ACME An International Journal for Critical Geographies

Decolonizing Memory Work? Textual Politics of Settler State Historical Markers Engaging Indigenous Peoples in Kansas

Chris W. Post

Kent State University at Stark
cpost2@kent.edu

Mark A. Rhodes II

Michigan Technological University
marhodes@mtu.edu

Abstract

This article examines the textual politics of how Indigenous peoples and Indigenous/settler relations are portrayed by the state-sponsored historic marker program in Kansas. Before statehood, the land that became Kansas was home to several Indigenous nations, including Pawnee, Kansa, Osage, and Cheyenne. It then became part of Indian Territory in 1834 and received additional peoples dispossessed from their eastern homelands. Only two decades later, the newly organized Kansas Territory hosted a series of treaties that forcibly removed these groups into what is now Oklahoma. The Kansas Historical Markers program commemorates this history through several of its 120 textual markers along the state's highways. Using a methodology focused on textual politics as memory work, this paper uses these markers to analyze how public forms of historical memory commemorate Indigenous peoples and their dispossession by the settler colonial state. While some markers include Indigenous struggles with the state, others utilize texts that reinforce settler colonial attitudes by excluding Indigenous heritage in exchange for those that focus on colonial narratives of Manifest Destiny and economic development. A significant edit of 34 markers in 2010 shows if an anti-colonial process of public engagement in memory work can uncover previously obfuscated and excluded historical geographies and produce a more socially just memorial landscape.

cc BY NC ND

Published with Creative Commons licence: Attribution–Noncommercial–No Derivatives

Keywords

Textual politics, public engagement, settler colonialism, memory work, decolonization, Indigenous heritage, Kansas

---

Introduction

This article examines the Kansas Historical Society's (KHS or Society) historical markers program as a case study to understand the struggle by Indigenous peoples in addressing the continued violence of settler colonial memorialization. It assesses how settler colonial institutions that control such memorial spaces alter, to varying extents, these texts in the landscape as a response to increased empathy toward a more just historical geography of the United States. More specifically, this research critically analyzes how Indigenous heritage, dispossession, and genocide in the state of Kansas have been documented through an official state memory institution. In so doing, it adds to what we understand about 1) how a public institution commemorates Indigenous heritage comprehensively through a statewide commemoration program, 2) what those markers tell us about the program's interpretation of Indigenous nations and their historical geographies in the identity of the state and its formation, 3) what strategies of resistance and inclusion were used to edit those markers' text over time, and, 4) how this assessment connects to the larger geographical questions of ongoing settler colonialism, memory work, textual politics, and the memory of disenfranchised groups.

We ask these questions of textual politics using a subset of data within the Kansas Historical Society's historical markers program by employing a critical textual assessment—both content and discourse analyses—of two data sources. First, the KHS's program underwent two substantial revisions over the past two decades, resulting in changes to 34 markers' texts. Using Society documents about these processes, made available by the KHS itself, we critically assess the organization's engagement with other entities regarding these changes. Second, we analyze the markers' texts themselves and how they changed through this process. We agree with Alderman (2012), who outlines a methodology for studying highway markers using both content and discourse analysis, when he argues for the need to examine "not just whether something is discussed or not but how it is represented" (359). These landscape discourses reiterate the textual, visual, and practiced use- and exchange-values that embedded memory produces (John 2007). This research utilizes both quantitative word-counts of the data using NVivo and more conventional discursive reading of the texts before and after the editing processes to assess the changes, additions, and absences in the narration of these histories. These broader processes of landscape change reflect the necessity to reach beyond simple textual and content assessment and consider the assemblages of meaning embedded within work done by the KHS with the historical markers. Such landscape assemblages "express multiple, overlapping, and sometimes contested meanings" (Smith and Foote 2017, 133; c.f. Waterton and Dittmer 2014), and thus employ a discourse analysis that explores not only the textual changes, but the archival evidence and historical and spatial contexts of these markers.

Our analysis understands landscapes—in this case, memorials—as purposeful products of an American racialized hierarchy (Dang 2021; Schein 2006). This social structure has historically privileged a white-European telling of American history over those of Indigenous, African, Asian, and Latin American narratives (Dwyer and Alderman 2008; Sleeper-Smith 2009). As Dang (2021, 5) theorizes—drawing from settler colonial and landscape studies—through interplays of capital, labor, race, and the privatizing of settler colonial defined land, "the continuation of settler societies necessitates the active erasure of violent histories of colonization." This paper recognizes text in the landscape as a manifestation of this violence and the resulting privilege. What is more, these markers do not simply

represent history, they *are* history and reinforce social divisions whether they are based on class, race, religion, or other social structures. While we note progress in this particular case, we still see a continued struggle for decolonizing the representation of Indigenous peoples in Kansas, the US, and in the broader American context.

Indigenous Peoples and Memorialization in the United States

Indigenous geographies have carved out a space within the broader discipline of geography (i.e. Berry 2008; Coombes, Johnson, and Howitt 2012; 2013; 2014), inspiring broader engagement across the field. We have, likewise, been inspired by this work, as well as broader historical and anthropological de-, post-, and anti-colonial practice, to detail related processes of commemoration or memorialization, particularly in a North American context (i.e. Sleeper-Smith 2009; Onciul 2015; Estes, Yazzie, Denetdale, and Correia 2021). In recent years, research on Indigenous geographies has revolved significantly around environmental justice and industrial impacts and relations across national homelands (Larsen and Johnson 2017; Proulux and Crane 2019; Curley 2019 and 2021). Contemporary research has also further developed the concepts of settler and resource colonialism, which we address below (Barker 2018; Barraclough 2017). We would also be remiss to not acknowledge work outside of geography, such as that of William Cronon (1983), Keith Basso (1996), and Pekka Hämäläinen (2008), which has guided our interests.

Larsen and Johnson's (2017) *Being Together in Place*, in particular, frames our own work in the context of resistant and emerging Indigenous narratives within a settler state. Their research on Haskell Indian Nations University (HINU) faculty and students' active resistance to the "development" of the Wakarusa Wetlands near Lawrence, Kansas, clearly illustrates an attempt to not only resist Western capitalist notions of development, but to form coalitions and reframe the historical narrative. In this case, the role of landscape serves both as a point of mediation and friction, and, as we demonstrate through our own case study, an illustration of how the settler state's historiography has and continues to violently dispossess Indigenous peoples of their narratives, land, and selves (Onciul 2015; Smith 2009). Simultaneously, however, these infrastructures of history—museums, heritage sites, and historic signage—can and have been appropriated in certain cases to contest the settler colonial state and reinforce decolonial narratives and tribal sovereignty (Ackley 2009; Daniels 2009; Lonetree 2009).

Work on the intersection of memory and Indigenous populations, internal and external to geography, has also been a common thread. Densen's (2016) *Monuments to Absence* considers efforts to commemorate the Trail of Tears and illustrates the performativity of memory upon the landscape. Carlson's and John's (2015 and John and Carlson 2016) work on the US-Dakota War and DeLucia's (2018) *Memory Lands* detailing the place, memory, and violence of King Philip's War provide similar interrogations of their respective subjects. Notably, works tend to circle around these occurrences of genocide, imperialism, and conflict (Additional works go into further detail on individual sites, museums, landscapes, and leaders; e.g., Brown and Kanouse 2015; Garsha 2015; O'Brian and Blee 2014; Tengan 2008; Whitacre and Greene 2005). Outside of the North American context, work in South Africa (Foster 2004; Murray 2013) and Singapore (Muzaini and Yeoh 2005) provide further examples of the complications of commemorating overlapping imperial, Indigenous, colonial, and settler histories.

Several studies also point out the real and troubling flaws in how we memorialize US histories (Doss 2009; Dwyer and Alderman 2009; Savage 2010) and struggle to reconcile and repair those pasts (Post 2008; 2016). Bruyneel's (2016, 351) work on "settler memory," or the "mnemonics of colonialist dispossession and settlement that shape settler subjectivity and governmentality," highlights the dialectic process of remembering and forgetting that reifies both the violence and legitimacy of the settler state. The role of memory work and text in these inherently spatial processes present this violence in the landscape in ways that are both readily readable and obstructed from the researcher and the general public. As Ryan et al. (2016) argue, these spatial narratives go beyond a textual reading of the memorial

landscape by incorporating a dynamic set of authors and audiences into the production and consumption of memorial narratives at various scales (c.f. Azaryahu and Foote 2008; Rhodes 2020).

Recent work by Zavar (2019), Cook (2018), and Pintok (2018) all demonstrate the continued dialectical nature of more-than-textual politics in the context of memorial landscapes. The narrative absences from memorials factor just as strongly as the present texts when considering both historical context and audience engagement. Coulthard (2014, 121) further addresses the problematic role of historicizing colonialism whereby contemporary settler state memory work often ignores the "colonial present" and instead "state policy has instead focused its reconciliation efforts on repairing the psychologically injured or damaged status of Indigenous people themselves." In essence, there are ongoing dialectical memorial violences embedded into landscapes of Indigenous memories and heritages. Coulthard (2014, 29 citing Hegel) further emphasizes that it is simply not enough for Indigenous peoples to strategically navigate these dialectical violences originating from the settler state, but to "move *beyond* the patterns of domination and inequality." Below, we similarly highlight the ongoing and unresolved tensions in Kansas, where inclusion and representation do *not* decolonize the memory work of the state.

Barker's (2018, 1134) use of the notion of "necro-settlement" to describe how the power of the state in reshaping memory further entrenches settler societies follows Wolfe's (2006) discussion of Indigenous elimination. Wolfe (2006, 389) states that rather than an unconditional replacement of Indigenous society, settler colonialism "maintains the refractory imprint of the Native counter-claim." Settler societies continue to use landscapes of spatial memory as explanation or justification for occupation, acculturation, and genocide (Wysote and Morton 2006). As our case study reveals, the structure of commemoration in Kansas did not deviate from this path, and continues memorializing Indigenous peoples in broad brush strokes.

Public institutions have historically led this form of settler colonialism. Focusing on the University of Georgia as an entity of public education and colonialism, Luke and Heynen (2021) utilize Du Bois' (1935) concept of "abolition democracy" to push for greater recognition of past colonialist efforts by such public institutions. They observe that "[a]s a state institution that defines the 'public' through inclusion/exclusion…the University thus becomes an important site to contest and transform" (Luke and Heynen 2021, 6). Acknowledging other institutions, including museums such as the American Museum of National History (Fota 2019; Loewen 1999), and national memorials and parks such as Jefferson *National Expansion* Memorial within Gateway Arch National Park (emphasis added), we expand the realm of institutions responsible for such articulations of white supremacy to public historical societies. Throughout much of the country, these associations maintain responsibility for many public memorials, possess the commemorative power in the landscape, and are taken as "official" memory by many citizens.

Still, and despite this trend, there are a few works which outline the potential for creating commemorative sites of Indigenous heritage that produce empathy, critical thought, and place-making opportunities (Garsha 2015; Shepherd 2008; John and Carlson 2016; O'Malley and Kidman 2018). This process, and the broader shaping of historical narratives discussed above, are all part and parcel of memory work. We define memory work as the process whereby the past is molded and experienced in the present (Till 2005; DeSilvey 2007; Fischer 2015; Jeychandran 2016). As Buciek and Juul (2008, 111) write, "memory-work takes place somewhere," and as many geographers grapple with that "somewhere," the process and its institutions also hold a prominent place in the shaping of collective memory.

While this research is not a work of Indigenous geography, as we did not speak directly with nor work for those Indigenous communities discussed in these markers, this manuscript *is* a pressing historical and cultural geography on the memory work of the state. As white settler scholars, our hope is that such insights into the specific processes of state-based heritage in Kansas might not only lend itself

to future Indigenous geographies, but engage with the rich discourse of Indigenous geography and the significance of power and place through decolonial memory work (Daigle 2019; Goeman 2012; Hunt and Stevenson 2016; de Leeuw and Hunt 2018). Considering decolonial processes as work towards the physical and philosophical return of land and its meaning from settler colonial power structures (Dang 2021; Wolf 2006), a decolonial memory work both upon the physical and intangible landscape becomes essential (Castro 2021; Garcia 2019). Sletto (2016) suggests that Indigenous participation in memory work offers possibilities for decolonial memorial reterritorialization.

This work builds upon many of the studies cited above which focus on specific memorials or commemorative themes. Garsha (2015, 62), writing on the Bloody Island massacre in California, when the US Cavalry and others murdered as many as 200 recently self-emancipated Pomo, states, "[t]he preservation and evolution of each of these plaques…contributes to our understanding of why a detailed examination of localized genocide memorial sites is critical to regional and global history." This scalar, social, and spatial interplay of memory and identity in the engagement and reproduction of the past is also key to memory work (Till 2005, 2012). In our case, the memory work of the state rests heavily with its heritage institutions and increasingly individual memorial entrepreneurs who are invested—spiritually, culturally, politically, or economically—with anti-colonial representation in the United States.

Kansas's Historical Contexts

The Indigenous history in Kansas runs deep and provides a rich legacy to remember and to assess such a resulting commemorative landscape. Dozens of Indigenous nations made home of the land that is now referred to as Kansas by the settler society. Originally several nations, principally the Pawnee, Kansa, Osage [Wazhazhe], Kiowa, and Cheyenne, occupied the land. A complex regional trade flourished between these groups, Dakota and Caddoan peoples surrounding them, and eventually French, British and US trappers (Wishart 1979). On the heels of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, more Euro-Americans entered the region to expand the United States and develop trade routes with the newly independent Mexico. Starting in 1834 with the passage of that year's Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, the land that would become Kansas was included in Indian Territory and saw several groups—Iowa, Cherokee, and Delaware peoples, among several others from the upper Midwest and East regions of the United States—forcibly relocated there. In 1854, the US government moved these groups yet again to modern-day Oklahoma as Indian Territory continually shrank in area and Kansas attained territorial status (and eventually statehood in 1861). Through all of these changes, the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, Sac and Fox Nation, Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas, and the Prairie Band Potawatomie Nation own tribal land within the modern borders of Kansas (Fixico 2003; Miner 2002).

As these Indigenous groups defended themselves and their lands throughout this colonial process, conflict arose (Miner 2002). The resulting "Indian Wars" renewed a post-US Civil War program of removal and extermination, this time of Plains and other Western nations and culminated in the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887 that effectively privatized Indigenous lands previously held in common. Such violence, both physical and by policy, lasted for decades and continues today via other means of resource extraction, water abstraction, and a general lack of economic and environmental justice (Curley 2019 and 2021; Hämäläinen 2008; Miner 2002).

Given this history of Indigeneity, US expansion, and in particular its crucial role in the lead up to the US Civil War, Kansas established a repository for the state's historical documentation—the Kansas Historical Society—in 1875 (formerly the Kansas *State* Historical Society). The Kansas State Historical Marker program, created in 1934 as part of the KHS, has evolved over time to detail the histories of 120 places in Kansas deemed important not only to the state's cultural, economic, and political history, but also that of the United States. By 1966, the KHS had written 117 of these markers. The Society has since added three additional markers (Figure 1). In 1941, then-director Kirk Mechem commented of the

program, “history is being marked where those who ride may read” (Mechem 1941, 339). An argument exists that such systems are antiquated and garner a fraction of the attention they once did thanks to our speedier (and blander) Interstate Highway System. However, we emphasize the importance of such marker programs through their continued presence and funding, and their impact on the identities of local communities. Additionally, since US Highways are the most common location for these markers, they are frequently located in high-traffic downtown urban spaces, on the road, yet visible and approachable for pedestrians. Such marker programs are common as every state possesses a similar program, as do many major cities such as Chicago (Foote 2003).

Figure 1. Indian Treaties of 1865 marker on the edge of Park City, north of Wichita. Photo courtesy of KHS.

While Kansas is not alone in this format of representing the past in the landscape, there are other reasons why this particular case study succinctly illustrates examples of such memorial geographies. First, with 34 markers focused on Indigenous heritage out of a mere 120 total, it is a manageable project compared to Ohio, which has thousands of markers and a much different process for marker approval. Secondly, sole management of the markers program in Kansas belongs to the KHS. Thus, this research can be achieved through work with a single entity. Third, Kansas’s position as a state that both received Indigenous nations from other regions of the growing United States and also sent much of its Indigenous population to the further-downsized Indian Territory complicates its historical geographies and how the KHS interprets them. Additionally, few geographical studies have examined roadside markers, with notable exceptions (Alderman 2012; Cook 2018).

Rewriting the Past

Information for our historical narrative and analysis of these marker changes come from a series of Society documents from 2010 which they made available to us. These files include a memo sent by

KHS Director Jennie Chinn to Dennis Hodgins (KS Legislative Researcher) and Patrick Hurley (Office of the Governor) that outlines a brief history of the KS Historical Marker program and these revisions. Other documentation includes details on textual changes and contributions made by Indigenous consultants. Throughout this process several pieces of input from Indigenous scholars and leaders were key to the revisions. Input from representatives of the Western Band Cherokee, Haskell Indian Nations University (HINU; in Lawrence), Northern Cheyenne, and Osage were particularly impactful in the rewriting process, as evidenced in the analysis below.

In 1996, HINU filed a complaint with KHS over language used toward Indians on a marker at a nearby highway rest stop. This and other calls for updates prompted a program-wide review of the entire state highway marker program. In a first wave of minor revisions, the KHS edited 22 markers using federal funds from the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act. These revisions involved input from scholars at HINU, Kansas State University, state legislators, as well as KHS and Kansas Department of Transportation (KDOT) staff. Despite inspiring this initial round of changes, the supposed sign in question – "Lawrence and the Old Trails," located at the Lawrence rest stop on Interstate 70 – received no change, according to the state's own documentation. Another nearby marker, "Kansa Indian Agency," also proved to be problematic and eventually received significant edits, indicating that perhaps state documents mis-identified the concerning sign, but we could not ascertain confirmation.

These initial changes prompted the KHS to revisit the concern throughout the 2000s with a larger project. They subsequently created a database of markers, surveyed marker language, location, and condition, and participated in a series of meetings. According to KHS documentation, a member of the Western Band Cherokee testified to the Joint Committee on State-Tribal Relations, "that all Native Americans and Indians are grouped together [on the markers]….The adjectives used for Indians are negative and that is a concern for the tribal members." This KHS document also lays bare that both that organization and legislators claimed funding would be a crucial issue to overcome in producing new markers. As KDOT funds became available, a group involving members of that agency, the state legislature, HINU faculty, the Governor's Office, KHS, a paid private consultant, and local Indigenous experts selected markers for replacement and ultimately rewrote 34 markers.

Since only two identified Indigenous scholars had been consulted on the project to this point, the KHS sought the advice of, and sent their marker text revisions to, members of the regional tribes whose histories they rewrote on the markers. This group included a tribal president, members of the National Parks Service's Tribal Historic Preservation Office, as well as tribal economic and cultural resource managers who collectively represented ten regional Indigenous groups—Cherokee, Cheyenne and Arapahoe, Comanche, Kaw, Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, Northern Cheyenne, Osage, Pawnee, Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, Yavapai-Apache. State documentation shows that eight of KHS's contacts within these groups directly approved the edits by February 23, 2010. The Cherokee and Wichita and Affiliated Nations had not given final approval of the revisions, for reasons unknown. The representative for the Cherokee was awaiting approval from their Chiefs. The state was in direct conversation with representatives of the Wichita with no mention of concern, but no confirmation of approval, either. Still, the revisions moved forward.

Our analysis finds this revision process implemented a three-pronged strategy to include more Indigenous perspectives on the revised markers. First, they gave Indigenous communities greater agency by correcting inaccuracies and eliminating classic racist tropes such as the "Indian rowdies," a term actually used on one marker. Second, several of the signs struggled to include Indigenous voices in two forms – the inclusion of the Indigenous community in revising the texts and inclusion of historic Indigenous voices via quotes on the rewritten markers. Third, the KHS rewrote several marker titles to more accurately connect with the text of those markers and their retelling of Indigenous people's role in Kansas history.

A Changing Text, A Changing History

As indicated, the 34 Kansas Historical Markers saw extensive change through the processes of modification and revision. While below we bring out the qualitative narratives of these changes themselves and the meaning embedded within those narrative shifts, we first provide a more quantitative assessment. Utilizing critical content and discourse analysis, we reveal several significant changes in the markers' text. By graphing some of the changes to language over time, we demonstrate significant shifts to the Kansas historical markers and Indigenous places within that memory work.

Table 1 provides greater insight into any words, either original or revised, which appear at least .33% or roughly 12 times throughout the 34 markers (5,671-5,750 words, including words with less than three letters which were excluded from calculations). An additional benefit of NVivo includes the ability to group stemmed words. Rather than factoring "name," names," "named," and "naming" as four separate variables, NVivo includes these additional words (the final column in Table 1) in calculations. While Figure 2 better illustrates much of this data, the significant shift between the terms Indian and Kansas is noteworthy as the use of the blanket "Indian" drops precipitously as greater voice is given to specific nations. The inclusion of block quotes in the revised markers further decreased some of the terms more associated with blanket descriptions, such as "great" or "miles," and allowed for more personal descriptions to be included. The bottom ten terms all gained enough usage through the revisions to be included on this chart, and terms "new" and "historic" demonstrate that historic context continues, perhaps just through a slightly less colonial lens. The increase in the word "Pueblo," for example, highlights the memory work representatives of the Yavapai-Apache Nation and Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma brought to the marker changes. With their contributions to the "El Quartelejo" marker, rather than starting with the description of a state park and ending with the death of a US Colonel, the marker now begins with the words "to escape Spanish oppression" and provides greater detail into the Pueblo culture and influence in Kansas. Finally, Figure 2 plots the change over time of the most prevalent words. Only including words which comprise .33% or more of the total text in either their old or new forms and further removing those words that saw less than .05% change between versions, we are left with 32 highly used and highly adaptive words.[1]

In this overall change of word usage over time, several themes emerge. First, we see a clear increase in engagement with specific Indigenous groups, most likely responding to concerns brought up in revision hearings. While the most prevalent word, "Indian," decreased in usage, Osage, Pawnee, Pueblo, Cheyenne, and the unincluded Kansa all saw significant increase in their inclusion within the broader historical narrative. While these are indicative of the greater agency and voice provided to Indigenous peoples described below, there are also lasting examples within the textual politics of the markers. The sharp increase of "nation," for example, which was only used a single time in the old markers' text, demonstrates a lasting language of settler colonialism. Of the twenty uses of nation in the new markers, less than half reference the Indigenous nations of and around Kansas. Instead, nation most often refers to economic and political standing within the US Nation or as a reference to one of the many United States federal institutions. Likewise, the increase in the usage of "fort," "America," "Government," State," and "railroad" often for mere description and without any critical context shows a steady and continued language of settler colonialism.

[1] The words Indian, Kansas, and Miles were also all removed because of their frequency. Indians was used 1.59% of the time in the old version and 1.12% in the new. Kansas was 1.16% old and 1.42% new, and miles was 1.13% old and .71% new. The words rock, west, treaties, creek, country, became, post, county, and year all remained relatively unchanged between .31% and .49%. Both cutoffs of .33% and .05% were natural breaks in the overall data, in the interest of clarity for Figure 1 and space in Table 1.

Word	Original Word Count	Weighted* Original Percentage (N=5,750)	New Word Count	Weighted* New Percentage (N=5,671)	Percent Change	Additional Included Words
Indians	56	1.59	41	1.12	-0.47	Indian
Kansas	41	1.16	52	1.42	0.26	Kansa
Miles	40	1.13	26	0.71	-0.42	Mile
Rivers	20	0.57	8	0.22	-0.35	River
Named	19	0.54	11	0.30	-0.24	Name, Names,
City	18	0.51	15	0.41	-0.10	Cities
Settlers	18	0.51	20	0.55	0.04	Settler
Established	17	0.48	15	0.41	-0.07	Established
Fort	16	0.45	24	0.66	0.21	Forts
Year	16	0.45	18	0.49	0.04	Yearly, Years
Great	15	0.43	2	0.05	-0.38	
North	15	0.43	16	0.44	0.01	
Osages	15	0.43	18	0.49	0.06	Osage
Cattle	14	0.40	11	0.30	-0.10	
Cheyennes	14	0.40	20	0.55	0.15	Cheyenne
Lands	14	0.40	26	0.71	0.31	Land, Landed
One	14	0.40	19	0.52	0.12	
Trails	14	0.40	16	0.44	0.04	Trail
County	13	0.37	14	0.38	0.01	Counties
Killed	13	0.37	5	0.14	-0.23	
Post	13	0.37	15	0.41	0.04	Posts
Town	13	0.37	9	0.25	-0.12	Towns
Two	13	0.37	13	0.35	-0.02	
White	13	0.37	4	0.11	-0.26	Whites
Area	12	0.34	10	0.27	-0.07	Areas
Became	12	0.34	13	0.35	0.01	
Buffalo	12	0.34	18	0.49	0.15	
Creek	12	0.34	12	0.33	-0.01	Creeks
Governmentt	12	0.34	17	0.46	0.12	
Plains	12	0.34	16	0.44	0.10	
Santa	12	0.34	7	0.19	-0.15	
South	12	0.34	8	0.22	-0.12	
Treaties	12	0.34	13	0.35	0.01	Treaty
West	12	0.34	13	0.35	0.01	
Railroad	11	0.31	17	0.46	0.15	Railroads
Rock	11	0.31	12	0.33	0.02	Rock, Rocks
States	11	0.31	16	0.44	0.13	State, States
New	9	0.26	15	0.41	0.15	New
War	9	0.26	16	0.44	0.18	War, Wars
American	8	0.23	20	0.55	0.32	American,
Pawnee	8	0.23	12	0.33	0.10	Pawnee, Pawnees
Along	7	0.20	12	0.33	0.13	Along
Today	6	0.17	12	0.33	0.16	Today
Pueblo	4	0.11	12	0.33	0.22	Pueblo, Pueblos
Historic	3	0.09	15	0.41	0.32	Historic, Historical
Nation	1	0.03	20	0.55	0.52	Nation, National,

*Weighted percentages exclude words less than 3 characters from calculations

Table 1. Word Counts and Changes in frequency of key marker text.

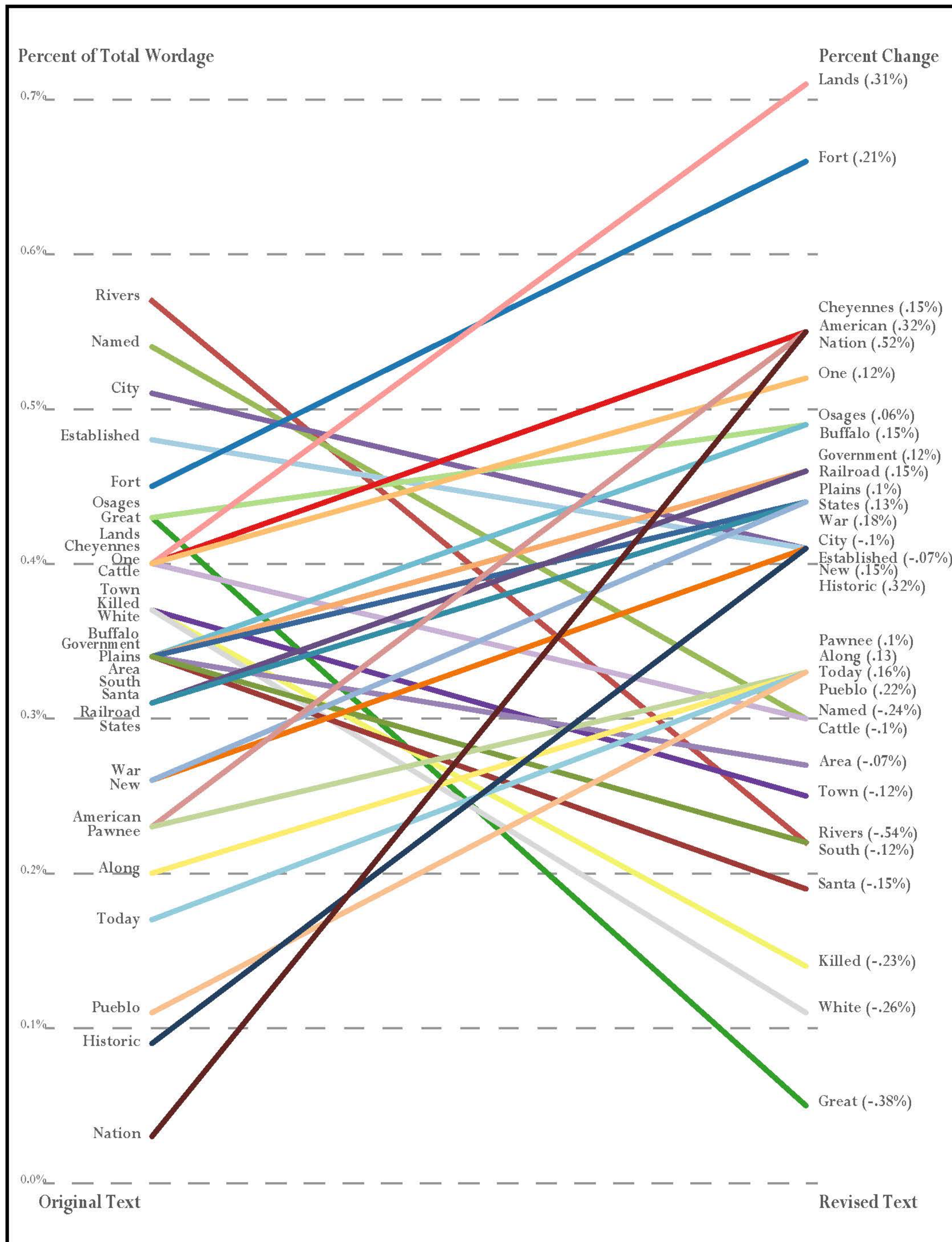

Figure 2. Visual Representation of textual changes on markers detailed in Table 1.

markers' text, demonstrates a lasting language of settler colonialism. Of the twenty uses of nation in the new markers, less than half reference the Indigenous nations of and around Kansas. Instead, nation most often refers to economic and political standing within the US Nation or as a reference to one of the many United States federal institutions. Likewise, the increase in the usage of "fort," "America,"

“Government,” State,” and “railroad” often for mere description and without any critical context shows a steady and continued language of settler colonialism.

Three Signs, Three Strategies: A Qualitative Assessment

As indicated above, KHS’s revision process utilized three broad strategies that attempted to make their signs more inclusive of Indigenous history. After introducing these strategies with examples, we illustrate them in depth through three representative markers.

First, the writers of these edits incorporated greater Indigenous peoples’ agency by reducing—in many places, but not all—a Euro-American perspective that promoted settler colonialism, insofar as how the markers are written (though they still remain within the settler colonial state structures). While all 34 markers changed their language, a handful utilized very specific textual changes. Many eliminated the names of white settlers in the region who had little to no long-term impact on the state’s heritage. For example, the original text on the marker for Council Grove, a key stop on the Santa Fe Trail, mentioned the expeditions and military advancements of John C. Fremont and Alexander Doniphan. However, the sign focuses on a treaty council that met at the spot—a council neither individual attended. The sign for Medicine Lodge Treaties mentions Briton Henry Morton Stanley. Famed for finding Dr. David Livingstone in Africa, Stanley reportedly attended the negotiations as a journalist but had no real impact. Yet another sign, explicitly about the Kansa people, named one of Daniel Boone’s sons as an early “agriculturalist” in the territory. Editors removed the mentions of all these settler colonists.

A second strategy that gave Indigenous communities more voice in their own narratives was the incorporation of more Indigenous input directly into the text of the markers. The committee implemented these changes in two ways—first by reaching out to Indigenous community leaders and scholars for feedback and approval as detailed earlier. Second, several markers now include block quotations from historic Indigenous leaders to help frame the history from their experience. These changes to the 34 markers in question dramatically altered their meanings, allowing them to speak more from an Indigenous perspective and reinforced Indigenous agency in the memory work process. In one example, on the marker for the Medicine Lodge Peace Treaties, Kiowa Chief Satanta declares, “I come to say that the Kiowas and Comanches have made with you a peace, and they intend to keep it. If it brings prosperity to us, we of course will like it the better.”

Finally, the Society and the committee it convened changed several markers’ titles as they changed the text. While some changes were minor, others were more significant, and all carried the goal of better matching the spirit of the marker with the new, more inclusive, narratives being told. For example, one marker’s original title, “Kansa Indian Agency,” changed to “Kansa Indians” in order to better signify the new focus on the Kansa Nation, and not the assimilating role of settler colonists in the region.

Indian Treaties of 1865

A crucial sign that incorporated more Indigenous input to excavate their geographic legacy was one simply (and broadly) titled “Indian Treaties of 1865” (Figure 1). The original marker glorified the United States Army and its representatives, such as William H. Bent and Christopher “Kit” Carson (a known murderer of Indigenous peoples), who negotiated with a diverse group of Indigenous nations and leaders, including Black Kettle (Cheyenne) and Satanta (Kiowa). This sign focused most of its historic telling on the results of negotiations—lost hunting lands and no reparations for the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado. It underlined that the treaties were never ratified by the US Congress—paving the way for more white settlement and subsequent violence.

The new marker grounds its narrative from Indigenous perspectives, starting with the marker’s location near where hundreds of Indigenous peoples camped throughout the negotiation process (and not

where the negotiations occurred). Stricken from the text was mention of "Federal commissioners with great prestige…", such as Carson. It also now includes more detail about the Sand Creek Massacre and its role in producing the negotiations. The current marker also looks forward more adeptly by including a note on 18 months of peace following the negotiations that was interrupted by a "campaign" against the Cheyenne and Arapaho. It concludes that neither these talks nor the subsequent Medicine Lodge Treaty prevented long-term violence on the Great Plains.

Finally, the marker now includes a crucial quote by Ten Bears, who represented the Comanche at the negotiations and said, "My people have never first drawn a bow or fired a gun against whites. There has been trouble on the line between us, and my young men have danced the war dance. But it was not begun by us."

Osage Nation

The greatest titular change to any marker came to the one originally titled "Mission Neosho." As suggested, the original marker focused on an 1824 Presbyterian Mission on Osage lands, the first in the future territory. The marker formerly and insultingly claimed, "The Indian rowdies often disturbed religious meetings and the school failed to attract pupils." It concluded, "A few years later they were removed to Oklahoma." More than a text update, advised heavily by an Osage consultant, the marker is now titled "Osage Nation."

The revised text focuses on the history of the Osage in Kansas since their move from the Ohio Valley, briefly mentioning that the mission "failed to…convince the Osages to trade a hunting lifestyle for farming." Another addition alludes to a related marker (covered below) about a Civil War encounter between the Osages and Confederate officers. What is more, the Osage consultant suggested greater detail and clarity to what the original sign said in regard to the Osages' removal. The text was subsequently changed from, "A few years later they were removed to Oklahoma," to, "The Osages were forced to leave Kansas in 1870. Today the Osage Nation's federal reservation land (approximately 1.5 million acres) is located in north central Oklahoma."

Drum Creek and the Civil War

Originally titled "Civil War Battle Drum Creek Treaty," our third marker stood for decades as an illustration of white settler-focused historical memory. In spring 1863, several Confederates scouted for recruits along the border between Kansas and then-Indian Territory. A group of Osages encountered and killed two of the Confederates. According to the original sign, these Osages did this by "ignoring a flag of surrender" and scalping the soldiers. The sign does not state how the Osages were to know what a flag of surrender meant, nor how to otherwise respond to foreign insurgents on their land. The original marker then turned its attention to white settlement and the removal of the Osage Nation to Indian Territory. It finished by suggesting great fortune of the Osage in their removal to Indian Territory: "Ironically, the cheap lands to which the Osages were removed became a great oil field and for a time they were the wealthiest people per capita in the world." There is no mention of the "resource colonialism" (Snipp 1988, 2) that stood between the Osages and any sustainable returns from this wealth (Dennison 2012; Fixico 2012; Grann 2017).

Perhaps no sign in the revision process took more of a substantive change than this one. Instead of seemingly defending Confederate sympathies, the new sign better details that both Union and Confederate units stole Osage cattle. To this, the sign quotes Osage chief Charles Mongrain as he cautioned, "I most earnestly warn all intruders, trespassers, and others not citizens of the Osage nation to leave the nation immediately." The marker now says that the Osage encountered "strangers" after Mongrain's warning, chased a group of 20, and killed two. It concludes by saying, "The Osage had foiled the plot." The original sign painted the Osage as killers and simultaneously made victims out of Confederate soldiers—despite Kansas' proud heritage as a "Free State" before and during the Civil War.

The original sign also framed the Osages as fortunate to be removed to oil-wealthy land, but now paints them as defenders of their territory while also preventing Confederates from recruiting in the region. Still, the current marker makes no mention of the Osage's removal—covered in the Osage Nation marker—and has no mention of their plight in 1920s Oklahoma.

Most Signs Point to Progress

These edits all return to the primary mission of this project: to show how a public entity—in response to resistance initiated by a historically dispossessed people—employed memory work through text to better tell the history of underrepresented and dispossessed peoples. The three markers detailed above all illustrate at least one of the three primary tools used in the editing process to better include and represent Indigenous history in Kansas and decolonize the pre-existing narrative: increased Indigenous agency, Indigenous peoples' voices, and new marker titles.

As these revisions detail, the KHS employed these three strategies to produce change in their markers that focus on Indigenous peoples' historical geographies in the state. First, several decolonized the discourse by refocusing the narratives on Indigenous perspectives. The Society accomplished this by seeking advice from Indigenous community members and textual approval from several Nations, either directly or through tribal representatives (this depended on each Nation's own policy). In six cases, the KHS also provided Indigenous quotations to situate the Indigenous perspective of these historic places. On a few markers, these quotes are brief and less impactful on their reading. Others are fully developed passages that contribute greatly to the marker's messaging. In other cases, a marker title change accompanied the textual memory work to reinforce the new perspective brought into the memorial process.

While these tactics are distinct from one another, our examples also illustrate their overlap. The revision process brought to the fore Indigenous peoples' agency by being more inclusive of both historic Indigenous figures in many of the new texts, and by conferring with regional Indigenous consultants on the project. This latter form of inclusion proved a key influence on the edits. In reviewing KHS documentation, one Indigenous consultant made two crucial points in regard to systemic changes needed on the markers. First, as mentioned above about the revision process, she spoke in particular about the original markers' treatment of Indigenous peoples in the state as a singular entity, and not the diverse peoples they were and are. This consultant made a second point about how the original texts treated interactions between Indigenous peoples and US military agents and other civilians. She pointed out—in reference to multiple signs—how use of the term "massacre" had been avoided in the edits. She argued that using terms such as "campaign" was too "soft," and chided the KHS about "what these conflicts actually were," before declaring on another edit, "It is always 'massacred' when they talk about what Indians did. Use the same language when it is what the white people did." Her concerns underline the need for a paradigm shift in the public memory of this history, asking for Indigenous tellings of Indigenous historical geographies.

A second strategy was the inclusion of more historic quotes representing Indigenous perspectives on these interactions. Of the 34 markers edited, six now include quotes by Indigenous witnesses of those events, two of those being the Treaties of 1865 and Drum Creek and the Civil War markers detailed above. A third was the Satanta quote discussed above. These quotes continue to underline the shift from a traditional, western, and white retelling of history to a narrative more aligned with Indigenous experiences and perspectives (White 1991).

Finally, a series of sign names were used to better support this improved narrative brought about by including more Indigenous agency. While some changes were subtle and more mechanical ("Country of the Pawnee" changed to "Country of the Pawnees"), others proved to be appropriate alterations, such as "Mission Neosho" changing to "Osage Nation." Similar to mapping, where place names are the first

thing we get to know about a place and their reinforcement of local power structures (Post and Alderman 2014), marker names in such a public system also prove valuable. These titles identify—to the public at large and tourists and researchers specifically—the rhetorical direction taken by each marker and the history it intends to tell.

In unveiling these strategies and the changes they produced in these markers, this research underlines four important themes to understanding this development and at least one strategy for moving away from such a memorial narrative. First, the initial texts of these markers were written under the context of settler colonialism (Barraclough 2011; Barraclough 2017; Denson 2017; Fields 2012). They narrated the legacies of Indigenous peoples through a racialized lens that prioritized a telling of territorial acquisition and subsequent Indigenous removal, economic restructuring, and military might. Through this initial memory work of the state, the signs worked amongst "the entangled relationship of settlement and memory in liberal colonial contexts" (Bruyneel 2016, 353; Wysote and Morton 2019). Second, editing efforts illustrate the processes of decolonizing memory work and public engagement in memorialization (Barcus and Trudeau 2017; DeSilvey 2007; Rhodes 2018; Till 2005; Till 2012). Third, this work exemplifies textual politics –that is, the struggle of power over detailing and remembering the past through words written into the landscape (Alderman 2010; Alderman 2012; Cook 2018, Cook and Van Riemsdijk 2014; Hannah and Hoddler 2015). Finally, this project provides another crucial example of how individuals and groups commit to telling the stories of the marginalized through their "symbolic excavation" of the past and its critical retelling through the present memorialized or preserved landscape (Alderman and Campbell 2008).

This work shows how public entities (e.g., historical societies) engage underrepresented and other groups to right past memorial wrongs committed via the textual landscape. This "textual politics" perspective shows that memorialization and text matter—they surrogate, politicize, and do much of the heavy lifting of memory work when detailed information dissemination is part of the memorial landscape (Alderman 2012; Cook 2018). By creating more inclusive, honest, and critically pedagogical markers, we create a more informed citizenry.

By coupling this qualitative analysis with our quantitative analysis, it becomes clear that the KSHS took a concerted effort to make appropriate contemporary changes to their state marker program's treatment of Indigenous legacies in Kansas and the United States. These changes helped to produce an improved, but by no means perfect, retelling of Kansas' historical geography through its highway markers program. The inclusion of Indigenous input, historic quotations, and marker name changes signal a desire to tell an alternate history of Kansas. It symbolically excavates the experience of Indigenous peoples through textual politics and emphasizes the importance of language as memory work. Similar to what Alderman found in North Carolina and Cook found in Alabama, more recent efforts to confront the stories of racialized, colonized, and dispossessed groups (in Alderman's and Cook's cases, Black, in our case Indigenous peoples) have improved but still leave much to be desired. As both Blake (2004) along the Lewis and Clarke Trail and Hurt (2010) in Oklahoma have found looking at museum and preservation landscapes beyond their textual politics, remembering Indigenous histories in the United States is equally difficult and requires the inclusion of those most impacted by the westward, colonial invasion of whites in North America.

Yet despite this work, struggles persist. First, initial consultations in the late 1990s and early 2000s involved only a few members of those Indigenous communities impacted by these original texts and their revisions. Those Indigenous persons involved early on were primarily faculty at HINU. It took nearly a decade to reach out to the broader Indigenous community to gain more perspective and agency. Second, while some of the markers now include the words of tribal leaders, those represent only a fraction of those revised. Unevenness persists in how the KHS represents the violence between whites and Indian

peoples. In other words, despite advances in the telling of Indigenous stories through Indigenous voices, more can be done.

Concluding Thoughts

This research, and the work of the KHS, shows that institutions responsible for producing public memory can help decolonize it. In doing so, it shows how Indigenous groups may reclaim a voice in official narratives about their own history. By extension, it also may reanimate a sense of place and belonging among Indigenous communities. Assessing such an act of decolonization joins this research with that of Larsen and Johnson (2017), Sleeper-Smith (2009), and Onciul (2015), while also adding new details about the process as led by a public institution.

On the surface, the KHS worked diligently to rewrite many of its state highway markers to better situate Indigenous perspectives in its representation of the state's history. Changing sign titles, consulting with Indigenous experts, and including more Indigenous voices and perspectives in the new texts all evidence this new direction.

Comprehensively, however, there is still much work to be done in Kansas' historical markers program. For example, many signs still use "campaign" to reference one-sided violence by the US Army against Indigenous peoples. Additionally, most signs still only indirectly reference the systematic and continental dispossession of Indigenous peoples in the United States and Canada for the sake of a more localized impact statement. While some signs now incorporate suggestions made by Indigenous reviewers, several others still lack that voice. Thus, as Dang (2021, 1) cautions, when metaphorical decolonial actions "attempt to mitigate the effects of colonialism" but do not accompany physical power shifts embedded in the landscape itself "these moves ultimately serve to upload rather than dismantle colonialism." Thus, while there perhaps remains a potential for decolonial memory work, evidence from the KSHS suggests efforts went little further than an anti-colonial textual nod, at best.

Still, and despite these shortcomings, it appears progress towards at least some form of anti-colonial memory work has been made. Our focus on textual politics as a strategy of producing a just narrative shows that the Kansas Historical Society did work diligently with its limited funds to make needed changes (most funds were used before former Governor Sam Brownback purged the state's budget by cutting off tax revenues).

Admittedly, it is difficult to know if these changes are even noticed by the public. Further research is needed to know how the settler and Indigenous public has received and understood these changes. But this paper sets a foundation for further analysis in this regard. We hope that other states continue down this anti-colonial path and eventually adopt more explicitly decolonial memory work practices which revolutionize historical geographies and further limit the impacts of settler colonialism in our institutional memories.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the reviewers and editors of this paper for their input. Any remaining errors are our own. We also wish to thank Reuben Rose-Redwood for his invitation to be included in this special issue of *ACME*. Being included with such scholars that we have looked up to is both an honor and a privilege.

References

Ackley, Kristina. 2009. "TsiʔniyukwalihoʔtΛ, the Oneida Nation Museum: Creating a Space for Haudenosaunee Kinship and Identity." In (ed.) *Contested Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives* edited by Susan Sleeper-Smith, 257-282. University of Nebraska Press.

Alderman, Derek H. 2012. "'History by the Spoonful' in North Carolina: The Textual Politics of State Highway Historical Markers." *Southeastern Geographer* 52: 355–373.

Alderman, Derek H. 2010. "Surrogation and the politics of remembering slavery in Savannah, Georgia." *Journal of Historical Geography* 36: 90-101.

Alderman, Derek H. and Rachel M. Campbell. 2008. "Symbolic excavation and the artifact politics of remembering slavery in the American south." *Southeastern Geographer* 48: 338-355.

Azaryahu, Maoz, and Kenneth E. Foote. 2008. "Historical space as narrative medium: on the configuration of spatial narratives of time at historical sites." *GeoJournal* 73 (3): 179-194.

Basso, Keith H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Barcus, Holly R. and Dan Trudeau. 2017. "Introduction to Focus section: Out in the World: Geography's complex relationship with civic engagement." *The Professional Geographer* 70: 270-276.

Barker, Adam J. 2018. "Deathscapes of settler colonialism: The necro-settlement of Stoney Creek, Ontario, Canada." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108 (4): 1134-1149.

Barraclough, Laura. 2017. "Wrangling settler colonialism in the urban US West: Indigenous and Mexican American struggles for social justice." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 107: 513-523. DOI: 10.1080/24694452.2017.1374825

Barraclough. Laura. 2011. *Making the San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscapes, Urban Development, and White Privilege*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Benjamin, Stephanie and Derek Alderman. 2017. "Performing a different narrative: Museum theater and the memory-work of producing and managing slavery heritage at southern plantation museums." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24: 270-282.

Berry, Kate. 2008. "Introduction: Mainstreaming indigenous geography." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32 (3): 1-4.

Blake, Kevin. 2004. "Great Plains Native American representations along the Lewis and Clark Trail." *Great Plains Quarterly* 24: 263-282.

Blee, Lisa M. and Jean M. O'Brien. 2019. *Monumental mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Bruyneel, Kevin. 2016. "Codename Geronimo: settler memory and the production of American statism." *Settler Colonial Studies* 6 (4): 349-364.

Burgess, Barbara. 2001. *Kansas Historical Markers guide*. Topeka: Kansas Historical Society.

Carlson, Kelsey and Gareth John. 2015. "Landscapes of triumphalism, reconciliation, and reclamation: memorializing the aftermath of the Dakota-US War of 1862." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 32: 270-303

Cook, Matthew. 2018. "The textual politics of Alabama's historical markers: Slavery, emancipation, and civil rights." In *The Changing World Language Map* edited by Stan Brunn and Roland Kehrein, 759-789. London: Springer

Cook, Matthew, and Micheline van Riemsdijk. 2014. “Agents of memorialization: Gunter Demnig's stolpersteine and the individual (re-)creation of a Holocaust landscape in Berlin.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 43: 138–147.

Coombes, Brad, Jay T. Johnson, and Richard Howitt. 2014. "Indigenous geographies III: Methodological innovation and the unsettling of participatory research." *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (6): 845-854.

Coombes, Brad, Jay T. Johnson, and Richard Howitt. 2013. "Indigenous geographies II: The aspirational spaces in postcolonial politics–reconciliation, belonging and social provision." *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (5): 691-700.

Coombes, Brad, Jay T. Johnson, and Richard Howitt. 2012. "Indigenous geographies I: Mere resource conflicts? The complexities in Indigenous land and environmental claims." *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (6): 810-821.

Coulthard, Glen Sean. 2014. *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition*. U of Minnesota Press.

Cronon, William. 1983. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Curley, Andrew. 2021. “Unsettling Indian Water Settlements: The Little Colorado River, the San Juan River, and Colonial Enclosures.” *Antipode* 53: 705-723.

Curley, Andrew. 2019. “T’áá hwó ají t’éego and the moral economy of Navajo coal workers.” *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 109: 71-86.

Daigle, Michelle. 2019. “The spectacle of reconciliation: On (the) unsettling responsibilities of Indigenous peoples in the academy.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 37: 703-721.

Daniels, Brian. 2009. “Reimagining Tribal Sovereignty through Tribal History: Museums, libraries, and archives in the Klamath River region.” In *Contested Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives* edited by Susan Sleeper-Smith, 283-302. University of Nebraska Press.

Dang, Tiffany Kaewen. 2021. "Decolonizing landscape." *Landscape Research* 46 (7): 1004-1016.

De Leeuw, Sarah, and Sarah Hunt. 2018. "Unsettling decolonizing geographies." *Geography Compass* 12 (7): 1-14.DeLucia, Christine M. 2018. *Memory lands: King Philip’s War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast*. Yale University Press.

Denson, Andrew. 2017. *Monuments to Absence: Cherokee Removal and the Contest Over Southern Memory*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Dennison, Jean. 2012. *Colonial Entanglement: Constituting a Twenty-First century Osage Nation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

DeSilvey, Caitlin. 2007. “Art and archive: memory-work on a Montana homestead.” *Journal of Historical Geography* 33: 878-900.

Doss, Erika. 2010. *Memorial mania: Public feeling in America*. University of Chicago Press.

Dwyer, Owen J. and Derek H. Alderman. 2008. *Civil rights memorials and the geography of memory*. Published by Center for American Places, Distributed by University of Georgia Press.

Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt. 1935. *Black reconstruction in America: An essay toward a history of the part which Black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fields, Gary. 2012. "'This is *our* land': Collective violence, property law, and imagining the geography of Palestine." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 29: 267-291.

Fischer, Nina. 2015. *Memory Work: The Second Generation.* Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fixico, Donald L. 2012. *The Invasion of Indian Country in the Twentieth Century: American Capitalism and Tribal Natural Resources*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Fixico, Donald L. 2003. "American Indians in Kansas." *Kansas History* 26 (4): 272-287.

Foote, Kenneth. 2003. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy,* 2nd Ed. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Foster, Jeremy. 2004. "Creating a *temenos,* potiting 'South Africanism': material memory, landscape practice and the circulation of identity at Delville Wood." *cultural geographies* 11 (3): 259-290.

Fota, Ana. 2019. "What's wrong with this diorama?: You can read all about it." *New York Times*, March 20.

Garcia, Romeo. 2019. "A Settler Archive: A Site for a Decolonial Praxis Project." *Constellations* 2: 1-35.

Garsha, Jeremiah J. 2015. "'Reclamation Road': A microhistory of massacre memory in Clear Lake, California." *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal* 9 (2): 61-75.

Goeman, Mishuana. 2012. "The tools of a cartographic poet: Unmapping settler colonialism in Joy Harjo's poetry." *Settler Colonial Studies* 2: 89-112.

Gramm, David. 2017. *Killers of the Flower Moon*. New York: Doubleday.

Hämäläinen, Pekka. 2008. *The Comanche Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hanna, Stephen P. & E. Farris Hodder. 2015. "Reading the signs: Using a qualitative geographic information system to examine the commemoration of slavery and emancipation on historical markers in Fredericksburg, Virginia." *cultural geographies* 22: 509-529.

Hawthorne, Timothy L., Patricia Solís, Brittney Terry, Marie Price, and Christopher L. Atchison. 2015. "Critical reflection mapping as a hybrid methodology for examining sociospatial perceptions of new research sites." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 105 (1): 22-47.

Hunt, Dallas and Shaun Stevenson. 2017. "Decolonizing geographies of power: indigenous digital counter-mapping practices on turtle Island." *Settler Colonial Studies* 7: 372-392.

Hunt, Sarah. 2013. "Ontologies of indigeneity: the Politics of embodying a concept." *cultural geographies* 21: 27-32.

Hurt, Douglas. 2010. "Reinterpreting the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site." *Geographical Review* 100: 375-393.

Jeychandran, Neelima. 2016. "Marginalized narratives: Memory work at African shrines in Kochi, India." In *Excavating Memory: Sites of Remembering and Forgetting* edited by M. Starzmann and M. Roby, 111-130. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

John, Gareth. 2007. "Yellowstone as "landscape idea": Thomas Moran and the pictorial practices of Gilded-Age Western exploration." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 24 (2): 1-29.

John, Gareth. and Kelsey Carlson. 2016. "'Making Change'in the memorial landscape to the Dakota–US War of 1862: remembrance, healing and justice through affective participation in the Dakota Commemorative March (DCM)." *Social & Cultural Geography* 17: 987-1016.

Juul, Kristine and Keld Buciek. 2008. “We are here, yet we are not here: The heritage of excluded groups.” In *Ashgate Research Companion To Heritage and Identity* edited by Brian Graham and Peter Howard, 105-125. Ashgate.

Larsen, Soren C. and Jay T. Johnson. 2017. *Being Together in Place: Indigenous Coexistence in a More Than Human World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Loewen, James W. 1999. *Lies Across America: What our Historic Sites Get Wrong*. New York: Touchstone.

Lonetree, Amy. 2009. “Museums as sites of decolonization: Truth telling in national and tribal museums.” In *Contested Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives* edited by Susan Sleeper-Smith, 322-338. University of Nebraska Press.

Luke, Nikki and Nik Heynen. 2021. “Abolishing the frontier: (De)colonizing ‘public’ education.” *Social and Cultural Geography* 22 (3): 403-424.

Mechem, Kirke. 1941. “Kansas historical markers.” *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10: 339-368.

Miner, Craig. 2002. *Kansas: The History of the Sunflower State, 1854-2000*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

Murray, Martin J. 2013. *Commemorating and Forgetting: Challenges for the New South Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Muzaini, Hamzah and Brenda S.A. Yeoh. 2005. "War landscapes as 'battlefields' of collective memories: reading the Reflections at Bukit Chandu, Singapore." *cultural geographies* 12: 345-365.

O’Malley, Vincent and Joanna Kidman. 2018. “Settler colonial history, commemoration and white backlash: remembering the New Zealand Wars.” *Settler Colonial Studies* 8: 298-313.

Onciul, Bryony. 2015. *Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice: Decolonising engagement.* Routledge.

Post, Chris W. 2018. “Making place through the memorial landscape.” In *Explorations in Place Attachment* edited by Jeffrey S. Smith, 83-96. Abington: Routledge.

Post, Chris W. 2016. “Beyond Kent State? May 4 and commemorating violence in public space.” *Geoforum*. 76: 142-152.

Post, Chris W. 2015. “Seeing the past in the present through archives and the landscape.” In *Social Memory and Heritage Tourism Methodologies* edited by Amy Potter, Arnold Modlin, David Butler, Perry Carter, and Stephen Hanna, 189-209. Abingdon: Routledge.

Post, Chris W. 2009. “Rejecting violence on the landscape in Lawrence, Kansas.” *Geographical Review* 99: 186-207.

Post, Chris W. and Derek H. Alderman. 2014. “‘Wiping New Berlin off the map’: Political economy and the de-Germanization of the toponymic landscape in WWI USA.” *Area* 46: 83-91.

Proulx, Guillaume and Nicholas Jon Crane. 2020 “’To see things in an objective light‘: the Dakota Access Pipeline and the ongoing construction of settler colonial landscapes.” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 37: 46-66.

Rhodes, Mark. 2020. “Exhibiting memory: Temporary, mobile, and participatory memorialization and the Let Paul Robeson Sing! Exhibition.” *Memory Studies* 20: 1235-1255

Rodriguez Castro, Laura. 2021. "The politics of memory in post-accord Colombia: interventions from women social leaders and decolonial feminisms." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 27 (7): 669-682.

Ryan, Marie-Laure, Kenneth Foote, and Maoz Azaryahu. 2016. *Narrating Space/spatializing Narrative: Where Narrative Theory and Geography Meet*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Savage, Kirk. 2009. *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schein, Richard. 2006. *Landscape and race in the United States*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Shepherd, Jeffery P. 2008. "At the crossroads of Hualapai history, memory, and American colonization: Contesting space and place." *American Indian Quarterly* 32: 16-42.

Sleeper-Smith, Susan. ed. 2009. *Contested Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives.* University of Nebraska Press.

Sletto, Bjørn. 2016. "Indigenous mobilities, territorialization, and dispossession in the Sierra de Perijá, Venezuela: Rescuing lands and meanings in Hábitat Indígena Yukpa, Toromo-Tütari." *Geoforum* 74: 117-127.

Smith, Samuel A. and Foote, Kenneth E. 2017. "Museum/space/discourse: Analyzing discourse in three dimensions in Denver's History Colorado Center." *cultural geographies* 24 (1): 131-148.

Snipp, C. Matthew. 1988. *Public policy impacts on American Indian economic development*. Albuquerque: Native American Studies, Institute for Native America Development, University of New Mexico.

Till, Karen. 2012. "Wounded cities: Memory-work and a place-based ethics of care." *Political Geography* 3: 3-14.

Till, Karen. 2005. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.*

Waterton, Emma and Jason Dittmer. 2014. "The Museum as Assemblage: Bringing forth affect at the Australian War Memorial." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29 (2): 122-139.

Whitacre, Christine and Jerome A. Greene. 2005. "From Tragedy to Symbol: The Efforts to Designate the Sand Creek Massacre Site as a National Historic Site." In *Horror and Human Tragedy Revisited: The Management of Sites of Atrocities for Tourism* edited by Gregory Ashworth and Rudi Hartman, 60-69. Elmsford, NY: Cognizant.

White, Richard. 1991. *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Wishart, Davd. J. 1979. *The Fur Trade of the American West 1807-1804*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8: 387-409.

Wysote, Travis and Erin Morton. 2019. "'The depth of the plough': white settler tautologies and pioneer lies." *Settler Colonial Studies* 9: 479-504.

Zavar, Elyse. 2019. "An analysis of floodplain buyout memorials: four examples from central US floods of 1993-1998." *GeoJournal* 84, 135-146.