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Publication Statement

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"If You Want the History of a White Man, You Go to the Library:"[1]

Critiquing Our Legacy, Addressing Our Library Collections Gaps

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[1] 1. Paul E. Bushnell. *The Black Women in the Middle West Project: A Comprehensive Resource Guide, Illinois and Indiana*. Vol. 81 (Illinois State Historical Society 1988), 152.

Abstract

In 1864, the same year the University of Denver was founded by John Evans, then the Territorial

Governor of Colorado and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a group of U.S. militia attacked and

killed vulnerable members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations at Sand Creek. Using Critical Race

Theory and the feminist "ethic of care," we critique our collections in terms of the Massacre and absent

Native American voices, in order to develop a collecting philosophy and direction to acknowledge and

address the gaps, and to formulate strategies for teaching students to interrogate a predominately white

institutional archive to give voice to the absent or silenced.

Keywords:

    Sand Creek Massacre

    Inclusive Archives

    Native Americans

    Critical Race Theory

    Critical Pedagogy

Short Running Title:

    Critiquing Our Legacy, Addressing Collections Gaps

INTRODUCTION

The University of Denver (DU), the oldest independent private university in the state of Colorado, has a troubled history with the Native American nations whose ancestral lands its campus occupies. In 1864, the year that DU was founded, a group of U.S. militia attacked and killed an estimated 160 women, children, and elderly members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations in the Sand Creek area of Colorado (University of Denver "Sand Creek: History and Traditions" 2016). John Evans, DU's founder and the founder of Northwestern University, served both as Territorial Governor of Colorado and as Superintendent of Indian Affairs when the Massacre occurred. Northwestern University and DU, in response to this legacy, each investigated Evans' involvement in the Massacre and issued reports on it in 2014. DU's report found Evans guilty of a "significant level of culpability," but the Northwestern report stopped short of assigning responsibility to him (University of Denver John Evans Study Committee 2014, iii). In 2016, the Task Force on Native American Inclusivity provided recommendations for more inclusion of Native American culture, history, and experience in the curriculum, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between DU and the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations, an educational module focusing on the Sand Creek Massacre and its relationship to DU and Colorado history, a marker on the DU campus to honor the victims of the Sand Creek Massacre, and a Native American Studies minor and, eventually, a major (University of Denver Task Force on Native American Inclusivity 2016). The DU Curator of Special Collections and Archives, Arts and Humanities Librarian, and Social Sciences Librarian embraced these recommendations as an opportunity to critique our existing collections and began to expand upon collections that supported the Task Forces' recommendations, with an emphasis on materials from Native American perspectives.

The authors will approach the following questions with the above context, using Critical Race Theory (CRT) (described in more depth below), which centers the experiences of people who are part of marginalized races or ethnicities, and the feminist "ethic of care" theory, which centers interpersonal relationships over the individual and the self, as frameworks: how do academic library collections and

archives at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) like DU perpetuate or uncritically uphold campus histories that further marginalize or exclude Native American perspectives? How can building inclusive collections that document Native Americans' experiences create necessary counternarratives (i.e., narratives that are counter to the dominant narrative) that interrogate white supremacy in the historical record, including a respect for Indigenous ways of knowing and memory-making (oral history, storytelling) which are often not reflected in library and archival collections? How can college and university archives at PWIs like DU actively and ethically develop inclusive and anti-racist library collections and archives, ideally in partnership with relevant Native American nations, tribal colleges, and libraries?

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Sand Creek Massacre, even in the context of centuries of genocidal U.S. government actions against Native Americans, occupies a uniquely brutal place in history – it is the only military action against Native peoples that the U.S. government designated as a massacre (Kelman 2013). Both the DU and Northwestern reports spend considerable time discussing the historical context of the Massacre, as well as John Evans' history and connection to the founding of both institutions (and in Northwestern's case, the twenty-first century reverberations surrounding the accumulated wealth Evans' left to the university). Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, in *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*, contends that the Sand Creek Massacre is a continuation of a pattern of settler colonialism and genocide that stretches back to the first contact of European settlers with Native American communities in the original thirteen colonies (2014).

The Massacre, which took place in the "waning stages of the Civil War," was fueled by a combination of factors (Northwestern University John Evans Study Committee 2014, 53). The discovery of gold in the territory led to an influx of settlers, with a corresponding displacement of many groups of Cheyenne and Arapaho. According to Dunbar-Ortiz, "by 1861, displaced and captive Cheyennes and Arapahos, under the leadership of the great peace-seeker, Black Kettle, were incarcerated in a U.S. Military reservation called Sand Creek near Ft. Lyons in southeastern Colorado" (2014, 137). The Civil

War led the federal government to pull trained, posted soldiers from the United States' Western outposts and to call on untrained state militia volunteers who, according to Dunbar-Ortiz, "having few Confederates at hand to fight, attacked people closer to hand, Indigenous people" (2014, 136). Leading these volunteers was Colonel John Chivington, an ambitious Union officer who had distinguished himself at the Battle of Glorieta Pass, and who was determined to gain a promotion before his commission ended, well aware of the status and glory available to war heroes and killers of Native Americans (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014). John Evans, the Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, stoked the public's existing fear of "hostile" Native Americans (without ever defining what constituted a "hostile" Native American), and noted in September of 1864 that the purpose of "the Third was to kill Indians...and kill Indians they must" (Roberts 1984, 12). While the Northwestern report stopped short of assigning blame for the massacre to Evans, the DU report concluded that Evans had done the equivalent of "handing Colonel Chivington a loaded gun" (University of Denver John Evans Study Committee 2014, 92).

In the years that followed 1864, the University of Denver and its administration did not acknowledge its connections to this dark part of state history, moreover, DU continued to hold up its connections to a nostalgic vision of the settling of the American West. John Chivington was connected to Evans not only through the Methodist Church and territorial government; he also served on the Executive Committee of the DU Board of Trustees in the 1860s and donated $500 - the same amount donated by Evans - to the fledgling Colorado Seminary (now DU), a fact not mentioned in either the DU or the Northwestern report (Breck 1997). Chivington's nickname, "The Fighting Parson," was also the nickname given to the early DU athletic teams, though it's unclear if the two are directly connected (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, 137; *Kynewisbok* 1920, 200). In 1969 the DU *Clarion* student newspaper held a contest to name the new mascot, a Walt Disney-illustrated cartoon drawing of a short, round, bearded frontiersman in a raccoon skin cap; the winning name was "Denver Boone," a continuation of the romanticized image of the settler colonizer. The 2015 Task Force on Native American Inclusivity was "unanimous in its belief that more work needs to be done to eliminate the presence of Boone from the DU campus and official University events" (University of Denver Task Force on Native American Inclusivity 2016, 6).

The 2014 anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre coincided with a resurgent emphasis in American higher education to work across the disciplines to create curriculum that engages with issues of race, class, and gender. In recent years, archivists and scholars have begun to question the problematic nature of foundational archival theory and, correspondingly, the hegemonic whiteness of existing institutional archival collections (Cook 2011). Simultaneously, students and faculty on several U.S. campuses have called for a re-examination of institutional histories, as many members of the university communities do not see themselves reflected in the campus' written histories or built environments (Weinstein 2016; Brait 2015; Senjanovic 2016; Wilder 2013).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND THE ETHIC OF CARE

Critical race theory (CRT), an outgrowth of the critical theory developed in the Frankfurt School in the 1920s and 30s, is a theoretical approach that emerged in opposition to the prevailing ways of viewing the world at the time, positivism and scientism. Though not philosophically alike, positivism and scientism are both predicated on a belief that an objective, knowable truth is possible, given the right methodology. Critical theory disrupts this idea by introducing the notion that epistemology, or "how we know what we know," should be a constant interplay between subject (the "knower") and object, and therefore the researcher should be in a state of suspended judgment (Jay 1996, 54).

CRT takes the philosophical underpinnings of multiple critical theorists, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno in particular, and incorporates the material consequences of race and ethnicity. Anthony Dunbar's alignment of CRT with information science is particularly instructive, as he highlights five key elements of CRT and illustrates their impact on our profession: interest convergence, microaggressions, counternarratives, intersectionality, and social justice. Derrick Bell's definition of interest convergence is particularly potent for librarians and archivists building and teaching with collections. Bell states that racial equity would only be achieved when whites' interests converge with those of Black people and that, "in most instances, subordinated groups are often the documented and dominant groups are often the documenters" (Dunbar 2008, 51). This convergence can be one of either a reciprocal relationship (where there are mutual interests and balanced power dynamics) or an exploitative one (where interests are not

mutual and power dynamics are imbalanced). According to Dunbar, "information scholars and practitioners…seldom address issues that connect information to social bias" – issues of primary concern to CRT (Dunbar 2008, 58). What Dunbar terms counterstories, and we have called counternarratives throughout, can provide the means of centering the stories of those who have been silenced in the historical record. Dunbar also notes that counternarratives can challenge the information profession's propensity for positivism, calling them the "symbolic equivalent to intellectually claiming the proverbial forty acres and a mule." (Dunbar 2008, 187).

Our approach melds elements of CRT with the feminist "ethic of care," which centers relationships and interdependent mutuality. The ethic of care is still concerned with rights and freedoms, but it refuses to decouple "reason from emotion, mind from body, self from relationship" (Gilligan 2011, 25). The phrase *ethic of care* was coined by the psychologist Carol Gilligan to give a name to the trauma she believed was caused by patriarchy, which promoted separation and denial of this interdependence. Many of the elements of both CRT and the ethic of care appear, explicitly or implicitly, in the scholar-practitioners' works that primarily inform our practices of developing inclusive collections. Michelle Caswell's terms "symbolic annihilation" and "representational belonging," while not explicitly referencing CRT, focuses on the significance of the counternarrative, a crucial element of CRT (2016, 70). Jules weaves together both CRT and the ethic of care to urge archivists to critique collecting and cataloging practices, as these are often a continuation of the institutionalized dehumanization of marginalized people (2016). Jules urges archivists to center people in our practices as a way of combatting this dehumanization.

These theories inform our plans to develop inclusive collections and how we currently teach with collections that are less than inclusive.

DEVELOPING INCLUSIVE COLLECTIONS

The development of inclusive academic library and archival collections, with regard to materials documenting Native American experience, is necessarily informed by both national and international protocols, as well as an increasing sense of responsibility on the part of cultural heritage professionals for

the need to "confront our failure of care around the legacies of marginalized people in the archives" (Jules 2016). Jules and many others, among them Terry Cook (2002), Verne Harris (2005), Jarrett Drake (2016), and Michelle Caswell *et al* (2016), call upon – either explicitly or implicitly – cultural heritage workers to consider the consequences of positivism and inaction on marginalized communities, the "unbearable whiteness" of the archives profession, and the impact of both in concert with one another (Jules 2016). Though Caswell and Jules do not explicitly reference Critical Race Theory (CRT), they both speak of an idea that is central to CRT: the importance of the counternarrative and its ability to counter the erasure of the marginalized culture by the dominant culture, or, in Caswell's words, "symbolic annihilation" (the silence and erasure of the whole of a group of people from the historical record) (Caswell 2016, 70). Caswell's counterpart to this annihilation is what she has called "representational belonging," or the power of community archives projects (in her case, the South Asian American Digital Archives, or SAADA) to create "much-needed counternarratives for some individuals and communities who have repeatedly been misrepresented and/or made invisible" (Caswell 2016, 56; Caswell 2016, 70). In Caswell's view, counternarratives can hold emotional power for the communities who can discover themselves existing in archives where they did not previously feel seen or included in the historical record (Caswell 2016, 70). Jules also discusses the need to bring best practices and standards in concert with this ethic of care - too often, the standards deal with technical issues and do not explicitly address systems of power that are upheld by these purportedly neutral professional documents and practices. Jules' call to make people central is foundational to our philosophy of creating inclusive collections that document the Native American experience at the University of Denver.

Though the ethic of care and symbolic annihilation/representational belonging dichotomy are not discussed explicitly in the *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*, the document, written by a group of Native and non-Native cultural heritage professionals, is an effort to develop "best professional practices for culturally responsive care and use of American Indian archival material held by non-tribal organizations" (First Archivists Circle 2007, 2). The document begins by affirming the status and rights of many Native American communities as distinct sovereign nations, each with "their own territories,

their own laws, and their own legal restrictions surrounding cultural issues" (First Archivists Circle 2007, 1). The *Protocols* also address different ways of knowing and owning – that the U.S. legal system of assigning property, intellectual and otherwise, to individuals or corporations, is different than many Indigenous practices, which assume collective knowledge and ownership, and restrict or provide access to cultural materials based on different criteria than Western libraries or archives might conceive of, or have the infrastructure to support. The *Protocols* also emphasize a need for balance between the Western emphasis on the written word and Native American communities' long-standing tradition of oral transmission of knowledge (2007). Though endorsed by the Native American Records Roundtable, the Society of American Archivists' Council (its main governing body) ultimately chose not to adopt or endorse the *Protocols* as a best practice, with at least one Council member giving as his reason: "the western traditions of academic freedom and equal access are not principles that I believe can be sacrificed, even on the altar of cultural guilt" (Society of American Archivists 2008, 5). Despite a lack of professional ratification or endorsement, we feel that the *Protocols* provide a useful path forward, one that takes into account the ethic of care which is critical to this work.

With respect to creating inclusive collections at the University of Denver, we are just beginning – as the *Protocols* acknowledge, developing a relationship of mutual respect and trust with individuals and organizations in Native American communities is the first necessary step toward successful projects, and this has been our focus thus far. We recognize that developing inclusive collections informed by CRT and an ethic of care will involve acknowledging and accepting a combination of a post-custodial (i.e., not held directly by or within a traditional archives setting) and community archives-focused approach to collecting and documentation. Personal papers and manuscripts related to a particular aspect of a PWI's (in this case, DU's) history might live in places that either are not traditional archives or are not the archives of the PWI in question. Individuals and organizations tied to Native American communities whose histories are connected to DU will inevitably generate their own records, which they may or may not wish to donate to any archives – or, if they do think to donate, may not trust DU sufficiently to deposit their records. In both cases, it is incumbent upon archivists to, as digital archivist Jarrett Drake puts it,

"[face] forward to the future of the archive as a space with the capacity to both preserve and provide access to…records over time and with the consciousness to recognize the inequality, violence, and injustice of modernity and ensure that the communities most directly impacted by them have equal access to archival processes" (Drake 2016).

With this in mind, archivists at PWIs can and should partner with community activists and citizen archivists to support the preservation of content that documents the histories of Native American community members relevant to the history of the PWI but external to the official archives of the PWI. In doing so, white archivists and librarians can, when wanted and welcomed, play a role in preserving the history of Native American communities without requiring community members to relinquish autonomy over their history, ways of knowing, and their own narrative(s).

Also in line with CRT and an ethic of care theories, archivists at PWIs can and should actively seek to document and bring to light their universities' complex racial histories in partnership with communities of color on and off campus. Archivists at PWIs can be visible and outspoken advocates for open dialogue about their campus' complex and troubled racial histories with respect to Native American nations – in our case, with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Archivists can also use the documentation present in their archives (or accessible through partnerships with other organizations or community members) to support and advocate for university acknowledgement and action (i.e., building renaming, advocacy for scholarships for descendants of communities negatively impacted by the founding of the PWI in question) related to these campus histories.

These recommendations are just the beginning of a roadmap that we at DU are creating to guide us as we develop inclusive, culturally responsive academic library and archival collections. We realize that, in some cases, partnership with community members on these types of projects may not result in the acquisition of the papers of Native American faculty, staff, students, and alumni, especially if the individuals or groups choose to maintain their own archival records. A key part of the ethic of care is the refusal on the part of white librarians and archivists to adopt paternalistic attitudes toward the communities that they seek to document, as these attitudes are a continuation of the centuries of white

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supremacy and genocide experienced by Native American communities in the United States. Without these efforts, however, the overwhelming, hegemonic effects of whiteness will continue to dominate PWIs and, ultimately, their archives and the larger historical record. If academic archivists and librarians are to move forward and develop collections that document Native American experiences in a culturally responsive and ethical way, it is critical that we do so in community with one another.

CRITIQUING THE ARCHIVE AND ADDRESSING THE GAPS

DU has far stronger collections related to Native Americans through the circulating collections, government documents, and digital primary source databases, but still there is an overwhelmingly obvious gap: the voices in these collections are largely those of white Americans. The commercially-available digital primary source databases are developed from archives that collected about, not necessarily in collaboration or cooperation with, Native Americans. Publishers of digital primary source content may choose to be selective, curating the content with experts in the field, or to present the documents much as one would encounter in a physical archive, with brief notes in the metadata record. Adam Matthew's *American Indians Histories and Cultures* is based upon the Newberry Library's Edward E. Ayer Collection, and provides access to a wide range of archival materials related to Native Americans since the first interactions with Europeans up to the late twentieth century. The editorial board of academic experts, several of whom self-identify as Native Americans, worked to create a balanced and respectful presentation of the documents and cultural materials. Neither the Newberry nor Adam Matthew feature digital images of objects that are culturally sensitive, such as ceremonies and religious practices. ProQuest History Vault's *American Indians and the American West* contains digital versions of government documents related to Native Americans from 1801-1971, from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Army records, settlers, and council meetings of tribal nations with U.S. representatives. This digital collection is organized by the governmental entity that generated the documents, with a brief record (dates, subjects, geography, agency, and content notes) and the digital contents arranged by "folder," much as they are in the physical archive. As more and more digital primary source content becomes

available, reference librarians will need to learn to understand the scope of and to mediate access to these resources for researchers, much as curators do in the physical archives (Keeran 2015).

Our own archive is lacking any voices related to the role the founders played in the Sand Creek tragedy, including the fact that we have no papers related to or generated by John Evans. The most famous resource we hold associated with Native Americans is the complete twenty-volume, twenty-portfolio set of Edward Curtis' limited edition of *The North American Indian*. In the past, these visual resources were viewed neutrally, not necessarily as the romanticized and constructed Western view of a people. As these images are part of the historic record, they can be used to read primary sources "against the grain," to find alternative ways of reading texts in the archive (Cook 2002, 15). When students encounter these photographs for the first time, they often don't know what to make of the photographs, and sometimes mistakenly believe that, because the images are preserved and treated with care, they must be objectively true portraits. This reaction generates a conversation about voices preserved in the archive, and how those voices must be interrogated to find the motivation for creating and preserving a document (the photograph), and for the researcher to determine what that tells us about the subject (the Native American depicted). As evidence that Curtis erased any Western influences in order to project his vision of Native Americans, students are shown the digital version of the original plate for one of the photographs, which contains an alarm clock that Curtis removed from the final print (Curtis 1910, Northwestern University; Curtis 1910, Library of Congress). Students taught about Curtis prior to the trip to the archive may not be able to view the photographs as anything other than a white man's imposed interpretation of his subject. They may overlook the fact that Curtis was an artist and a photographer, aiming to create both aesthetically beautiful images and documentary records, or that Curtis may have wanted to explore the way light and shadow played off a figure in a landscape as part of his artistic vision, not necessarily masking the identity of the individual portrayed as part of an agenda. These nuanced discussions allow the faculty member and the librarian/curator to illustrate the complex nature of research using primary source materials, and educate students that researchers must challenge both their lack of

prior knowledge and their pre-conceived ideas, to contextualize the object in order to begin to understand and explain it.

Special Collections purchased Aaron Carapella's map *Plains Indians and the Way West* in order to start building an archive of documents created by Native Americans. This visually-engaging 2015 map traces Western expansion by plotting three trails, California, Oregon, and Mormon Pioneer, through the lands of the tribal nations that would be disrupted by this population movement of white Americans. Carapella, who self-identifies as part Cherokee, is known for his ambitious but controversial project, *Tribal Nations Maps*, where his stated intent was to identify locations of all nations in the new world and their locations prior to European arrival (Wang 2014). However, many Native Americans are critical of the errors in the maps and the unrealistic goal of identifying all nations in existence before European contact, especially librarian Debbie Reese, of the Nambé O-Ween-Gé nation. On her *American Indians in Children's Literature* website, she analyzes the maps and points out the problems and shortcomings (2016). Although Carapella's intent is admirable, members of Native American nations know their histories and are his most severe reviewers when he makes errors or overreaches. Despite its issues, the *Plains Indians* map provides us with opportunities to contextualize an object, this time by bringing in Native voices who have their individual expertise, opinions, and responses.

To find some of the Native voices hidden in historical print and digital collections, traditional reference tools such as bibliographies can be invaluable. For example, Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. and James W. Parins, the compilers of the two-volume set *A Biobibliography of Native American Writers, 1772-1924*, did extensive research to identify English-language books and periodical articles authored by American Indians, ensuring they identified writers who composed the pieces themselves and excluding those written down by others. Although none of the publications are from Colorado, the reference source can be used to find Native voices in the print archive over the course of Western expansion from the late eighteenth century up to 1924, when Native Americans were granted citizenship. A wide variety of tribal nations are represented, the majority of which are Cherokee, and the bulk of the publications are between 1880 and 1924. Short biographies of the authors follow the index. At the end of the second volume, the

Supplement, the alphabetical list of periodicals, representing both tribal and regional serial publications, is useful for finding titles, date ranges of publications, and publishers, which can then be used to locate articles. Digital versions of some of the serial titles can be found in commercial and freely-available sources; examples include Readex's *Early American Newspapers* and Gale's *19th Century US Newspapers* (*Cherokee Advocate*), Adam Matthew's *American Indian Histories and Culture* (*School News*), and the Library of Congress *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* (*American Chieftain*).

The University of Denver Special Collections and Archives had largely been developed through gifts and collecting records associated with the university. We have two collections that began as community archives: the Beck Archives, established in 1976 as part of DU's Center for Judaic Studies, and the Carson Brierly Giffin Dance Library (CBGDL), started at the Colorado Women's College in 1972. Both collections were created collaboratively with members of invested communities. The Beck Archives focuses on Jewish culture and history in the Rocky Mountain region, especially Colorado, and became part of the library's collection in 1992. CBGDL, acquired in the early 1980s when DU purchased the Colorado Women's College, holds a wide variety of materials related to dance, again with a focus on the Rocky Mountain region. Both are strong in terms of objects, archival materials, and oral histories. As the university's archives holds nothing connecting DU to Sand Creek and little relating to Native Americans, we began brainstorming ideas and looking for opportunities to build collections that could be used in the curriculum and to create content of our own. As both Beck and CBGCL emphasize community collaboration, the Rocky Mountain region, and oral history, we decided to use those three criteria to give us direction and our philosophy of building inclusive collections based on the ethic of care and "representational belonging" to guide us, as ways to develop our plan.

Keeping in mind, one, the directive from Valerie Love and Marisol Ramos that archivists from specific ethnic backgrounds can't be the only ones building diverse collections, for the profession as a whole needs to get involved, two, the recommendations of the *Protocols* to develop holdings that reflect the various perspectives on Native American issues and to collect resources created by and not just about

Native Americans, and, three, Jeffrey Mifflin's advice to "facilitate cooperation and trust" by building relationships, we looked for strategic partners to work with in our community (Love and Ramos 2014; First Archivists Circle 2007; Mifflin 2014, 79). An opportunity arose which allowed us to move forward with our plans: DU's American and Native American literature professor, Dr. Billy Stratton, asked us to purchase a captivity narrative for Special Collections, and this led to broader discussions about what and how to build Native American collections.

The captivity narrative became a popular genre early on in colonial America, starting with the publication of Mary Rowlandson's *The Soveraignty and Goodness of God* in 1682. Over the next two centuries, hundreds of accounts about Indians capturing and holding white men, women, and children were published or reprinted. Although a few of the memoirs did not show the captors as savages, the majority were propaganda intended to create anxiety about Native peoples. We purchased the 1773 edition of Rowlandson's narrative at the request of Dr. Stratton, who studied the text, the reprinting dates and changes to the title of the work, in order to trace how the publication was used to arouse hostility towards Indians at key historical points (Stratton 2013). This led to discussions about our plans to establish rare and archival collections related to Native Americans by working collaboratively with members of the community. The professor expressed a strong desire to build a captivity narrative collection based on the geographic U.S. West that he could use in his research and teaching, so DU's curators and librarians began identifying titles of rare books to purchase. Dr. Stratton is active in the Native American literary circles in Colorado, and we are working with him to solicit donations of papers and manuscripts from Native authors to hold in Special Collections for future research. We developed collection scope descriptions for these two collecting areas, and identified encumbrance funds to purchase rare editions of captivity narratives.

Inclusiveness and collaboration, as well as geography and collecting materials both by and about Native Americans, guided our decisions to build a regional captivity narrative collection and to collect regional literary manuscripts. To push more in the direction of creating content and to build upon our oral history collections, we plan to engage with current Native American students about their experiences at

DU, and we will work with the Native Student Alliance to determine the parameters of and methodology for the project. An alumna and current Director of Native American Community Relations & Programs at DU, Viki Eagle, exhibited her *Real Life Indian* photographs in the library in 2014 (Keeran 2014). As a result of that collaborative experience, she plans to donate documents related to her work and activities with DU's Native Student Alliance, as well as digital images of the photographs in the exhibit, which can be put in conversation with the Curtis prints through our teaching. We also want to engage the Native American students in the archive itself, developing dialogues about what has been preserved by those in power and how to counter or respond to what they encounter, starting with the Curtis prints and Carapella map, and pursue ways in which DU as an institution can empower Native students by including their voices in the archive. Long-term, collective digital curation ventures, such as the *Plateau People's Web Portal* (a collaborative project between tribal and non-tribal organizations to offer a gateway to images and information about the cultural materials of Native peoples of the Northwest, held in various archives), provide inspirational models for us to consider as we seek opportunities to work with other Colorado institutions and Native communities. Through such initiatives, our goal is to use the historic archive to "speak for those whose voices are otherwise silent" (Mifflin 2014, 72), to collaborate to build collections that are both about and created by Native Americans, and to add the voices of our Native American students, faculty, and community members to the archive, to cede power in a space traditionally reserved for dominant narratives.

ABSENCE AS A LEARNING OPPORTUNITY

While some librarians find teaching with their existing Native American archival collections in a culturally sensitive and appropriate manner challenging, we face a different but equally challenging dilemma—how to provide a balanced and diverse experience for students in the archives when our digital and physical primary source collections are limited to a primarily white American perspective. This situation is especially problematic when working with faculty to teach students about the Sand Creek Massacre. In their strategic recommendations report, the University of Denver Task Force on Native American Inclusivity called for educating our community about the Sand Creek Massacre and its

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connection to our institutional history: "These measures will encourage deeper, community-wide understanding of the University's history and the ways in which it has shaped both opportunities and exclusions… while encouraging all community members to learn, reflect, and implement lasting change to create a more welcoming environment for all students, faculty and staff" (2016, 10). Eager to support this goal, we were also aware of the inherent danger in and contradiction of perpetuating a dominant and exclusionary version of history that could occur by teaching students about the event with our available primary source materials.

Although the archives profession has worked actively for many years to rectify the absence of non-elite voices in archival and special collections (Punzalan and Caswell 2016; Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom 2013), the primary source documents about the Sand Creek Massacre to which we subscribe or have access are primarily from those privileged institutions and individuals traditionally valued by and preserved in the historical record: United States government documents (treaties and military reports), newspapers, letters written by white American soldiers and government officials, and photographs taken by white American individuals. Despite its promising title, even our subscription database *American Indian Histories and Cultures*, which contains a range of documentary material, such as treaties, printed books, manuscripts, diaries, speeches, maps, photographs, and travel journals, features little to nothing contemporaneous with Sand Creek not authored or created by the colonizing culture. This is not surprising, of course, given the Native American practice (at that time and ongoing) of remembering historical events through oral rather than written transmission. Mifflin describes the process through which oral tradition provides "a chain of testimonies transmitted by word of mouth… imparted by one Indigenous person to another formally or by osmosis. Oral traditions are documents of the present because they are uttered in the present, but they also document the past" (2014, 65). Indeed, Laird Cometsevah, a Southern Cheyenne, explained in an interview about the Sand Creek Massacre:

> As young people we grew up with parents, grandparents, great grandparents that experienced some of these areas and that's how we pass our information to our young people. Cheyennes never did have a book, pencil, typewriter; they kept it in their memories and it was handed down

in that manner . . . Today we do a lot of research and I've met a lot of authors, professors and anthropologists. Their method of teaching is what they see in a book. They're afraid to go out of the boundary or out of the book cover to accept the truth of what actually happened to the Cheyenne in the past… (Roberts 2000, 137).

Therefore, Native American accounts of the Massacre, as both non-text-based and marginalized evidence, were not incorporated into the official archival record unless they were transferred to a print format, such as the account by survivor George Bent/Ho-my-ike, the son of Cheyenne Owl Woman and white trader William Bent. Bent's description of the events was related through his letters to George Hyde, a white author with whom he corresponded in the early twentieth century. Hyde used these letters to compose his biography of Bent, which wasn't published until many years later in 1968, so that Bent's firsthand experience is framed by a white author and subsumed within a secondary resource (Bent 1968). Marisa Elena Duarte and Miranda Belarde-Lewis draw attention to libraries' complicity in this erasure and silencing of Native American perspectives, due, in part, to their text-based orientation. Referring directly to the Western European preference for texts as a form of colonial subjugation, they state, "what makes Western text-based systems so visible and, therefore, apparently superior to oral, kinesthetic, aesthetic, and communal Indigenous ways of knowing…are the institutions through which Western text-based systems are legitimated" (2015, 683).

Rather than rely only on the existing written historical record (as well as aerial photographic surveys, and geomorphological and archaeological studies), the *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Site Location Study*, *Volume 1* recognized the importance of Cheyenne and Arapaho oral traditions as sources that preserve tribal history and shape their understanding of the past. Alexa Roberts, an anthropologist with the National Park Service, worked with Cheyenne and Arapaho members to record their oral histories about the massacre as part of the National Park Service's effort and Congressional mandate to create a national historic site (2000, 138; Scott 2003). Although the oral histories were gathered primarily as a means of establishing the site location, she acknowledged their broader, cultural significance and the inherent problem in transferring this legacy to a written medium:

There is an irony in committing to writing stories that were meant to be handed down by way of the spoken word, because by preserving the stories in writing, something is also taken away. While this report is prepared with due respect, it can not possibly convey the depth of meaning the stories have to the people who told them or to their descendants. It can not convey the significance the stories hold in tribal history, nor the importance to tribal members of telling them as part of the effort to gain overdue national recognition for the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. But it does attempt to provide a portion of the historical record that has been underrepresented in the past… (2000, 138).

These oral traditions were kept alive in the Cheyenne and Arapaho communities but, for the most part, they were generally not recognized as valid *primary* sources and therefore not incorporated into the print or digitized archival record because they didn't meet the standard scholarly criteria for "time of event," firsthand, eyewitness accounts. According to the Society of American Archivists: "Primary sources emphasize the lack of intermediaries between the thing or events being studied and reports of those things or events based on the belief that firsthand accounts are more accurate" (2016). The introduction of intermediaries and the passage of time that separates the Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories from the massacre in 1864 affects how these sources are understood by the archival and scholarly communities. Therefore, when we taught students about the Sand Creek Massacre using primary sources, we relied on archival materials that fit the standard criteria of contemporaneous accounts. Although our approach unknowingly excluded the Cheyenne and Arapaho thread of historical memory, we were determined both to turn the weaknesses of our collections and the absence of Native American voices from the historical record into an opportunity to examine, with our students, important issues of bias, privilege, representation, and exclusion in the archive.

The first occasion we had to offer a library instruction session focused on primary sources about Sand Creek occurred during our institution's sesquicentennial and the 150th anniversary of the Massacre. Every spring quarter the librarians partner with faculty in the first year writing program to introduce students to library resources and research strategies. Some of these classes adopt a specific theme through

which to expose students to different disciplinary writing and research methods. Since one of the writing classes was focused on Colorado history and because Ari Kelman was lecturing that quarter about his book, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek*, the assigned librarian suggested designing the library session around primary source research and historical methodology in order to critically examine the Sand Creek Massacre. She and another librarian collaborated with the writing faculty member in advance of the session to identify contemporaneous accounts in our subscription digital collections and those available on the Web. The goal in preselecting primary source documents was to provide students with contrasting and contradictory narratives that would be central to their investigation of historical record, preservation, and "truth."

After searching the library's catalog and databases of journal articles and other secondary literature to learn about the principal figures and historical background and also acquiring search strategies for historical newspaper and other digital primary source collections, the students formed into groups of two or three in the classroom. Each of these groups was given two documents about the Sand Creek Massacre to read and analyze, along with a list identifying the main participants represented in the eyewitness sources. Since some of the accounts are graphic, we warned the students in advance. The students examined full accounts and excerpts from a combination of the following sources, which apart from Shoup's and Chivington's testimonies and the *Rocky Mountain News* newspaper accounts, criticized the event: George Bent's letter to George E. Hyde, dated March 15, 1905, in which he describes the massacre; Lieutenant of the 1st Colorado Cavalry, Joseph A. Cramer's letter to his former commander, Major Wynkoop, dated December 19, 1864; Captain of the 1st Colorado Cavalry, Silas S. Soule's letter, also to Major Wynkoop, dated December 14, 1864; Congressional testimony of John S. Smith, Indian interpreter and special Indian Agent; testimony of George L. Shoup, Colonel of the 3rd Colorado Cavalry; and testimony to the Joint Committee on the Conduct of War by John M. Chivington, Colonel of the 1st Colorado Cavalry; as well as three newspaper accounts, two from the *Rocky Mountain News*, dated December 17 and 30, 1864, and one from the *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, dated August 21, 1865. Even though these documents express a range of opinions about the event—from horror and condemnation of

the massacre to pride in a successful military campaign—it is apparent that except for George Bent's letter, the other sources represent the voices of white American, primarily United States government military men and the press, institutions that were instrumental in oppressing Native peoples and invested in maintaining their positions of power.

The students were prompted to identify the type of primary source document, who created it and when it was written, and to determine the document's intended audience, keeping the historical context in mind. Building on these indicators of authority, motivation, and setting, they were then asked to look for any evidence of bias and, if found, to give specific examples. Finally, the students recorded two key points that they learned from the primary sources, as well as two questions that were raised from their examination of the documents. They also reviewed one secondary source of their choice that helped to answer questions about the primary sources.

Not only did this exercise help students to critique the sometimes perceived neutrality and reliability of printed texts, it also served as the foundation for a class-wide discussion about the role of powerful and privileged positions and institutions in society (male, military, government, press) and how they influence whose stories are told, listened to, and preserved as the official, and therefore seemingly "true" record of history. Despite the fact that our subscription and freely-available primary sources about the Sand Creek Massacre were limited to white American perspectives, nevertheless, we were able to use these dominant narratives as a catalyst to explore why few Cheyenne and Arapaho eyewitness accounts exist, the primacy of textual records in white American society and institutions, including libraries and archives, and the impact that this silence has for a nuanced and multi-perspective understanding of the Sand Creek Massacre.

In an effort to expand undergraduate exposure to archival materials and to promote both our digital and physical primary source collections, we work together to teach library sessions for interdisciplinary and discipline-specific classes. The first year seminar class, "Memory, History, and Contemporary Native Identity," provided another opportunity for students to examine the primary source documents about Sand Creek and to question the absence of contemporaneous Native American voices in

our collections. With the class focus on looking beyond "'official' histories to investigate how accounts (or lack thereof) of marginalized peoples' memories and experiences shape our contemporary society" (Sims 2016), the students were more critically aware and prepared not only to consider issues of representation and privilege in a historical setting but also to discuss how these issues continue to inform the present. The library session was arranged in two contiguous parts. In the first session, we concentrated on searching the library catalog, subject and multidisciplinary databases, newspaper databases, and freely-available websites to identify sources from a wide range of perspectives for the students' contemporary social issues assignment. The library session included a brief discussion about the Library of Congress subject heading, "Indians of North America," and other problematic issues of classification and language. We also covered strategies for finding primary source documents in our collections and on the Web and focused specifically on resources from Sand Creek. In this instance, the students were not given preselected documents to examine but instead instructed on how to find primary and secondary sources that would inform their "Embodying Narratives" final project. For the project, the students were each assigned a real historical figure who was involved at Sand Creek. They researched the figure and the event using primary and secondary sources, in order to write a letter to Major Wynkoop, (as chair of a fictional committee investigating the "Sand Creek Incident"), detailing what happened that day from their figure's perspective. Unlike the existing print historical evidence, these letters more equally represented the voices of the Cheyenne and Arapaho – an example of "representational belonging" in action - as students were asked to write as Mo'ohtavetoo/Black Kettle, White Antelope, Mochi, Ho-my-ike/George Bent, and a member of the tribal nations camped at Sand Creek, as well as John Evans, John Chivington, Silas Soule, Joseph Cramer, and as a soldier under Soule or Chivington. To further emphasize the role of perspective and power in shaping understandings of "truth," the students also debated their figure's position in class with the other historical participants.

For the second part of the library session, the class met in our Special Collections reading room. Although the faculty member was initially disappointed that we didn't have any physical primary sources related to John Evans and Sand Creek in our collections (some of these are located at the Denver Public

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Library and History Colorado), we proposed, as an alternative, to have the students work with our portfolio collection of the Curtis prints and the Carapella map, *Plains Indians and the Way West*. These two resources tied nicely with the class themes of Native American representation and memory and enabled the students to gain experience with critiquing visual materials. The Curtis prints have been part of our special collections for many years but the Carapella map was a new acquisition, as was previously mentioned, purchased specifically to start building our Native American primary source collections. As the self-taught cartographer and part-Cherokee Carapella describes his project, he intends the *Tribal Nations Maps* to be "the most comprehensive maps of pre-contact and at-contact Native North America to date. These maps use Tribal Nation's original Indigenous names for themselves, and show where tribal nations were just before contact with outsiders, as well as the last homelands they defended…[in order to] instill pride in Native peoples and to be used as teaching tools from a Native perspective" (2016). Since the Carapella map reproduces Curtis' photographs to illustrate tribal lands, we used both sources to discuss Curtis' staging and documentation of Native Americans during the early twentieth century and Carapella's modern Native re-appropriation of those images.

We have taught library sessions for the first year seminar, "Memory, History, and Contemporary Native Identity," twice now. In the fall of 2015, the session was designed as an introduction to physical primary sources and an informal exposure to the Curtis prints and Carapella map. We selected Curtis images that were also used by Carapella in the map, so that the students could spend time viewing and analyzing the sources. As a group, we discussed the picturesque photographic and salvage ethnographic approach used by Curtis and addressed how his work falls within the tradition of "narratives of Native demise, or vanishing, as well as the historical self-assurance of white culture" (Zamir 2007, 615). The students reflected on the photographer's role and legacy in a general way, rather than through a directed analysis. We used Carapella's map to inform students about tribal names and enforced migrations, as well as to understand it as a response to the colonizer's perspective. In the fall of 2016, in contrast, the students worked in small groups to examine an individual print, and answered questions about the creator and subject, Native representation, and how the photographs could be used in (and limitations of this use to)

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research. In light of current controversy surrounding the Carapella maps, mentioned earlier, we also conducted a much more robust group discussion of the problematic issues raised by these critical reviews, including inaccuracies and lack of source documentation, language, identity, subjectivity, design choices, and missing representation of urban Native Americans. The students gained valuable skills from the archival sessions that strengthened their ability to look at both primary and secondary sources with a critical eye.

Even though our historical digital and physical primary source collections are limited in Native American perspectives about the Sand Creek Massacre, we are able to use our existing resources and these gaps to critically engage students in exploring important issues of bias and representation in the documentary record, and the archives' role in upholding dominant, hegemonic narratives. The weakness in our collection and in the historical, English-language print record became an opportunity for the students and for us to question and learn from the missing voices. Moving forward, however, we realize that our current approach is not sufficient and that there is much more that we can do, even before we expand our collections.

First, regarding Sand Creek, we can reevaluate our Western understandings of eyewitness testimony and recognize the legitimacy and importance of oral tradition in Native American communities (Scott 2003). We can incorporate Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories collected by the National Park Service (and elsewhere) to provide a more balanced range of voices about Sand Creek, acknowledging that these sources also need to be evaluated critically (Mifflin 2014; Roberts 2000). Using Native American oral histories would also serve as a foundation for broader discussions about differences between Native personal family stories and oral traditions (Roberts 2000), Indigenous epistemologies (Punzalan and Caswell 2016), and the archive as an embodiment of white privilege. As Ricardo L. Punzalan and Michelle Caswell point out in their call for social justice in the archive, "white privilege as an overarching construct… shapes virtually every aspect of the archival endeavor, from the assumptions upon which basic concepts in archival education are built to the power structures that enable the creation of records and the ongoing maintenance of archival systems and institutions" (2016, 33).

Secondly, we could approach the Curtis prints not only as a constructed and romanticized view of Native Americans but also as a collaborative endeavor between Curtis and the people he photographed. Using Shamoon Zamir's argument of Native agency in the creation of *The North American Indian* (*NAI*), we could guide students to consider the portraits as "sites of cultural and individual exchange" (2007, 645) that provided "unexpected and safe opportunities for renewing, reliving, and remembering aspects of traditional culture otherwise frowned upon and sometimes banned" (2007, 638). Such a discussion would address Native Americans as performers in Curtis' photographs, and focus on the role of specific individuals, such as Alexander B. Upshaw and George Hunt, who were not only photographic subjects but who also helped Curtis get access to and collect ethnographic information about the tribal nations (Zamir 2007; Glass 2009). Another idea drawn from Zamir's work would be to have students read excerpts from the autobiographies of individuals portrayed in the Curtis prints and compare these accounts with the *NAI* portraits and biographical sketches (2007, 636). The students could also contrast the Curtis images with contemporary Native American photographers' portraits, such as those by Viki Eagle (*Real Life Indian*), Will Wilson (*Critical Indigenous Photographic Exchange*), and Ryan Red Corn (*Smiling Indians*).

These projects would highlight and bring Native American voices and perspectives more actively into dialogue with the Curtis prints and consequently, into our archival teaching. Until we can increase Native American-generated materials in our archival collections, ideally by partnering with our Native American students, faculty, and staff, the local Denver Native community, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations to create a digital community archive, we will look to these ideas and others to create a more balanced, empowering, and culturally-sensitive archival experience for students studying the Sand Creek Massacre and Native American history.

CONCLUSION

As universities confront the racist practices and policies of their pasts, it is primarily their built environments, the named buildings and monuments erected to individuals who were responsible for or participated in acts of violence against or suppression of others, that are visible, not the gaps in the

university archive. Buildings serve as tangible rallying points for change, but archives are not immediately obvious sites of racial confrontation and reconciliation. Although John Evans' name is pervasive throughout the DU campus, our university's legacy of Sand Creek remains buried. Libraries and archives have a history of documenting and containing primarily dominant white American narratives, which contributes to the erasure and silencing of Native American voices in the historical record and in our case, Sand Creek in particular. In order for the DU community to begin to address the institution's complex and troubled history, and following the recommendations of the Task Force on Native American Inclusivity, we can critique our collections, collaborate to teach our students how to interrogate the existing archives, and with Native Americans in our community, actively build inclusive primary source collections and create shared digital spaces. Addressing the issues related to problematic institutional history is ongoing, but we don't have to wait for a "perfect" collection to initiate transformative conversations.

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