a prevalent theme in the early years of the school. Implied across the stories is a need for rebirth—the need for the dirty, unintelligible, animalistic Indian to die in order that the articulate, clean, hardworking (hu)man may emerge. In these cases, Haskell lived up to Pratt’s mission to “Kill the Indian to Save the Man,” pursuing structural forms of genocide now that more overt forms of violence against Native Americans were officially frowned upon. Using the *Indian Leader* to reinforce the perception that, left to their own devices, “The Indian” would remain barefoot, dirty, and forever behind the times simultaneously supported the colonizing notion that assimilation was the only solution to the Indian Problem, and that there was an Indian “problem” at all.

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<sup>481</sup> “Pe-Che-Tha-Ta,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), September 1897, 1, my emphasis.

<sup>482</sup> Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 218-222 addresses intelligibility in more detail.

As mentioned above, discourse supporting the transformation of the “Backward Indian” into a “Modern American” was produced by EuroAmerican teachers *and* by Indigenous students and alumni, demonstrating the pervasiveness of the mnemonic genres. For instance, Haskell alumnus Simon Redbird’s comments at the 1909 Mohonk conference support the drive for Indigenous assimilation and progress. According to Redbird,

There has been a marvelous improvement in Indian conditions. They have been driven out of their hunting grounds and thrown upon their own resources that they may eat bread by the sweat of their brow in order to meet the modern civilization and to be on an equality amongst men. To-day I can point out to you that there are many Indians who have been educated from the Government school, who not only are actually supporting themselves but are doing a good business in the communities in which they live.<sup>483</sup>

Redbird’s description praises progress, advocating for Native peoples, of which he is one, to seek improvement in their conditions by giving up their own ways and pursuing “modern civilization”—attending U.S. government schools, farming, and doing business. Redbird describes their pursuit of education and agriculture as methods to achieve “an equality amongst men,” rendering The Indian intelligible as human. In 1915, Haskell student Ella Yellowbird echoed the idea that the time of tribes’ “old ways” had passed, to the benefit of the people. She concluded an explanation of how her Ponca people traditionally celebrated with the statement, “Now all these old customs are fading away for civilization has led them to another way of living and doing what is better than their old ways.”<sup>484</sup> Her final sentence sums up the goal of the Indian education system: to kill the Indian (way) to save the (civilized) human being held back by it.

The perceived good being done by “Modern Americans” for “Backward Indians” was depicted over the years, particularly in relation to Indian homes. Haskell student Mason Shepard recounted his visit home to his reservation after a three year absence, noting “I could see that

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<sup>483</sup> Simon Redbird, “An Indian’s View of the Indian Problem,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), May 14, 1909, 1.

<sup>484</sup> Ella Yellowbird, “How Festivals are Celebrated by Indians,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), February, 1915, 3.

during that time changes had taken place looking towards progress among the Indians.” Shepard was also clear about the origin of “advancements” he had witnessed: “the government through these successful schools of the United States stretched out a helping hand and told us come out of that darkness called ignorance into the light of civilization.”<sup>485</sup> In his observations of home, Shepard identified his people as “Backward Indians” who needed a “helping hand...out of that darkness called ignorance,” a helping hand offered by U.S. government. The story of Ske-De-Ke also highlights the way a student from a “Backward Indian” camp learns instead to appreciate being in the world of “Modern America.” After five years of school at an Indian boarding school, Ske-De-Ke visited her family at home, and quickly “realized what life there meant—she had almost forgotten it all—she felt that she could not stay there—the smoky tepee, the yelping dogs, the poor beds, the illy-prepared food and the general lack of cleanliness sickened her.”<sup>486</sup> After months of persuading her parents, she was allowed to return to school, “and she was soon happy once more with her beloved teachers, house-mother and school-mates. She now realized fully the difference cleanliness, energy and education made. She felt that she could never again return to the old conditions of life. There was a better way and in that way she would live.”<sup>487</sup>

As represented in this anecdote, Ske-De-Ke’s homecoming was one of misery and illness because she had returned to a world that was stuck in the past and had not yet embraced modern life. Assimilative education had allowed her to progress, but her family and people remained mired in their primitiveness. As the story continued, readers learned that after returning to the EuroAmerican world of “cleanliness, energy, and education,” Ske-De-Ke graduated and moved on to another school as a teacher, where “she remains busy and happy in her work of helping some of her own people to walk in right paths. ...Her influence and teachings are doing great

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<sup>485</sup> Mason Shepard, “The Sioux Indians,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), April 18, 1902, 1.

<sup>486</sup> “Ske-De-Ke,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), May 1897, 1, emphasis added.

<sup>487</sup> “Ske-De-Ke,” 1, emphasis added.

good. Ske-De-Ke is an example of what one noble, earnest, Christian Indian is doing. May there be many others who will follow in her footsteps.”<sup>488</sup> Ske-De-Ke’s story demonstrates how discourse and education about assimilation ingrained in Indigenous students new standards for how life should be lived, encouraging them to reject the lives they lived before coming to school, to the point that her former home “sickened her.”<sup>489</sup> Her home is depicted as uncomfortable, unclean, and unhealthy and serves to represent the homes of all students when not at school, at least according to the discourse of this public. Through the comparison, living in EuroAmerican society becomes a welcome respite from a life she had supposedly advanced beyond, even if her parents had not.

That students such as Ske-De-Ke are depicted in the discourse as *desiring* life at the government school over her home reinforces the persistent theme in the discourse that the primitive Indian can be saved if exposed to civilizing influences. Crucial in both Pe-che-tha-ta and Ske-De-Ke’s tales is that the authors of each see the tales as representative of many others’ experiences—Pe-che-tha-ta is described as “only one of many,” and Ske-De-Ke’s tale ends with a hope that “May there be many others who will follow in her footsteps.” These hopes expressed by the dominant public, to convert backward Blanket Indians to the modern ways of the nation, highlight the colonial goals of the dominant public: structural genocide, or, as succinctly defined by Pratt, “Killing the Indian to Save the Man.”

As noted above, “Saving the Man” and solving the Indian Problem entailed transforming primitive Indians into good citizens, largely through teaching them the ways of the “modern” world. Students themselves picked up this call, touting the benefits and responsibilities of

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<sup>488</sup> “Ske-De-Ke,” 1, emphasis added.

<sup>489</sup> Within both the Pe-che-tha-ta and the Ske-De-Ke anecdotes runs a theme of their homes and peoples as unhealthy. Pe-che-tha-ta arrives at Haskell with “thin legs” but ends up “healthy” during his time there; Ske-de-ke becomes ill after returning home, her health only restored after returning to Haskell. This theme of ill-health at home appears in multiple stories, implying for readers that children remaining on the reservations were at risk of illness and potentially physical death, as opposed to merely the cultural sacrifices expected/required of those attending the Indian boarding schools.

citizenship in the U.S., one of which was to help raise their people to the light of civilization. This call to action was taken up in a student essay written in honor of the class of 1900 commencement ceremonies. In it, Haskell student Irene Campbell stated, “Our people must join the march of progress, and it is within our power to retard or advance it. ... The time is now at hand, fellow-students: the battle has begun, and if anything is to be accomplished it is our duty to lead the way. We are the ones who should bring enlightenment to our people and be also the planters of good seed among them.”<sup>490</sup> Throughout her commencement address, Campbell exhorts students to lead the way on the march to progress, shunning the darkness and savagery previously deemed the lot of The Indian. In doing so, she references the collective narratives of the nation, remembering her people as behind the times, stranded in the dark of savagery and in need of saving. Student Carrie Morrison also advocated for the role of newly civilized Indigenous students in her 1902 essay, “A Necessary Lesson.” In it, she advocated on behalf of the U.S. government, who

has not been unjust to the present generation, for have we not countless opportunities by which we can make ourselves competent workers as future citizens of the United States? It is our duty to make the best possible use of these advantages. The duty of self-improvement is the greatest of all civic obligations. Let us nobly do our part. ... We Indians do not realize what a golden opportunity lies within our grasp. We who are in natural sympathy with our Indian brothers must ever strive to make our stand in life as high as that of our white sisters and brothers, yes, and pass them if we can. Let us, then, fellow students, be co-workers with the government and with all others who are striving to elevate our race.<sup>491</sup>

Morrison’s essay clearly demonstrates that EuroAmericans were not the only ones to engage in colonizing rhetoric. Her advocacy on behalf of government policies legitimizes the idea that her “Indian brothers” need elevating and that “our white brothers and sisters” currently stand higher in life, reinforcing racial divisions while advocating for assimilation. An 1899 *Leader* article

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<sup>490</sup> Irene Campbell, “Leadership,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), June 22, 1900, 6.

<sup>491</sup> Carrie Morrison, “A Necessary Lesson,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), July 4, 1902, 1, emphasis added.

titled “Why Are We Here?” clarified that those who denied the call to become educated and good workers would be “a burden to himself and in impediment to progress.”<sup>492</sup> In 1914, Evelyn Pierce (Seneca) won a gold medal from the Washington, D.C. Indian Office in their annual composition contest for the essay, *Citizenship: The Viewpoint of a Haskell Graduate*, later published in the *Indian Leader*. In it, Pierce defined good citizens as those who “will use his rights to the best advantage or in the service of his fellowmen. . . .one who carries himself along in life, also those who are dependent on him for support, and who does his share of the work that each generation finds at hand. A good citizen will do all this willingly and with due regard for the rights of others.”<sup>493</sup> Pierce also advocates that “Indian young men should be made to realize these things and to prepare themselves for good citizenship.”<sup>494</sup> In the essay, Pierce calls on EuroAmerican figures such as Woodrow Wilson, William J. Bryan and Jane Addams as examples of good citizens, reinforcing in the process that it is these Americans who know how to be good citizens in this modern nation, while The Indian must still “be made to realize these things.”

In American culture both past and present, *progress* is a key trope that people who wish to identify with the nation are taught to strive for.<sup>495</sup> The standards for what counts as progress were narrowly defined, based on EuroAmerican norms and values that were fortified with each reference to national narratives based on racial definitions of white civilization versus primitive Other. In remembering the continual success of the nation, Americans construct their own identities in relation to the nation, defining themselves as its members as both the source and beneficiaries to its success. Although nations are not static nor stagnant singular entities, a

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<sup>492</sup> “Why Are We Here?” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), April 1, 1899, 2.

<sup>493</sup> Evelyn Pierce, “Citizenship: The Viewpoint of a Haskell Graduate,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), 1914, 12.

<sup>494</sup> Pierce, “Citizenship,” 13.

<sup>495</sup> Tarla Rai Peterson, “Jefferson’s Yeoman Farmer as Frontier Hero: A Self Defeating Mythic Structure,” *Agriculture and Human Values* 7 no.1 (1990): 12.

consistent theme of EuroAmerican/U.S. “progress” and implicit references to what we now call the American Dream were invoked across instances of collective remembering in the *Leader*, while Indigenous peoples were consistently misremembered as stuck in the past, their time over. It is only through literally “working toward whiteness” that Indigenous individuals are represented as being able to progress past the racial stereotypes assigned them.<sup>496</sup> While the U.S. is represented as always only progressing forward (in time, industry, civilization), Indigenous peoples who do not assimilate are characterized as living in the primitive past, unable to catch up with national progress. On the other hand, those individuals depicted as making the most of the education “offered” them by the U.S. government are seen as moving their race forward in evolution and civilization instead of holding themselves and the nation “back.” Presenting EuroAmerican colonizers as advancing the nation and people forward while Indigenous peoples are depicted as holding themselves and the nation in the past is used as justification for assimilation policies and as such, functions as a strategy of rhetorical colonization.

#### *Memory Genres in Publics’ Discourses*

Taken together, these stories and excerpts paint a picture of life in primitive “Indian” camps versus EuroAmerican society and the change (deemed advancement) possible through the pursuit of assimilation education. Across these examples, members of the public advocated for civilization and citizenship as solutions to “The Indian Problem,” a move often justified by collectively remembering The Indian as supposedly stuck in the past and in need of advancement for their own good and to better fit into the modern nation. The regular inclusion of pieces such as this over the course of the Assimilation Era indicates that the editors of the *Leader* thought them important for dissemination to the rest of the public. Many of the articles and stories about

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<sup>496</sup> A term used by David R. Roediger to map the ways immigrants to the U.S. were gradually deemed racially white based on their work ethic and American acculturation. For more, see David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (Cambridge, MA: Basic Books, 2005).



students do not list an author, but they are often written from the perspective of either a student or an unnamed faculty member, lending an air of authenticity to the tale and legitimacy to the colonial project of assimilation. Those Indigenous readers exposed to these articles receive the message that they can only access the modern nation and its benefits if they advance, moving away from the camps that are depicted as remaining mired in the past. In discourse such as this, those parents, friends, and family left behind in the camp are assumed to still be caught up in “the old-time superstitions and customs,” of sloth, filth, and ignorance and students are exhorted not to look back at what they have left behind.<sup>497</sup>

In their similarities and adherence to a common theme of representing Indigenous people and their homes as dirty, immoral and behind the times, these stories and others like them contribute to what Olick refers to as a *genre* within collective remembering. As “historical accretions,” genres are those practices being employed by participants, and are continuously (re)generated through interactions.<sup>498</sup> Utterances draw on and contribute to genres, to the practices employed in light of the social exigencies of the moment. As a “fluid construct,” genres may be “changed with the memory of each new addition, which can merely reproduce it in a new context or change it fundamentally,” calling on scholars to ask, “What genres do images of the past draw on and contribute to? What is the position of any image within an ongoing dialogue?”<sup>499</sup> The ways depictions of Native and EuroAmericans are called upon in discourses across a range of temporal and spatial contexts elucidates the role of colonization in the U.S. As Stuckey and Murphy observed, “to understand the constitution of an American subject at various points in rhetorical history is simultaneously to recognize the ways in which a subject can only

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<sup>497</sup> “William Pollock,” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), April 1, 1899, 1, emphasis added.

<sup>498</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 106-107.

<sup>499</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 107.

emerge as the product of a complex and dialogic interactions with multiple others.”<sup>500</sup> These interactions occur over space and time, but the relationship between past and present discourse “is not mere consecutiveness in time.”<sup>501</sup> In a more complex interaction than this, a public’s range of discourses produces a reflexive context through which we make sense of the world around us. In the case of Indigenous-EuroAmerican relations in the U.S., genres have functioned as public discourses of rhetorical colonization by consistently aligning Indigenous individuals who abide by their peoples’ traditions with being backward primitives who refuse to embrace the light of civilization being offered by U.S. assimilation programs.

Across articles in the *Leader*, members of the public interested in solving the “Indian Problem” were constantly presented with an existing genre of “Backward Indian,” a persistent genre both before and after this time. Although persistent, the details of this genre shift to fit the exigency of the time. In this discourse spanning the end of the 19th century into the 20th, depicting Indian homes as living in the past, as immoral and dirty, helped serve as arguments to take and keep students from their families “for their own good.” Based in the Social Darwinism popular at the time, those rejecting “advancement” through the methods EuroAmericans offered were not only stalling their own progress, but that of their race, limiting possibilities for inclusion in the modern nation the U.S. defined itself as. In later eras, this same genre of “Indian as behind the times” is remembered differently. Before the instantiation of the Indian Education system, this theme was used as a reason to kill or remove Indigenous peoples who inhabited desirable land, and later in history, this same genre was called on with nostalgia for times gone by, as a way to get closer to nature and regain masculinity, or, as we see in the next chapter, as an impediment to developments deemed good for the EuroAmerican community.<sup>502</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> Stuckey and Murphy, “By Any Other Name,” 75.

<sup>501</sup> Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” 420.

<sup>502</sup> See Deloria, *Playing Indian* and Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

As “practical types,” genres are those practices employed in the discourses constructing narratives for collective remembering.<sup>503</sup> Although the brief biographies detailing students’ arrival at school or return to camp were rarely featured after 1902, the theme of depicting “camp” as a place behind the times and fading away for its own good persisted. The language of “blanket Indian” faded away over the decades but the idea remained, contributing to a fluid but persistent genre of traditional Indians as stuck in the past while the U.S. nation progresses onward. A mnemonic perspective in national formation and identity recognizes that constructing meaning and identity are *end goals* in politics, not merely a means to an end or a side product.<sup>504</sup> By constructing “rhetorically fixed national identities,” those in power are able to manipulate perceptions of space-time and legitimate themselves and their goals.<sup>505</sup> Routine use of the “Backward Indian” genre serves as a foil for the “Modern American” identity seemingly embraced as ideal by the dominant public at this time. Calling on Carrillo’s idea of the symbolic Indian, such imagery “proves to ‘us’ that ‘we’ are civilized, that ‘we’ are not ‘them,’ as ‘we’ have progressed away from the animal, the group, the communal, and toward the radical individualist of the economist.”<sup>506</sup> Bodnar agreed, observing that including exhibits of Native Americans at the various World Fairs in 1893 and 1904 “was not ultimately to study culture but to use Native Americans as a baseline for measuring the extent of material progress that a business class felt it created.” The popularity of collections of Native American Artifacts was largely due to the desire to “accentuate the material achievements of the present and offer an understanding of the ‘historical trajectory’ in which they presided. Visitors to the fairs received a

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<sup>503</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 107.

<sup>504</sup> Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 109.

<sup>505</sup> Boyarin (1994), quoted by Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 88; see also page 108.

<sup>506</sup> Jo Carillo, “Getting to Survivance,” 39.

version of the relationship between the past and the present that primarily served the interests of the cultural leaders.”<sup>507</sup>

### Progressing From the Past

The government’s and Haskell’s efforts to correct “The Indian Problem” were steadily successful, at least according to the public discourse produced by Haskell and the surrounding community. In 1898 (14 years after the school’s founding), John Prophet, a reader of the *Indian Leader* submitted a letter declaring that, “The progress made in a few years by the red man certainly indicates how valuable an adjunct to the cause of education are the Indian Schools.”<sup>508</sup> Twenty-five years into the social experiment embodied at Haskell, described as “work in the interest of the Indian race,” an observer noted that if people still entertained doubts about the Indian education system, “... long before the [anniversary celebration] program was concluded he must have been convinced that such a splendid body of people, such enthusiasm, such music, such pride in and loyalty to the old school, could mean but one thing—that Haskell Institute is abundantly justifying its existence.”<sup>509</sup> Another quarter-century later, at the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations in 1934, a *Kansas City Star* writer also noted the perceived success of the school, importantly also making note of the ways Indigenous peoples were perceived as opting in to the system: “With the years Haskell has accomplished its original purpose. The Indians have learned to mingle with the white people, a little shyly perhaps, but with no feeling of inferiority because of a lack of knowledge of the white man’s ways. Equality with the white man has become the Indians’ choice.”<sup>510</sup>

These statements spanning the years of the Assimilation Era in the U.S. demonstrate the persistence of a dominant public in pursuing the colonization and cultural erasure of the nation’s

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<sup>507</sup> Bodnar, *Remaking America*.

<sup>508</sup> John Prophet, *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), July 1898, 3.

<sup>509</sup> “The Quarter Centennial: A Résumé of the Week” *Indian Leader* (Lawrence, KS), July 2, 1909, 2.

<sup>510</sup> P.E. “Haskell Institute Prepares to Observe the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of its Founding,” *Kansas City Star*, October 16, 1934.

Indigenous peoples. They also demonstrate how EuroAmericans justified colonial policies by insisting that partaking “has become the Indians’ choice.” That Indigenous voices were seen as supporting assimilation policies implies to those advocating for structural genocide (“killing the Indian”) that what they were doing was acceptable. Indigenous voices enacting strategies of rhetorical colonialism advocating for colonizing policies legitimated their enactment in the eyes of supporters, and further drowned the voices of those Native peoples fighting to maintain their cultural identities.

As seen throughout this chapter, discourses by a nation’s dominant public are culturally and politically influential, particularly when about those deemed “Other.” We make sense of the world and our own identities through the publics in which we partake, so it should come as no surprise that members of publics often seek models of what means to be a good citizen *through* the public media.<sup>511</sup> We learn how to act as citizens through the discourses about the nation, a situation that necessitates revealing the implications of dominant publics’ rhetorics. Particularly for critical scholars, examining which memories persist in public discourse is significant, as these are generally the versions of the past that better serve the needs of those in power.<sup>512</sup> As Barbara Biesecker recognized, hegemonic forces have the capacity to craft the appearance of memories, and the ability to make those desirable to their ends appear constant instead of shifting, factors that allow these supposedly constant memories to be politicized and crafted into the idea of national identity.<sup>513</sup> As we’ve seen throughout these discourses of rhetorical colonization, discourses produced by dominant publics and the memories they call upon are

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<sup>511</sup> Hariman and Lucaites, “Performing Civic Identity,” 363-392.

<sup>512</sup> Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1992).

<sup>513</sup> Barbara Biesecker, “Renovating the National Imaginary: A Prolegomenon on Contemporary Rhetoric,” in *Framing Public Memory*, ed. Kendall R. Phillips (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2004), 212-247.

imbued with the potential to override the discourse about the needs and desires of those marginalized publics they don’t wish heard.

The above analysis demonstrates that collective memories are discourses integral to constituting publics, and argues that texts about the “Indian Problem” function as mnemonic rhetoric and rhetorical colonialism. Expanding Warner’s conception of public discourses to include collective memories furthers our understanding of how people call upon the past to make sense of their present and to construct their identity as a member of the public. In the case of the public in question here, examining the ways mnemonic genres such as “Modern American” and “Backward Indian” are used provides insight into how and why this public’s discourse legitimated the colonial ideology of the U.S., and helps demonstrate the important role of Indigenous peoples *within* this dominant public. Examining a text such as Haskell’s *Indian Leader* reveals the ways colonialism reproduces itself in “the banal and humble intimacies of the everyday.”<sup>514</sup> As Haskell alumni encouraged Indigenous students to “catch the spirit of the times,” and students reassured family members that they were well-served by their time at the boarding school, they were also reinforcing the perception that they and their peoples needed to change, needed to advance and become civilized, using EuroAmerican society as their touchstone.

While the extent of *Indian Leader* discourse explicitly advocating for Indian Boarding School attendance may initially surprise, when considering the substantial material benefit individuals gained “from aligning with the system/passing/“playing the game”” (such as material goods, individual farms, and even the potential for their peoples to survive), the practical implications for doing so become obvious.<sup>515</sup> Ono and Sloop observed that vernacular discourses

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<sup>514</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (2001): 883-844.

<sup>515</sup> Moon, “Interclass Travel, Cultural Adaptation,” 225-226.

produced by marginalized peoples are not necessarily resistant, but at times potentially “reproduces the logic of dominant culture” (sometimes even within attempts to resist it).<sup>516</sup> Examining the discourses within the *Indian Leader* provide a sense of the conversations about race and nation happening on multiple levels during the Assimilation era—from government reports to student letters home—and how those discourses were used to reify mnemonic genres on behalf of a dominant public’s goal of maintaining a white national identity. No matter their author, *Leader* discourses about how to “Solve the Indian Problem” served as rhetorical colonialism, dispersing messages about how Indigenous peoples could and should assimilate to white ways, offering them the option of cultural genocide in order to save themselves. That some of these messages were produced by Native students and alumni served to further legitimate the oppressive programs advocated by those who regarded themselves as *THE* national public, shaping national policies for generations to come.

The implications of the colonial assimilation policies that attempted to eradicate Indigenous cultures were disastrous for Native peoples at the time, and continue to reach forward, affecting contemporary relationships between peoples in the U.S. As the next chapter argues, Indigenous peoples’ ongoing attempts to have their traditional lifeways recognized continue to be thwarted by EuroAmerican society’s collective remembering of “The Indian” as a problem, one that is inextricably raced and inevitably behind the times. In a contemporary example of how collective memories are integral to public discourses, the Haskell community (an intertribal community composed of generations of students, alumni, and their family and

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<sup>516</sup> Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California’s Proposition 187* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002), 115; For more on how vernacular discourses produced by marginalized peoples do not necessarily challenge oppressive dominant logics, see also Bernadette Marie Calafell and Fernando P. Delgado, “Reading Latino/a Images: Interrogating *Americanos*,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 21, no. 1 (2004): 1-21; Marouf Hasian, Jr. and Fernando P. Delgado, “The Trials and Tribulations of Racialized Critical Rhetorical Theory: Understanding the Rhetorical Ambiguities of Proposition 187,” *Communication Theory* 8, no. 3 (1998):245-270; Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, “The Critique of Vernacular Discourse,” *Communication Monographs* 62 (1995): 19- 26.

friends from hundreds of tribal nations across the U.S.) has developed a counterpublic challenging EuroAmerican assumptions about race, community, and colonization within the U.S.



**CHAPTER 5**  
**DISRUPTING RACE, CLAIMING COLONIZATION:**  
**RESISTING CONTEMPORARY ASSIMILATION EXPECTATIONS**

*“For many [N]ative Americans, the student protest [of the South Lawrence Trafficway] symbolizes a growing movement to preserve Indian culture. For non-Indians in Lawrence, the highway dispute is forcing an uneasy reassessment of Indians’ role in the community.”*

*- Bob Edwards, 1993*  
*Lawrence Resident and City Commissioner*<sup>517</sup>

Since 1993, arguments about the construction of a trafficway across land once belonging to Haskell Indian Nations University (HINU) have served as a metonymy for Indigenous-EuroAmerican relations in the U.S.<sup>518</sup> Although the South Lawrence Trafficway (SLT) debate centers on the 52 acres of wetland once part of the Haskell campus, the relatively small site holds significance far beyond the wetlands, Haskell, or Kansas, encompassing arguments used by dominant white publics against Indigenous lifeways that are already marginalized through ongoing colonial practices. At this writing, the SLT debate has lasted 20 years, but the roots of the underlying racial and cultural debates extend deeply into the past, as far back as early European colonization of Indigenous lands throughout what is now the U.S. The rhetoric employed by both sides over the two decades of the debate is significant for the ongoing tensions it reveals between the dominant EuroAmerican public and a resistive pan-Indian counterpublic based, in this instance, in Haskell and its history. Many of those resisting the construction of the trafficway recognize the implications of the SLT debate for broader (trans-)national relationships between EuroAmerican and Indigenous communities and the rhetorical colonization that persists in discourses between them.

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<sup>517</sup> Bob Edwards, “Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway,” *Morning Edition*. National Public Radio (December 6, 1993).

<sup>518</sup> Although the school is now known as Haskell Indian Nations University, when referencing issues and identities that have persisted across several instantiations of the school, I often refer to it as “Haskell” in acknowledgement of this and in recognition that the boundaries of the school campus have shifted and are much reduced from the years the school was known as the U.S. Indian Industrial Training School or as Haskell Institute.

Specifically, the discourse about the SLT functions differently depending on who is producing it. The rhetoric of the EuroAmerican community members often serves to reinforce the racial divide between the communities, implicitly reinforcing the identity of the Lawrence community as white and the Haskell community as Native American. On the other hand, the discourse from the Haskell pan-Indian counterpublic functions to disrupt race, focusing instead on a primary identity of being colonized. Importantly, the Haskell community also refers to itself as Native American or Indian, but the two communities have different perspectives on what this means. The Lawrence public largely uses “Native American” as a racial referent, naming people within the pan-Indian Haskell community as raced bodies. Despite the various racial identities expressed across group members, based on the individuals’ performances of spirituality and concern for the wetlands, discourse directed to the group assumes a homogenous racial identity, one that echoes the historic conception and mnemonic genre of the “Backward Indian.”<sup>519</sup> Across discourse about the SLT debate, I argue that members of the dominant Lawrence public reinforce the marginalization of Indigenous communities within the U.S. through invoking the memory genre “Backward Indians,” and concurrently maintain a rhetorical silence about the nation’s colonial past and present.<sup>520</sup> In response, members of the Haskell counterpublic enact discursive mnemonic resistance on two levels—challenging representations of themselves as “Backward” while reinforcing that they are also members of the U.S. national community; and explicitly remembering and calling out the ways they and their peoples remain colonized, countering the silence of the dominant Lawrence public.

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<sup>519</sup> Environmental groups protesting the SLT often call upon the need to protect the wetlands for the flora and fauna, but also because of its integral role in the spirituality and histories of the Indigenous community members of Haskell.

<sup>520</sup> See Danielle Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2009): 39-60 about silence as a rhetorical strategy related to colonialism.

In the case of the South Lawrence Trafficway and the Wakarusa wetlands, in addition to being an important ecological resource, the disputed wetlands are also integral to the culture and spirituality of the Haskell community and its associated tribal nations. As such, what many may consider an insignificant debate over a mere 52 acres is a representation of the “centrality of space in the production, organization, and distribution of cultural power.”<sup>521</sup> In other words, those acres and the debates surrounding them represent far more than the land itself—it is symbolic of the history of Haskell and its students’ tribal nations; of the history of Lawrence and the U.S. nation; and of the colonial relationship between the two. The complicated controversy extends beyond the acres of land under debate highlighting that, as Edward Said observed,

...empty, uninhabited spaces virtually do not exist. Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings.<sup>522</sup>

The soldiers that once drove Indigenous peoples across the hills and prairies were replaced by ideas and structures that work(ed) to eliminate Native cultures. The struggle over the wetlands is a struggle over our entangled histories, the colonial aspects of which are remembered very differently by the publics embroiled in the debate. My purpose here is to reveal the crucial role of collective remembering in how discourses from both the dominant EuroAmerican Kansas public and the pan-Indian Haskell counterpublic address race and colonization. While the Lawrence community rhetoric reveals that its members possess an assumed white identity with all its attendant privileges (such as national acceptance), it simultaneously reinforces perceptions of Native Americans as raced and essentialized, inextricably linked to the stereotyped “Backward Indian” mnemonic genre addressed in the previous chapter while overlooking, for the most part,

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<sup>521</sup> Raka Shome, “Space Matters: The Power and Practice of Space,” *Communication Theory* 13, no. 1 (2003): 39.

<sup>522</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1993), 7.

the ongoing colonial structures of the U.S.<sup>523</sup> The rhetoric of the Haskell community, on the other hand, explicitly calls on memories and experiences of colonization, constructing themselves as a resistive counterpublic whose primary identity is not one of race, but of colonization, a position that, while ironically still marginalizing the community, provides them a platform from which to challenge the structures of colonialism.

After explaining what texts are analyzed in this chapter, I review existing scholarship about counterpublics and about how memory plays a primary role in community and national identity. I then situate the discourse, briefly recounting the history of the Wakarusa wetlands and the South Lawrence Trafficway. From this foundation I analyze the two communities' discourses produced during the SLT debate, revealing how the Haskell counterpublic and their needs remain marginalized in comparison to the dominant Kansas EuroAmerican public. Despite this, they continue to challenge the dominant public's discourses, explicitly referencing memories of colonialism in order to highlight the ongoing (rhetorical) colonization of the nation as exemplified in the SLT debate.

### Texts

The ongoing division and misunderstandings between members of the Haskell and Lawrence communities became apparent in the discourse about the South Lawrence Trafficway, spanning numerous newspaper articles, state and federal government reports, stakeholder meetings, and websites produced by members of both sides of the issue. Although talks of a road on the south side of Lawrence had started in the 1970s, little public discourse seems to have appeared before 1993.<sup>524</sup> The issue appeared sporadically in the 1990s, but as court cases and

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<sup>523</sup> For more about whiteness as a possession and the privileges entailed, see Cheryl I. Harris "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (1993): 1707-1791 and George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006).

<sup>524</sup> Emily Fredrix, "Service Calls Attention to Wetlands, Highway Debate" *Associated Press State & Local Wire*, June 20, 2003.

debates came to a head, talk about the SLT was a common feature of local news between the years 2000-2011, with several articles appearing in 2012 as the issue was settled in appeals court.<sup>525</sup> The issue was covered by Lawrence and Kansas news sources such as the *Lawrence Journal World*, *Kansas City Star*, and *Topeka Capital-Journal*, as well as occasionally mentioned in regional or national outlets such as *National Public Radio*, *Associated Press State & Local Wire News Services*, and *Indian Country Today* (a media outlet for, by, and about Native American communities). Searching for discourse about the SLT debates also revealed a significant number of texts related to the planning process of the trafficway, such as: transcripts from two stakeholder meetings hosted in September and October 2001; Federal Highway Administration, Kansas Department of Transportation (KDOT), and Army Corps of Engineers reports; and letters and reports about the Haskell campus's eligibility to be declared a historic site.

In addition to the above texts, there are also websites. KDOT hosted a website devoted to the South Lawrence Trafficway development in order to provide the public with documents and updates about the project.<sup>526</sup> Even more information on the topic was available thanks to websites about the issue hosted by the local chapter of the Sierra Club and the Wetlands Protection Organization (WPO) (a student organization at Haskell). From this broad corpus, I gleaned background information about the issue over two decades as well as discussions about the communities' relationships with one another as addressed across a range of civic and vernacular levels.<sup>527</sup>

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<sup>525</sup> With the increased popularity of technologies such as the internet that provided broader public access to information such as government reports, it's no wonder the amount of discourse about the issue increased significantly since the early 2000s. In addition to the government making information publicly available through a site dedicated to the issue, groups opposing the development of the trafficway were able to make their views known through online avenues.

<sup>526</sup> Found at [www.southlawrencetrafficway.com](http://www.southlawrencetrafficway.com)

<sup>527</sup> Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002), 12-14.

## Context

The decades-long debate surrounding the proposed construction of the South Lawrence Trafficway through the Wakarusa wetlands is lengthy and complicated. The following brief summary ideally allows for a more nuanced understanding of the arguments employed by each side of the debate.

### *History of the Wakarusa Wetlands*

The Wakarusa wetlands is a place “of great historical and cultural importance to Haskell, Lawrence, and the entire nation,” as described by the Kansas Sierra Club website.<sup>528</sup> The Brockington Report (the report commissioned to determine Haskell and the wetland’s eligibility for the Register of Historic Places) reiterates this sentiment, stating, “Indians as well as non-Indians throughout the nation can share the important historic feelings and connections of Haskell to the country’s past.”<sup>529</sup> These statements from across both sides of the aisle—the environmental activists fighting the SLT construction and the report prepared for those building the road, the KDOT and Army Corps of Engineers—foreground Haskell’s link to local and national history and mark it as a place to investigate how the U.S.’s colonial history continues to affect relationships between EuroAmerican and Indigenous communities.<sup>530</sup>

The communities bordering the wetlands have seen the land pass through numerous instantiations: the home range of the Kanza people who were displaced by white settlers;

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<sup>528</sup> Michael Campbell “Why Does the Sierra Club Oppose the SLT?” *Sierra Club*, March 29, 2002. Accessed September 16, 2011, <http://kansas.sierraclub.org/issues/SLT/SouthLawrenceTrafficway.htm>

<sup>529</sup> Paul E. Brockington and Bruce G. Harvey, “Documentation and Recommendations Concerning Determination of Eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places of Haskell Indian Nations University and the Baker Wetlands Douglas County, Kansas; Prepared for U.S. Army, Corps of Engineers, Kansas City District, and Kansas Department of Transportation.” (Douglas County, Kansas: December 2001). Accessed September 11, 2011, [http://southlawrencetrafficway.org/downloads/Brockington%20Report/Main\\_Report.pdf](http://southlawrencetrafficway.org/downloads/Brockington%20Report/Main_Report.pdf)

<sup>530</sup> For more on the importance of place in relation to identity and social conditions, see for instance: D. Robert DeChaine, ed., *Border Rhetorics: Citizenship and Identity on the US-Mexico Frontier* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2012); Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott, eds., *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2010); and Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook, “Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Place in Protest,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no. 3 (2011): 257-282.

wetlands that were drained to become agricultural training grounds for Haskell students in assimilation efforts; the place of remembered student burials and resistance to those assimilation policies; fields that were reverted to wetlands and passed back to the federal government and then to another University for the education of future generations; and uncountable other uses along the way.<sup>531</sup> The wetlands are a community resource, utilized by schools and communities throughout the area, such as: Baker University, Haskell Indian Nations University, the University of Kansas, and area K-12 schools for educational purposes; by HINU students and faculty as a religious and cultural resource; and by myriad others as an important ecological resource. With so many groups interested in the fate of the wetlands, the decision to build a highway through it understandably met with resistance, particularly from those associated with HINU.

#### *History of the South Lawrence Trafficway Debate*

Talk about a road through the south of town began in the 1970s, but concerted efforts to build the South Lawrence Trafficway didn't begin until the 1990s, and it wasn't until July 2012 that opponents ran out of legal appeals to stop the project. KDOT officials touted the road as a means to relieve congestion through town and streamline the daily commute between Topeka and Kansas City, overlooking that the proposed route cut through the wetlands that were so important to environmental groups and the Haskell community.<sup>532</sup> As debates over the road alignment continued, the road became symbolic of the persistence of historic misunderstandings

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<sup>531</sup> For details on this varied history, see, for instance: "History of Baker Wetlands" *Baker University*. Accessed December 17, 2012, <http://www.bakeru.edu/wetlands/history>. For more detail on how the land was distributed, see: Brockington and Harvey, "Documentation and Recommendations"; Kansas Department of Transportation, "FHWA Releases Final Section 4(f) Evaluation for the SLT" *Kansas Department of Transportation News Release* (November 8, 2007). Accessed November 22, 2011, [www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/PDF/3\\_section\\_B\\_4\(f\)\\_Properties\\_Concluded.pdf](http://www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/PDF/3_section_B_4(f)_Properties_Concluded.pdf)

<sup>532</sup> This southern alignment, which would have avoided the wetlands, was also supported in the "Plan 95" Lawrence city land-use plan adopted in 1977. Highlighting the environmental destruction of building a highway through the wetlands, in 1986 environmentally concerned Lawrencians formed the Committee to Elect a True Amphibian (CETA), sponsoring the fictitious Agnes T. Frog as a write-in candidate for City Commissioner, for which she won 27.5% of the vote. See also Fredrix, "Service Calls Attention to Wetlands, Highway Debate" and Clark H. Coan, "Selected Chronology of the Haskell-Baker Wetlands and South Lawrence Trafficway," *Genuine Kansas*, 2007, accessed February 5, 2012, [http://www.genuinekansas.com/history\\_baker\\_wetlands\\_controversy\\_timeline\\_kansas.htm](http://www.genuinekansas.com/history_baker_wetlands_controversy_timeline_kansas.htm).

and wrongs between the dominant EuroAmerican public of Kansas and the Haskell counterpublic.<sup>533</sup>

Although talk of the project had been in the works for two decades, no official construction began until 1993, which, according to a *National Public Radio* story in December 1993, was the first time Haskell Indian Nations University officials learned that the alignment of the new trafficway would cut through acres they deemed sacred.<sup>534</sup> In a move representative of the ways Haskell was marginalized throughout the planning process, the school had not been listed as a landowner when the county applied for construction permits from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, despite the fact that original plans called for the trafficway to destroy 16 acres of wetland owned by Haskell. In addition, pre-construction environmental impact statements required by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) stated that Haskell would *not* be affected by the trafficway.<sup>535</sup> The incident triggered two decades of controversy between the Haskell and Lawrence communities and prompted the formation of the Wetlands Preservation Organization (WPO) involving Haskell students, alumni and other concerned citizens, who immediately began protesting the development of the SLT through the wetlands and across lands that had once been part of Haskell. Clarifying their opposition to the project, the WPO website states, “One common denominator among various American Indian beliefs is the philosophy that spiritual and cultural matters are interconnected with the physical and geographical settings. For this reason, the Board of Regents, the Haskell Student Senate and the

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<sup>533</sup> The controversial nature of the situation is demonstrated by the naming of the area. Although primarily referred to as the Baker wetlands, alternate names used are the Haskell wetlands, Wakarusa wetlands, or a combination of the three terms.

<sup>534</sup> Vance Hiner, “Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway,” *Morning Edition*. National Public Radio (December 6, 1993).

<sup>535</sup> The following sources address environmental racism in relation to Native nations and communities: Robert D. Bullard, “Environmental Justice in the Twenty-first Century,” in *The Quest for Environmental Justice: Human Rights and the Politics of Pollution*, ed. Robert D. Bullard (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 2005); Ward Churchill, *Struggle for the Land: Indigenous Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Expropriation in Contemporary North America* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993); Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism”; Valerie Kuletz, *The Tainted Desert: Environmental and Social Ruin in the American Southwest* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*, (Boston: South End Press, 1999).



Administration at Haskell Indian Nations University oppose the 31st Street alignment to the South Lawrence Trafficway.”<sup>536</sup> The issues arose not merely because the road was being built, but because of *where* it was being built, and, importantly, for the ways the Haskell community was marginalized throughout the process.

### Counterpublics

As addressed in the previous chapter, publics are collectives that exist through members’ interest in a particular strain of discourse, and, through the reflexive nature of identity and discourse, can shape society.<sup>537</sup> Even when only a dominant public appears visible, the public sphere actually consists of “a multiplicity of dialectically related public spheres rather than a single, encompassing arena of discourse.”<sup>538</sup> Just as a public is not *the* public, even if it is dominant, so too there are multiple counterpublics shaping society. Instead of viewing publics and counterpublics as two ends of a binary, they instead exist in matrices of relations with one another, their memberships and goals often overlapping and complicated.<sup>539</sup> So what differentiates a public from a counterpublic? Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer assert that a primary identifying feature of counterpublics is that the people who identify with them articulate “oppositional discourse” against dominant social groups, contesting their own “unequal access to power and [the] uneven distribution of symbolic and material resources.”<sup>540</sup> According to Nancy

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<sup>536</sup> “Wetlands Preservation Organization” *Haskell Student Life* (Haskell Indian Nations University, 2006).

[http://www.haskell.edu/student\\_life/wpo.html](http://www.haskell.edu/student_life/wpo.html) (September 19, 2011).

<sup>537</sup> Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version),” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 88 no. 4, (2002): 413-425.

<sup>538</sup> Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer, “Introduction: Reconfigurations of the Public Sphere,” in *Counterpublics and the State*, eds. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 6.

<sup>539</sup> Robert Asen, “Seeking the ‘Counter’ in Counterpublics,” *Communication Theory* 10, no. 4, (2000): 424-446; Robert Asen “Representing the State in South Central Los Angeles” in *Counterpublics and the State*, eds. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 137-157; Thomas R. Dunn, “Remembering Matthew Shepard: Violence, Identity, and Queer Counterpublic Memories,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 13, no. 4 (2011): 611-652; Mark Porrovecchio, “Lost in the WTO Shuffle: Publics, Counterpublics, and the Individual,” *Western Journal of Communication* 71, no. 3, (2007): 235; Catherine R. Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres,” *Communication Theory* 12, no. 4 (2002): 446-468; Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics (abbreviated version)”.

<sup>540</sup> Asen and Brouwer, “Introduction: Reconfigurations of the Public Sphere,” 8. See also Elizabeth Butler Breese, “Mapping the Variety of Public Spheres,” *Communication Theory* 21, (2011):131; Daniel C. Brouwer, “Counterpublicity and Corporeality in

Fraser, the competing plurality of publics promotes democracy by providing subordinate and/or marginalized communities venues to deliberate “among themselves about their needs, objectives, and strategies... [and] to undertake communicative processes that were not, as it were, under the supervision of dominant groups.”<sup>541</sup> As suggested in Fraser’s comment, the discourse of these marginalized publics—counterpublics—are directed both inward and outward, reaffirming members’ identities and addressing their needs to the rest of society.<sup>542</sup>

Important to note in this discussion of (counter)publics is that, as with any group, their membership is not heterogeneous. Even as I discuss the Haskell counterpublic throughout this work, I also recognize that their goals of protecting the Wakarusa wetlands and advocating for acceptance of alternate lifeways are not necessarily held by all members of the Haskell community, nor are they the only issues addressed by this public, and that these concerns are not only being addressed by *this* public.<sup>543</sup> As Phaedra Pezzullo reminds us, to do so would be an oversimplification because “Some social movements, especially broadly based movements such as environmentalism or feminism, are made up of varied groups and forms of activism that reflect multiple identities, concerns, and opinions. That variety should be an integral part of assumptions underlying future studies of publics and how they are related to social movements as distinct, yet linked cultural formations.”<sup>544</sup>

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HIV/AIDS Zines,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 22, no. 5, (2005):354; Erik Doxtader, “In the Name of Reconciliation: The Faith and Works of Counterpublicity” in *Counterpublics and the State*, eds. Robert Asen and Daniel C. Brouwer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001); Catherine Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere”.

<sup>541</sup> Nancy Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy,” *Social Text* no. 25/26, (1990): 66; Other scholars who assert the primary purpose of a (counter)public is to develop political strategies from the exchange of ideas include Daniel C. Brouwer, “Counterpublicity and Corporeality in HIV/AIDS Zines” and Catherine Squires, “Rethinking the Black Public Sphere”.

<sup>542</sup> Asen and Brouwer, “Introduction: Reconfigurations of the Public Sphere,” 6.

<sup>543</sup> See Danielle Endres, “American Indian Activism and Audience: Rhetorical Analysis of Leonard Peltier’s Response of Denial of Clemency,” *Communication Reports* 24, no. 1 (2011): 1-11 for more on the heterogeneous composition of those identifying as American Indian activists.

<sup>544</sup> Phaedra C. Pezzullo, “Resisting ‘National Breast Cancer Awareness Month’: The Rhetoric of Counterpublics and Their Cultural Performances,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 4 (2003): 361.

This chapter pursues multiple scholars' call to look not only at the discourse produced within a counterpublic, but also how it relates to other publics, particularly those deemed dominant. In this case, I examine the Haskell counterpublic's discourse largely in terms of the rhetorical strategies employed to counter the discourse of a dominant EuroAmerican Kansas public, and find that in this case, the rhetoric of members of the Haskell community asserts their identity as legitimate members of the national community and challenges the marginalization of their peoples through disrupting the Lawrence public's long-held racial understanding of Native Americans.<sup>545</sup> Highlighting the ways people(s) are embedded in matrices of relations, Catherine Squires explains that members of racialized groups, such as the members of the pan-Indian Haskell counterpublic, make decisions or are affected by occurrences based on numerous relationships. These include individual relationships within the group, relations to the wider (racial) identity group, their group's position in the social hierarchy, and relations to elements of "cultural production and representation."<sup>546</sup> In the case of the Haskell counterpublic's members' responses to EuroAmerican public discourse, some relationships that may affect them are their identity within their tribal nation(s), their identity within the pan-Indian collective, their personal, family and/or tribal histories of attending Haskell, and, importantly, their peoples' experiences of colonization within the U.S.

A primary way these aspects of identity play out in the Haskell discourse is through memories, and how these collective remembrances call out historic and contemporary colonization in the U.S. In his analysis of queer counterpublic memories and discourse about the Matthew Shepard murder, Thomas R. Dunn argues that "public memories are not only the

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<sup>545</sup> Asen, "Seeking the 'Counter' in Counterpublics," 426; Squires, "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere;" I. M. Young, "Difference as a Resource for Democratic Communication," in *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*, eds. J. Bohman and W. Rehg (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 383 – 406.

<sup>546</sup> Squires, "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere," 454.

province of powerful, normative forces and institutions but also strategic rhetorical resources for marginalized groups to engage publics and counterpublics.”<sup>547</sup> In their explicit remembrances of being colonized, the rhetoric of members of the Haskell counterpublic challenges the EuroAmerican public’s tendency to overlook this ongoing aspect of national history, and in doing so, disrupts essentialized *racial* depictions of a pan-Indian community, highlighting instead a *colonized* pan-Indian identity.

The ways we are asked to define ourselves and the collectives with whom we identify are largely based on rhetorical remembrances about places and experiences. In the case of the South Lawrence Trafficway, arguments on each side of the issue highlight the ways Indigenous and EuroAmericans differ and conflict in the defining values associated with their identities, how each community’s remembering influences present identities, and the ways contemporary encounters expose the continuation of colonialism within the U.S. One strain of scholarship crucial to demonstrating the ways settler colonialism persists within the U.S. is a scrutiny of treaty making and breaking and land rights and claims. The literature regarding ongoing treaty and land struggles is voluminous, conducted by scholars such as Kevin Bruyneel, Philip Deloria, Winona LaDuke, Mark Rifkin, and Andrea Smith, among others.<sup>548</sup> Here, I build upon their important work to demonstrate how the inequalities related to these legal battles play out in seemingly unexpected places and continue to shape the everyday rhetoric of both dominant and

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<sup>547</sup> Dunn, “Remembering Matthew Shepard,” 613.

<sup>548</sup> See, for instance: Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, *A Companion to American Indian History* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2004); A. R. Eguiguren, *Legalized Racism: Federal Indian Policy and the End of Equal Rights for All Americans* (Sun on Earth Books, 2000); Winona LaDuke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999); Jean O’Brien *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Edinburgh, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of the US National Space*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009); Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2004); Jill St. Germain, *Indian Treaty-Making Policy in the United States and Canada 1867-1877* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001). Charles F. Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & CO, 2005); Robert A. Williams, Jr. *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600-1800* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999).

marginalized publics. Thanks to the school's pan-Indian enrollment and continuous existence across the various U.S.-Indigenous policies since 1884, Haskell serves as a touchstone when examining the ways historic inequalities are remembered and enacted today.

### Mnemonic Rhetorics of Race

#### *Lawrence Public and Haskell Counterpublic*

Membership in publics is shifting and overlapping, with most people engaging in multiple publics and counterpublics as they navigate their days and lives. Although public member roles are fluid, composed of those people attending to and partaking in the discourse at any given time, it is still worthwhile to clarify the general membership of those publics under discussion here. Revealed in the arguments surrounding the SLT are two primary communities: the Lawrence public and the Haskell counterpublic. The Lawrence public, as I name it, consists of people who identify with the needs and desires of the Lawrence, Kansas community and the Kansas Department of Transportation in their efforts to build a roadway across the lands south of the Haskell campus. This state and community population is predominantly white, and as demonstrated below, their discourse reveals the assumption that their needs and desires reflect those of the greater national community. The Haskell community, on the other hand, is a counterpublic whose members are concerned with resisting the dominant Lawrence public's goal of building the trafficway through the wetlands that once belonged to Haskell.

The Haskell counterpublic is primarily composed of members who identify with Haskell Indian Nations University (or its earlier instantiations as the Indian Industrial Training School, Haskell Institute, Haskell Junior College, etc.), both past and present. The link to Haskell marks these members as members of a pan-Indian community, because all Haskell students were and

are enrolled members of approximately 130 tribal nations across North America.<sup>549</sup> The reach of the counterpublic extends far beyond this, however. Due to the school's history, while developing the Environmental Impact Statement for the SLT project, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was required to contact "every tribe that has [had] students at Haskell. The potential of that is about five or six hundred tribes," and the letter ended up being sent to 565 federally recognized Native American tribes and interested parties.<sup>550</sup> In addition to the pan-Indian membership in the Haskell community, numerous environmental groups have expressed interest in preventing the trafficway, becoming engaged in the counterpublic in the process. These groups include the Kansas chapter of the Sierra Club, the Jayhawk Audubon Society, Save the Wakarusa Wetlands, the University of Kansas Environs and EcoJustice groups, and the Wetlands Preservation Organization (which is based out of HINU).<sup>551</sup> Despite the varied membership of the counterpublic opposing the trafficway through the wetlands, the discourse between the communities refers to Haskell and its (pan-Indian) community as the primary opponent to the SLT.

### *Reinforcing Race*

The ways the communities and their members are labeled, or not, is crucial for understanding the functions of the two groups' rhetoric in clashes over the Wakarusa wetlands. The ways peoples' performances and bodies are named underlies the differences expressed in the discourse surrounding the South Lawrence Trafficway, and reveals larger racial logics of the

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<sup>549</sup> "About Haskell: History of Haskell Indian Nations University" (Haskell Cultural Center & Museum, 2012). [http://www.haskell.edu/cultural/pgs/\\_about\\_haskell.html](http://www.haskell.edu/cultural/pgs/_about_haskell.html) (December 17, 2012).

<sup>550</sup> The Osprey Group "South Lawrence Trafficway Public Meeting" (Lawrence, KS: October 17, 2001), transcribed by Linda R. Burt. [www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/2\\_community.htm](http://www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/2_community.htm) (September 16, 2011), 30.

<sup>551</sup> Interestingly, Haskell as a counterpublic presents a particularly complicated relationship with the state because HINU's status under the aegis of the U.S. Federal Government means that all legal issues concerning it are handled by the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and/or the Office of Indian Education, depending on the year and the issue. See, for instance: "Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway," Mary Pierpoint, "Indians Confront State Campaign to Revive Road Project," *Indian Country Today*, January 19, 2001; Mary Pierpoint, "Kansas Indian University Agrees to Highway Project, with Conditions" *Indian Country Today*, April 11, 2001.

nation. The arguments over the use of these 52 acres reflect historic national debates over who has rights to land, for what reasons, and who is deemed as *belonging* in a place.<sup>552</sup> For instance, the place of the U.S. nation is bound up with and often defined by race. “American” is often conflated with “white,” and Others are often marginalized within the nation based on their race, even in cases of citizenship lineages dating back generations.<sup>553</sup> Patricia Hill Collins reminds us, “Only whites can shed the racial and ethnic identities in order to stand for the generalized national citizen. Only whites can be full, red-blooded Americans.”<sup>554</sup> The ways whiteness goes unnamed and serves as the assumed norm of members of the U.S. nation becomes apparent in the ways members of the Lawrence community refers to themselves as “the community” and advocated for what was “best for the community,” at the same time positioning the Haskell community and its needs in opposition to their own.

#### A City Divided.

According to discourse produced by the Lawrence public, the South Lawrence Trafficway is a much-needed thoroughfare on the commute from Topeka to Kansas City, providing traffic reduction through Lawrence. Although various alignments of the road were under debate, the 32<sup>nd</sup> Street alignment that was ultimately decided upon (which passes through the Wakarusa wetlands across acres once belonging to Haskell), was deemed the most beneficial for the Lawrence and broader Kansas community. In the 2001 stakeholder meetings held about

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<sup>552</sup> Native sovereignty and land debates are further discussed in: Jason Edward Black, “U.S. Governmental and Native Voices in the Nineteenth Century: Rhetoric in the Removal and Allotment of American Indians” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2006); Wallace Coffey and Rebecca Tsosie, “Rethinking the Tribal Sovereignty Doctrine: Cultural Sovereignty and the Collective Future of Indian Nations,” *Stanford Law and Policy Review* 12 (2001); Charles F. Wilkinson, *Indian Tribes as Sovereign Governments: A Sourcebook on Federal-Tribal History, Law, and Policy* (Oakland, CA: American Indian Resources Institute, 1991).

<sup>553</sup> Melanie E. L. Bush, “United Statesians: The Nationalism of Empire” in *Handbook of the Sociology of Racial and Ethnic Relations*, eds. Hernán Vera and Joe R. Feagin (New York, NY: Springer, 2007), 286; Thomas K. Nakayama and John Krizek. “Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81, (1995): 301. David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White* (Cambridge, MA: Basic Books, 2005), 219.

<sup>554</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, “Like One of the Family: Race, Ethnicity, and the Paradox of U.S. National Identity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001): 19.

the SLT, Ron Durflinger (chairman of the Lawrence/Douglas County Planning Commission) observed that the trafficway was integral to the future growth of the community and that developing the road was “really a golden opportunity,” describing the road as “vital from a planning standpoint.”<sup>555</sup> In 1999, the importance of building the road was demonstrated when the state government of Kansas went so far as to offer HINU \$5 million if the Board of Regents would allow the trafficway to be built. As the spokesman for then-Governor Bill Graves stated, the deal was offered because “[The Governor] sees it in the best interest of those 2.6 million people [he represents] for this project to proceed.”<sup>556</sup> Apparent here is that the community represented by Haskell, who vehemently opposed the road for ecological, cultural, and spiritual reasons, was not included in the Governor’s estimation of whose “best interests” were served by building the road.

The Lawrence/Kansas public’s tendency to write off the perspectives and needs of the Haskell community was further demonstrated by comments during the October 2001 stakeholder meeting when Bob Johnson (a Lawrence resident for 33 years and one of three city commissioners at the time) stated, “I think probably the most compelling reason for me to side with [road alignment] 32B is that I think it is, without any doubt, in the best interest of this community to build that road in that environment on that alignment because “it doesn't give everybody everything, but it does create some opportunities for everybody. It respects everybody's position. It allows everybody to have something that is better than where we are today.”<sup>557</sup> In his statement, Johnson refers to “this community” to infer the larger Lawrence community, a community that could potentially include members of the Haskell community, but

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<sup>555</sup> The Osprey Group “South Lawrence Trafficway Public Meeting” (Lawrence, KS: September 6, 2001), transcribed by Gloria Steinle. [www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/2\\_community.htm](http://www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/2_community.htm) (September 16, 2011), 35.

<sup>556</sup> “State Makes Monetary Offer to Haskell for Trafficway Approval,” *Associated Press State & Local Wire*, June 16, 1999.

<sup>557</sup> The Osprey Group “South Lawrence Trafficway Public Meeting” (Lawrence, KS: October 17, 2001), 39.



in practice does not because of the ways he insists that the 32B alignment, the road placement that the Haskell community is explicitly rejecting, “respects everybody’s position.” His phrasing reinforces how the needs and desires of the Haskell and anti-SLT community are overlooked by the larger Lawrence community and that they are not part of the “everybody” whose needs are being respected or who are being left “better than where we are today.”

Across these comments, the racial composition of the Lawrence community does not come under scrutiny, and they are simply referred to as “the community” and citizens of the state of Kansas. A county commissioner charged with negotiating with Haskell in the early stages of the project highlighted the perceived identity differences between the Lawrence and Haskell publics, recognizing that the disagreements over the SLT highlighted “how little he and other Lawrence residents know about their [N]ative American neighbors.”<sup>558</sup> In naming the Lawrence residents through comparison to their “Native American neighbors,” the city commissioner separates them from one another, declaring the Native American residents as outsiders to the town’s (white) residents, despite the fact that the Haskell property is inside city limits, and that many of the Haskell community members live within the city.<sup>559</sup> Labeling the “Native American neighbors” reinforces the perceived white identity of the Lawrence community because “states of whiteness...define themselves necessarily only *in contrast to* and *against* those categorized not white.”<sup>560</sup> Reflected here is the way white is a largely assumed and unarticulated identity and the ways that references to “the community” generally implies a white community—one that does not need to be additionally named or marked as raced (such as African American, Asian American, Mexican American, Native American...) to be made sense of.<sup>561</sup>

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<sup>558</sup> Hiner, “Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway”.

<sup>559</sup> The move also echoes the strategy witnessed in the previous chapter, when white and Indian were respectively labeled as civilized versus savage primarily through comparison of essentialized ideas about each community.

<sup>560</sup> David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Blackwell Publishing: Malden, MA, 2002), 257.

<sup>561</sup> Nakayama and Krizek, “Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric.”

These references to divided communities suggest that the “larger public” whose needs the Governor and other Kansas representatives aim to have addressed is the dominant EuroAmerican public, a public whose race generally goes unremarked and is often assumed the American norm.<sup>562</sup> However, these community divisions were not only made by government representatives; members of the Lawrence public also opposed the efforts of those attempting to stop the SLT construction through the wetlands. For instance, before the 2001 community stakeholder meetings about the SLT, an outside mediation company conducted interviews throughout Lawrence and Douglas County. When all was said and done, the interviews revealed that “Attitudes towards Haskell range from pride and empathy to resentment and incomprehension...*Some see the University protecting its legitimate property and cultural resources while others question the legitimacy of these concerns.*”<sup>563</sup> While reassuring to see that some Lawrence community members interviewed did support Haskell’s efforts to protect the wetlands, others questioned the legitimacy of the Haskell community’s cultural claims to the land, a perspective that downplays the colonial boarding school history of the land and area. The ways the government representatives and members of the community write-off the concerns of the pan-Indian Haskell public in favor of the dominant EuroAmerican public’s desires serves as a form of rhetorical exclusion in which their arguments about the colonial history of Haskell and the U.S. are strategically silenced through being overlooked.<sup>564</sup> This re-interpretation of the past, or, as Kendall Phillips names it, *misremembering*, is a common tool of settler colonialism that

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<sup>562</sup> Collins, “Like One of the Family;” Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*; Nakayama and Krizek, “Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric;” Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*.

<sup>563</sup> The Osprey Group, “Community Perspectives About the South Lawrence Traffic Way: Results of Interviews in Lawrence, Kansas” (Lawrence, KS: August 6, 2001), 6, emphasis added. Accessed September 15, 2011. My emphasis. [www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/2\\_community.htm](http://www.southlawrencetrafficway.com/2_community.htm).

<sup>564</sup> Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism.”

facilitates overlooking or legitimizing the violence of the past.<sup>565</sup> This rhetorical exclusion of colonial history, the misremembering of its occurrence, is a mnemonic rhetoric of maintenance that aims to preserve the status quo instead of calling attention to this historic and structural inequality. The strategic silence about colonization in this Lawrence discourse serves as a form of rhetorical colonialism, prolonging the existing relationship of dominance between the communities by failing to acknowledge its existence.

Naming “Others.”

While the Lawrence community’s discourse misremembers U.S. colonization of Indigenous peoples, that there is a divide between the communities is not forgotten by either side. As Mary Pierpoint’s article, “Indians Confront State Campaign to Revive Road Project,” observed eight years in to the SLT debate, the “Controversy surrounding the SLT split the community for years.”<sup>566</sup> As noted in the opening epigraph to this chapter, the debate is even publicly recognized as an issue dividing Indians and “non-Indians,” and “forcing an uneasy reassessment of Indians’ role in the community.”<sup>567</sup> Although this observation simplifies the membership of the Haskell counterpublic, the point is well taken that, for the most part, the Haskell community is considered an Indian community, although I argue that the label takes on different meanings for the two sides involved. These differences are bound up in the ways race is named and naturalized within the nation and in the implications of this naturalization for resistance efforts.

While white often goes unnamed both in general and in the SLT discourse, those deemed racial “Others” are discursively defined and constructed based on the performances of their

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<sup>565</sup> Kendall R. Phillips, “Failure of Memory: Reflection on Rhetoric and Public Remembrance,” *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 2 (2010): 208-223.

<sup>566</sup> Pierpoint, “Indians Confront State Campaign.”

<sup>567</sup> Edwards, “Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway.”

bodies, a definition that has often served to justify communities' marginalization within the nation. Following Judith Butler's theory of gender as performatively constituted, Nadine Ehlers and Jonathan Xavier Inda both argue that race is dependent on the naming of one's body as *raced* based on the performances enacted and reiterated by a person.<sup>568</sup> As Inda explains, the meanings we assign a person and their body are dependent on the names we give them, and the assumptions wrapped up in that discursive label. He argues that a (named) body, such as the gendered body, or racial body, "does not exist as a simple biological fact," but is "marked and formed through discourse."<sup>569</sup> The marking and subsequent naming of a body is dependent on that body's performance in relation to existing social norms, and once named, the body is held to the expectations of that racial position. Ehlers clarifies how Butler's concept of naming relates to race, explaining, "The naming of the individual as 'raced' operates to form, to constitute, indeed, to *racialize* the subject as this discursive naming 'initiates the individual into the subjected status of the subject.'<sup>570</sup> In the case of the Lawrence and Haskell communities' discourses, because the members of the dominant community go unnamed, they are assumed white. Thus, when members of the Lawrence community name people associated with Haskell as "Native American" or "Indian" the discourse functions as a classification, delineating a racial subject who is rendered intelligible only through adhering to expectations of what "Indians" do (in this case, by once again getting in the way of desired white expansion).

Crucial to this idea of bodies being discursively constructed as raced are the social and political implications of doing so. As Butler argued, "Although we struggle for rights over our

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<sup>568</sup> Nadine Ehlers, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Defying Juridical Racialization in *Rhineland v. Rhineland*," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 1, no.4 (2004): 315. See also: Nadine Ehlers, "Passing Phantasms/Sanctioning Performatives: (Re)Reading White Masculinity in *Rhineland v. Rhineland*," *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society* 27 (2003): 63-91; Nadine Ehlers, "'Black Is' and 'Black Ain't': Performative Revisions of Racial 'Crisis,'" *Culture, Theory & Critique* 47, no. 2 (2007): 149-163; Jonathan Xavier Inda, "Performativity, Materiality, and the Racial Body," *Latino Studies Journal* 11, no. 3 (2000):74-99.

<sup>569</sup> Inda, "Performativity, Materiality, and the Racial Body," 74.

<sup>570</sup> Ehlers, "Hidden in Plain Sight," 315, in part quoting Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 121.

own bodies, the very bodies for which we struggle are not quite ever only our own. The body has its invariably public dimension.”<sup>571</sup> In other words, when particular performances (such as how a body looks, or acts) are consistently named as raced, over time the racial subject is perceived as naturalized and biological instead of discursively and performatively constructed through naming. Inda clarifies that race is performatively constituted because the “meaning” of being a member of a particular race is dependent on the naming of the body, which means that, “while ‘race’ may have a foundation in biology since ‘it’ divides populations on the basis of physical characteristics, it is really just a name, albeit a very powerful one.”<sup>572</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson’s discussions of race and whiteness support this, as when he points out, “...race resides not in nature but in politics and culture. One of the tasks before the historian is to discover which racial categories are useful to whom at a given moment.”<sup>573</sup> The usefulness of racial divisions is often measured by the ways they can be used to protect the dominant faction of the nation through constraining and containing other races, helping safeguard the nation’s future (generations) from racial contamination. In this perspective, as the normative standard of the nation, whites embody the values of the nation, while members of other races potentially put national ideals at risk because they are conceived of as naturally different or separate, threatening the status quo.<sup>574</sup>

Understanding that *discursively* racialized bodies are conceived of as *naturally* different and inferior to white bodies reveals that marginalizing strategies based on race are not, in fact, legitimate despite our reliance on them over time. Think Social Darwinism, Jim Crow, and racial

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<sup>571</sup> Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 21.

<sup>572</sup> Inda, “Performativity, Materiality, and the Racial Body,” 75.

<sup>573</sup> Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 9.

<sup>574</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2007); Collins, “Like One of the Family”; Ehlers, “Hidden in Plain Sight,” 316; Ruth Feldstein, *Motherhood in Black and White: Race and Sex in American Liberalism, 1930-1965* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); Raka Shome. “White Femininity and the Discourse of the Nation: Re/membering Princess Diana.” *Feminist Media Studies* 1, no. 3, (2001); Matt Wray, *Not Quite White: White Trash and the Boundaries of Whiteness* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2006).

profiling in sentencing decisions.<sup>575</sup> Though unsurprising, the problematic framing of racial differences as natural instead of cultural means that race is used (often implicitly) as “valid” evidence for social divisions, the argument being that these divisions occur naturally as an outcome of racial differences, not as a result of structural inequalities perpetuated by cultural definitions. A dominant public’s tendency to frame the issue as one of race rather than colonialism is a mnemonic rhetoric of maintenance, a strategy that serves to maintain the status quo of inequality. Members of the Haskell community have experienced these justifications for their peoples’ treatment by the U.S. government and individuals since the era of U.S. colonialism began. As such, disappointing as it is, it is no surprise that the Lawrence community’s discourse continues the national and historic trend of writing off the needs of the Indigenous peoples in their midst, foregrounding a highway over land sacred to the pan-Indian community and misremembering U.S. colonization of the community.

In her discussion of the privileges and property of whiteness, Cheryl Harris observed that, “The questions pertaining to definitions of race then are not principally biological or genetic, but social and political: what must be addressed is who is defining, how is the definition constructed, and why is the definition being propounded.”<sup>576</sup> Thus far, we’ve seen how the Haskell community is largely defined as outside Lawrence community and the implied racial definitions involved, rhetorical moves that shrug off the needs of the Haskell community as they try to protect the Wakarusa wetlands from further development. In contrast with how members of Haskell’s community are defined by the Lawrence public discourse, the Haskell counterpublic’s own rhetoric instead reveals what I term “mnemonic resistance” to rhetorical colonialism. Through discourses of collective remembering, the Haskell community offers a potential

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<sup>575</sup> Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*; Ono and Sloop, *Shifting Borders*; John M. Sloop, *The Cultural Prison: Discourse, Prisoners, and Punishment* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1996).

<sup>576</sup> Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” 1763.

redefinition and disruption of the historic race relations being assumed in discourse produced by members of the Lawrence community, revealing the social and political implications of naming in negotiations of national identity.

### *Disrupting Race*

Demonstrated above are examples of how the discourse of the Lawrence public reveals the assumption that its members are white representatives of the national community and functions to name the community associated with Haskell as raced, as Indian or Native American. In this case, much of the racial defining of the Haskell community is accomplished implicitly, through comparison with the (unnamed white) community of Lawrence. This tendency on the part of the EuroAmerican public is not confined to interactions between EuroAmericans and Indigenous peoples. According to Critical Race Theory, racism is endemic to U.S. society, and according to TribalCrit theory, in dealings with Native peoples that pervasive racism is also bound up with the colonialism of the nation.<sup>577</sup> As addressed in chapter three, one of the nine tenets of TribalCrit is the recognition that “Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the legal/political and racialized natures of our identities. That is, we are often placed between our joint statuses as legal/ political and racialized beings.”<sup>578</sup> This plays out in the South Lawrence Trafficway discourses when members of the EuroAmerican Lawrence public emphasize the racial definition of the pan-Indian Haskell community, ignoring the legal/political ones and consequently remaining largely “unaware of the multiple statuses of Indigenous peoples.”<sup>579</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education,” *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2006): 430

<sup>578</sup> Brayboy “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 432.

<sup>579</sup> Brayboy “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 433.

In comparison to the oft-implied racial definitions embedded within the Lawrence community's discourse and their strategic silence about colonialism, members of the Haskell community explicitly call out the ongoing colonial structures of the U.S., highlighting their identity as *colonized* over their identity as *raced*. I argue that the dominant public's discourses racially defining the communities reinforce the conception that inequalities between the communities are reflections of natural (racial) differences. In contrast, discourse from members of the Haskell counterpublic who also identify as members of the pan-Indian community relies on collective remembering to instead infer that members' primary identity is *colonized*, not *raced*, a move that disrupts the racial definition they have been assigned by their colonizers. Doing so provides them a standpoint from which to challenge the structural impositions of settler colonialism placed upon them and repositions Indigenous individuals as members of tribal nations who should be able to interact with representatives of the U.S. on equal footing. This positioning troubles conceptions of Indigenous peoples as merely "Backward Indians" (still getting in the way of national (white) progress because they are naturally not as advanced or civilized as the "Modern American" of the U.S. nation.

In the remainder of the chapter I address how the members of the Haskell counterpublic use mnemonic rhetorics of resistance, drawing attention to their peoples' history of colonization by the U.S. to challenge their marginalization within the national community. This analysis occurs through three primary examples—a general discussion of how the Haskell discourse relies on a cyclical interpretation of time that recognizes how the past continues to shape the present; a situation in which KDOT was perceived as bringing in an "interpreter" or "modern Indian agent" to interact with the Haskell community; and the Haskell Medicine Wheel, built as a symbol and lesson of the "Columbian Legacy." Across these examples, I draw out the resistive mnemonic



strategies of the Haskell counterpublic's rhetoric, exploring how it functions to draw out a community identity as colonized peoples, and potentially disrupts a merely racial definition of its members.

### Collectively Remembering Colonization

Overt in the discourse produced by the Haskell counterpublic is the way memories of colonialism continue to shape their community's responses to the SLT debate. From the beginning of the trafficway debate, members of the Haskell counterpublic have been explicit that this is yet another illustration of the micropractices that underpin colonialism in the U.S.<sup>580</sup> As mentioned above, HINU and the Haskell community were omitted from the list of affected parties in the original Environmental Impact Statement for the project, an omission described by a representative of Douglas County's Public Works Department as an "Oversight, yes, but not purposeful or predetermined or planned."<sup>581</sup> For HINU students and members of the Haskell community, however, the "oversight" represented yet "another attempt by non-Indians to steal Native-American land. But, trafficway planners say that couldn't be further from the truth," demonstrating how the two communities interpret one another's actions based on their past experiences with each other.<sup>582</sup> The HINU students and Haskell community quoted in the article explicitly reference the theft of their peoples' land by "non-Indians," while the situation appears to be anything but serious to the quoted KDOT traffic planner who describes it as a mere "oversight." The response by both parties highlights their distinctive relationships to the colonial situation in the U.S.—while members of the Haskell community were outraged for the ways

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<sup>580</sup> Norbert Finzsch, "[...]Extirpate or Remove That Vermin": Genocide, Biological Warfare, and Settler Imperialism in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Genocide Research* 10, no. 2 (2008): 220; Frederick E. Hoxie, "Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the US," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1159; Taiaiake Alfred, "Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as Ground of Contention," in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 88-99; Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>581</sup> Hiner, "Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway."

<sup>582</sup> Hiner, "Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway."

KDOT's actions reflected those of colonial land theft by whites, the KDOT spokesperson basically wrote off the similarities between the situations. These reactions are representative of how some members of the Haskell community perceive themselves as colonized, while many members of the Lawrence community prefer to disregard that aspect of U.S.-Indigenous relations.

This connection to the past is apparent in discourse from Haskell students and faculty, often in ways seemingly not understandable to Lawrence's EuroAmerican community members. For instance, in one of the stakeholder meetings held in 2001, Marvin Buzzard (Cherokee), a representative of HINU and the associated Haskell community, gave voice to the community that in many other statements had been represented as secondary to the needs of the larger public. He pointed out that, while the Haskell community is different than the Lawrence community that supports the SLT, they are still part of the national community even if not recognized as such and should not be precluded from it simply for standing up for themselves. In addition, he points out that, of all people, members of his community have earned their place in the nation through the violence of colonialism experienced by themselves and their ancestors. He stated,

Well, let me begin by saying that we at Haskell believe that we have been exercising one of the founding principles that this nation was founded upon, and that was freedom of speech and the freedom, I guess, to state our own point of view. And we have found it, I think, very hurtful at times that we see in this community that there are all kinds of folks who raise issues with all kinds of things. Certainly this trafficway is not the only road that's been discussed and cussed. 59 has been, 24, 40. *And so we're a little bit confused sometimes by some of the references to how we've damaged ourselves in this community and how we've hurt our standing in this community because we're simply exercising what we believe that we've all, at some point in time, sacrificed, and at least our ancestors has or someone has. So we don't apologize to our neighbors because we are part of this community.* We're exercising what we believe are our rights. And I just want to say that, regardless of whether we're talking about this road or anything else.

... But we don't think moving a two-lane road 200 feet south and making it a six-lane road addresses the issues that we've raised. And so therefore we do not believe that this

alignment addresses the issues and the concerns that have been raised by Haskell and folks attached to Haskell.<sup>583</sup>

I quote Buzzard's comments at length because of the ways he addresses the complicated relationship between the Lawrence and Haskell communities and references the history of colonialism that continues to affect that relationship. In it, he notes that the Haskell community is inextricably embedded within the U.S. and Lawrence communities—"we are part of this community"—thanks to the sacrifices of their ancestors, and as members of the nation, they are exercising "one of the founding principles that this nation was founded upon... the freedom of speech and the freedom... to state our own point of view." Further, Buzzard notes that the Haskell counterpublic's resistance to particular SLT alignments have resulted in the perception by some that they've "damaged ourselves in this community and how we've hurt our standing in this community," simply because they stood against what the dominant public wanted, a position that technically is well within their rights. Importantly, when he states that "we are part of this community. We're exercising what we believe are our rights ... regardless of whether we're talking about this road or anything else," Buzzard also implies that although the road is the primary point of contention *at the moment*, the perception that the pan-Indian Haskell community is not accepted as part of the larger community also persists in other instances. Buzzard's final sentence, "we do not believe that this alignment addresses the issues and the concerns that have been raised by Haskell and folks attached to Haskell," while recognizing the existence of a Haskell-centered community, also directly counters the comments made by dominant public members over the previous years that the 31<sup>st</sup> or 32<sup>nd</sup> trafficway alignments met the needs of all involved. Buzzard's acknowledgement of the past in his statement, that "we're simply exercising what we believe that we've all, at some point in time, sacrificed, and at least

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<sup>583</sup> The Osprey Group "South Lawrence Trafficway Public Meeting" (Lawrence, KS: October 17, 2001), 40. Emphasis mine.

our ancestors has or someone has,” recognizes a colonial history rarely acknowledged in discourse from the Lawrence public. In contrast, Haskell counterpublic rhetoric often calls out how the current SLT issue is one in a long line of colonial injustices perpetuated by EuroAmericans against Indigenous peoples of the U.S., a collective remembering that crosses tribal national identities.

*Past within the Present*

Essential to the Haskell community’s arguments about the importance of the wetlands is their conception of how the past figures in their present, shaping them individually and communally as members of a pan-Indian community colonized within the U.S. The Haskell counterpublic explicitly references a different temporal and spatial relationship with the world, rejecting a linear chronology in favor of a more fluid, circular perspective.<sup>584</sup> Randall Lake refers to the two perspectives as time’s arrow and time’s cycle, respectively. As he explains, “Time’s arrow treats past events as irretrievably past, as strictly historical.” It’s a perspective that dissociates the past from the present, even if the “vector from past to future is ‘smooth,’ ‘continuous,’ or ‘unbroken,’” as is the Haskell community’s use of the Wakarusa wetlands.<sup>585</sup> However, applying a linear temporal definition constructs Indigenous experiences of the past as “historical anachronisms,” and by “Drawing primarily upon time’s arrow, EuroAmerican discourse characterizes native culture as outdated and regressive, native history as uncorrectable (if regrettable).”<sup>586</sup> Lake goes on to argue that whether they realize it or not, contemporary EuroAmerican communities call on these different lifeways to counter Indigenous activism, as

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<sup>584</sup> Shepard Krech III, “Bringing Linear Time Back In,” *Ethnohistory* 53, no. 3 (2006): 567-593. Krech reminds us that not all Native peoples view time as cyclical, though the idea has been popularized by Deloria and Fixico. For more on Native perspectives of the world in comparison to EuroAmerican “modern” perspectives, see Vine Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of the Scientific Fact* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), among others.

<sup>585</sup> Randall Lake, “Between Myth and History: Enacting Time in Native American Protest Rhetoric,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77, no. 2 (1991): 128.

<sup>586</sup> Lake, “Between Myth and History,” 125.

we see in the ways the Haskell and Lawrence publics reference their shared past in very different ways.

What becomes apparent through the arguments detailed below is how these understandings of time are reflected in the two communities' differing acknowledgements of colonization's effects on life today. The Lawrence public, supporting a "time-arrow" approach, presents itself as having progressed beyond the era of colonialism, and faults the Haskell counterpublic (both implicitly and explicitly) for remaining stuck in the past and not moving beyond that history. In this way, the mnemonic genres of "Modern American" and "Backward Indian" addressed in the last chapter persist, echoed in the communities' interactions surrounding the SLT and Wakarusa wetlands.

Haskell community members' different perspective on time is demonstrated through the ways they reference their past as members of a pan-Indian community, as well as Haskell's history as an Indian boarding school and the spirits of former students that cling to the site, rendering it sacred to them. How (some) members of the Haskell counterpublic continue to conceive of colonialism as a daily experience is clear in an explanation offered by Judy DeHose (White Mountain Apache), a member of the Haskell Board of Regents, when she was asked in the September 2001 stakeholder meeting how long she had lived in the area. She stated,

*As far as how long I've been here ...nothing is in black and white as [N]ative Americans. I've always been here. I represent the natives of Haskell, being part of over 500 tribes that are affected. We've always existed. My tribe has always existed from the tip of Alaska to the tip of South America. My tribe has roamed all of the present America just as the many tribes have on the east side also. There ha[ve] never been boundaries as far as state lines. So we have always existed. ...10 years is nothing in comparison to the history of our people, the [N]ative Americans.<sup>587</sup>*

DeHose's explanation marks her belief that the SLT issue goes beyond the wetlands and

Lawrence to encompass all Indigenous peoples within the U.S., that the imposed boundaries of

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<sup>587</sup> The Osprey Group "South Lawrence Trafficway Public Meeting" (September 6, 2001), 5-6.

states and nation-states do not apply to defining Indigenous communities, and nor do EuroAmerican conceptions of time. As she states: “nothing is in black and white as [N]ative Americans. I've always been here,” marking her belief that her peoples’ pasts are bound up with her present.

Interestingly, DeHose’s comment that “nothing is black and white as Native Americans” also echoes the complicated racial positioning of Native Americans within the Black-White racial binary of the U.S., although it is unlikely she intended it to do so. Conceived of as racially “Red” or “Bronze,” in a (supposedly) Black-White racial nation, when defined racially, Indigenous peoples’ place within the U.S. is one of complicated contradictions, bound up with passing, assimilation, Social Darwinism, and levels of blood quantum, among other factors.<sup>588</sup> Any essentialized racial definition is problematic; this is particularly the case for Indigenous peoples who see themselves as heterogeneous peoples, hailing from hundreds of different tribal nations that have been displaced over the past 500 years, and whose members often identify with ancestors from multiple tribal nations and other races.

This sense that the past, present, and future of the Haskell pan-Indian community are inextricably woven, that colonization continues to affect members of the Haskell community today, is also clear from more recent Haskell student comments. In 2010, student representatives of the Wetlands Preservation Organization were asked, “How does the memory of the boarding school and those who passed affect you?” Jessica Lackey (Cherokee), stated that

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<sup>588</sup> Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*; Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Casey R. Kelly, “Blood-Speak: Ward Churchill and the Racialization of American Indian Identity,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no.3 (2011): 204-265; Mark Rifkin, *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011); Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, “Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Contemporary Colonialism,” *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (2005): 597-614; Hilary N. Weaver, “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?” *The American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2001):240-255.

The history of Haskell and those who have passed here is important to me because if it weren't for them I would not be here. ...If it weren't for those first students who had to endure the boarding school system Haskell would not have evolved into the great school that it is today. Although the history is a horrible one, often times beyond comprehension, if it wasn't for the history and those first kids we wouldn't have a university that represents over 150 federally recognized tribes that embraces our culture and beliefs. Those first students gave the ultimate sacrifice so that we could receive a great education here.<sup>589</sup>

Just as Buzzard does above, Lackey calls out the ways previous generations sacrificed in order for current generations to be able to attend a university that celebrates their cultures instead of an assimilation school, and for them to be considered (supposedly) members of the nation and community.

Lackey's response is telling, highlighting the ways the history of Haskell as an assimilation-focused Indian boarding school affects its current students, and how Haskell community members explicitly identify with the past. Openly referencing ways the past is inextricably bound up with the present is integral to the Haskell community's resistance to the EuroAmerican Lawrence public. Their comments serve as reminders for the discourse's EuroAmerican audience that Indigenous peoples are still affected by the Indian boarding schools and colonial structures their people were, and are, subject to. These rhetorical moves focus not on the racial composition or definition of the people who attended Haskell and/or continue to be affected by its history; the shared strategy across these statements is bringing to light how their ancestors' sacrifices have made their existence possible today, foregrounding the act of colonization over the reinforcing of supposedly natural race.

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<sup>589</sup> ICTMN Staff, "Haskell Students Speak Out About Protecting the Wakarusa Wetlands," *Indian Country Today Media Network*, February 8, 2012. Accessed February 9, 2010, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/02/08/haskell-students-speak-out-about-protecting-the-wakarusa-wetlands-96649#ixzz1luITnqHp>.

*As Long as the Grass Grows*

The student population of Haskell Indian Nations University is currently composed of students from approximately 150 different tribal nations from across the U.S. Since its opening as the U.S. Indian Industrial Training Institute in 1884, its enrollment has been comprised of members from various tribes, reinforcing that discourse about colonialism stemming from Haskell is not a localized situation. As suggested in Buzzard's and DeHose's comments above, their relationship to colonization extends beyond an attachment to Haskell, incorporating a broader history of U.S.-Indigenous relations. As Buzzard observed, those associated with Haskell were aligning with U.S. national values of freedom of speech, and DeHose pointed out that Indigenous peoples existed across the length and breadth of the American continents. Linking the Haskell community to the broader experience of colonialism across the U.S. (and its history) was a common rhetorical resistive strategy, naming Haskell as but one instance of widespread structural inequality supporting colonialism. The central role that U.S. colonization continues to play in the lives of Haskell community members and the pan-Indian counterpublic's interactions with the EuroAmerican public is demonstrated in discourse surrounding a 2001 issue within the South Lawrence Trafficway debate, when KDOT hired a consultant to speak to Haskell representatives on their behalf.

The ways broader U.S. and tribal national histories continue to inflect interactions and trigger misunderstandings between the publics is apparent throughout the SLT debate. This is particularly the case in the Haskell community's response to KDOT's efforts to bring in an "interpreter," Robert Pirtle, to manage interactions about the traffic way. Pirtle was hired by KDOT's legal representative Mike Rees as a consultant because, according to Rees,

There are differences between me and women and Eastern Asian people and Native Americans. I don't have the contacts or the experience Bob Pirtle does in communicating



with the Native Americans. I am a white man and I have spent my life among white people and when I am trying to do my job I try to get the best person I can to help me. Bob Pirtle has devoted his life to the various nations in this country. I think he is better able to relay these messages than I am.<sup>590</sup>

Rees' statement reiterates the racial identification often assigned members of Haskell's community by the Lawrence public, stating that he, as a white man who has "spent [his] life among white people" does not understand or communicate with the Native American community he is expected to work with on the SLT issue. Here Rees reveals an underlying assumption that Native Americans, as inherently different, are unintelligible to him, just as "women and East Asians" are. This statement names particular bodies, such as those associated with Haskell, discursively marking and forming them as raced, a move that renders them unintelligible to him to the point that he requires an interpreter because he perceives the racial divide as a hindrance to their negotiations. Rees talks about the Indigenous community as if they cannot understand the messages he is trying to relay, inferring that, similarly to historic comments addressed in the previous chapter, Indigenous peoples ("Backward Indians") are unintelligible to white people ("Modern Americans").

Members of the Haskell Board of Regents, representing the school and community in the SLT debate, were offended that Rees and the State of Kansas were not trying to communicate directly with them, and viewed the consultant, Robert Pirtle, as "a modern day Indian Agent," a position that historically was supposedly meant to help Indigenous peoples but through which agents enacted the structural genocidal policies of the U.S. government. As the Haskell Regents President Mamie Rupnicki (Potawatomi) stated,

Tribes should be insulted the way Mr. Pirtle is speaking for them, as if we need an interpreter in this day and age. We are not back in the 1800s, in treaty time. The majority of tribes now are highly educated and understand the legalities. I think the state of Kansas

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<sup>590</sup> Pierpoint, "Indians Confront State Campaign."

did a backdoor thing by bringing Mr. Pirtle in. Where is his authority to speak for the board? Where is his authority to speak for the different tribes? ...

Me, as just a tribal member, speaking in my own behalf, I feel very insulted that the state of Kansas felt they needed an interpreter, that we need a go-between. Why do we need a go-between? When business people come together and are making a decision, they don't need an interpreter, is the way I am looking at it.

... It's something like an Indian agent or even Custer for that fact, where "I can take care of these Indians and we can negotiate." The state of Kansas should have come to the Board of Regents and laid down a proposal.<sup>591</sup>

In her statement, Rupnicki points out that Native American tribal nations have advanced beyond the 1800s, even if the Kansas government does not seem to think they have. She calls out the state for bringing Pirtle in, especially his supposed job of speaking to and for the Native communities involved in the debate. In her statement, Rupnicki reinforces that the state is treating the tribal nations as if they have not advanced beyond being "Backward Indians," pointing out that "The majority of tribes now are highly educated and understand the legalities." As she states, "When business people come together and are making a decision, they don't need an interpreter," and by bringing in Pirtle, the state is not dealing with the Haskell community on equal terms, as they should be in business. Instead, she feels the state is continuing colonial practices of bringing in an "interpreter," "an Indian agent" or, in an explicit reference to colonial violence, "even Custer for that fact."

Importantly, in her tirade against Pirtle and the government for hiring him, she also reinforces that she speaks as "a tribal member," highlighting that the pan-Indian Native American community is composed of tribal nations who should be able to speak for themselves to other government entities, instead of being addressed (or ignored) as an essentialized racial group who does not have governmental structures in place. Endres observed a similar tendency on the part of the U.S. government in public debates about the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste

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<sup>591</sup> Pierpoint, "Indians Confront State Campaign."

site, when Native American voices were considered merely part of the larger public instead of being addressed as representatives of sovereign tribal nations.<sup>592</sup>

References to historic shady dealings by the government don't end at calling Pirtle a modern "Indian agent." Rupnicki went on to say that the one-time deal being offered by Pirtle on behalf of the state of Kansas strongly resembled historic treaty practices. She said, "If we get back to the 'grass grows and the water flows...' that's like a treaty. They were all coerced by threat."<sup>593</sup> Haskell Regent George Tiger (Muscogee) also referenced the history of U.S.-Indigenous treaties when discussing the Pirtle situation.<sup>594</sup> He stated, "It sounds like as long as the grass grows..." which, like Rupnicki's comment, is an explicit reference to treaties made and broken with tribal-nations by the U.S. Government.<sup>595</sup> In his comments about Pirtle, Tiger also noted that, "For someone who says he knows Indian people and tribes, [Pirtle] doesn't. He should know that Indian people aren't going to give up any more land."<sup>596</sup> That Rupnicki and Tiger used the same language, "as long as the grass grows..." highlights the common collective remembering of colonization within the Haskell and pan-Indian community. In her references to treaties, Rupnicki also points out the violence of colonization practices, and that past generations of Native Americans who signed the treaties "were all coerced by threat." Overt here are the ways the past clearly influences the present for members of the Haskell community, and the ways the Haskell counterpublic challenges the EuroAmerican Lawrence public's perceived tendency to overlook the needs of the Indigenous community.

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<sup>592</sup> Endres, "The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism."

<sup>593</sup> Pierpoint, "Indians Confront State Campaign."

<sup>594</sup> J. F. Holden, "The Story of an Adventure in Railroad Building," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 11, no. 1 (1933):639- 641. "As long as the grass grows..." refers to a statement made in an October 15, 1829 letter by President Andrew Jackson to Major David Haley, emissary to the Indians: "Say to them as friends and brothers to listen to the voice of their father, and their friend. Where they now are they and my white children are too near to each other to live in harmony and peace. ...If they remove across the Mississippi river they will be free from the laws of any state, and only subject to their own laws, and be under the care of their father the President of the United States... There, beyond the limits of any state, in possession of land of their own, which they shall possess as long as grass grows or water runs, I can and will protect them and be their friend and father."

<sup>595</sup> Pierpoint, "Indians Confront State Campaign."

<sup>596</sup> Pierpoint, "Indians Confront State Campaign."

The references by the board members to treaties, not wanting to “give up more land,” and frustration at not being addressed as educated members of sovereign nations demonstrates how colonialism continues to affect Indigenous peoples’ interactions with the U.S., and the tendency of EuroAmerican communities and governments to overlook this integral aspect of Native communities’ identities. This predilection of overlooking the needs and desires of Indigenous communities within the U.S. reflects the ways settler colonialism continues to function, reinforcing structures of colonialism based on inaccurate and essentialized notions of race. When advocating for their lifeways, such as their attempts to protect the Wakarusa Wetlands, members of the Haskell community are interpreted by the Lawrence/Kansas community as being anachronisms – out of step with the current age.<sup>597</sup> In other words, in Modern America, Indigenous peoples continue to be remembered as “Backward Indians,” despite the ways they have “advanced” through pursuing EuroAmerican education and business models, as Rupnicki observed in the statement above. In contrast, each of the Haskell community members cited above thus far references their peoples’ relationship to colonialism, focusing on the ways this structural relationship with the U.S. affects their identity with(in) the nation, disrupting the limited racial definition assigned them in discourse produced by members of the EuroAmerican Lawrence community.

*The Haskell Medicine Wheel and the “Columbian Legacy”*

The link between Haskell, a very specific site, and widespread Indigenous collective remembering of colonization is further evidenced by the earthworks Medicine Wheel built on the Haskell grounds in 1992. For members of the Haskell community, despite their different tribal affiliations the medicine wheel serves the pan-Indian counterpublic as “a symbol of how the

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<sup>597</sup> Kent A. Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture and the Remnants of a Colonial Past* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2009), 6.

Earth and universe are held together in a delicate balance.”<sup>598</sup> According to Haskell’s Wetlands Preservation Organization, if a road were built through the area the cultural and religious significance of the wetlands “to tribes all across this nation would be jeopardized.” They explain that “Many Indian people in the area continue to use this sacred site as a place of prayer, meditation and for various ceremonial uses. The Medicine Wheel would also be adversely impacted through air and noise pollution if the southern bypass of the SLT were constructed.”<sup>599</sup> The Medicine wheel and the nearby sweat lodges serve the religious needs of the Haskell community, as demonstrated by a Haskell student who, after the final appeal hearing in the 10<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals in January 2012, asked the acting secretary of KDOT “how she would like it if someone injected large amounts of noise into her church service [?]” and went on to inform the acting secretary, “That’s what that area represents to us.”<sup>600</sup> Marking the complicated nature of the issue, a recent WPO president, Haskell student Millicent Pepion (Navajo and Blackfeet) stated, “this is not just a religious battle, but even if it were, we would hope that others would recognize this place as our church, which it is.”<sup>601</sup> Both comments point to the Medicine Wheel’s spiritual importance for the Haskell community as a whole, referencing “us” and “our church.”

The importance of the Medicine Wheel also extends beyond the bounds of the Haskell community itself, serving as a symbol for the “peoples of the world.”<sup>602</sup> It was designed and built by “Haskell professors, students, crop artist Stan Herd, and tribal elders, and dedicated in

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<sup>598</sup> Hiner, “Native American Students Try to Stop Expressway.”

<sup>599</sup> “Wetlands Preservation Organization.”

<sup>600</sup> Chad Lawhorn, “Attorneys for South Lawrence Trafficway Supporters, Opponents Square Off in Oral Arguments in Denver Appeals Court,” *Lawrence Journal World online*, January 19, 2012. Retrieved January 26, 2012, <http://www2.ljworld.com/news/2012/jan/19/attorneys-south-lawrence-trafficway-supporter-oppo/>.

<sup>601</sup> Eli Anderson, “WPO Builds Eco-Walk in the Wetlands,” *Indian Leader*, February 17, 2010, v.118, no. 2, 4.

<sup>602</sup> “Medicine Wheel” *Haskell University Cultural Center Website*. Accessed July 14, 2011 from [http://www.haskell.edu/cultural/pgs/\\_medicine\\_wheel.html](http://www.haskell.edu/cultural/pgs/_medicine_wheel.html).

1992 as a response to the 500<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the ‘Columbian Legacy.’”<sup>603</sup> In descriptions of the Medicine Wheel available through Haskell’s cultural center, the purpose of the site is to expressly challenge the national celebration of Columbus’ arrival in the “New World” and the centuries of violence and structural genocide that ensued and continue:

The first Americans would like to share a symbol and a lesson with all peoples of this place—this planet. The lesson is on the surface quite simple—the implications are rich and complex. We undertake this sharing as our effort to ensure the future of relations of people from different places on this planet will not produce a repeat of the catastrophic experiences the first Americans have faced in the last 500 years of the “Columbian Legacy.” We undertake this sharing to overcome a part of this 500-year legacy, which has yet to be changed; the continued devaluation and outright denial of the existence of Indigenous spiritual and intellectual traditions. . . . The challenge of this quincentennial year is not about the past, it is about our willingness to change the future. The creation of the Earthwork Medicine Wheel at Haskell Indian Nations University is offered as a Native gift to all people of this planet and a powerful symbol of what we as peoples of the world must now learn.<sup>604</sup>

The statement reveals the Haskell’s counterpublic’s commitment to challenging colonialism, such as their efforts to prevent “a repeat of the catastrophic experiences the first Americans have faced in the last 500 years of the ‘Columbian Legacy.’” By pointing out that the Columbian Legacy continues, they point out that they, as first Americans, are still subject to the “catastrophic experiences” of colonization. One of the lingering effects of this is “the continued devaluation and outright denial of the existence of Indigenous spiritual and intellectual traditions,” that the statement calls out. The devaluing of the pan-Indian community’s spiritual beliefs (such as the belief that the Wakarusa wetlands is sacred ground), is a reflection of the “Modern Americans” rejection of supposedly “Backward Indian” lifeways. However, through statements such as these, the Haskell counterpublic explicitly confronts and resists EuroAmerican denials that Indigenous beliefs are also valid ways of being in the world.

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<sup>603</sup> “Medicine Wheel.”

<sup>604</sup> “Medicine Wheel.”

The explanation of the Medicine Wheel describes it as a “Native gift to all people of this planet” to serve as a symbol and lesson challenging the “Columbian Legacy,” the 500 years of colonization in the Americas. The explanation implicates “all peoples of this place—this planet” in the lesson, one which “is on the surface quite simple”—that the effects and violence of colonization are “catastrophic.” But the implications of this “quite simple” lesson are “rich and complex.” Indeed, challenging colonial structures that have been in place for five centuries is no easy task. As demonstrated throughout the discourse of the members of the Haskell counterpublic, the first step appears to be acknowledging the existence of colonialism, a situation often overlooked in EuroAmerican discourse. At times, this oversight is more apparent than others, such as when HINU was excluded as a stakeholder on the Environmental Impact Statement of the SLT, or in comments the Lawrence public makes about Haskell in their efforts to oppose the SLT. For instance, in some cases, the Lawrence public overtly denies the spirituality Haskell attaches to the wetlands, as demonstrated when Mary Pierpoint reported that, “Those who want to see the highway built have said the need for better traffic flow outweighs the medicine wheel they believe was built as a stunt to stop the road. Many said they look at the possibility of graves in the wetlands as myth.”<sup>605</sup> While some in the Lawrence community interpret the creation of the Medicine Wheel as a “stunt,” for the Haskell counterpublic, the site embodies the way their community is marginalized by the dominant EuroAmerican public, within Kansas and beyond.

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<sup>605</sup> Mary Pierpoint, “History of Wetlands May Help Fight Proposed Lawrence, Kan., Highway Bypass,” *Indian Country Today*, November 2, 2001.

### Reframing the Present

Indigenous scholar Taiaiake Alfred observed, “We have all emerged out of a shameful past, a history of racial and religious hatreds, of extreme violence, and of profound injustice.”<sup>606</sup> This shameful past, and the present echoes of that violence, are difficult to talk about, at best. Often this difficulty arises from the years many have spent denying its existence, (mis)remembering an alternate history in which cowboys and settlers fought off the savages of the plains, making the nation safe for the generations of EuroAmericans who would follow. Those Native peoples who survived the ravages of history were meant to die a cultural, if not physical, death through the assimilation practices of mandated boarding schools.<sup>607</sup> Even now on location at one of these places, the EuroAmerican public does what it can to overlook the (implications of the) history of the land, declaring instead that the (Native)Americans still shaped by this violent history move on, and over, to make way for the “greater good” of a community they are often excluded from.

As demonstrated above, the differences between the two publics are rooted in the nation’s colonial past. The Haskell community insists that this past be recognized, especially for the ways it continues to affect their lives; meanwhile, the Lawrence community prefers to overlook the past, reinforcing their dominant position through rhetorical colonization, downplaying the Haskell communities’ past experiences and current needs. Despite Indigenous peoples’ identities as *both* “legal/political and racialized beings,” demonstrated across these discourses are the ways Native peoples are often suspended “in a state of inbetweenness,” naming *themselves* as

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<sup>606</sup> Taiaiake Alfred, “Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as Ground of Contention,” in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbott Mihesuah and Angela Cavender Wilson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 90.

<sup>607</sup> Theresa Milk, *Haskell Institute: 19<sup>th</sup> Century Stories of Sacrifice and Survival* (Lawrence, KS: Mammoth Publications, 2007); Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*; Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928*, (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2008); Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).



members of the U.S. *and* of colonized nations but primarily named by *others* as merely an anachronistic race.<sup>608</sup> The mnemonic strategies throughout the Haskell counterpublic’s discourses foreground colonization, demonstrating how collective remembering can serve as “strategic rhetorical resources for marginalized groups.”<sup>609</sup> These rhetorics of remembering are “activated by concerns, issues, or anxieties of the present,” as is the case here, of Indigenous remembering of colonialism.<sup>610</sup>

Discourse about the Haskell community’s experiences and collective remembrances of colonization, of the sacrifices of their ancestors, of the “modern Indian agent” hired by KDOT, and of the Columbian Legacy represented by the Medicine Wheel, reveal the inescapable entanglements of colonialism and Indigenous identity in the U.S. Instead of standing silently aside, the Haskell counterpublic raises a strident voice, insisting their communities’ needs and lifeways be recognized. Through explicitly remembering colonial violence that the EuroAmerican public would prefer to overlook, the counterpublic challenges dominant representations of themselves as behind-the-times—as anachronisms in the modern nation, “Backward Indians” who are deemed unable to become “Modern Americans.” Their remembering serves to reveal and remind us of ongoing colonialism within the U.S., and also functions to disrupt racial assumptions about the pan-Indian community, foregrounding instead their identity as *colonized* peoples.

Claiming colonization as a primary identity is an ironic strategy of empowerment because it continues to position them as a marginalized community within the U.S. However, in challenging essentialized racial depictions of themselves as “Backward Indians,” discourse

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<sup>608</sup> Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 432-433; also see Brayboy for more on specific ways this happened, such as through the use of Indian boarding schools.

<sup>609</sup> Dunn, “Remembering Matthew Shepard,” 613.

<sup>610</sup> Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian Ott, “Introduction: Rhetoric/Memory/Place” in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, eds. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian L. Ott (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2010), 6.

focused on colonialism counters assumptions that by refusing to assimilate to EuroAmerican lifeways they are inherently, naturally, anachronisms within the “Modern American” nation, constantly behind the times and unable to catch up with the values and needs of the EuroAmerican community. Claiming a primarily *colonized* identity, discourse from the Haskell community potentially disrupts race, calling attention to the ongoing colonial structures at play that perpetuate inequality for their peoples in dealings with the U.S. Racial differences in dominant discourses are often conceived of as “natural” differences rooted in superiority and inferiority, rendering challenges to the inequalities that stem from them complicated attacks on national ideologies. For instance, in debates over immigration into the U.S., immigrants are often assumed Mexican and racially defined as diseased, degenerate, criminal, threatening the nation by taking unearned resources that should go to hard-working Americans.<sup>611</sup> Similarly, public discussions about social welfare programs often reveal public assumptions that recipients are people of color, framing these communities as draining the nation’s resources.<sup>612</sup> In challenging colonial structures, this pan-Indian community offers a perspective on the reasons for their marginalization other than that of perceived natural racial inferiority.

Challenging colonialism calls on the U.S. government to reevaluate its relationship with members of tribal nations. While still a profoundly complex situation, doing so provides a (slightly) easier position from which members of the pan-Indian community can counter inequalities. As the description of the Haskell Medicine Wheel states, “The challenge ... is not about the past, it is about our willingness to change the future.” In the next chapter I continue to analyze ways members of the Haskell public counter dominant perceptions that they and their

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<sup>611</sup> Lisa A. Flores, “Constructing Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20, no. 4 (2003): 362 – 387; Ono and Sloop, *Shifting Borders*.

<sup>612</sup> George Lipsitz, *Possessive Investment in Whiteness*; Kent A. Ono, “Postracism: A Theory of the ‘Post’” —as Political Strategy,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 34 (2010): 227-233; David R. Roediger. *How Race Survived U.S. History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon* (London: Verso, 2008), 68.

lifeways are anachronisms, and how they draw attention instead to the role of colonialism in the contemporary U.S. To do so, I focus on how a group of 13 exemplify the ways Indigenous peoples straddle the line between their peoples' and the U.S. dominant cultures as they walk "The Trail of Broken Promises" from Lawrence, Kansas to Washington, D.C., carrying proposed legislation to protect Native American sacred sites, drawing attention along the way to sites and memories of colonization. Their walk reinforced how Indigenous peoples in the U.S. inhabit a *thirdspace*, their identities bound up in the interstices of what it means to be (Native)American. They disrupt disabling racial certitudes built on mnemonic genres of the "Backward Indian" through highlighting the role of colonialism in their peoples' lives today, and in the process they reinforce that Native identities also have a place in the U.S., challenging narrow and disabling conceptions of (racial) identities.

**CHAPTER 6**  
**THE TRAIL OF BROKEN PROMISES AND**  
**THE POSSIBILITIES OF ENABLING UNCERTAINTY**

*“What is the Trail of Broken Promises? The Trail of Broken Promises is not just about saving the Wakarusa Wetlands. It is about defining our world, our communities, and our values. We are on a mission to discover what it means for something, some place, to be ‘sacred,’ or important enough to preserve for our children and generations to come. When we think of the Haskell Baker wetlands, we think of birds, animals, serenity, and ancestry. We think of the irreplaceable memories that accompany these grounds, the stories that live on from them. ... The wetlands do not belong to the past, nor do they belong to today or today’s governors. In that way, they are blessed with a timelessness to which any person may find them special. Right now, we do have the power to pave over them. Apparently, though it may be questionable, we also have the money. The Trail of Broken Promises addresses the question: just because we can, should we? ”*

*- Jessica Lackey and Millicent Pepion  
Wetlands Preservation Organization Leaders  
Trail of Broken Promises Walkers<sup>613</sup>*

May 13, 2012, thirteen people and the dog Willie began their 1,300 mile trek from Lawrence, Kansas, to Washington D.C., in the hopes of protecting Native American sacred places such as their local Wakarusa Wetlands. Named the Trail of Broken Promises (ToBP), the walk spanned nine states, tracing in reverse the Trail of Death taken in 1838 by the Potawatomie people during their removal from Indiana to Kansas, and stopping at local pow-wows, memorials, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, and Arlington National Cemetery on their way to present draft legislation amending the American Indian Religious Freedom Act to the U.S. government in D.C.<sup>614</sup> The group of mostly Haskell Indian Nation University students and a Navajo tribal elder was spearheaded Haskell student and former President of the Wetlands Preservation Organization (WPO) Millicent “Millie” Pepion (Navajo and Blackfeet). The purpose of their walk was to raise awareness of the potential destruction of the Wakarusa wetlands, deemed sacred by many of the Haskell counterpublic, as well as other Native

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<sup>613</sup> Jessica Lackey and Millicent Pepion, February 5, 2012, “Note: To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country,” *Trail of Broken Promises Facebook Page*, July 7, 2012 from <https://www.facebook.com/notes/trail-of-broken-promises/to-all-our-relatives-across-indian-country/346586368707893>.

<sup>614</sup> Deborah Gertz Husar, “Trail of Broken Promises Ends Thursday at the White House,” *Quincy Herald-Whig*, June 29, 2012, accessed July 9, 2012, <http://www.whig.com/story/18913525/trail-of-broken-promises-ends-thursday-at-the-white-house>.

American sacred sites around the U.S. that are at risk from development and policies that desecrate the lands.<sup>615</sup> Carrying a prayer staff and American flag, at the end of the each day and at many of the stops along the way, the group performed traditional prayers with sage, cedar, tobacco, and song, honoring their ancestors and the U.S. flag each night.

The name of their walk, the Trail of Broken Promises, speaks to the history of U.S. and Indigenous relations, one of violence and broken treaties. The walk itself serves as an example of how members of a pan-Indian counterpublic employ place and their bodies to call on collective remembering as rhetorical argument. In doing so, the embodied, enacted, and emplaced discourse of the group foregrounds their identities as colonized peoples (as addressed in the previous chapter), but also highlights the ways Indigenous peoples who are trying to maintain their cultural lifeways within the U.S. occupy a *thirdspace* within the nation, disrupting mnemonic genres of “Backward Indian” and “Modern American.” The rhetoric of these walkers’ bodies and actions challenges the disabling certitude of racial stereotypes about The Indian, instead functioning as examples of *enabling uncertainty* that provide a glimpse of how peoples can advocate for acceptance of their distinct cultures while still seeking equality and the benefits of membership in the U.S. American community. I argue that the embodied, emplaced, and enacted rhetorics of the Trail of the Broken Promises serve to disrupt the racial and racist mnemonic genres often relied upon when framing relations between the communities, countering the rhetorical colonialism employed by dominant EuroAmerican publics. Through these resistive, disruptive discourses, the ToBP offers versions and visions of recognition and “livable lives” for their peoples through troubling the narrow normative strictures of “acceptable” identity

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<sup>615</sup> For instance, other sacred sites at issue are the Black Hills in South Dakota, Mount Taylor in New Mexico and Arizona, San Francisco Peaks in Arizona, and numerous others.

advocated (often implicitly) by dominant EuroAmerican publics.<sup>616</sup> Challenging racial certitudes such as The Indian, the ToBP rhetoric demonstrates the enabling opportunities of uncertainty for negotiations of national identity. Broader acceptance of the concept that identities are complicated, convoluted, and even at times contradictory benefits those living in the thirdspace of (Native)American identity, as well as other communities whose identities don't align with the narrow conceptions of "American" identity that are tied up with whiteness, heteronormativity, Protestantism, economic success and the multitude of other facets of identity upon which our national membership is weighed and judged.

In interrogating these links between collective remembering, rhetorical colonization, and enabling uncertainties, I first review how bodies and places are material rhetorics, addressing the relationship between embodied and emplaced rhetorics and collective remembering. I then analyze discourse about the Trail of Broken Promises from throughout the summer of 2012, demonstrating how the trail and its walkers serve as examples of rhetorical arguments on behalf of a pan-Indian counterpublic concerned with social and eco-justice. With this foundation, I discuss how these discourses function as demonstrations of Indigenous peoples' location in a thirdspace within the U.S., caught in the intersection between the norms and values of the (EuroAmerican) U.S. and those of their peoples and tribal nations. I argue that these walkers embody an enabling uncertainty, a rhetorical challenge to binary (racial) conceptions of the U.S., and disrupt the mnemonic genres that relegate marginalized peoples to narrowly-defined racial stereotypes that limit their acceptance and material possibilities within the U.S.

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<sup>616</sup> For more on the need for recognition and desire for livable lives by marginalized groups, see Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004).

## Material Rhetorics and Collective Remembering

Bodies and places have increasingly been considered consequential public discourses beyond the traditional rhetorical canon, ones that help us understand the range of rhetorical strategies people employ.<sup>617</sup> Places and bodies function as material rhetorics in that they are imbued with both material and symbolic meanings; the material and symbolic facets are reflexive and mutually constitutive, each helping us understand our experience of the other.<sup>618</sup> Thus rhetoric is material in multiple senses: discourse affects social power and material conditions, and discourse is often literally material, composed of objects such as the bodies and places focused on here.<sup>619</sup> For instance, how we experience the body or the place, and the ways they affect our lives, inform the symbolic meanings and definitions attached to those same bodies and places. As Kevin DeLuca explains, “the body is *both* socially constructed and excessive. That is, bodies simultaneously are constructed in discourses and exceed those discourses.”<sup>620</sup> Neither bodies nor places are purely discursive, but how we understand and experience them is largely dependent on the discourses associated with them, such as naming and remembering. As discussed in the previous chapter, how bodies are named influences the possibilities and limitations of that body based on the way its name, or label, are understood within society. So while the naming is discursive, its material effects in our lives are profound. The same can be said for places, the meanings of which may be conveyed through the name

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<sup>617</sup> Carole Blair, “Reflections on Criticism and Bodies: Parables from Public Places,” *Western Journal of Communication* 65, no. 3 (2001): 271-294; Michael L. Butterworth “‘Katie Was Not Only a Girl, She Was Terrible’: Katie Hnida, Body Rhetoric, and Football at the University of Colorado,” *Communication Studies* 59, no. 3 (2008): 259-273; Kevin Michael DeLuca, “Unruly Arguments: The Body Rhetoric of Earth First!, ACT UP, and Queer Nation,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 36 (1999): 9-21; Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook, “Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Place in Protest,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97, no.3 (2011): 257- 282; Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott, eds., *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Gerard A. Hauser, “Incongruous Bodies: Arguments for Personal Sufficiency and Public Insufficiency,” *Argumentation and Advocacy* 36 (1999): 1-8.

<sup>618</sup> Sherene H. Razack, “Introduction: When Place Becomes Race” in *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene H. Razack (Toronto, Ontario: Between the Lines, 2002), 8.

<sup>619</sup> Davi Johnson, “Mapping the Meme: A Geographical Approach to Materialist Rhetorical Criticism,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2007): 17-50.

<sup>620</sup> DeLuca, “Unruly Arguments,” 20.

given the place, the definition of how it “ought” to be used, the histories and memories associated with it, but also through the ways people actually use and take meaning from the site.<sup>621</sup> The relationship between bodies and places is one of identification and power; certain bodies are confined, segregated, or included, their regulation based on their naming.<sup>622</sup> Although the place of the trail and the walkers upon it are discourses bound up in remembering, also important to note is that “places of memory are *not* finished texts,” their meanings dependent on ongoing experiences and remembrances of both individuals and the collectives with whom they identify.<sup>623</sup>

DeLuca tells us that through rhetoric, “people construct, perpetuate, and transform identities, discourses, communities, and worldviews.”<sup>624</sup> Obvious here is the way rhetoric serves a material function in our lives with implications for how we live in the world. In demonstrating how rhetoric of and about the Trail of Broken Promises embodies this potential, this chapter is divided into three main sections. I first briefly examine how the Trail of Broken Promises walkers’ bodies function as argument, after which I review in more depth how the use of these bodies in the place of the trail function as rhetorical acts. With this background in place, in the second section I then explain how the ToBP walkers and their mission are representative of a pan-Indian counterpublic that seeks recognition for their communities within the U.S. In the third section of the chapter, I demonstrate how this situation serves to disrupt racial assumptions dependent on collective memory genres such as the “Backward Indian”, and instead offers

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<sup>621</sup>For a more thorough review and discussion of rhetorical critiques of place, see Michael K. Middleton, Samantha Send a-Cook, and Danielle Endres, “Articulating Rhetorical Field Methods: Challenges and Tensions,” *Western Journal of Communication* 75, no. 4 (2011): 386-406.

<sup>622</sup>Razack, “Introduction: When Place Becomes Race,” 10-11; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1991); Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1965).

<sup>623</sup>Roger C. Aden, Min Wha Han, Stephanie Norander, Michael E. Pfahl, Timothy P. Pollack, Jr., and Stephanie L. Young, “Re-Collection: A Proposal for Refining the Study of Collective Memory and its Places,” *Communication Theory*, 19 (2009): 313.

<sup>624</sup>Kevin Michael DeLuca, *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1999), xiii.



possibilities for activism and social justice within the U.S. through advocating for identity fluidity and uncertainty.

### *Bodies as Argument*

A body's actions can send a message, as can its words. In his analysis of several activist groups, DeLuca demonstrates how bodies serve as a form of argumentation over and above traditional conceptions of rhetoric as linguistic.<sup>625</sup> The important role of bodies in communities and their rhetoric is also argued by Mark Porrovecchio, who suggests that it's not possible to imagine (counter)publics without considering the individuals within them, because a person identifying with a public exists "in some matrix of relations" with others in the public.<sup>626</sup> Brett Lunceford asserts, "In protest, the body becomes something more than a representative individual that desires change; it becomes a site of resistance."<sup>627</sup> Bodies serve as material sites of rhetoric and resistance, at times doubly so when people locate their resistive bodies in places imbued with meanings that support their message.

The act of the walk was integral to Trail of Broken Promises' mission to spread awareness about the plight of the Wakarusa wetlands as well as other Native American sacred places, and the ways the U.S. and state governments have disregarded Indigenous peoples' spiritual beliefs and rights. In a speech to the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur James Anaya on Indigenous Rights, walk organizer Millicent Pepion (Navajo and Blackfeet) stated,

This summer I—with other Haskell students and supporters from Lawrence, Kansas—will journey from the Wakarusa Wetlands, a sacred, endangered place located directly behind our campus, to Washington D.C. on what we are calling the *Trail of Broken Promises*. This is a spiritual issue. We believe that Congress needs to address specific legislation to protect sacred places in an inclusive manner for all people whom those places affect. To make this point known we will carry the Protection of Native American

<sup>625</sup> DeLuca, "Unruly Arguments"; see also Blair, "Reflections on Criticism and Bodies."

<sup>626</sup> Mark Porrovecchio, "Lost in the WTO Shuffle: Publics, Counterpublics, and the Individual," *Western Journal of Communication* 71, no. 3, (2007): 236.

<sup>627</sup> Brett Lunceford, *Naked Politics: Nudity, Political Action, and the Rhetoric of the Body* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2012), 5.

Sacred Places Act. By walking the Trail of Broken Promises we call attention to the spiritual interconnectedness that we as human beings have with our environment and all elements within it.<sup>628</sup>

Her statement highlights that the act of walk itself was meant to send a message, one bolstered by the draft legislation the group carried. The purpose of the walk was clearly laid out in a letter posted on Facebook by Jessica Lackey (Cherokee) and Millicent Pepion (Navajo and Blackfeet), who explained, “For too long has the government promised us that they will work with us but then turned back on these words. We want to make it known that we will no longer allow our sacred sites to be desecrated in such a manner.”<sup>629</sup> Members of the media also pointed out the rhetorical elements of the walk itself, stating that students “underscored their opposition [to the South Lawrence Trafficway] via a thousand-mile, cross-country trek dubbed the Trail of Broken Promises to Washington, D.C. to advocate for sacred sites protection,”<sup>630</sup> and “Step by step from Kansas to the nation’s capital, a group of university students spread the word about the importance of preserving sacred spaces.”<sup>631</sup> These media statements, when paired, highlight how the actions of the walkers’ bodies, “step-by-step” serve as an argument that “underscores” the other arguments they have made throughout their efforts to protect the Wakarusa Wetlands.

### *Place-As-Rhetoric*

In their attempt to save Native American sacred places such as the Wakarusa Wetlands, the ToBP walkers call on rhetorical aspects of place such as place-based arguments and place-as-rhetoric. According to Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook, place-based arguments are those that may “invoke non-present places to support an argument,” such as when the walkers,

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<sup>628</sup> Millicent Pepion, May 1, 2012, “Speech to the UN,” *ToBP2012 Blogspot*, June 13, 2012 <http://tobp2012.blogspot.com/2012/05/un-speech.html>.

<sup>629</sup> Lackey and Pepion, “To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country.”

<sup>630</sup> Carol Berry, “Wakarusa Wetlands Dispute Decided in Tenth Circuit Court,” *Indian Country Today Media Network*, July 12, 2012, accessed July 15, 2012, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/07/12/wakarusa-wetlands-dispute-decided-in-tenth-circuit-court-122978>.

<sup>631</sup> Husar, “Trail of Broken Promises Ends.”

while on the trail, talk about the Wakarusa Wetlands and the importance of saving it though it is miles away, located back in Lawrence, Kansas. While this is a common strategy, I focus here on how their Trail of Broken Promises walk also employs the rhetorical strategy of place-as-rhetoric, through which “the confluence of physical structures, bodies, and symbols in particular locations construct the meaning and consequences of a place.”<sup>632</sup> This strategy is intimately tied to the body rhetoric of walking the trail, for as Endres and Senda-Cook point out, “Bodies are always in (or out of) place.”<sup>633</sup> As such, places are containers of experiences, and our memories are often bound to particular places through experiences (of ourselves or those we identify with).<sup>634</sup> Material rhetorics then are not merely dependent on place, or body, but on the interaction between the two, and the meanings we create about that relationship. Richard Marbeck explained, “Our gestures, our manipulation of objects, our occupation of space are activities in the present through which we engage the world with our bodies, bringing the features of both world and bodies into awareness of each other.”<sup>635</sup>

While the performance of the walk itself served as a rhetorical act, the cartography of the trail the group selected, the places where their bodies would be, was fundamental to the meaning they hoped to convey. John Agnew explains that a place “represents the encounter of people with other people and things in space. It refers to how everyday life is inscribed in space and takes on meaning for specified groups of people and organizations.”<sup>636</sup> The Trail of Broken Promises, traveling through 9 states and 50 towns, served as “an awareness walk” rather than a “protest,”

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<sup>632</sup> Endres and Senda-Cook “Location Matters,” 267.

<sup>633</sup> Endres and Senda-Cook “Location Matters,” 262.

<sup>634</sup> Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 186 and 189; Chris Post, “Rejecting Violence on the Landscape in Lawrence, Kansas,” *The Geological Review* 99, no. 2 (2009): 186-207.

<sup>635</sup> Richard Marbeck, “Unclenching the Fist: Embodying Rhetoric and Giving Objects Their Due,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (2008): 63.

<sup>636</sup> John A. Agnew, “Introduction,” in *American Space/American Place: Geographics of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 5.

according to Navajo tribal elder Stanley Perry, Pepion's uncle who joined them on the walk.<sup>637</sup>

The trail started at the Shawnee Reservation in De Soto, Kansas, visited the Shawnee Indian Mission in Shawnee, Kansas, followed the Potawatomi Trail of Death from Buckner, Missouri to Lafayette, Indiana, stopped at the Carlisle Indian School site in Pennsylvania, and ended in Washington D.C., visiting Arlington National Cemetery and then the White House. Along the way, they stopped at local museums and pow-wows, as well as visiting the National Museum of American Indians and having meetings at the National Congress of American Indians in D.C.<sup>638</sup>

Strategically planned for the message it would send, the trail is both symbolic and material, connecting past and present, and, as the walkers hope, preserving the future of the wetlands as well as their peoples' lifeways.<sup>639</sup> According to walker Shireen Ohadi-Hamadani (Muscogee, Creek, Osage), a student from Wichita State University,

We're stopping at these markers because these lands are sacred. So many people have died on all these trails during the Removal Act. It's kind of our way of reversing what happened. They walked, they started in Indiana and went to Kansas and we're going from Kansas to Indiana and hopefully we're able to symbolically reverse the atrocities that were committed against these Native Americans.<sup>640</sup>

Although the walkers could not bring those who died on the trail back to life, Ohadi-Hamadani points out the symbolic importance of the route they have chosen. The trail and planned stops celebrate their ancestors and raise awareness of past atrocities, particularly those after the Indian Removal Act of 1830 passed, and linking the past acts to the present, the threatened Native

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<sup>637</sup> Mará Roswe Williams, "Students Protest Trafficway in 'Trail of Broken Promises Walk'" *Kansas City Star*, May 16, 2012, accessed June 11, 2012, <http://www.kansascity.com/2012/05/14/3612652/students-protest-south-lawrence.html>.

A large portion of the Trail of Broken Promises follows the Potawatomi Trail of Death in reverse, the route followed by the Potawatomi people from Indiana to Kansas in 1838 under a U.S. government-ordered relocation along which 100 of 850 tribal members died. For more on this, see Dana Attocknie, "Students Walk to Protect Native Sacred Places," *Native American Times*, May 21, 2012, accessed May 25, 2012, <http://www.nativetimes.com/news/environment/7212-students-walk-to-protect-native-sacred-places>; Kathy Bottorff, "Trail of Promises Broken But Not Beat," *AM1050 The Chief*, July 16, 2012, <http://am1050.com/2012/trail-of-broken-promises-broken-again-but-not-beat/>; Husar, "Trail of Broken Promises Ends."

<sup>638</sup> David Knopf, "Group Marks 'Trail of Death,'" *Richmond News*, May 17, 2012, 1 and 5.

<sup>639</sup> D. Robert DeChaine, "Introduction: For Rhetorical Border Studies," in *Border Rhetorics: Citizenship and Identity on the US-Mexico Frontier*, ed. D. Robert DeChaine, (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2012), 1.

<sup>640</sup> Shireen Ohadi-Hamadani, interview by KMZU John Chojnicki, "Native Americans Walking to D.C.," May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>.

American sacred sites. While it is a place where meanings have shifted over time for those who know of and experience it, the underlying rhetorical message is a reminder of colonialism within the U.S.<sup>641</sup> Many of us have heard of the (Cherokee) Trail of Tears, and while the (Potawatomi) Trail of Death is not well-known, we can infer its significance through its similarity to the Trail of Tears. In naming their walk the Trail of Broken Promises, the group calls upon our knowledge of the horrors of the past and draws attention to the promises made, and consistently broken, to their peoples. Through referencing widespread mundane knowledge of the violence of other historic removal trails, by naming the walk the Trail of Broken Promises, the walkers' mission "attains some of its possibilities for meaning based upon its position in relation to other places," calling forth remembrances of colonial treaties and promises made and broken, and rhetorically linking individual tribal histories into a pan-Indian and U.S. national experience of structural genocide.<sup>642</sup>

The intermingling of the place of the trail and its importance in the lives of the walkers is exemplified by how the name is used: not only does it refer to the trail itself, but the group of walkers and their mission are also referred to throughout the discourse produced by the group as the "Trail of Broken Promises," conflating the place with the people and their act. The people partaking on the ToBP are but one generation of the many who have walked the trails of the their peoples, always (re)moving in an effort to maintain their life(ways). In one of her many statements about the walk, Millicent Pepion, the primary organizer, called out the varied meanings of the trail and the ways it connects local and national, historic and contemporary,

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<sup>641</sup> For further discussion about remembrances as dynamic and processual, see Aden et al., "Re-Collection."

<sup>642</sup> Aden et al., "Re-Collection," 316. For further discussion of the interrelated meanings between memory sites, see also: Carole Blair and Neil Michel, "Commemorating in the Theme Park Zone: Reading the Astronauts Memorial," in *At the Intersection: Cultural Studies and Rhetorical Studies*, ed. Thomas Rosteck (New York: The Guilford Press, 1999), 29–83; Jonathan M. Smith, "The Place of Value," in *American Space/American Place: Geographics of the Contemporary United States*, eds. John A. Agnew and Jonathan M. Smith, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 53.

individual and community, justice and desecration, environment and culture and history and spirituality. She stated:

We have a choice to either work with or against our environments. I am against the desecration of sacred places. I am against people who choose to ignore certain members of their community. Most of all, I am against organizations who are unwilling to keep their promises. The history of my people has taught me that the decisions made in the past have not always been in the majority's best interest. I refuse to sit on the outskirts of an irresponsible society and let them decide what they think is best for me and my generation, and future generations! Lastly, let it be known the Wakarusa Wetlands is but one piece of land that is asking for help. All of this land, all over the world, is calling for representatives. The Trail of Broken Promises is committed to addressing their cries as well.<sup>643</sup>

In her activism, Pepion embodies movement, both literally and figuratively. She refuses to “*sit on the outskirts of an irresponsible society,*” choosing instead to walk 1,300 miles to raise awareness and her voice about the needs of her people and the lands they deem sacred. In the process, she and the other Trail of Broken Promises walkers challenge not only land policies, but also dominant publics' collective rememberings of their peoples. Walking the highways and back roads from Kansas to Washington D.C., carrying an American flag and draft legislation to protect Native American sacred sites, the Trail of Broken Promises walkers inhabit a space that merges their identities as members of both the American and tribal nations. Their bodies and practices rhetorically challenge inaccurate but persistent stereotypes about what it means to be (Native)American, offering instead a vision of *enabling uncertainty*—a position that questions and challenges the ways they are held accountable to collective memory genres and instead offers us the possibilities of uncertainty, where acknowledging the multiple and often conflicting facets of our identities is inescapable. In the following section, I demonstrate how the Trail of Broken Promises and the people walking it are representative of contemporary pan-Indian identity (and its complicated forms), employing rhetorical strategies of racial disruption and

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<sup>643</sup>Attocknie, “Students Walk to Protect Native Sacred Places.”

colonial resistance through their bodies, associations, and actions. I then clarify how the walkers' rhetoric functions to unsettle long-standing mnemonic genres of disabling racial certitude, offering instead an alternative conception (an enabling uncertainty) of their peoples' place(s) in the U.S. nation and the possibilities this opens for social justice.

### Embodying, Emplacing, Enacting Pan-Indian Identity

That the group and their actions represented a larger pan-Indian counterpublic was made explicit by those on social media sites following their progress along the Trail of Broken Promises. In addition to the local media coverage they garnered along the way, the ToBP kept in touch with their supporters and requested supplies to help complete the trek through social media technologies such as Facebook, Twitter, and tumblr. The group sought to “create a national voice for Native Americans across this country. We hope to spread this message across the whole US.”<sup>644</sup> Across the ToBP Facebook page, other members of Native American communities encouraged the group's pan-Indian representation, expressing their support, appreciation, and connection to the Trail of Broken Promises. Users made comments such as, “Welcome... my relatives,”<sup>645</sup> “to all my relatives I am praying and with you in spirit in the journey;”<sup>646</sup> “It was a pleasure meeting you all, shi k'e doo shi Dine' (my family, my people). Ahe'hee for all that you do. Keep the strength and many more blessings to you;”<sup>647</sup> “We're proud of you keep up the efforts and may the spirits continue to bless you all;”<sup>648</sup> “Let's support the youth as they stand up

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<sup>644</sup> Lackey and Pepion, “To All Our Relatives across Indian Country.”

<sup>645</sup> Miguel Sague, June 22, 2012 (03:47) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

<sup>646</sup> Beatris Burgos, May 16, 2012 (08:10) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

<sup>647</sup> RM Whitehair, June 29, 2012 (12:28) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

<sup>648</sup> Bended Knee, June 11, 2012 (05:44 ) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

and trek to honor the ancestral sites and community of indigenous [A]merica..... ;”<sup>649</sup> and “I honor you for what you're doing on behalf of all American Indians.”<sup>650</sup> These comments highlight a perceived connection among members of the pan-Indian community, the sense that they are “related” to one another through their histories and experiences despite different tribal affiliations. The community connection was also expressed after Pepion was invited to speak to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, a statement to which a ToBP Facebook page administrator added a comment stating, “An invitation for everyone in Indian Country!”<sup>651</sup> The group’s connection to and representation of a widespread pan-Indian community was not merely because of their personal identification with tribal nations (although this undoubtedly played a role), but also thanks to a myriad of aspects of the walk—their bodies, the naming and associations of those bodies, the practices engaged in, and the places traveled through. Collectively, these material discourses argued for acceptance of Indigenous lifeways of a pan-Indian community that is by necessity and law bound up with and dependent on the U.S. nation, demonstrating how some peoples negotiate (Native)American identity.

The Trail of Broken Promises’ personification of pan-Indian identity emphasizes the complex ways this counterpublic navigates their place in the U.S. Both the walk and the walkers’ bodies serve as rhetorical arguments for the complicated identity of Native Americans today, and how this identity always already calls upon collective remembering to define it. As DeLuca observes, “There are no *a priori* bodies. Bodies are enmeshed in a turbulent stream of multiple and conflictual discourses that shape what they mean in particular contexts.”<sup>652</sup> Ono emphasizes

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<sup>649</sup> Pamela Bennet, June 12, 2012 (14:25) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

<sup>650</sup> Susan Campbell, May 19, 2012 (15:02) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

<sup>651</sup> Trail of Broken Promises, April 10, 2012 (16:46) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>

<sup>652</sup> DeLuca, “Unruly Arguments”, 12.



that bodies are rhetorical, stating, “The body itself is a readable text, is discursive, and therefore may be understood to have meanings that need to be controlled, disciplined, deported, imprisoned, or discarded.”<sup>653</sup> As demonstrated in the past two chapters about Assimilation Era discourse and raced versus colonized identities, the discourses influencing understandings of Indigenous identity in the U.S. are numerous and, at times, contradictory. Although bodies and the uses to which they are put can serve as arguments, we must also consider the ways those rhetorical bodies are regulated and limited through the ways they have been defined and named. Whether or how bodies conform to normative regulation affects how they, and their messages, are perceived, revealing the relations of power and domination with which bodies are invested.<sup>654</sup> Through their bodies, associations, and actions, the Trail of Broken Promises walkers served as representatives of a pan-Indian counterpublic, claiming a marginalized community identity while challenging the ways their community is disregarded by the U.S.

### *Embodying*

As Porrovecchio observes, counterpublics and their members, defined through their difference from dominant publics, “carry with them a coded poetry—of other, of difference, in essence, of *contrariety*—that distinguishes them.”<sup>655</sup> This contrariety is embodied in the walkers’ resistive act of the Trail of Broken Promises (a name that indeed serves as a poetry of resistance), as well as in their actual bodies. Each of the walkers individually identifies as a member of at

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<sup>653</sup> Kent A. Ono, “Borders that Travel: Matters of the Figural Border” in *Border Rhetorics: Citizenship and Identity on the U.S.-Mexico Frontier*, ed. D. Robert DeChaine (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 30.

<sup>654</sup> Butterworth “‘Katie was Not Only a Girl.’” See also: Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 121; Nadine Ehlers, “Passing Phantasms/Sanctioning Performatives: (Re)Reading White Masculinity in *Rhineland v. Rhineland*,” *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society*, 27 (2003): 63-91; Nadine Ehlers, “Hidden in Plain Sight: Defying Juridical Racialization in *Rhineland v. Rhineland*,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 1, no. 4 (2004): 315; Nadine Ehlers, “‘Black Is’ and ‘Black Ain’t’: Performative Revisions of Racial ‘Crisis,’” *Culture, Theory & Critique*, 47, no. 2 (2007): 149–163; Jonathan Xavier Inda, “Performativity, Materiality, and the Racial Body,” *Latino Studies Journal* 11, no. 3 (2000): 74-99.

<sup>655</sup> Porrovecchio, “Lost in the WTO Shuffle,” 237.

least one tribal nation, and as such is coded as Native American, as “other.” However, to passerby seeing them outside of the context of the Trail of Broken Promises, many of the

**Image 1.** *Some of the Trail of Broken Promises walkers, taken May 22, 2012 at a marker along the Potawatomi Trail of Death. Top row (l. to r.): Jackson Shaad, Wayne Yandell (Choctaw), Leonard Lowery III (Choctaw), Isacc Mitchell (Osage), Chad Buttram, Mary Iorio (3 Affiliated Tribes of ND), Shireen Ohadi-Homadani (Muscogee, Creek, Osage), Michael Ofor (3 Affiliated Tribes of ND), and Millie Pepion (Navajo, Blackfeet). Bottom row (l. to r.): Julia Trechak, Mark Olsen (Citizen Band Potawatomi), Willie the dog, and Chad Crisco (Kaw).*<sup>656</sup>



walkers’ bodies would pass as racially ambiguous, largely thanks to the complicated genealogies that are inevitable over several hundred years of interacting with various European conquerors, immigrants, African slaves, other tribal nations, and the descendants of all these groups.<sup>657</sup> In these cases, the coded otherness, or difference, is far more uncertain, and the poetry of contrariety lies in the polysemy of the walkers’ bodies as they are read as (Native)American, or not. For those walkers who do not embody The Indian stereotype of black hair, braids, and bronze skin, their bodies rhetorically argue for complicating how Indigenous peoples are defined and understood by outsiders.<sup>658</sup>

<sup>656</sup> “Some of the Trail of Broken Promises Walkers” April 11, 2012, Trail of Broken Promises, *Tumblr*, [trailofbrokenpromises.tumblr.com](http://trailofbrokenpromises.tumblr.com); Lauren Walser, October 12, 2012, “Young Preservationist: Millie Pepion and the Trail of Broken Promises” *National Trust for Historic Preservation Website and Blog*, December 10, 2012, <http://blog.preservationnation.org/2012/10/12/young-preservationist-millie-pepion-and-the-trail-of-broken-promises/#.UMUkg3ewX78>

<sup>657</sup> Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) addresses the complicated racial histories of Indigenous peoples in the U.S.

<sup>658</sup> Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, Inc., 1996); Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *So You Want to Write About American Indians? A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars* (Lincoln, NE and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); According to Mihesuah, common stereotypes about American Indians include that they are all alike and they are full-blooded Native Americans; that they are confined to reservations, live in teepees, wear braids, and ride horses; that they get a “free ride” from the government and that all of their concerns are handled by the BIA; that they are incapable of completing school and tend to be alcoholics; that they were conquered because inherently inferior; that they cannot

The group members' bodies, bodies named as Native American, as American Indian, but also as Blackfeet, Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Diné, Navajo, Kaw, Osage, Potawatomi, Muscogee, and many others, function as metonyms for the heterogeneity of the Indigenous peoples across the U.S., but also for the simplified, homogenized identities assigned the various peoples by the dominant EuroAmerican public. The individual walkers' complicated racial identities are demonstrative of the ways they are linked to multiple tribal nations and U.S. history. For instance, in her UN speech, Millicent Pepion introduced herself as follows:

*Ya'ah teh. Shey ya Millicent Pepion enshiiye. Todikoshi inslev'. Blackfeet bushachiingi. Tachiini a da shi chey. Billagana a da shi noli. Hos do da' na sha. A he' hee onoosltso.* Greetings, everything is good. Who I am called is Millicent Pepion that is my name. The Bitter Water People from Whipper Well are my maternal and first clan. The Blackfeet People are my paternal and second clan. My great grandmothers are Their Forehead is Red People. My great grandfathers are White people. I'm from the really hot area of the world (Phoenix, AZ). Thank you, all of you who came through this doorway and will leave out the same doorway.<sup>659</sup>

In her greeting and self-introduction, Pepion code switches, highlighting her multiple identities within the U.S. through her language use.<sup>660</sup> She also names the various ancestors from whence she comes—the Bitter Water People from Whipper Well, the Blackfeet People, the Their Forehead is Red People, and White people—demonstrating the complex lineages of many Native Americans.<sup>661</sup> While recognition of pan-Indian identity and resistance is important for the ways it highlights broad-scale resistance to colonialism and/or inequality within the U.S. by peoples of various tribal nations and identities, it is not my intention to essentialize the individuals, or reinforce existing stereotypes about Indigenous peoples within the U.S. Drawing on the existence

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vote or hold office within the U.S.; and that many EuroAmericans insist that “my [great-...]grandmother was an Indian,” all of which are inaccurate. See also Jeanette Haynes Writer, “Unmasking, Exposing and Confronting: Critical Race Theory, Tribal Critical Race Theory and Multicultural Education,” *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 10, no. 2 (2008): 8; Louis Owens, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998).

<sup>659</sup> Pepion, May 1, 2012, “Speech to the UN”

<sup>660</sup> Owens, *Mixedblood Messages*, 5, 27, 31.

<sup>661</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American*; Casey Ryan Kelly “Blood-Speak: Ward Churchill and the Racialization of American Indian Identity,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 8, no. 3 (2011): 240-265.

and rhetorical strategies of a pan-Indian resistance requires acknowledging not that each member of the various tribal nations shares a “sameness of experiences,” but that the forms of oppression to which they are subject are dependent upon their naming and categorization *as* Native.<sup>662</sup> This naming was integral to current students’ ancestors being required to attend Haskell, an association that continues to resonate with the walkers, as we see in their discussion of this affiliation.

### *Emplacing*

The group’s connection to Haskell Indian Nations University is a significant way that their efforts to save the Wakarusa wetlands and other sacred places can be construed as pan-Indian resistance to EuroAmerican policies. In their statement about why they were walking, the group explained, “Haskell represents more than 150 Alaskan and Native tribes, meaning that if we were to do the six degrees of separation almost every single Native American in this country would have a tie to us.”<sup>663</sup> The long history of Haskell, opened as the U.S. Indian Industrial Training School in 1884, means that in many cases, students’ families have been attending the school for several generations. While they were leaders of the Wetlands Preservation Organization, Lackey and Pepion described HINU as “as one of the greatest reminders of Native American perseverance. As a former boarding school started in 1884, Haskell represents a living history that is too often swept under the rug.”<sup>664</sup> For many, the history of the school and its relationship to their peoples’ pasts influences their actions today. Pepion explained, “The remnants of what happened still linger in the hallways and dormitories. When I sit in any empty building on campus, I can feel spirits around me... I am a third generation student. My

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<sup>662</sup> Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 115-116; John Sanchez and Mary E. Stuckey, “The Rhetoric of American Indian Activism in the 1960s and 1970s,” *Communication Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2000): 120-136.

<sup>663</sup> Lackey and Pepion, “To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country.”

<sup>664</sup> Lackey and Pepion, “To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country.”

grandmother came here in the late 1940s. Several students have similar backgrounds. When I learn about how they treated our ancestors here on campus, it affects my mood, and it empowers me to seek justice.”<sup>665</sup> In 2012, for Pepion this meant, among other things, making a Commitment to Action through the Clinton Global Initiative University, a commitment through which the Trail of Broken Promises came about.<sup>666</sup>

As addressed above, the route of the ToBP itself was selected for the ways its stops would highlight the history of colonization and violence against the pan-Indian counterpublic of the U.S. As Pepion explained, “Fighting to save the Wakarusa Wetlands extends beyond our campus. Our journey recognizes all Native Americans and all sacred places left vulnerable to developers’ agendas.”<sup>667</sup> In another example, she referenced how Native American lands have and continue to be taken by the dominant public in the name of “progress,” a term that in the past implied EuroAmerican “civilization” in comparison to Indigenous peoples’ perceived savagery and misuse of land. As she points out, “It could be these wetlands or the San Francisco Peaks. If we allow desecration of these sacred places in the name of ‘progress,’ what chance does any place in this world have? Or animals or people?”<sup>668</sup> She explained, “This is not just another ‘Indian Problem.’ Forced relocation of these plants and animals [in the destruction and moving of the Wakarusa Wetlands] is both an environmental and social threat.”<sup>669</sup> Pepion’s statements reveal her belief in interconnectedness among the earth, people, and animals, a belief system that

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<sup>665</sup> ICTMN Staff, “Haskell Students Speak Out About Protecting the Wakarusa Wetlands,” February 8, 2012, *Indian Country Today Media Network*, accessed February 9, 2010 <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/02/08/haskell-students-speak-out-about-protecting-the-wakarusa-wetlands-96649#ixzz1lulTnqHp>

<sup>666</sup> Curtis Spicer, “Purdue Provides Rest Stop for ‘Broken Promises,’” June 6, 2012, *The Exponent Online*, accessed June 11, 2012 [http://www.purdueexponent.org/city/article\\_5dfbde68-f9a5-510c-a8ff-f8b97abf400d.html](http://www.purdueexponent.org/city/article_5dfbde68-f9a5-510c-a8ff-f8b97abf400d.html); “About Us,” Clinton Global Initiative (CGI), accessed June 13, 2012

<http://www.clintonglobalinitiative.org/aboutus/default.asp?Section=AboutUs&PageTitle=About%20U>

<sup>667</sup> ICTMN Staff, “Native Students Trekking to Washington to Demand Preservation of Sacred Places,” *Indian Country Today Media Network*, May 10, 2012, accessed June 11, 2012 from <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/05/10/native-students-trekking-to-washington-to-demand-preservation-of-sacred-places-112247>; Brenda Norrell, “Haskell Students Walk to Save Wetlands: Trail of Broken Promises,” *Censored News: Indigenous People, Resistance and Human Rights*, May 31, 2012, accessed June 11, 2012 <http://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/2012/05/haskell-students-walk-to-save-wetlands.html>

<sup>668</sup> Attocknie, “Students Walk to Protect Native Sacred Places”

<sup>669</sup> Attocknie, “Students Walk to Protect Native Sacred Places”

EuroAmericans often disregard, and in the past have gone so far as to attempt eradication through religious conversions and laws persecuting practitioners.<sup>670</sup> Although not seemingly intentional, her statement about the “forced relocation” of the wetlands’ flora and fauna for the trafficway also echoes the history of her peoples, moved from place to place to make room for incoming EuroAmericans, again revealing a belief in interconnectedness and cyclical histories often overlooked by members of dominant EuroAmerican publics.

The echo of the past is heard across descriptions of the walk, as demonstrated in a local Indiana paper tracking the group’s progress: “Almost 174 years ago, Potawatomi Indians camped at Ellsworth Park during their forced march from northern Indiana to Kansas. This weekend, a handful of college students and their supporters will make a similar stop at the park as part of their Trail of Broken Promises.”<sup>671</sup> Another paper stated that the students were walking the trail to explicitly thank those who remembered the past, explaining, “the students traveled 21 days on the 1838 Potawatomi Trail of Death route to show appreciation to communities maintaining markers of remembrance.”<sup>672</sup> Yet another explained, “The first leg of the trek followed in the footsteps of the students’ elders, tracing Backward the Prairie Band and Citizen Band Potawatomi National [sic] Trail of Death which stretched from Indiana to Kansas in 1838.”<sup>673</sup> The meaning of the route and their stops are integral to how the ToBP serves as a discourse, and demonstrate how the meaning of a place changes over time. As Endres and Senda-Cook observe, “Places, although seemingly permanent because of their physical structures like buildings,

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<sup>670</sup> Vine Deloria, *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997); Walter R. Echo-Hawk, “Native American Religious Liberty: Five Hundred Years after Columbus,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17, no. 3 (1993); Robert S. Michaelson, “‘We Also Have a Religion’: The Free Exercise of Religion Among Native Americans,” *American Indian Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (1983): 111-142.

<sup>671</sup> Mary Wicoff, “Walkers Call Attention to Rights,” *The Commercial-News*, May 30, 2012, accessed June 1, 2012 from <http://commercial-news.com/local/x1647290843/walkers-call-attention-to-rights>.

<sup>672</sup> Millicent M. Pepion, “Trail of Broken Promises Reaches DC from Kansas,” *Censored News: Indigenous People, Resistance and Human Rights*, June 27, 2012, accessed July 7, 2012, <http://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/2012/06/trail-of-broken-promises-reaches-dc.html>.

<sup>673</sup> Husar, “Trail of Broken Promises Ends.”

streets, and the like, are actually quite fluid because they are constantly being reiterated, reinforced, or reinterpreted. Both the physical and symbolic aspects of place are dynamic.”<sup>674</sup> In the case of the Trail of Broken Promises stops, even when not marked by a plaque or building (as Carlisle Indian Boarding School and local museums are), the trail itself, the route walked in 1838 by the Potawatomi being forcibly relocated, is imbued with meaning. Highlighted in the discourse is the way collective memory can be emplaced, the individual’s experiences of the trail dependent on their peoples’ remembrances of it.<sup>675</sup>

The meaning of the route is bound up in colonialism, representing the violence experienced by peoples as they were forcibly removed from their homelands or sent to Indian boarding schools. Over time, these places have come to represent the anti-Indigenous genocide perpetuated, serve as memorials for those who died, serve as reminders for ongoing inequalities, and now, with the ToBP, serve to raise awareness for how sacred places are desecrated by the dominant public who disregard their importance for Native Americans. Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson and Brian Ott observe that rhetoric, whether language, object, event, or place, is “meaningful;” the Trail of Broken Promises highlights the two levels upon which this term operates. The route, the stops along it, and the act of walking are composed of symbolic signification, but they are also significant for the affective investments people have in them.<sup>676</sup> For instance, on the group’s Facebook page, they posted about one of the walker’s experiences on the trail: “Mark is a descendent of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Walking the Trail of Death reversed is very spiritual to him. We see it and we thank him and his family for their sacrifice.

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<sup>674</sup> Endres and Senda-Cook, “Location Matters,” 263.

<sup>675</sup> Aden et al., “Re-Collection,” 312.

<sup>676</sup> Carole Blair, Greg Dickinson, and Brian L. Ott, “Introduction: Rhetoric/Memory/Place,” in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, eds. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 3.

He is serving his people well and we are all proud of him. Aho Mark!”<sup>677</sup> Susan Campbell, a supporter tracking the walk’s progress, made a similar observation about how walking the trail affects her, stating on Facebook, “I’m Potawatomi and have traveled the Potawatomi Trail of Death several times to honor my ancestors. It’s always a very spiritual experience.”<sup>678</sup> Both of these comments demonstrate the ways identity, place, affect, and memory are inextricably bound, shaping how the place was experienced and what it means.

The route selected is not only meaningful for those who have walked the Trail of Death, or for the pan-Indian community the ToBP walkers symbolize. The group also aimed to make it significant to those in the EuroAmerican community. The ToBP walkers were very strategic in the message they planned to send, not only to their own communities, but to a dominant public whose attention they hoped to catch. In the initial plan the group published on Facebook, they stated,

We will begin at the Wakarusa Wetlands just south of Haskell’s campus and head toward Shanksville, PA to the Flight 93 crash site, which was constructed into wetlands to honor those victims. *Our hope is that we open eyes to the strong parallels between these sacred places of resistance.* From Shanksville we will continue on to Carlisle to pay tribute to the children buried in the original boarding school. Then we will march to Washington DC to plead our case and propose legislation to work with Native Americans in the decisions made about sacred sites.<sup>679</sup>

Although I have been unable to confirm whether they stopped at the Flight 93 crash site, their intention to visit it is significant for two reasons: their strategic intentions for stopping there, and the ways such a stop reinforces the ways this pan-Indian community is part of the U.S. national community, even when often ignored as such.

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<sup>677</sup> Trail of Broken Promises, May 16, 2012, comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>.

<sup>678</sup> Susan Campbell, May 19, 2012 (15:02) comment on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook*, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Trail-Of-Broken-Promises/300284686671395>.

<sup>679</sup> Lackey and Pepion, “To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country.” My emphasis.



Strategically, the group planned to stop at the Flight 93 memorial to “open the eyes” of the public to the ways their Indigenous communities have resisted violence to their people and the memorialization of these acts in wetlands. In the case of Flight 93, passengers brought down hijackers at the expense of their own lives in order to save their countrymen that the flying bomb was intended for, an act memorialized in the field outside Shanksville, PA. In the case of the Wakarusa wetlands, it serves as a memorial to the students forced to attend the Indian Boarding School, those who resisted assimilation policies, and those died there. The ToBP argue that both sites are worth saving for the ways they remember the brave from the past, those put into situations they did not ask for, but who rose to the occasion and resisted violence against their people, even at the cost of their lives. In addition to the strategy of the stop, that the ToBP planners recognized the import and parallels of the Flight 93 memorial to their own cause also highlights their own and their communities’ positions within the U.S. Although tribal nations are ostensibly sovereign (though dependent sovereignties), their citizens are also U.S. citizens, formal members of the nation in which they are often disregarded. This marginalization of Native peoples within the larger national community does not foreclose members of the Indigenous community from being profoundly affected by the events of 9/11, such as the heroics on Flight 93. The group’s plan to stop at the memorial reminds us of the ways members of the pan-Indian community are *also* members of the U.S. American community, identities that are complexly interwoven and often contradictory, and a situation that may require members of the pan-Indian community, (Native)Americans, to navigate both identities as well as their intersections.

*Enacting*

As demonstrated above, the Trail of Broken Promises group members' bodies, labels, and associations with places function to mark them as representatives of a pan-Indian counterpublic, an identity further reinforced by the actions they engaged in along the walk. While there was a core of only 13 walkers (others joined for a day here and there as they passed through communities), that the group carried proposed legislation to present in Washington D.C. on behalf of all Native American Sacred Places underlines the ways this walk served as a pan-Indian resistance to EuroAmerican government policies. Through walking the Trail of Broken Promises, a name that itself serves as "a reference to the often-bitter relationship that has long existed between the government and Native American tribes,"<sup>680</sup> the group hoped:

to build a voice for all Native people across this country that are also battling for their own sacred spaces. We want to bring national attention to these issues in which our Native culture and beliefs is ignored as an attestable reason to stop the destruction of these places. The Wakarusa Wetlands, a space viewed by those who know Haskell's history as a sacred space, is just one issue out of hundreds or even thousands of those affecting our Native people.<sup>681</sup>

The ToBP invited "everyone who is dealing with a similar issue such as ours to join us this summer to walk the Trail of Broken Promises," reinforcing that their determination to call attention to and save the Wakarusa Wetlands from construction was not a localized effort, but one that extends to the numerous Native American sacred places being threatened throughout the U.S.<sup>682</sup> Here, I address in more depth how the group's actions function both as activism and as a challenge to essentialized national remembering of what it means to be (Native)American.

In a move that openly demonstrated how the group members were walking on behalf of Indigenous peoples' needs across the nation, they carried with them draft legislation to be

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<sup>680</sup> Knopf, "Group Marks 'Trail of Death,'" 5.

<sup>681</sup> Lackey and Pepion, "To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country."

<sup>682</sup> Lackey and Pepion, "To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country."

presented in Washington D.C. The legislation, the Protection of Native American Sacred Places Act, was drafted by activist Suzan Shown Harjo (Cheyenne and Hodulgee Muscogee) as an addendum to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.<sup>683</sup> It is meant “to ensure that federal laws protecting the free exercise of religion include protection of traditional Native American Sacred Places where ceremonies, commemorations, observances or worship are conducted or occur, and to provide a right of action to protect Native American Sacred Places.”<sup>684</sup> As explained in a Kansas news story about the group, “They’ll carry a piece of legislation that calls for the protection of sacred places. There is currently no law in the United States that protects sacred sites on public land. Students and staff members from the [Haskell Indian Nations] university say as native people, they have no representation in Congress and this is their way of making their voice heard.”<sup>685</sup> As a marginalized group within the U.S., “making their voice heard” requires first garnering enough widespread attention outside of their own communities to encourage members of the dominant public to listen to their message. In this case, that attention stems from walking “58 days and more than 1,300 miles from Kansas on back roads of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, through the Appalachian Mountains, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, [which] will take them to Washington, D.C.,” talking to press and tracking their trip through social media along the way.<sup>686</sup>

In addition to carrying legislation in an attempt to amend U.S. laws about how the nation relates to and treats Native Americans and their lifeways, the group also carried a U.S. flag and prayer staff decorated with an American flag and eagle feathers, exemplifying the complicated relationship that many Indigenous peoples have to the U.S. nation. Since the Indian Citizenship

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<sup>683</sup> As of November 26, 2012, despite contacting Kansas lawmakers in Washington, I was unable to determine whether the suggested legislation had been presented to Congress.

<sup>684</sup> Attocknie, “Students Walk to Protect Native Sacred Places.”

<sup>685</sup> Alli Pruett, “Haskell Students Set Out to Save the Wakarusa Wetlands,” *6 News Lawrence*, May 6, 2012, accessed June 11, 2012, <http://www.6newslawrence.com/news/local/haskell-students-set-out-to-save-the-wakarusa-wetlands/>

<sup>686</sup> Williams, “Students Protest Trafficway.”

Act of 1924, tribal members within the U.S. are enrolled as citizens of their tribal nations as well as of the U.S.<sup>687</sup> This means that for Native Americans in the American military, they uphold the values of the nation that colonizes their peoples, serving it with their actions and bodies.

Historically, rates of military enlistment by Native Americans have been high, despite Anti-Indigenous racism within the military environment.<sup>688</sup> These potentially conflicting identities of colonized Native American and proud U.S. military veteran were embodied and enacted as two of the walkers who were military veterans carried the U.S. flag the length of the trip. Going farther, each night the group retired the flag with “an ‘Honor Song’ ceremony, an intertribal chant to honor the flag.”<sup>689</sup> As ToBP walker Leonard Lowrey III (Choctaw) explained, “We walk with a flag and a staff for members of the group who are veterans... The flag travels in front, and when it arrives we greet that flag by song and retire it for the night.”<sup>690</sup> He also stated that the honor song was being chanted “for our ancestors who were here or who may still be here in this place,” reflecting the complicated nature of the walkers’ identities, bound up in U.S. and pan-Indian memories. Exemplifying the interconnections of the past and present, Lowrey explained, “In our culture everything is done in a circle and with that, we pray. For all these people here, and for everyone who came here to join us today.”<sup>691</sup>

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<sup>687</sup> For more on the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, see: Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 115-121; Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 4; Patrick Wolfe, “After the Frontier: Separation and Absorption in US Indian Policy,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, (2011): 13-51. For a more thorough discussion of tribal nations as sovereign nations within the U.S. and Native Americans’ dual citizenships, see for instance, Erich Steinman “Sovereigns and Citizens? The Contested Status of American Indian Tribal Nations and Their Members,” *Citizenship Studies*, 15, no. 1 (2011): 57-74.

<sup>688</sup> Thomas Britton, *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Al Carroll, *Medicine Bags and Dog Tags: American Indian Veterans from Colonial Times to the Second Iraq War* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Tom Holm, *Strong Hearts, Wounded Souls: Native American Veterans of the Vietnam War* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996); Stephen Silliman, “‘Old West’ in the Middle East: U.S. Military Metaphors in Real and Imagined Indian Country” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 237-247.

<sup>689</sup> Williams, “Students Protest Trafficway.”

<sup>690</sup> KMZU staff, “Native Americans Walking to D.C.,” May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>

<sup>691</sup> Leonard Lowrey, interview by KMZU John Chojnicki, “Native Americans Walking to D.C.,” May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>

The juxtaposition of these identities is highlighted by the ways they carry a U.S. flag and honor those who have fought to uphold U.S. values (many of which were overtly hostile to the Indigenous peoples within the nation), while also honoring the ancestors who died at the hands of the U.S. government. A local paper described the honor song and ceremony the group performed at each stop:

...streams of gray smoke from burning sage and cedar swirled into the air, and an American Indian intertribal honor chant rose above the chirp of birds at Pioneer Springs Park in Independence. Cupping an abalone shell filled with the burning embers, Millicent ... waved smoke around her body from head to toe and then did the same for her 13 fellow travelers. Together they blessed the nameless Potawatomi Indian who is buried in the park.<sup>692</sup>

Pepion also sprinkled water at each stop, giving “water to the spirits, knowing that those on the Trail of Death cried for water as it was a year of terrible drought.”<sup>693</sup> Enacting traditions and beliefs once outlawed by the U.S. government while still embracing their U.S. membership, the ToBP walkers make visible the complicated positions occupied by Native peoples seeking to be accepted as members of the (Euro-)American national community.

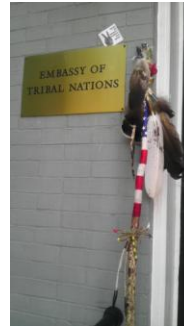
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<sup>692</sup> Williams, “Students Protest Trafficway,” see also the group’s tumblr page, JH, May 15, 2012, [trailofbrokenpromises.tumblr.com](http://trailofbrokenpromises.tumblr.com)

<sup>693</sup> Kathy Bottorff, “Trail of Broken Promises Walk Arrives in Indiana June 4,” *AM1050 The Chief*, June 6, 2012, accessed June 12, 2012, <http://am1050.com/2012/trail-of-broken-promises-walk-arrives-in-indiana-june-4/>



**Image 2:**  
The American flag carried by Jackson Shaad and Michael Ofor (3 Affiliated Tribes of ND) (l. to r.) on the ToBP walk.<sup>694</sup>



**Image 3:** The prayer staff carried by ToBP walkers from Kansas to Washington, D.C., featuring a U.S. flag as well as eagle feathers and tokens given them during their travels to help along the way.<sup>695</sup>

The flag(s) carried by the Trail of Broken Promises exemplify the walkers' national pride, their membership in the U.S. community, and the ways these identities are complicated by their pride in their tribal membership. As Bodnar expressed, "the symbolic language of patriotism is central to public memory in the United States because it has the capacity to mediate both vernacular loyalties to local and familiar places and official loyalties to national and imagined structures."<sup>696</sup> In this case, the walkers (and the larger Indigenous communities they represent) are caught between their local loyalties to their peoples' ways of life and values, and the national structures that largely disregard those lifeways. Memories are a key to understanding who we are, and are often linked to the places where things have happened to ourselves or those we identify with, turning particular places into containers of our experiences, as demonstrated in the ToBP connection to the Trail of Death, Carlisle Indian School, Shanksville, PA, and Washington, D.C.<sup>697</sup> W. James Booth pointed out that "To inhabit the world is to live not just in any interchangeable empty space but in a place that in myriad ways is bound up with our

<sup>694</sup> Trail of Broken Promises, May 20, 2012, Photostream, *Flickr*, November 21, 2012, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/tobp2012/7270091194/in/photostream/>

<sup>695</sup> Picture posted by RM Whitehair, June 29, 2012, (13:04) on the Trail of Broken Promises page, *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=249578511825186&set=p.249578511825186&type=1&theater> retrieved November 21, 2012

<sup>696</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1992), 14-15.

<sup>697</sup> Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, 182-189.

past.”<sup>698</sup> Embracing one’s identity in both U.S. and Indigenous national communities as the walkers do is complex and often contradictory because it requires calling on the memory of U.S.-Indigenous history, a relationship of colonization, domination, and violence.

As noted in previous chapters and scholarship on the topic, from the early days of the nation the dominant EuroAmerican public’s identity has largely been predicated on juxtaposing depictions of civilized, white, “Modern Americans” with rhetoric about supposed savage, uncivilized “Backward Indians.”<sup>699</sup> For contemporary Native Americans, these national recollections and identifications reinforce ways “the definition of the U.S. nation and the U.S. conception of American Indians were inextricably intertwined and interdependent.”<sup>700</sup> Below, I address how the intricate identities embodied by the ToBP walkers serve as rhetorical arguments challenging a dominant public’s collectively remembered genres of “Backward Indian” versus “Modern American”, disrupting the existing disabling racial certitudes attached to U.S. Indigenous identity, and offering possibilities for productive and just relationships between dominant U.S. publics and marginalized Indigenous counterpublics, those in the interstices of (Native)American identity.

#### Disabling Certitude *versus* Enabling Uncertainty

A disabling certitude is a “fiction hardened into ideology,” a construction reiterated and reified to the point that it is “resistant to questioning and ... to logical analysis.”<sup>701</sup> This is largely accomplished through calling on collective memories of the essentialized “Backward Indian” to frame our understanding and interactions with Native peoples today—memories with material

<sup>698</sup> W. James Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice* (Ithaca, NY & London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 29.

<sup>699</sup> Jo Carrillo, “Disabling Certitudes: An Introduction to the Role of Mythologies of Conquest in Law,” *University of Florida Journal of Law and Public Policy* 12 (2000-2001), 13-31; Phillip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Jeremy Engels, “‘Equipped for Murder’: The Paxton Boys and ‘The Spirit of Killing all Indians’ in Pennsylvania, 1763-1764,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8, no. 3 (2005): 355-382.

<sup>700</sup> Basson, *White Enough to be American?* 33.

<sup>701</sup> Jo Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance: An Essay about the Role of Mythologies in Law,” *PoLAR*, 25, no. 1 (2002): 38.

effects in the world thanks to their codification in treaties and law. Jo Carrillo explains that this “hardening” of inaccurate and essentialized stereotypes into the disabling certitude of The Indian means that in contemporary legal claims related to Native identity, “indigenous communities find themselves in the awkward position of having to prove that they are indeed relics of the past, or that they comport with popular current stereotypes of the indian [sic].”<sup>702</sup> Although collective remembrances are processual and dynamic, in relation to Indigenous-U.S. relationships, members of the dominant EuroAmerican public unfortunately often instead rely upon simplified rhetorical recollections of Native peoples based on racist ideologies and mis-remembered past events, diminishing opportunities to move past race as a defining (though ill-fitting) aspect of national identity. I propose that as a (collection of) rhetorical act(s), the Trail of Broken Promises’ embodied, emplaced, and enacted discourses challenge long-standing essentialized collective remembrances about Native peoples in the U.S., disrupting the stereotypes upheld through rhetorical colonialism and offering instead a glimpse of what I term *enabling uncertainty*.<sup>703</sup> Through doing so, the ToBP advocates for recognition of their lifeways, and for the ability to lead “livable lives” within the nation that their own tribal nations have been deemed legally dependent on.

Enabling uncertainties are those situations that call our attention to the possibilities for understanding that arise precisely *because* we are uncertain, unsure of which category to situate someone in. Consider, for instance, the ways essentialized assumptions may be disrupted when people do not fit into our preconceived notions of identity, race, and nation, instead embodying and enacting their identities in complex ways, foiling attempts at simple definition. In the case of the ToBP, as they walk from Haskell to Washington, D.C. with flag and legislation in hand, the

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<sup>702</sup> Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance,” 38.

<sup>703</sup> “Thank you” to Jacqueline Martinez for calling my attention to this term and the ball it started rolling.



walkers disrupt the idea that pursuing Indigenous identity and lifeways is irreconcilable with membership in the (“modern”) American nation. As such, the Trail of Broken Promises provides us a (re-)starting point for conversations about social justice for Native peoples within the U.S., continuing the work done by pan-Indian activists throughout the Columbian Legacy.<sup>704</sup> In this final of three sections, I build upon my explanation of the complexities of (Native) American identity by demonstrating how Indigenous peoples within the U.S., such as those walking the ToBP, often inhabit a “thirdspace,” finding ways to navigate the intersections of “Native” and “American,” and disrupting essentialized collective remembrances of both in the process. I then explain how their actions and advocacy for social justice and the acceptance of their lifeways trouble the disabling certitude of The Indian in favor of the enabling uncertainty of lived Indigenous identities.

### *Thirdspace*

Several of the examples above emphasize the ways people within pan-Indian counterpublics, in this case represented by the Trail of Broken Promises, live within two or more (national) communities whose values may conflict and contradict. For instance, the groups’ planned stop at the Shanksville memorial to the Flight 93 while walking the Trail of Broken Promises, and that they carry a flag on the prayer staff, each rhetorically serves to honor both the (colonizing) U.S. nation and their colonized forebears. Their experiences demonstrate how those who are members of both communities inhabit a thirdspace between the two, a space that “does

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<sup>704</sup> Some other instances of relatively recent events that have kept this conversation going are the 1969-1971 Native American occupation of Alcatraz Island, the U.S.’s (delayed) ratification of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2010, and the 2012 \$3.4 billion class action settlement *Cobell v. Salazar* in which reparations are being made for federal government mismanagement of funds and lands held in trust for Native Americans. For more information, see for instance, James Anaya, U.N. General Assembly. Human Rights Council, 21<sup>st</sup> session. “Agenda Item 3: Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Addendum: The Situation of Indigenous Peoples in the United States of America,” August 30, 2012; Charles Michael Ray, “Native Americans to Soon Receive Settlement Checks,” *National Public Radio*, November 29, 2012, accessed January 26, 2013 <http://www.npr.org/2012/11/30/166185774/native-americans-to-soon-receive-settlement-checks>; Cynthia Duquette Smith and Teresa Bergman, “You Were on Indian Land: Alcatraz Island as Recalcitrant Memory Space” in *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, eds. Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair and Brian L. Ott, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 160-188.

not derive simply from an additive combination of its binary antecedents, but rather from a disordering, deconstruction, and tentative reconstruction of their presumed totalization producing an open alternative that is both similar and strikingly different.”<sup>705</sup> Kevin Bruyneel argues that in the case of sovereignty debates, the “ambiguous boundary imposed by the United States places a colonial bind on indigenous political choices, trapping indigenous peoples and tribes in a place neither here nor there. For indigenous politics, however, this same boundary has become the site of expression of a third space of sovereignty through postcolonial resistance.”<sup>706</sup> I propose that even in cases not explicitly related to sovereignty debates, the thirdspace plays a key role in resistance to (rhetorical) colonialism through challenging persistent racial mnemonic genres, disrupting long standing racial certitudes in favor of complicating (Native)American identities and their relationships.

For Native peoples in the U.S., inhabiting a thirdspace implies not quite fitting in to widespread conceptions of U.S. national identity, while also not living as the anachronistic “Backward Indian” that is still too often called upon by many in dominant U.S. publics. Michael Schudson explains that within the U.S., a singular American story often persists and many Americans perceive their nation’s history (and their identity as Americans that stems from it) as unitary and unproblematic, based on their shared “high regard for the Constitution and the Founding Fathers.”<sup>707</sup> However, these are the same entities that instigated and perpetuated genocidal policies against the Indigenous population of the U.S. Similarly, the national narrative of the (conquering of) the frontier is a tale of the meetings of peoples in a particular space, albeit one that moved gradually westward over the years. As a space of intercultural interaction,

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<sup>705</sup> Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 61. See also Jay T. Johnson, “Indigeneity’s Challenges to the White Settler-State: Creating a Thirdspace for Dynamic Citizenship,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, and Political* 33, no. 29 (2008): 29-52.

<sup>706</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, 13.

<sup>707</sup> Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget and Reconstruct the Past* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1992), 61 and 63.

narrating the frontier is inevitably based in “a discourse grounded in genocide, ethnocide, and half a millennium of determined efforts to erase indigenous peoples from the Americas.”<sup>708</sup>

However, as a space of interactions between peoples, the frontier also served as a thirdspace where Indigenous peoples were forced to relate to the encroaching U.S., finding ways to navigate what it meant to be both Native and, potentially, American (even if not legally) for their own survival. Now, as then, the spaces of interaction between (Native)American identities are “always unstable, multidirectional, hybridized, characterized by heteroglossia, and indeterminate.”<sup>709</sup> As Bruyneel observed, boundaries are not *barriers*, but “sites of co-constitutive interaction among groups, governments, nations and states where competing notions of political time, political space, and political identity shape the U.S.-indigenous relationship.”<sup>710</sup>

Similar to the idea of a unitary American story, many people call upon Benedict Anderson’s definition of a nation as an “imagined community” created through discourses that allow for the perception of “simultaneity.” In other words, although they will never meet, members of the (national) community confidently imagine themselves engaging in the “steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity” that marks them as working toward the same goal, moving the nation steadily forward through history.<sup>711</sup> However, as noted in the previous chapter about disrupting race, the American nation is often assumed to be a homogenously *white* nation, its diversity overlooked in favor of an idealized and inaccurate depiction. Bound up in this oft-unspoken identification as a white nation is the assumption that the U.S. is also inherently a

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<sup>708</sup> Owens, *Mixedblood Messages*, 26.

<sup>709</sup> Owens, *Mixedblood Messages*, 26.

<sup>710</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, xix.

<sup>711</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (London: Verso, 2006), 26.

*modern* nation founded on the ideals of individualism, capitalism, and property.<sup>712</sup> As addressed in chapter four, this identity as “Modern Americans” relies on positioning the collectively remembered “Backward Indian” as a foil for modernity. Carillo explains how this perceived binary about The Indian is a disabling certitude:

This indian [sic] is pre-modern, hopelessly backward, somewhere closer in evolutionary scales to animals than humans. This indian is a sign along the road of modernity; it points the way for readers, steeping them further in liberal ideology, teaching them critical lessons of liberalism such as the need for private property, the exaltation of the individual over the group, and the like. This indian also teaches the troubling lesson of white supremacy. For it is consistently this indian's *lack* that gets juxtaposed against the white amereuropean's plenty to make the point that nature and history favor those who have and take over those who do not have, or for whatever reason cannot take.<sup>713</sup>

In claiming their place as members of the U.S. *and* of their tribal nations, the ToBP walkers challenge the binary of “Modern American” and “Backward Indian” that Carillo identifies as necessary to the disabling certitude, instead rhetorically carving out a thirdspace between the two. In this thirdspace, they can recognize the multiple facets of their identities, simultaneously expressing pride while challenging the status quo. Inhabiting such an in-between place “introduces a critical ‘other than’ choice that speaks and critiques through its otherness,” disrupting clear demarcations of race and nation in favor of fluidity and uncertainty.<sup>714</sup>

Millicent Pepion, the primary organizer and spokesperson for the Trail of Broken Promises, openly recognized the in-between-ness of her identity and its implications for her life. In her speech to the UN Special Rapporteur, she stated,

A balance between Native science and Western science can be achieved for the betterment of all life. As a Native American woman I have been told I must walk honorably on a middle ground centered between two paths: the red road and the black road. I must respect both worlds equally and simultaneously. This means in order to

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<sup>712</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2003).

<sup>713</sup> Carrillo, “Disabling Certitudes,” 13.

<sup>714</sup> Soja, *Thirdspace*, 61.

stabilize my existence I must incorporate my traditional teachings into a modern society.<sup>715</sup>

Pepion and company's trek along the Trail of Broken Promises appears to function as a means to symbolically walk both the red and black roads—expressing their peoples' history and beliefs in their prayers and attempts to protect their sacred sites, while carrying legislation to take part in the U.S. legal process, and simultaneously honoring veterans, the U.S. flag and those Native ancestors who died at the hands of U.S. colonial policies. What it means to walk the red and the black roads is not the same for each person, nor should it be, but the Trail of Broken Promises serves as an example of how some navigate them.

Even the group's approach to their walk is representative of the alternate lifeways embraced by many Indigenous peoples, highlighting the interconnectedness of the land, people, and animals. As Pepion stated, "We seek to foster positive life-enhancement systems for plants, animals, and all our relations. Collective human action is needed to provide adequate consideration for future generations of all cultures."<sup>716</sup> This perspective was enacted throughout the organization of the walk. For instance, in addition to tents, sleeping bags, and gas money, the group also sought donations of "flint rocks, medicine, cedar, sage, sweet grass, hand drum, water, and whatever else you can give to the cause."<sup>717</sup> Before starting the trip, the ToBP organized a Buffalo Harvest, where they "harvested a 2,000 lb. buffalo, saying that the animal gives off the energy they'll need to complete the trip,"<sup>718</sup> an event also meant as "an offering to the surrounding community while bringing attention to the Trail of Broken Promises. ...It is also considered medicine for those who are going to journey on the Trail of Broken Promises. In addition, it's medicine for the students before they take their finals and for those who are about

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<sup>715</sup> Pepion, May 1, 2012, "Speech to the UN."

<sup>716</sup> Pepion, May 1, 2012, "Speech to the UN."

<sup>717</sup> Lackey and Pepion, "To All Our Relatives across Indian Country."

<sup>718</sup> Pruett, "Haskell Students Set Out to Save the Wakarusa Wetlands."

to graduate.”<sup>719</sup> Such practices highlight the ways members of the Haskell counterpublic maintain links to lifeways different than the EuroAmerican norms of the nation, but also different than the stereotypes perpetuated by reliance on the “Backward Indian” mnemonic genre.

While on the road, this holistic perspective of spirituality, culture, and the world was even apparent in the walkers’ daily organization. Throughout the multi-state trek, the ToBP group used a “four team approach” in which each member was assigned to a team—Land, Animal, People, Drivers—that each had its own duties to accomplish during the day, in addition to walking approximately ten miles (other than the Drivers, who served as support along the entire day’s route for the three walking teams). The teams’ duties echoed their team name. For instance, the Land team picked up trash along the road, cleaned up the campsite and located landmarks; the Animal team coordinated meals, asked for food donations, and were the first ones up each morning; and the People team met with the locals, filmed the walk and shared the group’s message with the media.<sup>720</sup> This range of activities speaks to the ways the ToBP reiterated traditional lifeways and beliefs in interconnectedness amidst a nation that often rejects them. Their commitment to maintaining traditions and religious practices that were once outlawed by the U.S. government is in itself resistive against colonial (assimilationist) practices, but the Trail of Broken Promises goes farther, openly identifying as activists on behalf of eco-justice, and by extension, social justice.

### *(Eco-)Justice*

Throughout the Haskell counterpublic’s fight against the South Lawrence Trafficway, its members have openly addressed that while the destruction of the wetlands is to many merely an

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<sup>719</sup> Milli Pepion, “Good Medicine: Haskell’s Buffalo Harvest” April 14, 2012 (5:00pm) Trail of Broken Promises, *Tumblr*, [trailofbrokenpromises.tumblr.com](http://trailofbrokenpromises.tumblr.com).

<sup>720</sup> “Trail of Broken Promises Walk,” (February 8, 2012) presentation, *Slideshare*, <http://www.slideshare.net/mpepion/the-trail-of-broken-promises-walk-11476260>.

environmental issue, for them it is also a cultural and religious issue. Pepion clarifies: “As I’ve learned more about this, I’ve realized this really isn’t an environmental issue. It is really an eco-justice issue. This is about the desecration of a sacred place.”<sup>721</sup> Pepion’s observation that this is an issue of “eco-justice” reinforces the racial aspects of their (environmental) concerns, because core to eco-justice is that “Poor black and brown people throughout this nation are bearing more than their fair share of the poisonous fruits of industrial production.”<sup>722</sup> A key aspect of the issue is the way their peoples’ voices are ignored, silenced through exclusion. In the note to followers on Facebook explaining the purpose of the ToBP, Lackey and Pepion explained: “We ... wish to build a voice for all Native people across this country that are also battling for their own sacred spaces. We want to bring national attention to these issues *in which our Native culture and beliefs is ignored* [sic] as an attestable reason to stop the destruction of these places. The Wakarusa Wetlands, a space viewed by those who know Haskell’s history as a sacred space, is just one issue out of hundreds or even thousands of those affecting our Native people.”<sup>723</sup> But, a complicating factor in a “modern” nation that values science over cultural values is that in all the “legal wrangling” over the wetlands “there’s no easy metric to measure how sacred a place is.”<sup>724</sup>

Thanks to the interconnectedness between the environment, sacred places, and Indigenous identity, battling to protect these places functions as a challenge to EuroAmerican tendencies to disregard, disrespect, and desecrate Native membership in the nation. As UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples James Anaya observed on his trip around the U.S. in May 2012, “securing the rights of indigenous peoples to their lands is of

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<sup>721</sup> Chad Lawhorn, “Wetlands Advocates Look for New Ways to Stop Construction of South Lawrence Trafficway as Legal Battle Ends,” *Lawrence Journal World*, October 13, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012 <http://www2.ljworld.com/news/2012/oct/13/wetlands-advocates-look-new-ways-stop-construction/>

<sup>722</sup> Regina Austin and Michael Schill, “Black, Brown, Poor and Poisoned: Minority Grassroots Environmentalism and the Quest for Eco-Justice,” *Kansas Journal of Law and Public Policy* 1 (1991): 69.

<sup>723</sup> Lackey and Pepion, “To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country.”

<sup>724</sup> Patrick Austin Freeland, quoted in Lawhorn, “Wetlands Advocates Look for New Ways to Stop Construction.” Freeland is a Haskell alumni and former WPO leader.

central importance to indigenous peoples' socio-economic development, self-determination, and cultural integrity. ...Continued efforts to resolve, clarify, and strengthen the protection of indigenous lands, resources, and sacred sites should be made.”<sup>725</sup> ToBP walker Ohadi-Hamadani (Muscogee, Creek, Osage) explained, “It’s crucial to preserve this dying culture. Not even to preserve it but to protect it. Even to this day, since the beginning of America, it’s been the United States government suppressing Native Americans in any possible way for the sake of land. So it’s very important to not just talk about the issues going on but to take direct action.”<sup>726</sup>

Similarly, in her speech to the United Nations Special Rapporteur, Pepion explained, “The Trail of Broken Promises seeks to educate the general public about a history of human beings who once thrived in this beautiful country abundantly and with social cultural practices more peaceful than our present situation.”<sup>727</sup> Here, Pepion calls attention to the pre-colonial past, inferring the violence that arrived as Indigenous peoples across the U.S. were colonized. Through the Trail of Broken Promises, the walkers work to raise awareness about the Wakarusa wetlands and protecting sacred sites, but through doing so, they also raise awareness about the fact Native peoples continue to exist and that they deserve a voice within the nation that colonizes them.

Gaining recognition means acting within the system of the U.S. nation and government in which their tribal nations are embedded. When asked about their plans upon reaching Washington D.C., ToBP walkers noted that in addition to presenting the draft legislation, they also hoped to “to talk to Obama and get an oral apology from the US government for all the hardship they’ve put our people through and continue to do,” according to Haskell sophomore and ToBP walker Mary Iorio (the Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota).<sup>728</sup> No mention was

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<sup>725</sup> Attocknie, “Students Walk to Protect Native Sacred Places”.

<sup>726</sup> Ohadi-Hamadani, KMZU interview.

<sup>727</sup> Pepion, May 1, 2012, “Speech to the UN”.

<sup>728</sup> Mary Iorio, interview by KMZU John Chojinicki, “Native Americans Walking to D.C.,” May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.knzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>



made of the (very vague) apology from President Obama to Indigenous nations attached as a short rider to defense bill H.R.3326 - Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2010.<sup>729</sup> Part of this could be that the group specifically wants an oral apology, a request that attempts to validate their peoples' traditional use of oral history. As Pepion explained, "A lot of Native American history is orally passed down, a lot of our stories, a lot of the atrocities that early American settlers did to Native Americans is also passed down. They don't write it down in books, what actually happened. A lot of people don't know about it. In continuing that oral tradition, we're asking that President Obama give us an oral apology for what happened here in the development of this great country."<sup>730</sup> In both statements, we see the explicit link to how current identities and relationships between the communities are shaped by the actions and memories of the past. Also apparent in Pepion's comment is a demonstration of her positioning as Native American *and* her identification with "this great nation," the U.S.

This seemingly contradictory identity is also expressed by ToBP walker Mark Olsen (Potawatomi). While calling on the ways the past and his peoples' remembrances of it shape who he is, he also situates himself as a proud American. He stated, "A lot of history is lost. Many people wrote about the Trail of Tears; a lot of people just don't know about the Trail of Death, the Potawatomi trail of death. My ancestors were on it. If it wasn't for my grandmother, my three times 'great' grandmother, I wouldn't be here today. And I'm really grateful that I'm able to go back and give thanks to my ancestors. ... we walk for those who can't." When asked in the interview, "is there anything else you'd like to add?" Olsen replied, "God Bless America."<sup>731</sup>

Across the statements made about Haskell, the Wakarusa Wetlands, and the Trail of Broken

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<sup>729</sup> For the text of the bill and apology, see <http://www.opencongress.org/bill/111-h3326/show>. (Accessed April 25, 2011).

<sup>730</sup> Millicent Pepion, interview by KMZU John Chojinicki, "Native Americans Walking to D.C.," May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>

<sup>731</sup> Mark Olsen, interview by KMZU John Chojinicki, "Native Americans Walking to D.C.," May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>

Promises, the role of the U.S. government figures as the perpetrator of colonial violence and ongoing structural genocide. Despite this, Pepion and Olsen both reference the U.S. positively, identifying with it despite the past, and despite the rhetorical colonization that often continues to frame their peoples as behind and outside the nation. In doing so, they are not overlooking the past atrocities, as many EuroAmericans do. Instead, they call attention to it while also reiterating their membership in both communities. By serving as embodied reminders of the existence of Native peoples within the modern U.S., they are challenging the “Backward Indian” mnemonic trope, while also avoiding enacting the narrow definition of Modern (Euro-)American, instead inhabiting a thirdspace that offers opportunities to address the violence of the past and the ways it continues to play out while also embracing their American identities.

#### Enabling a Future

Remembering occurs on multiple levels in society, from institutions to individuals. Individual memory, particularly those informing our understandings of race and nation, “piggybacks on the resources social institutions provide,” including laws, rules, standardizations, and records.<sup>732</sup> The disabling certitude of The Indian is dependent on the ways perceptions of Native Americans were racialized, essentialized, and then reiterated and reified through laws and the case studies used to teach future generations.<sup>733</sup> Relying on this symbol to define Native peoples in relation to the U.S. precludes us from the possibility of moving past racial stereotypes and into an era of equality. Using their bodies and actions to occupy a symbolic thirdspace between the U.S. and tribal nations, the Trail of Broken Promises serves as an example of rhetorical resistance to ongoing colonial practices in the U.S. and the widespread tendency to

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<sup>732</sup> Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*, 51. See also Bodnar, *Remaking America*, page 19 for the ways official and vernacular culture inform and shape one another.

<sup>733</sup> Carrillo, “Disabling Certitudes;” Carrillo, “Getting to Survivance;” For more on the ways how laws and history have been changed to reflect a desired perception of self/settler/nation see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 94.

disregard Native voices when they do not mirror dominant EuroAmerican conceptions of the modern nation. They call on the U.S. government to reevaluate how their peoples are treated within the nation, asking for a presidential apology and new legislation that protects their lands and lifeways, effectively asking the U.S. to alter its official memory to grant them more recognition.

While reversing the colonial violence and structural genocide against them is impossible, the possibility for future change does exist. As Eric King Watts reminds us, when it comes to race, we must “Limber up. ... We, too, must remain flexible. ... Avoid ‘racial rigidity.’”<sup>734</sup> Despite the violent past, we can enact changes in U.S.-Indigenous relations that further social justice. Pepion makes these calls to action on behalf of the Trail of Broken Promises and the pan-Indian counterpublic they represent. In her speech to the UN Special Rapporteur, she stated,

We declare that a mutual respect and dignity be given to Native American people in concerns that affect our home communities. We respectfully request that the U.S. government adhere to our cultural, social, medical, environmental, and spiritual interests that the Trail of Broken Promises members seek to protect. ... I forgive the U.S. government for what they did to my people. I forgive those who deliberately inflicted inter-generational trauma to my family. I offer forgiveness to all walks of life in hopes better relationships can be attained. I hope my offering is received in the spirit that it is given as we enter an era when it is most crucial to alert ourselves about the respect and understanding of adopting these standards for the benefit of all of our relations. It is the Trail of Broken Promises’ responsibility to educate all peoples of Mother Earth about this issue.<sup>735</sup>

While recognizing the genocidal past and present, Pepion attempts to safely and productively dwell in the intersection between the red road and the black and offers forgiveness “in the hopes better relationships can be attained.”

Importantly, while calling on increased recognition by the government, the Trail of Broken Promises also issues a call to the wider dominant public of the nation. In a radio

<sup>734</sup> Eric King Watts, “The (Nearly) Apocalyptic Politics of ‘Postracial’ America: Or ‘This is Now the United States of Zombieland,’” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 34, no. 3 (2010): 220.

<sup>735</sup> Pepion, May 1, 2012, “Speech to the UN”.

interview, Pepion offered everyday solutions to the larger structural issues the ToBP aimed to raise awareness about. While recognizing the importance of the past, she also acknowledged the need to move forward in the hopes of enacting change:

We just encourage people to speak to the Native American people respectfully, treat us with dignity, and you know, give us a seat on these tables in regards to our environment, in regards to how our education systems are made, in regards to how Mother Earth is being treated, and in regards to social justice. . . . So we're just asking people to reach out and speak with us and we come in a good way and we're going to be respectful and we're going to treat people with dignity too. We don't want people to feel guilty or sorry. We forgive. We're asking that we start anew, and that means equal.<sup>736</sup>

While the disabling certitude of The Indian—a figure equated with savagery, backwardness, and barbarity—is unproductive, disrupting this figure *is* a productive reminder that race, nation, and identity are complexly entwined in ways not easily defined. It is potentially in this inability to define, as racial and identity lines blur and meld, that the possibilities for change, for treating one another with dignity, become visible.

Indigenous people are not inside or outside of the U.S., but “straddle the temporal and spatial boundaries of American politics, exposing the incoherence of these boundaries.”<sup>737</sup> In other words, through melding aspects of their Native and U.S. national and cultural identities, the walkers rhetorically disrupt the rigid lines of nation and race often assigned them by the dominant EuroAmerican public. This does *not* mean that they aim to pass as white, or to claim a different identity than (Native)American.<sup>738</sup> While a widespread recognition of Indigenous peoples’ many tribal communities and of the heterogeneity of different Native peoples across the nation would undoubtedly be appreciated, as displayed across their discourse, the ToBP walkers and their supporters also embrace a pan-Indian identity based on their and their peoples’ shared

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<sup>736</sup> Pepion, KMZU interview.

<sup>737</sup> Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, xv.

<sup>738</sup> See Catherine R. Squires and Daniel C. Brouwer, “In/Discernable Bodies: The Politics of Passing in Dominant and Marginal Media,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19, no.3 (2002): 286 for more discussion of passing.

experiences of colonialism. The embodied and emplaced ToBP protest did not reify The Indian identity so often assigned them, but nor did it aim to enact the whiteness that is foundational to (Euro)American identity, instead melding both in distinct ways that reflect Native experiences within the nation. The walkers worked to have their Indigenous identities and lifeways accepted on their own terms, disrupting the dominant national narrative that rendered them either anachronism or assimilated.

The uncertainty offered by these activists who take pride in both their tribal and U.S. memberships, who ask for an apology for colonialism while carrying a U.S. flag, is enabling. The material rhetorics employed throughout the Trail of Broken Promises challenge narrow conceptions of identities based on national racist recollections, offering instead the reminder that national communities, whether marginalized or dominant, are not easily separable. Michael Middleton, Samantha Senda-Cook, and Danielle Endres remind us:

Viewing rhetoric as a part of social practice means that rhetoric is not constituted simply by texts or textual fragments, but through a combination of material contexts, social relationships, identities, consciousnesses, and (interrelated) rhetorical acts that produce meanings and that are co-constructed between rhetor, audience, and particular contexts.<sup>739</sup>

Being “publicly shared and negotiated through symbols,” collective remembering discourses lie “at the heart of what constitutes rhetorical theory,” shaping our understanding of today through how we make sense of the past.<sup>740</sup>

Challenging dominant mnemonic narratives, while often a slow and difficult process, offers possibilities for social justice through shifting the dynamics between dominant and marginalized publics.<sup>741</sup> While simplified racial categories and memory genres support dominant

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<sup>739</sup> Middleton, Senda-Cook, and Endres, “Articulating Rhetorical Field Methods,” 391.

<sup>740</sup> Aden, et al., “Re-Collection,” 311.

<sup>741</sup> John M. Sloop, *Disciplining Gender: Rhetorics of Sex Identity in Contemporary U.S. Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 19.

groups' and institutions' "desire [for] the ability to survey and evaluate all subordinates with ease," destabilizing racial signifiers and inducing uncertainty enables us to acknowledge people's fluid and faceted identities.<sup>742</sup> This desire of institutions to easily categorize directly contradicts the lived identities of many in Indigenous communities, and fails to "make sense of American Indians' liminality as both racial and legal/political groups and individuals."<sup>743</sup> The Trail of Broken Promises walkers embody the liminality of (Native)American identities, demonstrating the possibilities of walking both the "red and black roads" as they advocate for justice for their peoples, calling out the U.S. for its broken promises while forging a path forward as members of complexly entwined but often contradictory national communities.

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<sup>742</sup> Squires and Brouwer, "In/Discernible Bodies," 287.

<sup>743</sup> Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education," *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2006): 427.

## CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS AND THE ROAD AHEAD

By nature, summaries are incomplete. They attempt to reiterate those important points made in the past 240-odd pages, by necessity glossing over the nuances and skimming the particulars. Similarly, neither could this project be all inclusive in its analysis of discourse spanning two large diverse communities over the course of a century. Although I have referenced EuroAmerican and pan-Indian communities throughout, these are two particular, albeit complex, (counter)publics among many. Their memberships are heterogeneous, and even within Lawrence or Haskell, there are people who don't identify with the groups as they are discussed here. Despite this, analyzing the social and cultural discourses of these groups as I have delineated them provides insight into the workings of memory in rhetorics of nation, race and colonialism.

Without a mnemonic perspective, we can't acknowledge the historical bases of our understandings of race within the nation, nor even reveal the conflicting national narratives that exist. Without recognizing the endemic nature of colonialism within the U.S., we overlook important racial dynamics older than the American nation, dynamics that continue to inform EuroAmerican and (Native)American identities and have profound material effects in the lives of millions of people. Our negotiations of identity—racial, cultural, national—rely on mnemonic rhetorics, as demonstrated throughout the previous chapters. While Lawrence and Haskell are but two locations among many where EuroAmericans and Native peoples came together, the Haskell school comprises a place that wouldn't exist without U.S. colonial policies of assimilation, a place whose continued existence marks the ongoing colonial relationship between the U.S. and tribal nations, and a place where (Native)Americans can work to resist attempts to “Kill the Indian.” Here, they advocate for acceptance of their lifeways within the nation, disrupt dominant

society's tendencies to overlook the implications of colonialism today, and actively negotiate their peoples' place(s) in the U.S. nation.

Comprehending how Haskell serves as a touchstone of U.S.-Indigenous relations and negotiations of identity requires accounting for how the colonial past informs the (colonial) present. While currently a pan-Indian University where Native culture and identity can be expressed and celebrated, Haskell began as an Indian boarding school, its mission to uphold U.S. policies of structural genocide aimed at eliminating Native peoples within the U.S. Memories of these experiences and sacrifices resonate within the current generation of students and their communities, shaping their lives and identities. As I argued in previous chapters, interrogating the history of the school and its communities, both local and national, is integral to understanding how the discourses of EuroAmerican and pan-Indian publics rely on mnemonic rhetorics of race and nation to make sense of one another. For instance, throughout the Haskell discourses presented in the *Indian Leader* in the Assimilation Era of the U.S. run racist rhetorics dependent on mnemonic genres of "Modern Americans" and "Backward Indians," categories that constituted and reiterated strict racial understandings of what it means to be American, the few roads through which to achieve it, and why it was so necessary that Indigenous peoples pursue it. These racist mnemonic genres are acts of rhetorical colonialism, legitimating EuroAmerican attempts to eliminate Native peoples through assimilation education, "for their own good," as well as for the good of the nation.

This discussion of historic rhetorics of race and nation laid the foundation for exploring contemporary discourses that also pitted a EuroAmerican Lawrence public against a primarily pan-Indian Haskell counterpublic, this time over the building of a trafficway over land that was



once part of the Haskell campus.<sup>744</sup> For Lawrencians, the debate was often simply described as a matter of re-creating some wetlands somewhere else to facilitate an easier commute from Topeka to Kansas City “for the good of the community.” In the process, the Lawrence discourse reiterated that their “Native American neighbors” were not actually *part* of the (white) Lawrence community. For Haskellites, the proposed and approved location of the South Lawrence Trafficway was one more instance of white people taking their land, disrespecting their lifeways, and writing off their ongoing experiences of colonialism. Implicitly, the Lawrence community reified the racial divide between the communities, using a mnemonic rhetoric of maintenance by referencing the “Backward Indian” mnemonic genre, reiterating the status quo of race in the nation through marking members of the Haskell community as raced and unintelligible. In response, the Haskell community talked back (despite the supposed need for an interpreter), disrupting the racial labels assigned them by calling out their colonized identities. Their mnemonic rhetorics of resistance aimed to disrupt implicit assumptions that Native peoples should have assimilated, assumptions that continue to inform relations between the two communities. Through referencing explicit examples of ongoing (rhetorical) colonization and linking well known colonial events (Columbus and Custer, for instance) to their experiences today, Haskell community members countered dominant publics’ tendencies to assign colonization to the past, instead pointing out how it continues to shape their lives.

This mnemonic rhetorical resistance by the Haskell pan-Indian community was made even more explicit in the summer of 2012, when the Trail of Broken Promises set out from Lawrence, Kansas, to Washington, D.C., proposed legislation in hand. Along the way, they embodied their arguments for acceptance of alternative lifeways within the U.S., navigating the

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<sup>744</sup> To reiterate, while the Lawrence community is not only comprised of EuroAmericans, this is the dominant racial composition of the area, and as demonstrated in Chapter 5, members of the Lawrence community often assume a normative white identity in comparison to their “Native American neighbors.”

interstices of (Native)American identity as they walked. Traveling the trail, they honored aspects of their individual Native and collective pan-Indian identities, offering traditional honor and prayer songs and stopping at pow-wows to raise awareness of their goal to protect Native American sacred sites, while also honoring aspects of their American identities, carrying the U.S. flag to honor veterans, with plans to stop at the Flight 93 crash site and Arlington National cemetery. Through the trail, the walk(ers) linked places of Indigenous memories of colonialism to U.S. places of national pride, tying them together, and embodying the complicated pairings within themselves. Their trip highlighted the role of colonization in their identities and experience today, marked by their path along the Potawatomie Trail of Death and then to other sites of U.S. colonization such as Carlisle Indian Boarding School, a path that made their membership in tribal nations and communities clear. Throughout the trail, they also emphasized their membership in the U.S. nation, even if often not often accepted as such. By living in the thirdspace of (Native)American identity, the ToBP walkers disrupt the disabling racial certitudes many EuroAmericans rely upon when making sense of Others in the nation. As Bryan Brayboy (Lumbee) explains, “It is this liminal space that accounts for both the political/legal nature of our relationship with the U.S. government as American Indians and with our embodiment as racialized beings.”<sup>745</sup> The walkers complicated (enactments of) identities in this liminal space by living both “Native” and “American” identities, positioning that reveals the enabling nature of uncertainty, a (third)space where we have room to stretch and challenge our understandings of what it means to be part of the nation.

The possibilities presented by uncertain identities are not limited to (Native)American experiences. The ToBP walkers challenged static conceptions of identity and disabling certitudes

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<sup>745</sup> Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education,” *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2006): 427.

through their embodied and enacted rhetoric, disrupting mnemonic rhetorics of maintenance utilized in dominant public discourses. In doing so, they show us the promise of inconsistency, contradiction, and complexity inherent to identities, even for members of dominant publics. Just as there is not a simple “Backward Indian” identity through which to define their peoples, neither does an essential “Modern American” exist. Both are the result of narrow and inaccurate identity labels bound up in ideologies of race and nation. Scholarly skepticism about the state of the world is a first step in encouraging change. As Frederick Hoxie observed, “By adopting more skeptical approaches to ‘culture’ and ‘nation’, scholars can formulate new questions and imagine new themes that are not confined by those static categories.”<sup>746</sup> The promise of enabling uncertainties is one of skepticism and disruption. Explicitly naming identities as uncertain opens possibilities for understanding and interacting beyond the power-laden labels we so often rely on, complicating our narratives and productively challenging how we make sense of one another.

### Recognizing Colonialism at Home

That (Native)Americans such as Haskell’s community members must advocate for acknowledgement and respect of their lifeways, that they must ask to be treated “with dignity” marks a significant problem with dominant national narratives in the U.S., revealing that the normative assumptions of U.S. citizenship and identity are profoundly raced.<sup>747</sup> It would appear that thus far, our negotiations of U.S. national identity are only open to those who fall within specific (racial) identities, with everyone else excluded from the table. In discussions of what is “good for the community,” who counts as part of the community too often still only refers to members of a dominant EuroAmerican public, the needs and desires of Others written off or

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<sup>746</sup> Frederick E. Hoxie, “Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the US,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1156.

<sup>747</sup> Millicent Pepion, interview by KMZU John Chojinicki, “Native Americans Walking to D.C.,” May 16, 2012, accessed November 11, 2012, <http://www.kmzu.com/native-americans-walking-to-d-c/>

overlooked. This isn't to say those communities marginalized within the U.S. don't resist these dominant rhetorics, but their efforts face the challenge of overcoming structural discourses embedded within the national narrative for centuries. While recognizing the role of race within negotiations of national identity is difficult enough, (Native)Americans face the added difficulty of calling out the ongoing colonization of their peoples, a situation that directly challenges the legitimate existence of the U.S. and thus one often overlooked in dominant discourses about the nation. Mnemonic rhetorics are crucial to these negotiations of identity, providing dominant publics strategies of maintenance dependent on implicit racist references through which to delineate communities within the nation (and to justify the subsequent material consequences of those delineations). However, mnemonic rhetorics also hold the potential for change, offering a strategy of resistance against those racist rhetorics and a means to counter them with reminders of colonialism.

And thus we come to the perennial question, "So what?" Or, "why bother?" If, as I argue, we continue to rely on racist rhetorics to inform our international and intercultural relations between EuroAmericans and (Native)Americans, if indeed our negotiations of national identity continue to rely on disabling centuries-old racial certitudes, what can be done about it? We are, fortunately, not without hope. The walkers of the Trail of Broken Promises aimed to raise awareness about the, well, trail of broken promises that marks U.S.-Indigenous relations to date, and while there are many changes that will never happen (Europeans going back where they came from, for one), other changes are possible and are happening at structural and everyday levels. For instance, in 2009 for the first time, a formal U.S. apology was issued to Native peoples that "recognizes that there have been years of official depredations, ill-conceived policies, and the breaking of covenants by the federal government regarding Indian tribes;" and

“apologizes on behalf of the people of the United States to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted upon them by U.S. citizens.”<sup>748</sup>

Ironically, the apology was so deeply buried in a Defense Appropriations bill that few people are aware of its existence, even among the Native peoples it was directed to. Other instances are more widely known. For instance, in 2010, the U.S. finally adopted the United Nation’s Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, reversing the decision made three years prior to reject it.<sup>749</sup> Also of note is the recent landmark \$3.4 billion Cobell settlement involving over a half-million land owners from 150 tribes, an effort to correct for land trust issues stemming from the 1897 Dawes Act that assumed Indigenous peoples were incapable of managing their own lands (instead granting management rights to the Interior Department for purposes of mining, drilling, logging and grazing).<sup>750</sup> And, on a more everyday level, conversations continue and support grows for changing racist sports mascots, with one Washington newspaper going so far as to rename the Washington Redskins football team “the Pigskins” within its own pages.<sup>751</sup>

These changes would not be possible if we maintained a strictly racial understanding of (Native)Americans, ignoring the colonial relationship between the U.S. and tribal nations (although many tribal communities are not federally recognized). The disruptions offered by the

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<sup>748</sup> H.R.3326 - Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2010 section 8113 Making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2010, and for other purposes. Signed into law 12/19/2009 by President Obama; Retrieved from <http://www.opencongress.org/bill/111-h3326/show> on April 25, 2011

<sup>749</sup> Robert Hagan, “Explanation of vote on the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, September 13, 2007,” USUN Press Release #204(07), Office of the Press and Public Diplomacy United States Mission to the United Nations. [http://www.usunnewyork.usmission.gov/press\\_releases/20070913\\_204.html](http://www.usunnewyork.usmission.gov/press_releases/20070913_204.html) (July 25, 2011); Krissah Thompson, “U.S. Will Sign U.N. Declaration on Rights of Native People, Obama Tells Tribes,” *The Washington Post*, December 16, 2010. [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/16/AR2010121603136\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/16/AR2010121603136_pf.html) (July 25, 2011); Valerie Alia, “Outlaws and Citizens: Indigenous People and the ‘New Media Nation,’” *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, 5, nos. 1&2, (2009): 39-54; *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (adopted by the general Assembly September 13, 2007). <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/declaration.html> (July 25, 2011)

<sup>750</sup> Jodi Rave, “Milestone in Cobell Indian Trust Case,” *High Country News*, July 25, 2011, accessed June 4, 2012, <http://www.hcn.org/issues/43.12/milestone-in-cobell-indian-trust-case>.

<sup>751</sup> Paul Lukas, Feb 13, 2013 8:42 AM, “Native Americans Speak on Sports Imagery,” *Fandom- ESPN Playbook*, February 13, 2013 [http://m.espn.go.com/general/blogs/blogpost?blogname=playbookfandom&id=18144&wjb=](http://m.espn.go.com/general/blogs/blogpost?blogname=playbookfandom&id=18144&wjb=;); Mike Madden, “Hail to the Pigskins!” *Washington City Paper*, October 18, 2012, 7:00 am, accessed February 13, 2013, <http://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/blogs/citydesk/2012/10/18/hail-to-the-pigskins/>

Haskell community and groups such as the Trail of Broken Promises highlight that their peoples' experiences within the U.S. occur on multiple levels, racism and colonialism intricately bound. In explicitly remembering and reminding us of their status as colonized peoples, the pan-Indian Haskell community works to hold the nation accountable to its past. Celeste Condit and John Lucaites noted, "A rhetorical foundation constitutes a starting point for communal life, not an ending point."<sup>752</sup> Although racist representations of The Indian as perpetuated through the "Backward Indian" mnemonic genre have served as our starting point for U.S.-Indigenous relations, it need not be the end of the road. The Haskell community and Trail of Broken Promises walkers' advocacy that they too deserve a place in the nation, *especially* because of the sacrifices made by their peoples, starts to disrupt those racist genres and recognize the complicated composition of U.S. membership. Through inhabiting a thirdspace that celebrates their tribal memberships and advocates for acceptance of their peoples' lifeways while simultaneously arguing for their place within the U.S., these pan-Indian communities disrupt our narrow conceptions of national identity, challenging "the way normative judgments are made," showing us the enabling possibilities of uncertainty.<sup>753</sup>

### *Turning on Lights and Opening Doors*

TribalCrit reminds us that theory and stories are often one and the same. Narratives (in)form our theories and help us make sense of our ways of being. This project critically analyzed narratives and negotiations of national identities with the aim of shedding light on discriminatory attitudes and policies that have persisted since before the U.S. became a nation. Doing so through a critical mnemonic rhetorical perspective drew out the crucial role of

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<sup>752</sup> Celeste Michelle Condit and John Louis Lucaites, *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African World* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1993).

<sup>753</sup> Kent A. Ono and John M. Sloop, *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration, and California's Proposition 187* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002), 143.

mnemonic rhetorics in these identity negotiations. Working from a TribalCrit perspective within this critical mnemonic rhetorical analysis means that this project also aims for “unmasking, exposing, and confronting continued colonization within ... societal structures, thus transforming those contexts and structures for Indigenous Peoples.”<sup>754</sup>

While the texts examined throughout this study may not directly affect public policy, they are indicative of widespread discourses of identity, nation, race, and colonialism that shape and are shaped by public opinion. Although Benedict Anderson argues that we imagine our national communities, we also must go further, asking “who do we imagine into and out of that nation(al community)?”, and “what is required of you to maintain that position?” The ability to be imagined within the national community is crucial to being deemed intelligible, to having your identity, needs, desires deemed valid. Current dominant national narratives often overlook the role of colonialism in the formation of the nation and its attendant identities, writing off colonial experiences as unworthy of notice within the nation. But Partha Chatterjee challenges Anderson’s imagined communities, reminding us that there are multiple ways to imagine a nation, some as yet untested. One possibility as yet untried in the U.S. is the possibility of non-oppositional heterogeneity, a perspective that, while recognizing differences among communities within the nation, does not mean these different groups must be in opposition.<sup>755</sup> Instead, difference can be recognized in productive non-oppositional ways that support the heterogeneity of the nation and the complicated identities of those within it.

Across the dominant public discourses featured in these chapters, the various communities of the nation are unfortunately often defined in opposition to one another, as highlighted in chapter four’s discussion of the “Modern American” and “Backward Indian”

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<sup>754</sup> Jeanette Haynes Writer, “Unmasking, Exposing and Confronting: Critical Race Theory, Tribal Critical Race Theory and Multicultural Education,” *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 10, no. 2 (2008): 2.

<sup>755</sup> Condit and Lucaites, *Crafting Equality*, 221.

mnemonic racial rhetorics. Revealed across all of the chapters was a crucial EuroAmerican strategy of rhetorical colonialism—the reliance on racist mnemonic genres to maintain the existing national hierarchy—but how these genres manifested in the discourses over time varied. While overt and explicit in the texts of the Assimilation era, the contemporary discourses about the South Lawrence Trafficway revealed a continued but far more implicit assumption that Native peoples should assimilate into the nation. This is unsurprising, as Kent A. Ono observed that colonial rhetorics “are regularly revised in order to adapt to changing exigencies” and to the “reigning concerns of our times.”<sup>756</sup> In other words, as explicit references to race and colonialism have faded from our everyday discourse, people have found other ways to talk around the topic, in this case by referencing the “good of the community” in terms that exclude the Native Americans of the community.

On the flip side, the contemporary pan-Indian Haskell community countered the EuroAmerican Lawrence public’s tendency to avoid discussions of race and colonialism by explicitly talking about their own experiences with colonialism. Through disrupting the strategic silence around the topic, they called out how their everyday is still shaped by events the dominant public framed as being confined to the past. In doing so, the Haskell counter public and its representatives on the Trial of Broken Promises tried to bring discussions of colonialism to bear on local and national debates, challenging EuroAmerican assumptions that as Native Americans they were outside of the nation. Instead, members of the Haskell community discursively constituted themselves as (Native)Americans, through necessity embodying both their Native and American cultural and national identities.

Prominent throughout the rhetoric of the pan-Indian Haskell community was the importance its members attached to knowing the school’s (and nation’s) past in order to

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<sup>756</sup> Kent A. Ono, *Contemporary Media Culture and the Remnants of a Colonial Past* (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2009), 2.



understand their present. While they were leaders of the Wetlands Preservation Organization, Jessica Lackey and Millicent Pepion described Haskell Indian Nations University “as one of the greatest reminders of Native American perseverance. As a former boarding school started in 1884, Haskell represents a living history that is too often swept under the rug.”<sup>757</sup> The importance of Native communities’ rhetorical strategies of mnemonic resistance and of bringing to light how colonialism continues to affect these communities was brought home to me as I sat in the Haskell Cultural Center archives, poring over fragile copies of the *Indian Leader*. With me sat two student workers, sorting and filing documents from Haskell’s history, talking with one another about their experiences in the archives. Earnestly, one of them asked his companion whether she ever felt the basement rooms housing the artifacts and documents were “creepy.” At her prompting, he told a story of being in the archives cataloguing when a voice called out from another room. Going to investigate, he found no one there, and on the way back into the basement was unexplainably struck by the chills, goose bumps rising as the air temperature momentarily dropped. When later he asked, he was informed that no one else had been in the basement while he was, and the source of the voice remained a mystery. In response to his tale, the other student worker explained matter-of-factly that his experience was by no means uncommon. She pointed out that the curator, Bobbi Radher, preferred to always leave the archive lights on and doors open, because “they didn’t like to be closed or turned off” and often would not remain so. For Radher and these students, the lights would turn on and the heavy doors open because the spirits attached to the artifacts housed in the archives, those artifacts and texts that

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<sup>757</sup> Jessica Lackey and Millicent Pepion, February 5, 2012, “Note: To All Our Relatives Across Indian Country,” *Trail of Broken Promises Facebook Page*, July 7, 2012 from <https://www.facebook.com/notes/trail-of-broken-promises/to-all-our-relatives-across-indian-country/346586368707893>.

told the story of Haskell as a site of colonialism, preferred being in the open rather than closed away in the dark.<sup>758</sup>

In July 2012 when opponents lost the last appeal to stop the development of the South Lawrence Trafficway, the local paper declared: “The emotion being felt by many Lawrence leaders today may be less a celebration than a sigh of relief. It’s been a long and unpleasant chapter. Now it’s time to turn the page.”<sup>759</sup> (Native)American communities are all too familiar with dominant publics’ tendencies to “turn the page,” to overlook the past and its “unpleasantness” in favor of a simplified national narrative. This strategic silence, a key strategy of rhetorical colonialism, entails both misremembering past colonial violence as well as ongoing structural genocidal practices, and in many cases involves overlooking the existence of Native peoples themselves, assuming them anachronisms and relegating them to the past. Danielle Endres reminds us, “Strategic silence depends upon how the discourse of colonialism gives the impression that the Indian wars are over, that the U.S. won, that American Indians are an interest group instead of sovereign nations and that American Indians have been assimilated into the melting pot of the U.S.,” the result of which is “many Americans lack knowledge about the contemporary struggles of American Indian nations.”<sup>760</sup> Through their mnemonic rhetorics of resistance that challenge the strategic silences of dominant U.S. national narratives, (Native)Americans work to write themselves back into the story, complicating negotiations of national identity in much-needed ways. While the dominant public may seek to “turn the page” forward, putting behind them the “unpleasantness” of a debate that drew out the racial and

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<sup>758</sup> Story recounted in my presence, April 17, 2011, Haskell Cultural Center and Museum archives, Lawrence, KS

<sup>759</sup>“SLT Milestone: The South Lawrence Trafficway May Finally Become a Reality,” *Lawrence Journal World*, July 12, 2012, retrieved July 15, 2012 <http://www2.ljworld.com/news/2012/jul/12/slt-milestone/?opinion>.

<sup>760</sup> Danielle Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2009): 53.

colonial dynamics of the Lawrence and Haskell communities, it's perhaps time to consider flipping back a few, recognizing how the past continues to inform our present.

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