

***AN
INCOMPLETE
INDIGENOUS
HISTORY
OF THE
SUSQUE-
HANNA
VALLEY***

“The framework of colonialism which allows for the commodification of the sacred, that opens up the possibility for capitalism to emerge as a dominant framework of exchange, is the very mechanism that allows for Mother Earth to be looked upon as “resources” to be “extracted”. The commodification of the sacred is a violent tactic of colonization that seeks to erase our connection with nature, this in part can be seen by the binary that we understand as domesticated vs. wild, civilized vs. savage, wherein that which is “natural” must be seen as separate or lesser than that which is “human” (or assimilated into human “civilization”). This worldview ensures that environmental degradation is endemic through its quantification of “value”, is unable to account for the interconnected relationships that are inescapable realities, and asserts an abusive dichotomy between humanity and the natural world. Institutions of so-called “civilization” seek to dominate and exploit the natural world by mobilizing reductive measures of value based in industrialization and consumption. This worldview creates a schism which separates us from Mother Earth, creating the illusion that we are not a part of the greater interconnected life-systems and pollutes our relations so deeply that we are able to harvest for “resources”. However, despite the struggles and failures of humanity as a social organism, the natural world has stayed true to the covenant that we share in life. The sun continues to shine upon us and all life, water continues to nourish us, the soil and earth continue to nurture all of Creation, plants and animals continue to give of themselves to us so that we can survive – we must acknowledge these contributions that necessitate our survival, and understand that we must now take up our responsibilities for a relationship with the natural world that is based in mutual aid and respect.”

*-- Amanda Lickers, Onondawaga Haudenosaunee,
“Intergenerational Responsibility, Healing, and Biocentrism -
Overcoming the Crisis of Colonial-Capitalism”*

Introduction

We've created this document because we want you to understand how shale gas extraction is related to settler colonialism, and how doing environmental organizing on stolen land and in a society built on genocide of indigenous peoples, enslavement of Africans, and the subjugation of all settler communities of color must affect our political priorities. This document focuses on colonialism because the systems of resource extraction and commodification of the natural world are so similar to and dependent on settler colonialism, and because creating environmental organizing spaces with integrity means centering and respecting the self-determination of Native nations who are most disproportionately affected by environmental degradation and resource extraction projects and infrastructure.

The land known as Pennsylvania, like the rest of the western hemisphere, has been stolen from its original inhabitants. Those of us who are non-Native and who live in the western hemisphere are a part of the continued occupation of these lands and exist as members of the colonizing class. Processes of genocide and colonization that started here almost 500 years ago are ongoing today, and as a movement mostly composed of white people occupying traditional and ancestral indigenous territories, we have an obligation to center the voices and leadership of Natives in anti-extraction and environmental organizing. We must make conscious and concerted efforts to learn about the histories and former residents of the land we occupy, and allow what we learn to continually inform our environmental and political work. We must respect and support indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, and strive to continually educate ourselves about Native treaties so that we may uphold and honor them. Non-Natives (especially white folks) must work towards understanding the ways in which they benefit in this colonial nation state and work to support the struggles of Native nations. In any moment when we are not consciously working towards those goals, we are inherently complicit with historical (and ongoing) colonization. There is no way to take a "neutral" stance on genocide, especially when our daily lives depend on "resources" extracted from stolen land -- literally the ground beneath us is stolen -- and because of the ways that non-Natives (especially white folks) benefit from ongoing genocide and colonization of these lands.

Expanding each individual's analysis and knowledge of settler colonialism is crucial in the construction of building sustainable environmental organizing spaces that are capable of critical thought and of building respectful relationships that follow the leadership of Native people and Nations when it comes to their land. Being socialized and educated into a society which encourages us to invisibilize and dehumanize Native people and their struggles, and to not recognize the privileges that those who are part of the colonizing class are granted inherently (again, especially white folks) has encouraged us to have a sense of false entitlement which has manifested in an environmental movement that is largely white dominated,

centers around the needs and actions of white communities and leaders, and works (intentionally or unintentionally) toward the goals of continuing colonization and genocide in North America.

There will be opportunities to learn and talk more about some of the aforementioned terms and ideas throughout this week. We encourage you to take this opportunity to learn more about the history of this land and the peoples who originally inhabited it. It's also essential that we continue to educate ourselves about these histories of colonization and resistance, in order to build movements capable of achieving our goals. Please see the recommended reading list at the end of this document.

Pre-Colonial History: Prior to 1600

We don't know much about the original human residents of the Susquehanna Valley because they have all been killed, displaced, or forced to assimilate into other Native or settler communities -- and thus their oral histories, languages, spiritual practices, ways of life, relationships to the land, etc. have mostly been lost forever. It's crucial to remember how, at each stage of the process of writing and telling history (funding, conducting research, editing, publishing, teaching, choosing what goes into textbooks), certain perspectives are preferred or prioritized while others are left out or falsified -- and it is always the version that flatters, credits, and protects the most powerful members of society that is centered, and the version that makes them look bad that gets left out. The actual voices of the oppressed or killed members of a society are almost never recorded; their lives are documented by their oppressors. So when we talk about the indigenous history of this area, we have to take all the knowledge produced by the scholars, publishers, and universities of settler colonialism with a serious, critical grain of salt -- we have to look for what's misrepresented and what's missing. We also have to seek out histories written and told by indigenous people themselves, because they've been marginalized and discounted by academic historians for centuries.

Settler archaeologists believe that humans first arrived in the Susquehanna River Valley about 11,000 years ago, at the tail end of the last ice age and after a long series of migrations from Asia to Alaska and then south and east. Many Native peoples whose oral histories were not extinguished by colonialism, including the Haudenosaunee (called "Iroquois" by settlers) just to the north of Pennsylvania, have no record of such a migration -- they have always lived in the northeastern woodland regions of this continent. "We have been and continue to be the original inhabitants of these lands," Haudenosaunee historians write in *Basic Call to Consciousness*. Other Native people's oral traditions hold that they did migrate there from somewhere else. For example, the Lenni Lenape (called "Delaware" by settlers) oral tradition, as recorded and retold by settlers, tells of migrating east across the Mississippi River, allying with the Haudenosaunee dur-

ing wars, settling to the south of them, and eventually migrating in smaller bands to Chesapeake Bay and the Susquehanna Valley.

Archaeological evidence (stone tools, pottery, remnants of buildings and hearths) shows that small nomadic groups lived along the Susquehanna Valley as the glaciers receded, probably foraging in the deciduous forests that remained along the river even while the rest of the region was tundra, spruce and pine forest, or marshes. The oldest human-made artifacts that have been found in the Susquehanna Valley date to about 11,000 years ago, from a site in Dauphin County, about 15 miles north of Harrisburg. Archaeologists believe that people began fishing in the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers about 10,000 years ago, based on finding stones used for sinking fishing nets. According to them, fish and other foods were so abundant that many people in the valley and nearby plateaus lived nomadically and didn't cultivate plants for food until about 1,200 years ago, thousands of years later than others in the region. This is not due to "backwardness" but, it is thought, because their way of life didn't involve scarcity. These societies are believed to have had simple social structures and minimal divisions of labor. Around 1,200 years ago, settler archaeologists believe, more complex societies emerged, involving agriculture, sophisticated pottery and tools, burial mounds, longhouses, and larger villages. Around 600 years ago, archaeological evidence shows a shift to even larger towns (with as many as 2000 residents), fortified with stockades and sometimes moats, at first along the northern branch of the river and then, around 500 years ago, along the lower Susquehanna in and around what is now Lancaster County. It is unknown if either of these cultural shifts were caused by influx of new people to the Susquehanna Valley or was simply the spreading and development of technologies, ideas, and ways of life. This latest society was to be called the "Susquehannocks" by European colonizers when they encountered them in 1608.

This settler-written history is surely incomplete and incorrect in serious ways, but because of colonial genocide, cultural erasure, and forced assimilation, the descendants of the original inhabitants' societies simply don't have access to oral traditions and histories that could provide better answers. It is simply false to state, as many settler histories do, that the genocide waged against Native peoples was "complete" -- that the descendants of these original cultures have all been killed or driven out of this area. This lie is often repeated in history books to reassure the non-Native reader that this horrible chapter of history has ended. But the genocide started by the first European colonizers continues today: abroad, under the guise of U.S. imperialism, and locally, through the continual genocidal policies against the many Native peoples who are still here, and whose cultures live on. Another particular problem with these more local histories is settler Pennsylvanians' obsession with seeing their state as somehow "less cruel" or "less guilty" in its commission of genocide -- for instance, historians have devoted much energy to showing how William Penn was interested in treating the people who he was displacing "fairly," whatever they imagine a fair process of genocide to look like. We must remember that this impulse

to excuse colonizers and colonial leaders as “doing the best they could” or “acting with integrity” is just an attempt to distract from their leading roles in centuries of dispossession, suffering, and genocide. Furthermore, no matter how well-intentioned their leaders were, the majority of European settlers paid no attention to rules about where they could settle, and their leaders rarely enforced those rules against them -- and the outcome of colonization in every part of the continent was genocide of the land’s original inhabitants and devastation of their ways of life.

Early European Conquest 1600-1750

In 1608, British explorer and colonizer John Smith recorded the first European encounter with the people living in the Susquehanna Valley, whom he was told by the Algonquin-speaking Tockwogh people of Chesapeake Bay to call the “Sasqueshannocks”. At the time of this encounter, the Susquehannock warriors met by Smith already had extensive European weaponry and armor, and some settler historians believe that the nation had migrated south in the 1500’s in order to have better access to trade with European explorers. (European explorers had been sailing nearby for over 100 years.) The Susquehannocks spoke an Iroquoian language (as did the five original Haudenosaunee nations and the Cherokee, among others - it’s likely that these nations all shared common history), but little of it has been recorded. Similarly little is known about their daily life except by comparison with the Haudenosaunee and by archaeology.

Contact with European explorers was deadly in multiple ways for the Susquehannock and other native nations. European diseases like smallpox, which settlers sometimes spread intentionally by giving Native people gifts of infected blankets, killed between 50 and 90 percent of indigenous people in the continent generally -- so although settler history records only one epidemic hitting the Susquehannock (smallpox in 1661), we should assume other diseases had already struck and would continue to decimate the nation. These plagues often also destroyed Native communities’ moral and spiritual belief systems, bringing so much destruction, so quickly. But Europeans also brought colonial-capitalism and its toxic relationship to the earth -- seeing the earth (and all plants, animals, and non-European humans) as a set of resources to be exploited for profit, to be bought/sold and privately owned to the exclusion of others. Traditional Native crafts and industries fell by the wayside as people focused on gathering beaver pelts -- and this in turn increased Natives’ reliance on European trade to get time-saving tools like metal pots, knives, and rifles, as well as addictive substances like alcohol, which was new and tremendously harmful to Native communities. The Oneida people describe their involvement in the beaver trade as leading to gender inequality and social stratification, as new sources of wealth and power flowed into their community.

European powers pitted Native nations against each other and armed them heavily for use in wars against each other, and soon the Susquehannocks were raiding much of the Lenape territory to their east around the Delaware River, and were subsequently engaged in prolonged conflict against the Haudenosaunee, in the so-called "Beaver Wars" from 1647-1677. These were not actual wars but ongoing skirmishes between natives and Europeans over access to the best beaver hunting lands. After years of back-and-forth, the Susquehanna suffered many losses in these skirmishes in the 1670's, and in 1674 they were forced out of the Susquehanna Valley into Maryland and then immediately betrayed by their new ally the Maryland militia. The Susquehannocks then dispersed throughout the region and the Ohio valley and mostly assimilated into other Native nations, though a small group returned to Conestoga (Lancaster County) in 1697. At the one remaining Susquehannock settlement in Conestoga, 20 innocent people were massacred in 1763 by a band of white racist vigilantes known as the Paxton Boys, who were never charged with a crime -- and the rest of the community went into hiding, mostly by assimilating to other nations.

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy -- originally composed of five nations (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk) located in the Finger Lakes and Mohawk River regions -- began making claims on and moving into the upper Susquehanna Valley when the Susquehannocks moved further downstream in the early 1500's. They continued this expansion after defeating the Susquehannocks in the Beaver Wars of the mid to late 1600's, and for trade and security reasons began inviting displaced peoples from other Native nations to move into a sort of "buffer zone" around the Susquehanna, between settlers and the main Haudenosaunee lands. Starting in 1713, a sixth Iroquoian-speaking nation, the Tuscarora, began migrating en masse from their traditional homelands in the coastal plains of what is now called North Carolina to lands near Lake Ontario, to join the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. They had fought with settlers over the kidnapping and enslavement of women and children from their nation, but had been defeated by the North and South Carolina militias -- and were facing removal from their traditional lands. Instead of passing through, some of them stayed in the Juniata River valley, the West and Upper North Susquehanna River branches, and the Chemung River valley.

The next major group of Native inhabitants of the Susquehanna Valley were the Lenape, an Algonquin-speaking nation who originally lived throughout the settler borders of New Jersey, southern New York, Delaware, and eastern Pennsylvania. Their societies were more akin to the people who lived along the Susquehanna before the Susquehannocks: smaller villages that mostly foraged, fished, and hunted, moved occasionally as nomads, and had simple, nearly horizontal social organization. Lenape languages and oral traditions are well documented and largely intact today, partly because, even through hundreds of years of displacement, some sizeable communities were able to stay together and resist assimilation, and partly because of so much prolonged contact with settlers. While the Le-

nape suffered just as much as the Susquehannocks did from European plagues, the demands of acquisitive export trading, the commodification of the resources they depended on, and destabilizing novelties like alcohol, greater numbers of them embraced colonial ways of life, converting to Christianity (in particular, Moravian) and raising livestock. They also were raided by, and according to some accounts, set up as a vassal of, the Susquehannocks during the mid-1600's.

William Penn was “granted” much of modern Pennsylvania in 1681 by English King Charles II (though the king’s land claims were based on the racist notion that the land was empty, or at least devoid of Christians and therefore of “real” people), and Penn believed that he could treat the Lenape “fairly” by paying them for their land while enacting what he saw as his divine right to displace them from their traditional lands (and in so doing, to destroy their way of life). Of the colonies, Pennsylvania tried the hardest to commit its genocide “nicely”. But ultimately even the small amount of trust that Penn gained from the Lenape after showing that he intended to pay them for their lost land was in part what led to their displacement, as they trusted that his followers would act with the same pretense of kindness. After Penn’s death, his sons in 1737 fabricated a treaty and cruelly exploited its wording to force the Lenape off an area of 1200 square miles around the city of Philadelphia, in a deception known as the Walking Purchase. At this time, no longer able to live their semi-sedentary lives due to settler encroachment, outright land theft, and the threat of violence, many Lenape migrated to the Susquehanna Valley, with the encouragement of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which claimed the Valley since defeating the Susquehannocks but didn’t have a large enough population to settle it and hold off European advancement. This offer was extended to other displaced and dispossessed Native people, including the Shawnee, Nanticoke, and others; together they settled in towns like Shamokin (Sunbury), Milton, Lock Haven, Otstuary (Montoursville), and the Wyoming Valley (site of present-day Wilkes-Barre) and formed a new so-called “River Indian” culture, which was Christian and highly assimilated to European colonial society.

1750-1800: European Expansion, Wars & Diaspora

By the mid 1700’s, when European settlers had come as far west as what they would eventually call Centre County, Native peoples had already been drastically affected by contact with Europeans. Most Native people inhabiting the Susquehanna Valley region were refugees from other places, and their traditional lifeways had been disrupted by increasing dependence upon European products like guns and alcohol, displacement from their traditional land, separation from their family and community, loss of access to rituals and traditions, widespread loss of life from new plagues, partial cultural erasure caused by assimilation needed for survival or state legibility, ecological problems brought about by new agriculture,

larger populations, and irresponsible forestry and hunting, and the spiritual disillusionment and chaos caused by all of the above.

By the time the French and Indian War broke out in 1755, many Native nations had been so destabilized that they had become reliant on European tools and goods, which they could only access by trading furs and other resources. During this war (1755-1763), the French and British colonizers played Native nations against each other (using their dependence on access to European trade to establish alliances), in order to try to regain control of their trade areas and, in the case of the British, to expand their colonies. Every time colonial powers fought each other on this continent, they used Native people as expendable bodies. The six Haudenosaunee nations sided with the British and ordered the Lenape settled on their Susquehanna Valley territories to follow suit. But the Lenape did not trust the British following their betrayal and land theft, and sided with the French. Several nations including the Haudenosaunee and the Lenape signed on to the Treaty of Easton with British colonial forces in 1758, promising to fight for the British and leave the New Jersey colony forever, in return for a guarantee that they could live peacefully and without colonial intrusion or violence on all lands west of the Appalachian watershed divide (in the Ohio River valley) after the war. But some Lenape continued to fight for the French in part because British general Edward Braddock refused to treat them with respect -- and as soon as the war ended in Britain's favor, the Lenape were once again forcibly removed from the Susquehanna Valley to go to Ohio, though some were able to stay behind by pretending to be members of other nations or by assimilating to European colonizer culture and Christianity. According to an anonymous Lenape man currently living in Monroe County,

“A good amount of people stayed behind and assimilated and grew up in the back woods and grew up in the back areas along the rivers and streams--stayed behind. The same thing--they say it's impossible--but the same thing happened in Cherokee. North Carolina and Georgia. Everybody stayed behind there and assimilated. It's not that odd of a deal.”

After the French and Indian War ended, a number of Native nations in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes regions united in 1763 against newly imposed brutal British imperial rule (including continuing displacement of Lenape from Ohio further west), in a struggle to entirely remove the British from the continent, led by Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa nation. This was one of the first major trans-national Native resistance movements. Many Lenape and Shawnee warriors raided European settlements in the Susquehanna and nearby regions, including an attack and siege of Fort Pitt (the current site of Pittsburgh) that was successful until, at the urging of British leaders like Lord Jeffery Amherst, British troops gave smallpox-contaminated blankets and handkerchiefs to the Native warriors. This is generally regarded as the first case of biological or “germ” warfare in all of history. The following year, British colonizers signed a treaty with the Haudenosaunee to keep them out of what became called Pontiac's War,

and even sent Six Nations warriors to destroy abandoned Lenape and Shawnee villages in the Susquehanna Valley. British reinforcements ultimately defeated the uprising and imposed a new, slightly less cruel colonial dominion that did acknowledge Native people's land rights as legitimate. Unfortunately, these minor gains were perceived by some settlers as denying them rights to land already won, and this resentment fed into Revolutionary War anti-British (and anti-Native) anger.

Representatives of the Six Nations formally sold Centre County (along with much of the rest of what we know as Pennsylvania) to the Penn family in 1768 as part of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, an agreement made at the conclusion of a long, lavish conference called to try to formalize the already vast numbers of settlers illegally living on unceded land, and where Native participants were basically bribed to accept any deal offered, given that the settler expansion had already happened. Lenape and Shawnee representatives were not included in the negotiation process, nor were they asked to agree to the final treaty. This treaty, in which the Haudenosaunee also renounced their claim over most of the Ohio River valley area that had been promised to the Lenape and others in 1758, was an enormous loss for Natives in the Susquehanna Valley and other parts of the region. The legitimacy of the Haudenosaunee claim over all this land was questionable, since much of the Allegheny Plateau and Ohio River areas were populated by Shawnee, Lenape, and Ohio tribes that the Haudenosaunee had no control over. But to see this as a case of one Native nation selling the others out would be to miss the point -- that is, the blame for all this lies with the colonizers who had no respect for Native people's lives and livelihoods, or for their own laws when it came to taking land that they saw as "empty". The Haudenosaunee hoped that this new definite property line would halt British colonial expansion into their remaining territories in the Finger Lakes region. This was not to be.

European settlers moved into the west branch of the Susquehanna in large numbers following the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, but disagreement soon erupted over the western boundary of this new colonizer territory -- the Haudenosaunee said it was Lycoming Creek (at present-day Williamsport), while settlers held it was at Pine Creek (today the site of Jersey Shore, PA). Regardless, Europeans ignored all agreements and settled beyond both of these possible borders, as far as Lock Haven. When the Revolutionary War erupted between the British and American colonists in 1775, the Haudenosaunee allied with the British, and in 1778 they moved to protect their traditional lands around the Finger Lakes by advancing on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Settlers moved into protected forts on the current sites of Montoursville, Turbotville, Muncy, Williamsport, and other locations. Native warriors and British militias launched attacks on settlers, including three separate attacks on June 10, 1778 that resulted in the killing of dozens of people. After a similar attack on settlers in the Wyoming Valley on July 3 that resulted in a massacre of settlers, colonial authorities ordered all European settlers to leave the West Branch, in what became called the Big Runaway. Native and British fighters burned almost all of the abandoned

settler properties. This launched a series of counter-attacking massacres in other nearby areas, before ultimately provoking the most deadly colonial measure: the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, launched in 1779.

Although atrocities were committed on both sides, we must remember that natives were defending their homeland and their way of life from usurpers who sought their total annihilation. Some of the European settlers had come to the continent to escape oppression and seek opportunity previously denied to them, but this does not excuse their participation in mass displacement and genocide. Further, the scale and brutality of the atrocities committed by the colonizers -- especially when considered as part of a larger, centuries-long project of extinction -- so far outstrips any massacres committed by Native peoples in defense of their own lives and lands. The Sullivan-Clinton campaign was ordered by George Washington, and his intention is so clearly genocidal that it's worth quoting the order directly:

The Expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.

I would recommend, that some post in the center of the Indian Country, should be occupied with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed.

But you will not by any means listen to any overture of peace before the total ruinment of their settlements is effected. Our future security will be in their inability to injure us and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive will inspire them.

Sullivan and thousands of American colonial troops carried out these orders, razing over 40 Haudenosaunee towns (leaving only 1 standing), burning hundreds of thousands of bushels of corn, and destroying other crops and orchards. Facing famine, many Haudenosaunee abandoned their homelands and moved west, and a series of treaties forced upon Native communities resulted in the rest of what are now New York State and Pennsylvania being "given" to the colonists. But it didn't stop here -- there would be decades more of colonial genocide and terror being used to continually displace Native peoples further and further west, ultimately mostly to land now within the borders of Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and Canada.

19th and 20th centuries: Continued displacement and genocide

The histories of displacement and resistance continued after the American Revolutionary War, but at this time most of the Native peoples with

traditional connections to the Susquehanna River area had been relocated to the west or assimilated into other groups, settlers or Natives. A few examples of legal strategies used against Natives are the Indian Removal Act of 1830, extinguishing all Native land rights east of the Mississippi River; the Indian Appropriation Act of 1854 that allowed Congress to remove all Natives from lands other than government-approved reservations; and the Indian Allotment Act of 1887, which eliminated communal land holding rights for all Native peoples. But even after they could be displaced no more, their struggles did not end -- Native peoples continued to suffer from the ravages of capitalism, settler colonialism, racism, and resource extraction. Corporations and governments alike continued stealing land and resources (water, forests, gold, minerals, oil, natural gas) without paying Natives a fair amount, or at all, for their losses or for often long-term health problems related to pollution and ecological destruction. Similarly, the government denied basic legal and civil rights to Native people systematically, though some of this changed with the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968. We encourage you to look elsewhere for details. Here we will just outline one local example of ongoing repression, violence, and erasure of Native communities in the 19th and 20th centuries (and which continues today, just not in the Susquehanna Valley).

In 1879, the first off-reservation boarding school for Native people was opened in Carlisle by Richard Pratt and a group of education reformers calling themselves "Friends of the American Indians." This school, and soon dozens of others started by the U.S. and Canadian governments across the continent and hundreds run by Christian missionary groups, was set up with humanitarian goals to (infamously) "kill the Indian and save the man". Native children were forcibly taken from their homes on or off reservations -- parents who resisted the theft of their children were often imprisoned. Upon arrival, most were given new Christian names and had their hair forcibly cut to fit "American" cultural norms. The conditions at Carlisle were brutal: physical, sexual, and emotional abuse and malnutrition have been widely reported. Hundreds of children died from common diseases often untreated until it was too late, and some children died trying to escape. Beatings, imprisonment, and hard labor were used as punishment for speaking Native languages. At other boarding schools, torture and murder were reportedly committed against Native children.

Native scholar and poet Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna/Sioux) writes:

"The point of brainwashing ... is to take away all sense of self, of community, of value, of worth, even of orientation, to be replaced by habits of mind and behavior that the captor finds acceptable. The boys and girls at Carlisle Indian School were trained to be cannon fodder in American wars, to serve as domestics and farm hands, and to leave off all ideas or beliefs that came to them from their Native communities, including and particularly their belief that they were entitled to land, life, liberty, and dignity. ... In a short time, the child comes to love and admire his captor ... a not uncommon adjustment made by those taken hostage; separated by all that is familiar; stripped, shorn, robbed of their very self; renamed.

“By and large the procedure was successful, although the legacy of damaged minds and crippled souls it left in its wake is as yet untold. Psychic numbing, Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome, battered wife syndrome, suicide, alcoholism, ennui—are there any names for psychicide? A century [afterward,] the great-grandchildren of decultured Indians struggle to find the world that was ripped away ... by a deliberate, planned method euphemistically called education.”

Children at Carlisle were trained in what teachers saw as proper, “civilized” white American behavior and skills, although as Andrea Smith (Cherokee) points out, “because of the racism in the U.S., Native peoples could never really assimilate into the dominant society.” Further, the skills taught were not even potentially useful to many -- K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Creek) calls this “training in dispossession under the guise of domesticity.” In retrospect it’s clear that these supposed “progressive” intentions were merely the latest form of genocide; today the United Nations includes “forcefully transferring children of the group to another group” as part of its official definition of genocide. The Canadian government and some churches have closed their boarding schools and formally apologized their role in genocide (though they haven’t paid any reparations or taken other steps to address their complicity), but the several U.S. government-funded schools are still operational. Andrea Smith continues:

“In the case of boarding schools, it is clear that Native communities continue to suffer devastating effects as a result of these policies, including physical, sexual, and emotional violence in Native communities; unemployment and under-employment in Native communities; increased suicide rates; increased substance abuse; loss of language and loss of religious and cultural traditions; increased depression and post-traumatic stress disorder; and increased child abuse.”

The Carlisle “Indian Industrial School” closed in 1918, but its legacy of supposedly “softer” forms of cultural genocide remains relevant here and throughout the continent.

Present Day

Currently there are no tribes recognized by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, despite over 25 years of political lobbying by the Lenape Nation of Pennsylvania, based in Easton, and other Native organizations. There are recognized Lenape, Shawnee, and Haudenosaunee nations in many other states and provinces (Oklahoma, Wisconsin, New York, Ontario, Quebec) -- in fact, this is one of only six states that has no recognized nation or reservation. Most settler historians have believed that there were no Native peoples remaining in Pennsylvania, but as publicly stating and affirming a Native identity because less of a danger or liability, tens of thousands of people within the state have come forward as Natives or partially of Native descent. About 80,000 respondents to the 2010 PA Census

identify as Native American, two-thirds of them as mixed heritage. Although state and federal recognition by no means guarantees safety, legal legitimacy, or comfortable living conditions, it would bring freedom of religious expression (and protection from hate groups or vigilantes that Native spiritualities have so often been victimized by), the right to re-bury ancestors on traditional lands, better opportunities to create culturally specific education and to receive federal education grants, and the right to market good and crafts as “Indian-made”.

Native nations are still subject to ongoing cultural appropriation, which can be considered another form of cultural genocide. Barbara Munson (Oneida) explains why school mascots and teams given stereotypical Native names and logos are harmful:

“Native people are saying that they don’t feel honored by this symbolism. We experience it as no less than a mockery of our cultures. *We see objects sacred to us* — such as the drum, eagle feathers, face painting and traditional dress — being used not in sacred ceremony, or in any cultural setting, but *in another culture’s game*. ... Stereotypes, ignorance, silent inaction and even naïve innocence damage and destroy individual lives and whole cultures. Racism kills.”

Due to widespread poverty and institutionalized lack of access to resources, many Native people’s lives today -- on or off reservations -- are not easy. Child abuse and sexual violence are rampant, as are alcohol and drug problems. Endemic health problems are exacerbated by poor quality of government-administered health care, environmental racism leaving Native communities often bearing the worst effects of pollution, devastation of traditional health methods and traditional food systems, and so on. Violence against Native people by non-Natives is also epidemic, and often goes unaddressed or insufficiently addressed because of institutionalized racism, police jurisdictional gaps caused by inept governance, and internalized low expectations from a settler justice system. But across the continent, people are fighting back, and have always been doing so.

Most relevant to us at SJSB is the way that settler colonialism and resource extraction interact -- to be specific, how they depend on each other. As Amanda Lickers explained in the opening quote, the way of thinking about the world that enables extracting value from the living world around us is the same way of thinking that allows Native people to be treated as less than human, as mere obstacles to the destiny of a (white) American nation. Given this basic overview of the crimes of genocide against Native peoples in the Susquehanna Valley and elsewhere that were crucial to the settlement and founding of the U.S., the question for settlers in our movements must now be, how does this affect our environmental awareness and organizing?

A short answer, as a starting point, is to be careful not to use language in our environmental organizing that makes Natives feel erased -- for instance, when a group of mostly white or settler protesters chants about “protecting our forest” or sings about this being “our land”. But we have to

dig deeper than just trying to include (and not offend or alienate) Native people. The genocide and displacement of the indigenous population of the Appalachian bio-region is not something that was concluded in the remote past but is an active ongoing issue. Non-Native environmentalists need to get real about this by supporting contemporary indigenous struggles in a way that takes direction from indigenous communities themselves and places their struggle at the center. Non-Natives must not try to fill their own sense of spiritual displacement by co-opting and making caricatures of the aesthetics of native ritual and warrior spirit. A large and very central part of the anti-extraction movement, past and present, belongs to indigenous communities.

This was written by several non-Natives working on anti-fracking campaigns in occupied Cayuga, Seneca, Lenape, and other nations' territories. We do not represent or speak from Native perspectives in this document, and we acknowledge that this document is incomplete because of this.

SOURCES & RECOMMENDED READING

Books:

- * *Basic Call to Consciousness*, edited by Akwesasne Notes (Haudenosaunee), 1991
- * *Voice of the Turtle: American Indian Literature, 1900-1970*, edited by Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna/Sioux), 1994. Her introduction to Luther Standing Bear's piece, "First Days at Carlisle," is quoted above.
- * *A Little Matter of Genocide*, Ward Churchill, 1997
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- * *500 Years of Indigenous Resistance*, Gord Hill (Kwakwaka'wakw), 1992
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- * *Against His-story, Against Leviathan*, Fredy Perlman, 1983. Available online at <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/fredy-perlman-against-his-story-against-leviathan>
- * *Settlers: the Mythology of the White Proletariat*, J. Sakai, 1989

- * *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, Andrea Smith (Cherokee), 2005
- * *Indians in Pennsylvania*, Paul A. W. Wallace and William Rohrbeck, 1964. Note: read this source critically due to its pro-colonial perspective!
- * *A People's History of the United States*, "Columbus, The Indians, and Human Progress" chapter, Howard Zinn, 1980. Available online at <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/zinncol1.html>

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- * "'Where License Reigns With All Impunity': An Anarchist Study of the Rotinshón:ni Polity," Stephen Arthur, *Northeastern Anarchist*, 2007, available online at <http://www.nefac.net/anarchiststudyofiroquois>
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- * "For Our Nations to Live, Capitalism Must Die," Glen Coulthard (Dene), *Voices Rising*, 2013. Available online at <http://nationsrising.org/for-our-nations-to-live-capitalism-must-die/>
- * *Unsettling Ourselves: Reflections and Resources for Deconstructing Colonial Mentality*, a zine edited by Unsettling Minnesota, 2010. Available online at <http://unsettlingamerica.wordpress.com>
- * *Everyone Calls Themselves an Ally Until It Is Time to Do Some Real Ally Shit*, Xhopakelxhit, Ancestral Pride, 2014. Available online at <http://ancestralpride.ca/>

Websites:

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- * Carlisle Indian School Records, Native Heritage Project. <http://nativeheritageproject.com/2012/05/14/carlisle-indian-school-records/>
- * Eastern Delaware Nations History, <http://www.easterndelawarenations.org/history.html>
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- * Indigenous Native Americans and Recognition within the State: The Case of Pennsylvania, http://indigenouspeoplesissues.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=80:indigenous-native-americans-and-recognition-within-the-state-of-pennsylvania&catid=22&Itemid=55
- * Native American Heritage Programs, Lenape Programs, <http://lenapeprograms.info/>
- * Onkwehón:we Rising, <https://onkwehonwerising.wordpress.com/>
- * Unsettling America, <https://unsettlingamerica.wordpress.com/>

ALLYSHIP & SOLIDARITY GUIDELINES

from Unsettling America

<<https://unsettlingamerica.wordpress.com/allyship/>>

We share these points of unity to guide our allyship and activism:

- All people not indigenous to North America who are living on this continent are settlers on stolen land. We acknowledge that Canada, the United States of America, Mexico, and Central & South America were founded through genocide and colonization of indigenous peoples— which continues today and from which settlers directly benefit.
- All settlers do not benefit equally from the settler-colonial state, nor did all settlers emigrate here of their own free will. Specifically, we see slavery, hetero-patriarchy, white supremacy, market imperialism, and capitalist class structures as among the primary tools of colonization. These tools divide communities and determine peoples' relative access to power. Therefore, anti-oppression solidarity between settler communities is necessary for decolonization. We work to build anti-colonial movements that actively combat all forms of oppression.
- We acknowledge that settlers are not entitled to live on this land. We accept that decolonization means the revitalization of indigenous sovereignty, and an end to settler domination of life, lands, and peoples in all territories of the so-called "Americas." All decisions regarding human interaction with this land base, including who lives on it, are rightfully those of the indigenous nations.
- As settlers and non-native people (by which we mean non-indigenous to this hemisphere) acting in solidarity, it is our responsibility to proactively challenge and dismantle colonialist thought and behavior in the communities we identify ourselves to be part of. As people within communities that maintain and benefit from colonization, we are intimately positioned to do this work.
- We understand that allies cannot be self-defined; they must be claimed by the people they seek to ally with. We organize our solidarity efforts around direct communication, responsiveness, and accountability to indigenous people fighting for decolonization and liberation.
- We are committed to dismantling all systems of oppression, whether they are found in institutional power structures, interpersonal relationships, or within ourselves. Individually and as a collective, we work compassionately to support each other through these processes. Participation in struggle requires each of us to engage in both solidarity and our own liberation: to be accountable for all privileges carried, while also struggling for liberation from internalized and/or experienced oppression. We seek to build a healthy culture of resistance, accountability, and sustenance

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