Indigenous Borderlands in North America Symposium
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Juliana Barr: "When the Woman in Blue Came, the Goddess Zacado Stayed Put: Archaeology and History in the Early Southwest"

In seventeenth-century New Spain, reports of a "woman in blue" who miraculously appeared in the sky and exhorted Native communities across its northern provinces to seek out Christian conversion enthralled the Spanish populace. Meanwhile in Old Spain, when the trances, visions, and levitations a Franciscan nun named María de Jesús de Ágreda became public knowledge, her confessor spread word that during those trances, angels had transported her spirit to the Americas where she materialized before Indigenous audiences. Legend holds that the apparitions happened over 500 times, and a miracle thus was born. That is the story from Spanish borderlands.

Yet, only Euro-American interpretations contend that the woman in blue described by Native informants was Ágreda or, more generally, an oracle of Christianity. Even an assumption that it was a story related to Spanish missionary work rests solely on readings of European sources. It is undoubtedly a story of supernatural power and a story of beings, forces, and events endowed with greater-than-human-faculties, but that fits unerringly into Native narrative traditions just as much as it does European miracle tales.

This essay argues that it is only from within Indigenous borderlands that we can begin to discern what Native storytellers meant when they spoke of the female spectre, using as a case study one of the three sites associated with the tale: the Salinas province of New Mexico. Even there, it is not a singular story. In that region, Jumano, Mescalero, and Tompiro Pueblo people brought together respective histories of the far-reaching mobility of seasonal trade and the centuries-old stability of village life. It is those longstanding borderlands that gave shape to the story just as much as events set in motion by seventeenth-century Spanish entradas. To see those borderlands properly, however, we must bridge another border, that created by the disciplines of history and archaeology. . . because the story of Salinas and the woman in blue as archived in Spanish documents becomes something else entirely when it is placed within a much older continuum of Native history, one illuminated by Native oral tradition and the archaeological record.

Tyla Betke: "We Didn't Flee, We Knew Where We Were Going: Using Oral Histories in Community-Engaged Research to Understand Plains Cree Border Crossings"

In April 1885, Cree headmen Little Bear, Little Poplar, and Lucky Man successfully eluded the North-West Mounted police and crossed the international boundary from Canada into the United States. By crossing this colonial border they ensured they would not be among the victims of Canada's largest mass execution when the young country executed eight First Nations men for their alleged roles in the North-West Resistance. Their migration also divided Big Bear's Band as some families chose to stay south of the line and other families joined western Canadian Indian Reserves. Around 500 so-called "refugee Crees" spent the next decades navigating complex settler and Indigenous spaces in order to remain in the United States. While historians of the "refugee Crees" have largely focused on Cree negotiations with

state institutions in Montana, work with descendants in community-led research efforts has shown that inter-Indigenous negotiations were most integral for Cree survival south of the border.

This paper uses oral histories with descendants of Big Bear's band along with community-engaged analysis of historical documents to argue that Cree asylum-making in the late-19th and early-20th centuries relied on established kinship networks and adoption practices. These pre-reserve kinship and diplomatic networks allowed the Cree to remain in the United States and to do so at a moment when U. S. reservation policies sought to confine and immobilize Indigenous peoples. This approach stresses the importance of Indian Reservation boundaries which can be obscured by interpretive frameworks that focus solely on the influence of the international line. This paper also examines the importance of the language that community members use to describe the Big Bear band's dispersal and mobility. Community members have consistently challenged the use of fleeing and refugee to describe their ancestors' movements and have contextualized their mobility within established protocol rather than as new strategies in response to colonization. This language also affirms Cree sovereignty on the Plains; although they escaped violent persecution by crossing an international boundary, they moved within an Indigenous landscape of shared and contested space much as they had for generations.

Boyd Cothran: "Reclaiming the Klamath River: Indigenous Sovereignty, the Rights of Nature, and the Borderlands of Personhood in the Global American West"

In August 2019, the Yurok Tribal Council passed a resolution extending personhood rights to the Klamath River, which has sustained tribal members since time immemorial. The declaration was in response to both historic and recent mismanagement of the river and its vital eco-system by the states of California and Oregon, and by the US federal government. The declaration, then, was the latest attempt on the part of a sovereign Indigenous nation to assert and protect their land and resources as they exist across complex and competing jurisdictions. But the declaration -- the first tribal declaration of its kind in the United States -- was also part of a global movement among Indigenous peoples to stake their claims of sovereignty over vital natural resources within the legal and/or constitutional realm of personhood.

The controversial move raises a number of pertinent questions: What was the chain of historical events that lead to this extraordinary move? And what lessons about the advantages and risks of such a declaration might we draw from viewing this moment through the transnational lens? And how ought we to understand this novel legal maneuver within the longer history of settler colonialism and resource extraction and management in the entangled spaces of the American West?

Conceptualizing the Rights of Nature as a borderland between competing conceptions of what constitutes personhood as well as a contested and liminal space between competing, contested, and overlapping realms of jurisdiction, this chapter will engage with a number of the themes of this conference in order to argue that personhood legislation, especially in the context of settler colonial states, represents an intriguing and enticing strategy for advancing Indigenous sovereignty but one, ultimately, fraught with dangers and pitfalls.

Deana Dartt: Mapping the Camino Indigenous: Reclaiming the Road on our Terms

In situations where colonial players maintain control of historic sites and commemoration of atrocities, Native people have enacted powerful interventions through the assertion of new narratives. In response to the California Mission Foundation petition to UNESCO for World Heritage status of the Franciscan Missions and the "Royal Road," Native communities are

developing one such counter campaign. This paper explores a multi-site, multi-media, bi-national intervention that subverts the dominant narrative and inserts the genocidal truth of Spanish and American colonization and their usurpation of the road, our lands and resources, and simultaneously celebrates the connections, resistances and revitalization of the indigenous peoples of the Greater (alta, baja, baja-sur) California Coast. Three major exhibitions, website, and GPS enabled guide will (for the first time) assert narratives of the road that facilitated migration and movement along the trade route that became the Camino—a narrative that privileges relationships, social alliances and the realities of interdependence along the corridor—before and despite the Mission system and subsequent forces that seek to separate us.

Nellie Jo David: "Mining and Militarization: The Multi-National Settler Dispossession of O'odham Territory"

The goal will be to examine the relationship between mineral conquests and the militarization on the Western end of traditional O'odham territory, currently bisected by the international border of the United States and Mexico. O'odham lands are currently being used as a tactical battleground for the Department of Homeland Security and the United States military. This military acquisition could not and would not have been possible without the dispossession and diaspora created by the industry of mineral extraction.

From the brutality of mission priests, to the advent of local sheriffs, to the collaborations with immigration enforcement and the current system of policing - it has been the function of settler colonialism to subdue and assimilate O'odham to accept this brutal displacement. The boarding school mission system purposely instilled a sense of Nationalism into pupils to subdue O'odham resistance. This assimilation process served to benefit the extractive industries - as boarding school graduates were the first to serve in government leadership positions and sign mining leases. This painful history of division and assimilation evolves into the current story of border diaspora in all of it's evolving complexities.

O'odham territory is carved out by international borders, reservations, national monuments, wildlife refuges, bombing ranges, military bases, and settled areas. It is commonplace for local police, border patrol, park service officers, and private security to carry out systematic acts of discrimination towards O'odham and other indigenous people on the borderlands. The erection of so many borders and barriers serve to restrict O'odham connections and movement entirely. In the process, O'odham have worked hard to maintain culture and connection despite these continuous acts of settler dispossession. O'odham have a long history of resistance - from mission revolts during the Spanish conquest era to the current battles carried out by the colonizing states of the United States and Mexico. Resistance to militarization and extractive industry carries on, as O'odham battle with colonial borders and barriers that continue to disrupt our freedom of movement.

Jennifer Denetdale: "Reflections on the Death of Loreal by a Winslow Cop: Border Towns, Settler Colonialism, and History"

This presentation addresses histories of border towns with attention to Navajo efforts to gain justice for Loreal Tsingine who was murdered in March 2016 by Winslow, Arizona police officer Austin Shipley. In the aftermath of Loreal's death, the town of Winslow and Navajo communities confronted violence in border towns that are violent spaces for Native peoples, who like Navajos are the victims of multiple forms of violence and rarely see justice. My reflections define these towns and their economies as border towns that exist because of Indigenous people's

presence and draw upon international human and Diné Fundamental Law to address missing and murdered Indigenous women. Reframing missing and murdered Diné relatives opens spaces to rethink what we consider borders and how the US through its laws and policies create borders to contain Diné as population under surveillance and policed and once they move into spaces where they are considered to be out of place, border towns and urban spaces, they are then subjected to another round of policing and surveillance. This paper explores the imaginary boundary set up between the Navajo Nation and border towns and cities, thereby offering an expansive definition of borders beyond the normative international borders between nations.

Neil Dodge: "Reimagined People: Captives as Beloved Kin, 1846-1864"

In 1846, several Diné (Navajo) headmen and hundreds of their followers rode into a meeting with American soldiers to discuss peace terms. Among the headmen was *Dáaghá Chííʼ* (Red Hair). Unlike the other headmen *Dáaghá Chííʼ* was not born *Diné*. He was born into New Mexican society, taken as a captive by *Ndeʼ* (Apache), and traded to the *Diné* where he was eventually adopted. His humble origins belie his later status as a respected headman and advocate for his people. However, *Dáaghá Chííʼ* and other *naalté*'s (slave) stories reveals a history of accommodation. Dáaghá Chííʼ and other naalté encompassed a new *Diné* identity as a child of *Asdzą́ą́ nádleehé* (Changing Woman). I examine how *Dáaghá Chííʼ* and other *naalté* leveraged their liminal tribal status and served as essential interlocutors in claims to *Diné* sovereignty. Though not born *Diné*, these men and women envisioned a future where their adoptive people persisted.

Noah Hanohano Dolim: "'(Re)Generations' from the Borderland: Eugenics and Native Hawaiian Family History at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1920-2021"

In the early 1920s, American physical anthropologist Louis Sullivan conducted eugenics-based research and field work through the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. Sullivan produced hundreds of photos, created fifty-four plaster busts, drew blood samples, and took measurements—all of Native Hawaiian individuals and families. His shared his pseudo-scientific data on "pure" and mixed Native Hawaiians with the broader eugenics community. Although one of the oldest and biggest museums in the Pacific, the Bishop Museum has historically been shaped by White administrators, curators, and academics—like Sullivan—over its 130-year existence.

A century later, the Bishop Museum debuted its exhibition (Re)Generations: Challenging Scientific Racism in Hawaiʻi (2021), which acknowledged its complicity in Sullivan's harmful work. "Regenerations" alludes to the reinvention of the Sullivan Collection by Native Hawaiians as a vital archive for contemporary genealogical research and kinship-building; and for the museum, a step towards repairing the long-fractured relationship with the Hawaiian community. I contend that this regenerative process occurs because the museum functions as a borderland—a space where people, objects, and ideas converge and diverge over a long durée. However, this process is not an organic one, it must be purposefully transformed by and for Native people. An exhibit such as (Re)Generations is only possible (and successful) through the participation of Native curators, families, and community.

This paper investigates the regeneration of the Sullivan Collection in the borderlands of the museum; a eugenics project which isolated and marked supposed "differences," now an invaluable tool for Native Hawaiian families in restoring kinship ties. I approach this discussion not only as a Native Hawaiian historian but as a contributor to the exhibit whose ancestors, Elia

and Enoka Kaʻaukai, were photographed by Sullivan. Although borderland spaces such as museums and archives have historically been violent to Indigenous people, there are opportunities for healing and reclamation. Here, I reflect on the emergence of the (Re)Generations exhibit from the borderlands, and identify the ways in which not only my own family history, but Hawaiian history, can be re-told.

Holly Miowak Guise: "(Re)conceptualizing Indigenous Alaska as a Borderland"

Colonialism brought violence to territories and borderlands including the US' northernmost Alaskan territory/state. Dating from the Russian fur trade of the 18th century to US occupation into the 21st century, the land of Alaska has been contested by several empires. This history includes Spanish voyages in the North Pacific to Alaska in the 18th century. And yet, these histories of violence, surveillance, and militarization of the Alaskan landscape omit the narrative of Alaska Native nations who consider Alaska to foremost be their homeland occupied by colonial entities. Rendering a Native land and a Native space into a borderland exhibits a pattern of a colonial entity to exert colonial control and authority over a peripheral territory. In making a Native land into a borderland, colonial entities construct a space of violence as a purposeful tool to destabilize Indigenous knowledges, practices, and traditions. The borderland itself becomes a space of militarization linked to settler colonialism that orders a structured society through violence. Indigenous exitance at the border confounds colonial authorities who seek to erase, annihilate, assimilate, and genocide Native bodies. Balancing our understanding of colonial violence with Indigenous survivance remains a goal in the field of new Indian history.

This paper will build from scholars in the fields of borderlands studies and critical Indigenous studies to situate Alaska as a space of colonial projects that seek to destabilize Indigenous peoples from their land and their environment. This essay will attempt to answer questions related to: What can the study of Alaska offer in the field of borderlands studies? Does the concept of borderlands pre-date colonialism? Is the framing of Native lands into pre-colonial borderlands productive? Or does it implicitly reconstitute a colonial project by lending itself to colonial categorizations of savagery? How is making a Native land into a borderland representative of colonial control? Can Native lands return to a point of restoration without the colonial violence that ensues at the borderland?

Gregory S. Lella: "Surrounded: How the Border Patrol Punishes Tohono O'odham Borderlands Identity"

Tohono O'odhams commuting to Tucson must pass through a Border Patrol checkpoint at least twice to get to and from work. This paper examines how the Tohono O'odham Nation transitioned from having almost no police force in the 1970s to being one of the most heavily patrolled rural regions in the Southwestern U.S. Prior to the 1980s, the Border Patrol maintained an informal agreement with Tohono O'odham officials to allow relatively easy back and forth movement for Tohono O'odhams living on both sides of the border. A more pressing concern for U.S. Tohono O'odhams living close to the border was outsiders—both Mexican and U.S. nationals—illegally poaching, rustling cattle, stealing natural resources such as mesquite trees, and committing acts of theft and vandalism. Yet Tohono O'odhams living in Sonora, Mexico lacked U.S. citizenship, official status as enrolled Tohono O'odham Nation members, access to Bureau of Indian Affairs support, and even recognition as indigenous people by the Mexican government. By the 1990s, agitation from Sonoran Tohono O'odhams helped spur the Nation to

launch a renewed effort to secure U.S. citizenship for this transnational Indigenous group.

I argue that the federal government militarized the Tohono O'odham Nation in the 1990s and targeted Tohono O'odham transnational mobility to punish Tohono O'odham assertions of Indigenous nationalism which challenged the legitimacy of the U.S./Mexico border and sought to expand the boundaries of U.S. citizenship to include Indigenous Mexican nationals. In doing so, I subvert the federal government's assertions that borderland Tohono O'odhams supposedly want the Border Patrol's presence. By centering sources from Indigenous voices, I argue that Tohono O'odhams have long wanted the same thing—readily available emergency services in peripheral districts of the Nation, protection of private property from off-reservation trespassers, traffic safety, and the freedom of transnational movement. While the Border Patrol does provide some of these services, it pairs them with harassment, punishment, deportation, and hyper-surveillance. Rather than protecting the community, the Border Patrol behaves as an occupying army, punishing everyday Tobono O'odham life by constantly questioning the validity of Tohono O'odham identity and their right to move through their own nation.

Emil' Keme and **Juanita Cabrera López**: "Guatemalan Colonial State, Forced Migration, and Maya Resistance from Turtle Island"

When we speak of Maya peoples' recent history with the Guatemalan state, traumatic memories are immediately activated. These memories relate to the internal armed conflict that Maya peoples survived between 1960-1996. We remember the horrific statistics that resulted from the war: over 200,000 people killed, more that 40,000 people disappeared, and about 1.5 million people expelled from their homes, communities, and ancestral territories. In Guatemala Indigenous peoples (22 Maya nations plus the Indigenous Xinka and Garífuna peoples) constitute about 80% of the total 16 million inhabitants, and were the most affected by the armed conflict, therefore we can easily conclude that most of the 1.5 million people displaced were Indigenous. We call attention to this particular statistic because much of the time, Indigenous peoples and their particular histories of forced displacement are forgotten. It becomes a reference found in history books about the fratricidal experience in Guatemala and nothing more. However, Indigenous displacement did not start or stop with the genocide, today the continual flow of migrants seeking asylum in the United States, for the most part, continues to be Indigenous. Misclassification and erroneous labels such as "Hispanic" and/or "Latinx" have contributed to the invisibility of our Indigeneity.

As Indigenous Mayas who have experienced expulsion from our ancestral territories, in this presentation we discuss Indigenous Maya migration to the United States and the interconnection that exists between settler colonial and imperialist policies in the contemporary forced displacement of the Maya. We aim to address and respond to the following questions: What has led Indigenous peoples to leave their ancestral territories? What have been some of the political consequences of Maya migration? What does it mean to be Maya in Turtle Island? We will answer these questions by critically exploring: 1) the internal armed conflict in Guatemala particularly the years 1978-1984 when forced displacement to the U.S. was exacerbated; 2) the neoliberal economic policies adopted by the Guatemalan state after the war formally ended in 1996 and its impact on the environment; and 3) the challenges and potentialities of the Maya experience in the U.S. We will conclude with examples of Indigenous resistance in the diaspora as we struggle against another settler colonial state. We are developing new ways to dignify, reconnect, and reclaim our Maya identities while building Nation to Nation solidarity with other Indigenous nations from Turtle Island.

Patrick Lozar: "'Home was, part of the time, north of the line, and part of the time south of it': Belonging, Status, and Division in the Northern Borderlands"

Maps of North America since 1846 have featured the border that separates Canada and the United States. That border ran through Indigenous homelands in the interior Pacific Northwest. In these nation-states' simplified geographical and political representations, the border divided Indigenous communities and set them along divergent paths defined by federal policies and national histories. In complex ways on the ground, however, Native nations persisted while adapting to and negotiating the border's imposed presence in their territories.

From the late nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the Ktunaxa, Sinixt, and Syilx Okanagan nations of the Northwest's Columbia Plateau navigated the growing intensity of the US and Canadian governments' border enforcement apparatus. Customs agents and immigration inspectors directly carried out boundary enforcement at the line, but Indian Affairs officials, reservations, and reserves contributed to this mission by grounding Indigenous people and discouraging their border-crossing mobility.

Affiliation with a reserve in British Columbia or a reservation in Washington or Montana meant becoming a "Canadian Indian" or "American Indian" with no domestic legal status for "foreign Indians" from beyond the boundary. In many ways, this multi-agency effort was effective, but by no means did it completely halt Ktunaxa, Sinixt, or Syilx Okanagan movements north and south through their homelands.

In this essay, I show how individuals and families and Indigenous conceptions of kinship, mobility, time, and place encountered rigid colonial categories of belonging in the early twentieth century.

In enrollment councils, estate cases, disenrollment petitions, and land claims documentation, markers of Indigenous identity grated against, informed, or evolved with classifications of racial "blood" and nation-state nationality.

At times, Indigenous kinship relations that transcended the forty-ninth parallel could be enough to secure recognized community membership. At other times, being associated with Canada or the United States could be grounds for suspicion or even exclusion. In the process, Indigenous people sought to protect or include community members to the extent possible, as bands and tribes worked within the limiting colonial circumstances of federal recognition, membership, and citizenship.

The dialogs and tensions produced by these adaptations created space for a sustained Native nationhood and sense of unbroken Indigenous homelands that rendered the Columbia Plateau an elusive borderland.

Brittany Luby: "'The survival of Wild Rice is a life and death issue for us': Defending Anishinaabe Harvesting Rights in Ontario, Canada, 1873-Present"

In 1873, the Crown and Anishinaabeg entered Treaty #3. This agreement would shape Canadian settlement in what is currently known as northwestern Ontario and southeastern Manitoba. For generations, Anishinaabeg have maintained that Manoomin Harvesting Rights are protected by Treaty #3. Colonial officials, by contrast, have narrowly interpreted the archival record and associated references to "gardens" with vegetable cultivation for household use and "farming" with the largescale cultivation of introduced crops like wheat, barley, and oats thus limiting First Nations' ability to protect ancestral fields from provincial encroachment. In this paper, Anishinaabe ecological knowledge around plant life cycles and needs (i.e., botanical gikendaasowin) is applied to the archival record, revealing how Anishinaabe leaders protected ancestral fields while demanding

introduced seeds to diversify food production. Canada's historic attempts to curtail the manoomin harvest by penalizing off-reserve field use after 1876 as well as Ontario's attempts to manage ancestral fields after 1960 constitute violations of Treaty #3 when viewed through an Anishinaabe planting lens.

Gordon Lyall: "They might be Americans but they're our family": The Boldt Decision, Fishery Commissions, and Indigenous Foreshore Rights Across the Salish Sea, 1974-1994

In 1974, US District Court Justice George H. Boldt issued a landmark decision in US v. Washington that greatly enhanced Indigenous access to Pacific Northwest fisheries. Known as the Boldt Decision, the ruling awarded fifty percent of all commercial salmon harvest to treaty tribes in Washington State. Nearly overnight, Coast Salish Tribes in the United States went from fugitive fishers to "managers of the resource." This did not go unnoticed across the Salish Sea border in British Columbia (BC), Canada, where a comparative lack of treaties between the Crown and First Nations prevented a clear path to a similar court decision. Indigenous groups in BC then worked with kin across the border to claim their "Aboriginal right" to the fisheries, which they argued entitled them to a greater share than fifty percent of the commercial catch.

This paper examines both Indigenous and settler reactions in Canada to the Boldt Decision, highlighting the transborder connections Coast Salish Nations utilised to strengthen their voice in international negotiations over salmon allocations. It also examines the wider applications of the ruling for marine sovereignty and management regimes. While "salmon wars" captured headlines, Indigenous fishers added other marine resources within the jurisdiction of the decision. With greater legal recognition of treaty rights and an acknowledgement that the Boldt Decision applied to more than salmon, Coast Salish communities on both sides of the border employed fishing clauses within treaties to secure foreshore rights and access to shellfish resources.

Foreshores (or tidelands) represent the borderlands between two critical issues in Indigenous-settler relations in the Salish Sea: fisheries and land rights. This paper draws on two case studies: the Suquamish Tribe's assertion of shellfish rights under the Point Elliot Treaty and their interrelated tidelands case for ownership of the beaches attached to the Port Madison Reservation; and SȾÁ,UTW̱ First Nation's defense of Saanichton Bay from a marina development, when the community wielded its Douglas Treaty rights in Claxton v. Saanichton Marina. Both offer examples of Coast Salish communities engaging their respective nation-states to assert sovereignty over their beaches and resources while redefining their relationships with settler nations.

Richard Maska and **Joseph Ukockis**: "Strategies of (Dis)incorporation: A Continental Perspective on North American Borders"

Colonial and Indigenous borderlands are not discrete institutions stacked upon one another but mutually constitutive spaces with a shared historical trajectory. In this schema, sovereignty does not correspond to exclusive control over territory. Instead, it transcends spatial delineations in the form of dynamic relationships among neighboring communities in a way that troubled the distinction between Indigenous and settler. Our project examines the histories of relatively small Piro, Tiwa, and Assiniboine polities that played a formative role in North American border-laying and state-making. This perspective enables us to bring these divergent, localized histories into dialogue with one another under a continental framework that foregrounds Indigenous borderlands.

In territorial New Mexico, interethnic violence parsed and solidified a new social hierarchy among new U.S. subjects. Much of this violence was an outgrowth of the Spanish use of

"subjugated" Indigenous proxies to fight "independent" Indigenous communities like Apaches. Existing between these classifications, "Hispanicized" Indian communities leveraged their position to navigate the forces of imperial expansion and state-making. Throughout the territorial period, communities of Piro and Tiwa-descended peoples in the Mesilla Valley made legible the boundaries of Indigeneity, legitimate violence, and citizenship.

Similarly, the Lower Assiniboine of northeast Montana played an outsized role in shaping the trajectory of the U.S.-Canada border. They did so by strategically navigating their military alliances with other Indigenous groups and colonial state-builders. Beginning in the 1860s, the Lower Assiniboine established friendly relations with their powerful neighbors in the Yanktonai and Lakota Sioux. This positioning enabled the Fort Peck Lower Assiniboine to negotiate with American and Canadian authorities from a position of strength that transcended the divisions inscribed in the international border.

Working against a focus on continental resistance by larger groups (Comanches, Lakotas, etc.), our project presents a messier story of smaller polities simultaneously working against and with the state agents and institutions. Centering these communities, we argue that Indigenous borderlands must be at the forefront of discussions about the U.S.-Canada and U.S.-Mexico border-making - not as something that was replaced, but reconfigured over time.

Fantasia Painter: "Haṣan as Intervention: Thinking Our Relatives in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands"

The Saguaro Cactus is indigenous to the what Anglo-Americans call the Sonoran Desert, a desert that extends from Phoenix, Arizona in the north to Hermosillo, Sonora in the south and which has been bifurcated by the U.S.-Mexico border since 1854.

In O'odham (Indigenous) stories the Saguaro Cactus--or "Haṣan"--is a young woman. In this presentation, wielding the story of Haṣan, I ask how her memory unsettles the U.S.-Mexico border at its foundation, and how her body insists that we rethink the US-Mexico border(lands) on and in Indigenous terms, territories, and timelines. I demonstrate how she reveals that the so-called Sonoran Desert is not a sterile waste, a natural boundary, or even a desert at all. And I argue that she not only remembers a time before the border wall and a time before the U.S. laid claim to this territory, but also that she will remember the border and the border wall long after they are gone. In sum, wherever Haṣan stands is and remains O'odham jeved (Indigenous land).

Nakia Parker: "Slavery, Freedom, and Belonging in Nineteenth-Century Indian Territory Borderlands"

What do we make of a space like Indian Territory? In a place where Black and Afro-Native people in the Five Nations, both enslaved and free, encountered and interacted with white people, members of nations that enslaved them, and other expelled Native nations, it may seem that opportunities for kinship, incorporation, and the creation of new identities abounded. Here I am interested in probing how, if at all, the confluence of several competing Indigenous and national sovereignties shaped notions of belonging across the turbulent years of the antebellum era. Antebellum Indian Territory existed in an unfamiliar and diverse physical and social geography along multiple volatile borders: the slave societies of Texas and Arkansas, the contested land of "Bleeding Kansas," the many removed and Indigenous nations adjusting to life in the federal government's constructed "Indian Territory," and the war-torn Mexican north. How did African-descended peoples form notions of kinship, family, stability, and, perhaps most importantly, belonging in this complex and delicate environment? Significantly, how did notions of freedom and unfreedom play

out in this space? As wealthy enslavers in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations increasingly invested in perpetuating the institution of Black chattel slavery, opportunities for kinship and belonging decreased for African-descended peoples. Nearby nations, particularly Seminoles, could offer freedom through marronage to self-emancipated peoples, but the social, economic, and legal landscape of Indian Territory could also militate against the formation of these subversive communities. Other non-slaveholding nations, like the Comanches, could similarly offer the enslaved an alternative existence forged through a political economy based less in race-based chattel slavery than the acquisition and trade of cattle, horses, and manufactured goods. But even the Comanches and other pastoralist societies saw their power circumscribed in ways that limited opportunities for Black residents of Indian Territory. Ultimately, then, how did free and enslaved Black people find their way in the complex world of Indian Territory? Ultimately, many came to understand that that if they were going to survive, they needed to turned inward, a common and successful phenomenon in early Black American life.

Alexandra Peck: "Parallel Experiences of Marginalization and Resilience at Discovery Bay: Recovering a 19th Century Intertribal Village, Multicutural Mill Town, and Womyn's Refugia"

This paper employs place-based research to examine culture and population shifts at a multivocal site on western Washington's Olympic Peninsula. Using archaeology, archives, ethnography, and oral history, I demonstrated how the physical borderlands that define Discovery Bay have been continually claimed as homelands by the disenfranchised and subaltern. Known in S'Klallam as Sq'waʔq'wéʔyəɬ, this site was once home to a unique intertribal village that prospered prior to European arrival. Home to Chemakum and S'Klallam individuals whose communities were traditional adversaries, the Discovery Bay village represented a safe-haven for individuals living at the boundary of where S'Klallam and Chemakum territories collided. As a literal and metaphorical borderland, this village was claimed by those wished to coexist, even though doing so rendered them dissidents by their own tribal nations.

Beginning in the mid-1800s, settler colonists transformed the Olympic Peninsula into a region characterized by immense landscape changes, with a particular emphasis on logging and mill towns. The environmental destruction posed by logging, coupled with widespread land theft, posed a severe threat to S'Klallam and Chemakum society. However, the 19th century witnessed a surprising occurrence at Discovery Bay. Home to two mill towns, Discovery Bay was transformed into a multi-ethnic hamlet where Chinese, Japanese, Native, African American, and European mill workers settled to create a thriving community. This stands in stark contrast to white town sites in the region, such as Port Townsend, where Indigenous individuals were banned from city limits and multicultural mingling was strongly discouraged. Discovery Bay's mill towns mirrored its diverse pre-colonial past, with the site continuing to act as a home for disenfranchised individuals who occupied the margins of society. Much to the disdain of neighboring settlements, Discovery Bay retained its pre-colonial identity of multiculturalism—and, in doing so, provided Indigenous mill workers continued access to their drastically altered homelands and former village site.

Despite that the Discovery Bay mills closed in the 1970s, this did not signal the end of the site's unusual persona. By the early 1990s, an interracial lesbian couple identified the site as a perfect fit for their brainchild: a lesbian RV park. Located on the same land where the Discovery Bay mill once stood, Lovern Root King (Creek/Cherokee) and her partner, Zoe Swanagon, established a lesbian enclave for female travelers. The popularity of the site exploded, with women from all over the United States vying to buy one of the small plots to secure their retirement or vacation aspirations. In a region largely characterized by its rugged wilderness and masculine tropes of

mountains, maritimers, and mills, the Olympic Peninsula perhaps seems an odd location for a lesbian community. Yet, a closer look reveals that the Discovery Bay site was, once again, functioning as a place of escape for those considered social outcasts. Although Root King and Swanagon's idyllic community was not based on notions of a progressive racial utopia—but, rather, a separatist lesbian refuge for women who defied heteronormativity—the site echoed Discovery Bay's marginalized past.

Danielle Purifoy and **Andrew Curley**: "Reservation Communities and Black Towns: Intersections of Indigenous and Black Spatial Futures"

This paper compares the colonial experiences of white rural towns on Indigenous and Black peoples. Colonizing/racializing towns on the edges of Black and Indigenous communities siphon wealth and expel nonwhite peoples. Through zoning, policing, and predatory forms of capitalism, Indigenous and Black spaces are rendered dependent and underdeveloped. The bordertown and whitetown are sites of colonial and racial violence, often manifested through ecological destruction, health hazards, and carceral enclosures. These towns create shadow communities in the form of reservations and Black towns.

We examine the alternative possibilities of place created in the everyday lives of reservation communities and Black towns, based primarily on research centered around Indigenous and Black communities in the Southwest and Southeast regions of the United States. We draw attention to the overlapping spatial practices of colonialism and racism, and the intersections of Indigenous and Black land and social relations that form the resistance and resurgence against those practices. We demonstrate fallacy of current development paradigms as viable land relations for Indigenous and Black futures.

Jonathan Quint: "Boundaries and Borders of Anishinaabewaki"

Conventional narratives of colonialism and settlement in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Great Lakes typically feature a ceaseless settler tide moving West. Settlers, the principal actors of these frontier narratives, push into Michigan and Ontario seemingly unopposed by Indigenous communities whose dispossession is a foregone conclusion. But these conventional narratives obscure the realities Indigenous power and the myriad ways in which the Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe, Odawa, Potawatomi) confronted and challenged colonial encroachment. While borderlands histories of the Great Lakes typically emphasize the competing efforts of the United States and the British Empire to exercise jurisdiction and control, this paper will show that Anishinaabe social formations contested these efforts while also articulating an Anishinaabe vision of sovereignty, space, and control.

As the U.S. and the British Empire increasingly surveyed and claimed Anishinaabe land near Detroit and Mackinac, ogimaag (chiefs) responded. On July 4, 1796, Ojibwe ogimaa Ogaw and his band approached British soldiers working to erect a new fort near the Straits of Mackinac. Confronting the men, Ogaw asked "to know British [intentions] by sending troops to St. Joseph Island, which belongs to him." Later that month Mitaminance, another ogimaa, arrived with his band. Meeting with British officers Mitaminance declared that "my nation inhabits all about here as well as the River Sinclair." With these statements, Anishinaabeg leaders articulated verbal claims to specific lands and territories known to the British, Americans, and Anishinaabeg alike. In a broader context of U.S. – Canadian border-making, where Euro-American polities increasingly police and control national space, the Anishinaabe discursive practice of claiming land worked to demonstrate authority and sovereignty. Identifying their lands using Euro-

American terminology, leaders preempted settler claims and communicated an Anishinaabe understanding of territory and territorial control.

On the ground, leaders and parties of warriors and hunters used social practices like threats, warnings, intimidation, and confiscation of goods and clothing to dislodge settlers. Violence also took place. Outside of the context of Treaty deliberations and organized warfare, Anishinaabe men regularly confronted and pushed back settlers moving west. River crossings and other environmental features where people congregated became sites to enforce sovereignty and control. David Zeisberger recorded an episode where Odawa men convinced a party of settlers to turn back at a river crossing, as though the river was itself an Indigenous-settler border. This paper will examine how Anishinaabe social formations utilized a series of social practices and discursive methods to assert power and control in traditional territories. Anishinaabewaki is a space of relationships and social connection, but it also has a territorial dimension. In 1796 the U.S. – Canada border was imposed through Anishinaabe territory. Examining the period between 1790 and 1810, this paper will reveal how Anishinaabe communities navigated settler encroachment and the contested spaces of a colonized world.

Yuridia Ramirez: "Preparing for Departure: Indigenous Mexicans and the Primer curso sobre los derechos de los trabajadores migrantes"

In 1991, the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) in Cherán sponsored a workshop for would-be and past indigenous migrants from the Meseta P'urhépecha to the U.S. For the two-day workshop, a U.S. immigration lawyer and a US-based labor organizer, along with INI staff, discussed immigration issues and labor organizing among immigrant workers while also answering dozens of questions. But perhaps most importantly, those leading the workshop encouraged P'urhépecha migrants to maintain their ancestral customs and communal, collective identity, even if they decided to immigrate to the United States, never forgetting or shying away from their indigenous identity. Armed with this information, P'urhépecha migrants from Cherán made their sojourn to the United States equipped with integral knowledge that prepared them to organize both as a collective workforce and as a transborder community.

Alec Zuercher Reichardt: "Path Diplomacy and Networked Sovereignty in the Eighteenth-Century Ohio River Valley"

This paper examines a familiar borderland—the eighteenth-century Ohio Valley—through the lens of "path diplomacy," a complex system of geopolitics that not only marked and defined the region, but that structured forms and expressions of Indigenous sovereignties.

Peoples and powers alike long prized the greater Ohio Valley as a key communication and transportation conduit. It was a region full of historic pathways and water routes, and centered not only between competing European settlements, but encircled too by the Haudenosaunee, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas and many others. Rather than delineated by hard boundary lines of sovereign space, the Ohio Valley was crisscrossed by roads and routes that carved spheres of influence and range. Eighteenth-century peoples, nations, and empires built, governed, policed, and maintained pathways. Diplomats, messengers, traders, and warriors traversed a complex political landscape, taking carefully prescribed paths according to traditions and treaties.

Imbued with customs and political meaning, these paths were not only physical routes—they were also the language and currency of politics of a world long defined by mobility. Treaties consistently echoed refrains of "opening," "clearing," and "widening" roads; travelers'

letters distinguished between "frequented" roads, and those "Roads that ambassadors travel." Records from the Great Lakes to the Lower Mississippi Valley echoed similar invocations of "white," "straight," "open," "clear," "broad," and "free" roads and rivers, and of "obstructed," "stopped," "dirty," "blocked up," and "dark" trails and waterways. "Clear the road," "widen the road," "open the road," "sweep the road," and "smooth the road," suggested conciliation, the renewal of peace, and the opening of markets. "Keep open the roads" and "meet on the road" denoted continued friendly relations. To "stop up the road" indicated a breaking point and the end of diplomatic negotiations and trade; "dirt," "rocks," and "thickets" along a road indicated ongoing discord.

Building upon a growing body of work focused on the importance of the network landscape, this paper looks to reconstruct this larger system of path diplomacy over the eighteenth century and to consider its relationship to the concepts of joint and networked sovereignty. These roads and routes did not simply provide the pathways of power for Indigenous nations and groups—they were also the means of connection and the spaces of overlapping sovereignty between polities. The symbolism, the geography, and the claimed ownership of roads and paths structured and manifested relationships of subordination and alliance. Indigenous in origin, path diplomacy also provided the structures and terms of politics that European settlers and empires in turn were forced to confront and adopt. By reconstructing these pathways, and their shifting use and ownership, we can begin to recover and remap the Indigenous Ohio Valley borderland.

Martin Rizzo-Martínez: "The California Missions as Contested Sites"

18 of the 21 California Missions are owned and operated today by the Catholic Church, who maintain them as beautiful garden spaces primarily for tourists and weddings. Yet, for many Indigenous Californians whose ancestors built them, the missions are sites of trauma and loss, and undeniably Indigenous spaces. My paper will explore the history of control of these spaces, arguing that the California missions, so central to popular conceptions about California, exist within a contested borderland, situated between their problematic standing within local Indigenous histories and their sanctified status within a combination of Spanish Franciscan and U.S. Catholic colonial imaginaries.

Following Mexican Independence back in 1821, the newly formed nation established laws to secularize and disempower Colonial institutions such as the Catholic Church. These laws aimed to both emancipate Indigenous people from bondage to the missions and grant former mission lands to them. Unsurprisingly, this transfer was never completed, as high ranking Californio elites received the majority of these lands. In 1853, Archbishop J.S. Alemany petitioned the U.S. government to return over 1,000 acres of former mission lands to the Church, a request that was eventually granted by President Abraham Lincoln.

Contemporary Indigenous Californian communities still grapple with the legacies of the missions and related colonial violence and trauma. For many, the romanticization and commodification of the missions for tourists continues to perpetuate trauma and delay healing. Signs of the harsh historical realities of these violent spaces are rarely on display, an erasure perhaps best exemplified by the invisibility of mission cemeteries: collective graveyards that contain nearly 40,000 Native Californian peoples in predominately unmarked graves.

Meanwhile, former southern slave plantations, German concentration camps, and sites like Manzanar, are rightfully being considered as sites of shame or conscience, worthy of special consideration and treatment to honor the sacrifices and losses endured by marginalized communities. This paper will draw on my collaborative work with Indigenous communities like the

Amah Mutsun, as well as my work as public historian for California State Parks and the Santa Cruz Mission State Historic Park, specifically, to explore the question of who currently is and who should be controlling the narrative in these contested borderlands spaces.

Liliana Sampedro: "Theorizing the Politics of Indigenous Migration: Proposing a Theory of Indigenous Crossings"

The Critical Latinx Indigeneities framework proposing to understand Indigenous migration from Latin America has prompted new scholarship exploring the differential production of Indigeneity across multiple colonial geographies and grammars. In this paper, I expand on this framework to examine the multivalent ways that Indigenous peoples are differentially situated along racial capitalism and settler colonialism's processes of differentiation, dispossession, accumulation, exploitation, and border-making. I propose Indigenous crossings to name the fluid sites of encounter in which differently situated Indigenous peoples are brought into relation. In doing so, a theory of Indigenous crossings aims to prompt consideration of the responsibilities and ethics required of and towards each other across multiple spaces and times. Theorizing within the fields of Latina/o studies, Native and Indigenous studies, and critical geography, this paper presents four main sites of "Indigenous crossing" to take up these questions: the city, the farm field and labor camp, the detention center, and the borderlands. By attending to these four sites, this paper makes several key interventions. First, I argue that Indigenous migration challenges exclusively land-based expressions of Indigeneity by suggesting that forms of Indigenous being and belonging are also remade in the process of migration. Second, I reveal the entanglements between the U.S. settler state and economy that dispossess Native peoples and depends on an exploited and racialized migrant labor force. Third, I ask how accounting for Indigenous critiques of colonialism, including infringements on Indigenous land, life, and histories, can productively shift Latino/a/x theories of the border and immigrant policing. Finally, I make use of Indigenous feminist and queer approaches to geography and sovereignty in order to reimagine the terms on which to forge Indigenous and migrant futures.

Jeffrey Shepherd: "The Apache Treaty of 1852: Power, Race, and Diplomacy in the U.S.-Mexico-Apache Borderlands"

Sandwiched between the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Treaty of Mesilla (Gadsden Purchase), the Apache Treaty of 1852 is the only treaty the U.S. ratified exclusively with Apaches. Building on previous scholarship, I argue that the 1852 Treaty with the Apache (signed at Acoma Pueblo) grew out of the U.S. War with Mexico and the inability of the U.S. to adhere to Article 11 of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Article 11 required the U.S. stop Native "raids" across the border and return captives and property to Mexico. As the U.S. realized this was impossible, it pressed for a treaty with the Apache to bind them to U.S. law and project its sovereignty upon Nde' landscapes. From the Apache perspective, the Treaty reflected their diplomatic traditions, honed by centuries of negotiating with Spain and Mexico. Moreover, as a peace treaty rather than a land cession treaty, Nde' Peoples flouted U.S. demands to remain north of the border and they maintained considerable control throughout the binational region.

The Apache Treaty symbolized U.S. settler colonialism, but as an "Indigenous borderlands treaty," it demands attention for what it reveals about Nde diplomatic expectations, land claims, and their relationships with Mexicans on both sides of the border. Situated at the nexus of U.S. and Mexican nation-building, the Treaty reflected the simultaneous power and weaknesses of both

nation-states, as Apaches continued to thwart Anglo colonization and as they defended themselves against Mexican communities, particularly north of the border. Incapable of enforcing the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and thus incapable of fully projecting U.S. power onto Indigenous landscapes, the Apache Treaty punctuates a transitional and transnational moment in Nde history when Apache bands moved across the newly imagined boundaries, shaped borderlands power relations, and expressed a vision of what it meant to be Indigenous in the 19th century. Finally, the Treaty raises questions about which Apache groups it included, Apache political structure, their land claims in the present, and the obligations of the US and Mexico to demands made by recognized and unrecognized Nde' communities in the borderlands.

Michelle Vasquez Ruiz: "Challenging Zapotec Immobilities and Border Militarization"

Activism around immigration reform in the United States has, for the most part, been framed around accessing Immigrants' rights to stay and work within the country. However, for undocumented Indigenous immigrants, the fight to be legally recognized in the US is also about regaining the privilege to be mobile; it is about having the ability to freely travel to their original pueblos in order to regain the recognition and connections that harsh immigration policies have fractured. In this paper, I discuss how the production, promotion and enforcement of anti-immigration laws between 1986 to today has created a double undocumented status for Zapotec immigrants. As I will further discuss, recognition, the legal right to access resources and certain benefits within many Zapotec pueblos is not necessarily a birth right but a right that is achieved through communal service. Many Zapotec immigrants including the undocumented, would regularly cross the US-Mexico border and return to their pueblos in Oaxaca in order to fulfill this expected service. However, through the militarization of the US-Mexico border and with the rise of border violence over the past three decades, this practice of circular migration has practically ended. This has left many Zapotec immigrants double undocumented, having no recognition or limited rights in the United States and limited recognition in their own pueblos. Many have felt "stuck" between their lives in the US and the needs of their communities in Oaxaca because moving between borders is no longer feasible. Using oral histories from Zapotec communities in the US and archival newspapers, I trace how the US-Immigration laws have specifically affected undocumented Zapotec communities. I explore how Zapotec immigrants, not deterred by these challenges have worked with their pueblos in Oaxaca to create alternative forms of recognition in response to the US's hostile anti-immigration laws. I argue that despite the US border acting as an obstacle to Indigenous governance, members of these Zapotec pueblos have consistently found and created tools to maintain their relationship to each other across the borders.

Marsha Weisiger: "Towards a Reconception of Borderlands on the Colorado Plateau"

Borderlands scholars have generated new understandings of Indigenous power, territoriality, relationality, and more along the boundaries of nation-states, such as those of the U.S. and Mexico or the U.S. and Canada. But relatively unexamined have been the borderlands created by Native and non-Native peoples that now lie within nation-states. The Colorado Plateau offers a case study for understanding the dynamics of competing and cooperating Native groups and settler colonists within the United States and how those patterns of development contributed to a distinctive sense of place. This high desert region is the ancestral home of nearly a dozen Native nations, including Diné (Navajos), Puebloan groups (Hopis, Zunis, Acomas, Lagunas), Hualapais, Havasupais, Utes, and southern Paiutes. These groups shared and struggled over natural resources. They expressed convergent cosmologies delineating spiritually significant places that rooted each group in the

region, and they developed kinship networks that helped mediate antagonistic relationships. Simultaneously, they engaged in raiding, captive-taking, and other forms of violence as they policed their territorial boundaries, even as they ignored those of others. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the situation became more complicated as the Colorado Plateau became increasingly controlled and constricted by settler colonists—namely, Spanish, Hispano, and Anglo-American ranchers (including Mormons)—who encroached on the region's outskirts. Emerging from these encounters was a sense of an Indigenous borderlands. The recent and unprecedented collaboration among five Native nations to designate Bears' Ears National Monument to protect much of this region lying outside the reservation system articulates this sense of a shared Indigenous borderlands within the United States.

This paper will sketch the Colorado Plateau borderlands as a place of overlapping, nested, and competing political and environmental sovereignties from the eighteenth century to the present to suggest one approach toward reconceptualizing Indigenous borderlands. My contribution to the conversation will draw on scholarship by Ned Blackhawk, Jeffery Shepherd, Natale Zappia, Maurice Crandall, my own research on the Diné, and recent research I've been conducting regarding John Wesley Powell's explorations of the Colorado River watershed in the second half of the nineteenth century and his encounters with Diné, Utes, and Paiutes.