CHERRY RIVER

Where the Rivers Mix

Mary Ellen Strom
and Shane Doyle

The multimedia exhibition *Cherry River, Where the Rivers Mix* was presented to audiences of three hundred people over consecutive evenings on August 23 and 24, 2018, at the Missouri Headwaters State Park in Three Forks, Montana.[1] Long before the European invasion across the Atlantic, the headwaters, or the confluence of three forks of the Missouri River, was a crossroads, a hunting and meeting area for Northern Plains Indians, including the Hidatsa, Blackfeet, Shoshone, Crow, Nez Perce, Kootenai, and Salish. The eastern fork of the Gallatin River, the East Gallatin River, had originally been named the Cherry River by Indigenous Crow people. It was renamed in 1805 after Albert Gallatin, who was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in 1801 by President Thomas Jefferson and

Fox Family Fiddlers. Photo: Ben Lloyd

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became a central figure in the design and implementation of Jefferson's plan for westward expansion.[2]

The place-based project *Cherry River*, created by artist Mary Ellen Strom and Native American researcher Shane Doyle, addressed the question, What does it take to change the name of a river? The event was produced by Mountain Time Arts, a collaborative arts and culture organization in southwestern Montana. In an effort to analyze the site, Mountain Time Arts convened a diverse group of participants, including Indigenous scholars, a geologist, local politicians, lawyers, ranchers, and an archeologist.[3] After six months of research, the project centered on the act of changing the name of the East Gallatin River back to the Indigenous Crow name Cherry River—or, in Crow, Baáchuuaashe. The name Cherry River honors and describes the numerous chokecherry trees growing on the river's banks that provide sustenance for bees, birds, small mammals, and bears and venerates Indigenous history, the ecology of running water, and riparian systems in the Northwest.

The Cherry River site presented a rich location rife with historic narratives and environmental lessons. For centuries, the European imaginary mistakenly believed that an all-water route across the North American continent existed, and the Missouri River was one of the main routes for westward expansion in the United States during the nineteenth century. In 1804, a year after the United States completed the Louisiana Purchase, which included Montana, Jefferson established the US Army unit, Corps of Discovery, and put Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in charge of finding a water route to the Pacific Ocean—specifically, "the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce." It was at the headwaters in Montana that the Lewis and Clark expedition "discovered" that the Missouri River did not connect to the Pacific Ocean.

While archaeological evidence supports the presence of humans in Montana thousands of years ago and Plains Indians since the seventeenth century, Native American lands in the Missouri watershed were taken over by settlers beginning in the 1840s, leading to some of the most longstanding and violent wars against Indigenous peoples. During the twentieth century, the Missouri River basin was extensively developed for irrigation, flood control, and hydroelectric power. About one-fourth of agricultural land in the United States is currently located in the Missouri River watershed. Fifteen dams exist on the main stem of the river, with hundreds more on tributaries. Heavy development has taken its toll on wildlife, fish populations, and water quality. The river's stream flow has changed significantly over the last fifty years, leading to serious water shortages in southwestern Montana. During the last ten years, climate-related trends have included earlier snow melt in the spring. As a result, the region suffers water shortages by mid-summer.

As such, water flow is intrinsic to the narrative structure of the *Cherry River* project. Countering Jefferson's political hubris and desire to find a Northwest passage, the project's narrative structure highlighted the ways the Missouri River flows east and south. By featuring musicians playing on the Jefferson River, following the flows of the river, the return to the Cherry River was commemorated with a diversity of music from the Fox Family Fiddlers, a Métis group from the Fort Belknap Reservation, Montana, on the Madison River; a brass band from Bozeman, Montana, on the Jefferson River; and the Northern Cree Singers from Alberta, Canada, on the Cherry River.[4]

Despite the human and environmental tolls, the name Gallatin retains a distinct hold on this region. The county is named Gallatin. Along with the Gallatin River, there is the Gallatin National Forrest, the Gallatin Mountains, the Gallatin High School, the Gallatin Canyon, the Gallatin Mall, Gallatin Home Brew, and on and on. Place names of colonists have a significant psychological impact on the identity of a region, reinstating the land grab and reinscribing the trauma that followed. The Cherry River project voiced the desire to change the place names of geological sites that have been named by invaders and return those identities to the Indigenous names that honor a site, thereby promoting a healing of both the land and its inhabitants. ■

Shakira Glenn. Photo: Jane Chin Davidson

Photo: Jane Chin Davidson

Waiting is the participatory engagement of Cherry River. From the ridge of Fort Rock, looking down on the rivers below, the audience can barely see the four drift boats that carry the Fox Family Fiddlers, who play in the Métis tradition. As they move up the Madison, their music is being projected from the boats at a far distance. Four other boats arrive upstream on the Jefferson, transporting a brass band (with trumpeter and tuba player from the School of Music at Montana State University) along with four boats carrying the choir of orchestral singers to the bank where the three rivers converge. Now, fully in view, Jamie Fox stands up in the anchored boat against the surging wind and plays the song "Sitting Bull."

Singer Shakira Glenn, a member of the Apsáalooke Crow tribe, stands above the audience in a twelve-foot tall chokecherry-colored installation designed by artist Jim Madden, Mary Ellen Strom, and Alayna Rasile. Glenn captivates the viewers with song at the same time that the sound of violins begins to waft from the small speakers placed along the ridge of Fort Rock. Glenn's voice echoes the violin's phrases, resulting in a hauntingly beautiful melody that emerges powerfully from both the instrument on the water and Glenn's voice high on the hill.

This experience in Native singing and Métis violin was incredibly moving and augmented by nature, the scene of water and mountains. When Glenn finished the set by singing "It's Been Days," a Native round dance cover about longing, audience members did not know whether to clap or end the moment in silent reverence.

Photo: Mary Ellen Strom

Photo: Ben Lloyd

Cherry River and the Colonial Names of Montana

Shane Doyle

I am a member of the Crow Tribe from the small town of Crow Agency, Montana, along the banks of the Little Big Horn River in southeastern Montana, about one mile north of the site of the famous Battle of the Little Bighorn. Growing up in the 1970s and 1980s, it was known as the Custer Battlefield, and in high school I worked at the Custer Battlefield Trading Post and Café. Early in the 1990s, an Act of Congress changed the name to honor the Native people who also participated in the battle on June 25, 1876, and were merely protecting themselves and their loved ones. Yet, Custer's name is far from forgotten, as it marks Custer County, Montana; the Custer-Gallatin National Forest, also in Montana; and numerous towns with the name throughout the Northern Plains. The names of colonial legends such as Custer, Nelson Miles, John Bozeman, Nelson Story, Lewis and Clark, Albert Gallatin, and even Christopher Columbus have been immortalized throughout the region, their names assigned to hundreds of places, businesses, and institutions. I grew up in a reservation community that sits like a red island in a sea of white, postcolonial culture, and although I saw the world from a uniquely Native perspective, I nevertheless still consumed the food, music, movies, books, news media, science, and history of John Wayne's America. I became familiar with the sense of looking at the world from behind a two-way mirror; I could see out, far and wide, but nobody was looking back. My life as an outsider in my own homeland.

For all practical purposes, Native people and their astonishing thirteen-thousand-year-old history have been erased from Montana's place-name landscape. Were it not for the seven reservations, there would be no relevant site on the map to indicate that a diverse Indigenous population thrived there since time immemorial, maintaining the purity of the waters, respecting the spirit of the wildlife, and achieving a sustainably balanced way of life with the natural world. Our ancient Indigenous place names are nowhere to be found on official geographic information system registries or Google Earth, except for the few, slim references that survived the official name-making mapping process. These few places, whose names have withstood the fierce storm of colonialism, are now detached from the cultural traditions that once thrived all around them; we know their names but not where they come from, what they mean, or why they are important. Like an amnesiac who awakes with no memory of its point of origin, our contemporary American culture cannot mature beyond adolescence, because we operate with such little reverence to the ancient wisdom of the people of this land. Our intellectual and spiritual growth as a nation has been stunted and upended because we have not reconciled our rights with our responsibilities.

What do we call ourselves and our places, and what type of power do those names possess, both in our society and within our individual imaginations? Surely, our place-names are nothing less than the cornerstones of our mutually shared identities, reflecting our beliefs, values, sensibilities, hopes, and affirmations. Native culture has always held that names come with inherent power, forces of nature that are elemental and sacred; therefore, naming landscapes after men was not part of its cultural practice. The spirits, temperament, unique features, and qualities of the landscapes are what Native people recognize as the natural points of reference when place-names are acknowledged. In other words, places name themselves if you pay attention and allow them.

Colonial naming of "discovered" lands is rooted in a point of view that is hundreds of years old and is inextricably linked to slavery, genocide, and environmental devastation. Until we fully realize that the only path forward is one that traces back to our origins and takes progressive action through law and education can we begin a new circle in our American story. This new story will be informed and enlightened because it will be based on the universal ideals of reverence and respect, reflection and reciprocity, renewal and reinvention. America's greatest gift as a nation is its diversity and the vitality that accompanies it. We have the ability to provide a touchstone for future generations if we confront our sins of the past, sooner rather than later, and live up to our potential as renaissance people living in a modern age. Tearing down the old vestiges of our shamefully violent and cruel history as a nation is a maturation process that is as natural as the sun coming up, regardless of the ferocity of the storm. Justice is a real force of nature and cannot be stopped, only delayed. Say their names. Eventually all our colonial legacies weave into one braid of pain, dishonor, and brokenness. It is up to us to change the direction of this stream of consciousness by putting the words into our mouths and onto our maps that give us the first step in fixing what is no longer working.

Give us the names of the places so we can know where we are and why we know ourselves as natives of this land, no matter what the color of our skin or the heritage of our parents. We can all celebrate our indigeneity together, as native Americans, if not Native Americans. This land is your land, this land is my land; let us recognize the names it came with, the ones we inherited but neglected. Now is our time. Our legacy is calling us to act. ■

Shane Doyle rehearsing his solo, the "American Indian Movement Song." Photo: Jane Chin Davidson

Language carries and erases culture.
The words we speak.
The ways we hear.
The languages we read.
Influence our thoughts and ideas.

Words have the power to change the way we think or even how we remember.

Words convey symbolic ideas beyond their meaning.

The stories we tell and the ways we describe and name our environment are reflections of our attitudes and beliefs.

—Mary Ellen Strom

Mary Ellen Strom speaks to the group before the Cherry River event. Photo: Jane Chin Davidson

A Map for White Settler Awakening

Mary Ellen Strom

I am from Butte, Montana, a hard-rock mining town in the Rocky Mountain West, a town that pulled more than a billion tons of copper out of the ground in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The copper mine in Butte is called the Berkeley Pit. The Berkeley Pit is the focus of the United States' largest Superfund site. The cavernous pit is now a 900-foot-deep poisonous lake, with vast networks of contaminated subterranean tunnels. That is over ten thousand miles of tunnels filled with toxic water under the city of Butte. These staggering numbers explain the scale of extraction that happened in this town and the story of the environmental catastrophe that followed.

Butte, Montana, has one of the highest crime rates in the United States, compared to communities of all sizes. Poverty, violence, and cancer define this town. The copper brought tens of thousands of immigrants from around the world to work in this place, known for significant danger. At its peak, ten thousand men worked a shift in the mines.

There were three shifts a day in an industry operating 24/7. At the start of a shift, workers were transported thousands of feet below the Earth's surface to send up the copper. This dangerous work guaranteed accidents. Growing up in this community, I learned to read the workers' bodies: missing hands were from dynamite explosions; a crushed leg meant a fall down a vertical shaft; scarred faces were from underground fires; life in a wheelchair was the result of a cable snap that plummeted an elevator cage down thousands of feet. After the introduction of the machine drill, generations of workers with respiratory disease carried oxygen tanks in public. My grandfather, Mike O'Rourke, died of silicosis. My uncle, Mickey O'Rourke, the elevator operator at the Kelly Mine (who was mean as all get out) was permanently bent over at the waist, like a sideways "L."

In the early twentieth century, Butte supplied more than half the copper wire that electrified the United States. This new technology transformed workplaces and domestic spaces. Electricity altered human relationships to time, labor, and sleep. World War I brought on new pressures of production in Butte's mines, which were already running at capacity. The companies ramped up output by digging deeper and enlisting larger work crews. Danger was omnipresent.

Labor unrest raged in this town that banked their hope on socialist ideologies and the possibility of unionization. Sabotage threats resulted in federal troops, state militia, and Pinkerton guards stationed in Butte from 1914 until 1921. I grew up with stories of soldiers with guns marching striking workers into the mines to pull out the copper.

In the late nineteenth century, at the same time that Butte's extraction industry was ramping up, the violent, militarized genocide of Indigenous people was taking place throughout the arid territory west of the 100th meridian. Racist legal and systemic structures began to regulate settler ethics. Hostile visions of a blank slate, presumptions of limitless growth, property ownership, and an endless drive for resource extraction was the capitalist ambition that remains in place today.

Following the genocide and displacement of Indigenous people who had inhabited the region for thirteen thousand years, white institutions were rapidly formed, including government and juridical systems, schools, businesses, religious organizations, and law enforcement and prison systems. These institutions enforced social control, maintained order, and ensured class conformity. These same white institutions privileged and protected white settlers.

Today, these intact systems and structures of white settler colonialism in the Western region of the United States continue to reward citizens of European extraction, who occupy and prosper on stolen lands. These same systems created a pattern of white generational poverty in many farming and mining communities that were designed to benefit the white elite. We have a white settler problem in the Rocky Mountain West. We also have an environmental crisis that was designed and has been maintained by white settler industries for the last two hundred fifty years. When I say "we," I mean white settlers.

The climate emergency is accelerating at a much higher speed than white settlers' awareness about racial injustice and white settlers' empathy. A knotted social and environmental disaster is fueled by present day white settler ethics and colonialism. The genocide of Indigenous people and the white settler industries that rapidly transformed the land continue to be an intact system that "we" continue to perform and reproduce. Today, economic inequality persists to produce unequal vulnerabilities to environmental injustices.

The myth of the Western region of the United States is a place of endless sublime landscapes. In *Race and Nature from Transcendentalism to the Harlem Renaissance*, Paul Outka notes that "'wilderness' functions in almost definitionally ideological terms. It marks a dehistoricized space in which the erasure of the histories of human habitation, ecological alteration, and native genocide that preceded its 'wild' valorization is, literally, naturalized."[5] That is the myth that has been held in place by two hundred fifty years of white environmentalism, two hundred fifty years of climate change denialism, a nationalistic optimism that ensures excessive growth, and, currently, green capitalism.

The Western region does indeed feature sublime geographic sites, but the land has been ravaged by extraction. Extreme alteration of the landscape through extraction was built into the very legislation that governed the westward expansion. Over fifty percent of the Intermountain West is owned by the federal government, which leases land to large mining companies for energy exploration. Rapid agricultural growth, clear-cutting forests, and mining transformed the region, creating critical environmental disasters. In 2020, almost all the mineral and fossil-fuel extraction that takes place in the United States is produced west of the 100th meridian—in the arid West. The fossil fuel industries that include fracking and mining for oil, natural gas, and coal remain highly incentivized and liberally regulated. As fossil fuels become scarcer and demand grows, a huge percentage of land is being transformed by new mining operations.

The fracking industry that uses hydraulic fracturing to extract oil and gas from the earth has boomed and keeps rising in North Dakota's Bakken shale. Fracking annually consumes trillions of gallons of fresh water in this arid region susceptible to drought, spills have contaminated the soil and

groundwater, and gas is continually flared or vented and being released directly into the atmosphere. Men from all over the world have streamed into this region to cash in on high-paying fracking and pipeline jobs. The encroachment of the Dakota Access Pipeline on the Standing Rock reservation in this area and other Indigenous communities has caused enormous social and environmental threats, including the rape, disappearance, and murder of Indigenous women and girls, especially in the vicinity of the Bakken oil fields and the Dakota Access Pipeline. Moreover, the pipeline has leaked crude oil that affects water supplies, emits high percentages of greenhouse gasses in the region, has disturbed sacred sites, and has brought significant new crime to the area.

The white, capitalist, settler, colonial ethic that was established in the Western United States during the eighteen and nineteenth centuries continues to be responsible for present-day crimes against Indigenous people and their land. The social, educational, medical, legal, and economic privilege for which white settler colonists laid the groundwork continues to be enacted and reenacted in the twenty-first century. Current white settlers need to acknowledge, interrogate, and reform their identities in order to take action toward restitution. White sellers have caused and continue to cause great suffering to Indigenous communities in the western United States. Like all whiteness, the category is perfectly masked, and in the Intermountain West, white settler identity is further complicated by extremes of white wealth and white poverty.

The colonial legacy persists into the present in the form of socioeconomic inequality, racism, discrimination, and political marginalization of Indigenous communities. Indigenous nations are still losing their land base and facing infringement from resource extraction and mining companies, property developers, and the pressures of urbanization. The arid West accounts for the increasing droughts, floods, and fires that have devasted vast areas of US land, but the activity that altered the landscape most profoundly was mining.

In the twenty-first century, this region remains dominated by predominantly white institutions. Yet, white settlers live in communities that are separate from Indigenous communities. White settlers are insulated from the racial, economic, and environmental struggles of Indigenous people. White settlers are also cut off from the deep environmental knowledge of Indigenous people.

Indigenous and new immigrant communities are the most vulnerable to the impacts of white colonial environmental wreckage of stolen land that was formerly sustained and flourished for thousands of years by Indigenous stewardship. We, the white settlers, must dismantle the white power structures in our core institutions. We must unlearn a white-centered worldview that has caused generational mental and physical trauma to Indigenous people. We must own the environmental crisis caused by white colonial industries built on stolen land and work toward restoration. We must abdicate our political offices and positions of power to Indigenous peoples and recognize their leadership. We must relinquish the economic privilege that our white skin, white educations, and white legal protections have afforded us. We must acknowledge that these privileges have existed at the expense and great suffering of Indigenous people. We must learn from Indigenous people what reparations are required and do the work of legislation and policy change. The reparations are big and deep and can never come close to undoing the damage done and the damage that persists. They include:

- Restore land and water rights
- Enforce criminal justice and reduce incarceration of Indigenous people
- Return place names of geographic sites to their Indigenous names
- Change school curricula to accurately depict the Western region's genocidal legacy
- Recognize intergenerational trauma impact on mental and physical health
- Organize efforts to locate missing girls and women and prosecute perpetrators
- Repatriate remains and cultural artifacts and ensure conservation of those objects
- Recognize and eliminate bias in state and federal law enforcement

We are the heirs to whatever is right or wrong. We did not erect the uneven pillars or joists, but they are ours to deal with now. ■

Photos: Jane Chin Davidson

Viewers are led to the bank across from the location where the rivers mix, for the second set. The brass band, the Fox Family Fiddlers, and the choir perform together. The combination of scores and styles arranged by musical director Ruby Fulton integrates music, the visual arts, and dance. The success of the performance mixing comes partly from the sound of water running cohesively through every scene.

The movement of three dancers—Melissa Dawn, Michael O'Reilly, and Elly Stormer-Vadseth—are reflected in the water, reinforcing the idea that humanity is not separate from nature and embracing life lived in harmony with the natural world. The second act ends in an uplifting crescendo as all the musicians play together, while the dancers dive into the water as a baptismal disruption to the river.

The brass band begins playing songs such as "Wade in the Water," of the African American spiritual tradition. Photo: Ben Lloyd

Blackfoot representatives Grace King and Jaya King dedicate a prayer at the river to the four sacred directions of the earth and to the creator, offering berries to the water and sacred tobacco to the land.

Photo: Mary Ellen Strom

Photo: Jane Chin Davidson

The final act brings the audience to the star of the show, the Cherry River. The powerful ending, like the start of the performance, is marked by the assertion of women in seminal roles.

Viewers are guided to the other side of the Headwaters Park to face the river. Once there, they hear the Northern Cree Singers drumming and singing as they come up the river on four drift boats. After disembarking, the singers perform their Cree "Cuttin' Song." By the time Chontay Mitchell Standing Rock completes his Chippewa Cree solo, the audience members (a mix of people but mostly the Bozeman area community) are dancing.

Mary Ellen Strom *is an artist, curator, educator, and writer whose work focuses on social and environmental justice.* ***Shane Doyle*** *is a member of the Crow Tribe and an Indigenous scholar and musician.*

Notes

1 Editors' Note: We include this assemblage of images, poetry, and first-person narratives by Mary Ellen Strom and Shane Doyle in this collection of articles as an example of the kind of practice we feel is directly in dialogue with the legacy of Okwui Enwezor's decolonial actions. The rise of interest in the rights of Indigenous people in North America aligns with many of Enwezor's groundbreaking initiatives around the world. In particular, the exhibitions that are examined by the contributors of this special issue of *Nka* acknowledge Enwezor's innovative use of curatorial strategies such as confronting postapartheid culture head-on with the 1997 Johannesburg Biennale; connecting the postcolonial conditions of diverse geographies through the various platforms of 2002 Documenta11; recognizing surrealist artists of color as a review of the "superiority of French culture" in the 2012 *Intense Proximité*, La Triennale, Paris; and addressing the refugee crisis at the 2015 Venice Biennale. Enwezor called the platforms devised for Documenta11 as "interlocking constellations of discursive domains, circuits of artistic and knowledge production, and research modules," which he implemented to confront the "complex predicaments of contemporary art in a time of profound historical change and global transformation." [Enwezor, "The Black Box," in *Documenta11_Platform 5* (exhibition catalogue) (Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2002), 42]. The use of "constellations" as a methodology is especially effective, and while Enwezor was not an explicit source of inspiration or invoked for the Cherry River project, the futures of Enwezor are palpable in this anticolonial project restoring the past to reimagine the present.—Jane Chin Davidson and Alpesh Kantilal Patel

2 As Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin (1761–1849) devised the financial plan for the Louisiana Purchase, then skillfully resolved the constitutional conflicts that complicated the business deal with France. In 1803, the Louisiana Purchase was by far the largest territorial gain in US history. However, France only controlled a small fraction of this 828,000 square-mile area, with most of the land inhabited by Indigenous people. What the United States bought was the "preemptive" right to obtain Indian lands by treaty or by conquest, to the exclusion of other colonial powers.

The Louisiana Purchase extended the United States across the Mississippi River, nearly doubling the size of the country. This land acquisition was negotiated between France and the United States, without consulting the numerous Indigenous tribes who lived on the land and who had not ceded the land to these colonial powers. The ten decades that followed the Louisiana Purchase was an era of court decisions removing tribes from their lands and violent genocide.

To help solidify the land acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson proposed the so-called Corps of Discovery, or the Lewis and Clark expedition. Gallatin supported Jefferson's project, viewing the westward trip in financial terms. He knew that land in the territory Lewis and Clark were "exploring" could eventually be sold. However, most of the region needed to be described, categorized, and mapped. These actions would articulate the resources for extraction and agriculture in the region and, therefore, raise the land's monetary value.

When reviewing Lewis and Clark's charge to find a Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean, Gallatin feared negative public opinion if the expedition failed. He wanted positive publicity, no matter what happened; therefore, he lobbied to reframe the trip as an expedition for scientific discovery. Lewis and Clark became "scientists" in search of species and unknown geological locations in the western region. They compulsively categorized and named animal and plant species and geological sites, including the Gallatin River. Lewis and Clark named the three rivers that form the Headwaters of the Missouri after Gallatin, Jefferson (standing President), and Madison (Secretary of State).

3 Cherry River is only one of Mountain Time Arts's (MTA) projects that have raised deep-seated questions about the European invasion that caused a cultural and ecological crisis in the Rocky Mountain West. With the understanding that collaboration is the way to generate new knowledges of this region's critical cultural and environmental issues, the community examines the role humans play on planet Earth and the ways in which we produce, reproduce, and consume our material environment. MTA's projects look at the capitalist imperative to own and control nature and recognize local problems, including draught, fire, floods, ice jams, and extreme weather, as the earth talking back. Fundamental questions focus on ideas and actions for renovating and changing human perspectives and, most important, regenerating the Earth. At this historic moment, diverse knowledges are required to work toward solutions. Creating Cherry River provided an interplay between diverse cultures and disciplines. This is both a nuts-and-bolts pursuit to move toward yet undiscovered conservation practices and a way to dialogue about our different behaviors toward the land and each other.

4 The Métis are an aboriginal people of Native-Celtic-French descent. Fiddle music is an intrinsic part of the lifestyle.

5 Paul Outka, "Introduction: The Sublime and the Traumatic," *Race and Nature: From Transcendentalism to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 2.