March 2023

"Emerging and Submerging": Silence, Commemoration, and Sexual Violence in Minneapolis

Alissa Roy
University of South Florida

“Emerging and Submerging”: Silence, Commemoration, and Sexual Violence in Minneapolis

by

Alissa Roy

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
with a concentration in Public History
Department of History
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Philip Levy, Ph.D.
Brian Connolly, Ph.D.
K. Stephen Prince, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
March 8, 2023

Keywords: commemoration, memory, sexual violence, Survivors Memorial

Acknowledgments

I wish to express the deepest thanks to Sarah Super, without whom, there would be no Survivors Memorial to study and heal from at all. The English language lacks the verbiage to adequately capture her courage, strength, and dedication to all survivors, but I will acknowledge them anyways. Sarah generously facilitated introductions to many of the incredible interviewees whose eloquent words appear here and spoke to me with the deepest candor and compassion. Sarah also provided me with access to her own personal archive for this project. Returning to these materials was painful and difficult and she opened them to me despite this. Sarah continues to give to other survivors of sexual violence, even to her own detriment. Doing this work is taxing, healing, triggering, inspiring – it is all the things. Thank you for the tears, smiles, and tough conversations. I hope to do them justice.

Next, I would like to thank Rachel Blaseg, Karla Ekdahl, Lori Greene, Joan MacLeod, and Mary and Rob Super for the incredibly difficult emotional and physical work they put into the Survivors Memorial and beyond. I am eternally grateful to you all for opening up to me in the most vulnerable and illuminating ways. I will cherish our conversations always. Many experiences grow faint over time, but the feelings of compassion and warmth I received from you all has not dulled in my memory, not even a bit. Remembering these conversations provides me with a sense of community and support on the days I need it most. I can only hope this work might do the same for you.

Indeed, this work would not be the same without an understanding of how the Memorial has been received. I would be remiss not to thank the brave and generous anonymous

interviewees who sat, many times for hours, divulging indescribably painful experiences with a total stranger – in 5 degree weather no less. For those who needed more time before they could talk, I am at a loss for words to adequately thank you for carefully considering and ultimately deciding to share your experience and voice. To trust that someone would listen, and care, and that your voice might serve a larger purpose. To my fellow survivors/victims and their allies, you are never alone. I hope to let your voices shine in their own light and truth.

I could not in good conscience fail to acknowledge the support and brilliance of so many incredible professors whom I've had the pleasure of knowing and learning from during my time at the University of South Florida. To Richard Byington, Brian Connolly, Darcie Fontaine, Julia Irwin, Matthew Knight, Larissa Kopytoff, Philip Levy, Suzanne Murray, Scott Perry, K. Stephen Prince, and Cassandra Yaccovazzi, you have provided me with an infinite wealth of support – academically and emotionally. I owe so much of the historian and person that I am to you all. I am humbled and blessed to have had a graduate experience that is in so many ways exceptional. The level of support and time you've devoted to my growth as an historian is something I do not take lightly – and is certainly not the norm. You are all exceptionally brilliant, warm, generous, and inspiring people.

To my committee members Brian Connolly and K. Stephen Prince, I am honored and eternally in your debt for the time, care, and consideration with which you approached this project. Brian Connolly, thank you for the wonderful sources, insight, and excitement you brought to this project. K. Stephen Prince, thank you for walking me through important pieces of this project time and again and always providing crucial suggestions. Little did either of us know during that first semester of Analysis, that your work and insight into silences would inspire my own.

With the deepest thanks I must acknowledge my devoted mentor Philip Levy. I am immeasurably grateful for the generosity you've shown me with your time and thoughtful conversations. I can't imagine most will know what it's like to have someone discuss their work for six hours or more at a time. I will cherish these conversations, always. You challenge me to think critically about my writing and the stories that take shape – this would not be what it is without your thoughtful feedback. I am immeasurably grateful to have you for an advisor.

Historians could not do what we do without incredible archivists and other professionals of the field. To Bailey Diers, Ted Hathaway, and Jenna Jacobs at James K. Hosmer Special Collections in the Hennepin County Library – you are all one in a million. Bailey, thank you for the care and dedication with which you approached my project. I am so thankful for the maps and webs you created to help me grasp early Minneapolis history. Jenna, you are such an incredible archivist. The time you took to talk about my project and the sources you suggested were essential to this project. Thank you also to Ted for immediately getting in touch with me to make this trip as fruitful as it could be. I could not have done this without you all.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues from the University of South Florida. To Sofia Almeida, Tiffany Edwards, Kiley Fuller, Madeleine Kraft, Tamala Malerk, Scott Miller, Alaina Scapicchio and Sarah Whiting – I am so fortunate to have met you all during my time at the University of South Florida. Alaina, thank you for the generosity that you show as an historian and friend. Madeleine, I owe a debt to you that cannot soon be repaid. Our conversations changed the course of this project. Tiffany, I am so thankful for your keen insight and our venting sessions. You are brilliant and kind – and I am blessed to have you in my life.

Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Chapter One: “Emerging and Submerging”: Silence, Commemoration, and Sexual Violence in Minneapolis 1

Bibliography 50

Abstract

Dedicated in Minneapolis in October 2020, the Survivors Memorial became the first permanent memorial to survivors of sexual violence in the United States. However, as my research reveals, sexual violence has long been a part of the commemorative landscape in northeast Minneapolis. Whereas the Survivors Memorial explicitly commemorates survivors of sexual violence, a much older site, the 1936 Pioneers Monument - commemorates sexual violence through silence. This thesis argues that with the building and dedication of the Survivors Memorial, a different memory than the one embodied within the Pioneers Monument begins to take shape. An older narrative of peaceful conquest and passive Native encounters with white settlers is no longer tenable. Transformed into a more complex and painful version of memory and historical events, the Survivors Memorial and its creation, dedication, and reception helps to undo the layers of silence and misdirection present in the same processes of the Pioneers Monument. Intertwining their stories illuminates how the commemorative landscape in Minneapolis has changed over time, from one of silence, erasure, and forgetting, to one that explicitly reckons with sexual violence enacted against Native and other marginalized peoples historically and contemporarily.

Chapter One: "Emerging and Submerging": Silence, Commemoration, and Sexual Violence in Minneapolis

"There's one big path that goes straight to the [Pioneers] memorial…there's a statue and it says "Pioneers." It's like an ode to white pioneers. And it's important that [the Survivors Memorial] wasn't within eyeshot of that because of whose experience, and an experience of pioneers as colonizers."[1]

- Break the Silence, Sarah Super, 2022

"I know someone hit [the Pioneer Statue] with a car…a lot of times its spray paint or thrown paint and stuff like that, you know? I think they're more so trying to erase a part of history because they deemed someone to be racist or because their views don't, you know, intersect with that of whatever the monument displays."[2]

- Minneapolis Government Employee, 2022

"We have the Pioneer statue, which is located pretty close to [the Survivors Memorial]…we are right in there with the national discussion…What's our story telling? What's our responsibility?"[3]

- Minneapolis Parks and Recreation Board Employee, 2022

The Survivors Memorial stands on Boom Island Park in northeast Minneapolis, just a short distance to the east of the winding waters of the Mississippi River. An industrial array of metal and glass come into view beyond the river – the Minneapolis skyline. In the immediate landscape, greenery and the flow of the river are juxtaposed by the harsh angles of high-rise buildings observed in the distance. From the vantage point of the Survivors Memorial, one has a panoramic view of the surrounding landscape which hosts grass-covered fields, a playground, and many concrete pathways. Their juxtaposition offer entry into the many different elements present within the commemorative landscape.

[1] Sarah Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[2] Minneapolis Government Employee, interviewed by author, March 15, 2022.
[3] Minneapolis Parks and Recreation Board Employee, interviewed by author, March 14, 2022.

Walking toward the Survivors Memorial the pavement gradually begins to rise. Guided to a small plaque, it claims the space as a memorial to survivors of sexual violence wherein two prominent metaphors are at work – ripples and mosaic. While ripples represent the multiplying power of breaking the silence that surrounds sexual violence, mosaic works to depict how what is broken can be made whole again. Moving forward, the first of three rectangular mosaic columns come into sharper view. Mosaic panels blanket both sides of the columns. The mosaics begin by depicting feelings of grief and isolation embodied in an unsexed/unraced figure. The figure transforms into a Woman of Color by the third panel, whose initial journey from isolation leads her back to a diverse community.

Rather than mosaic, the final panel of the Survivors Memorial is composed of polished granite, which reflects the image of the viewer, inviting engagement and interaction.[4] It reads:

> "This Memorial, which stands on the land of the Dakota Oyate, honors the experiences of the countless people in Minnesota who have endured sexual violence.
>
> Survivors surround all of us, though we often don't know who they are. Survivors have been silenced by a justice system that fails to hold perpetrators accountable and by a society that most often invalidates, blames, and shames survivors if they speak out.
>
> As a community, we are choosing to break the silence that protects perpetrators and isolates survivors in their suffering. Judith Herman, M.D., wrote, "All the perpetrator asks is that the bystander do nothing…the victim, on the contrary, asks the bystander to share the burden of pain. The victim demands action, engagement, and remembering."
>
> Let this Memorial be a place for dialogue and truth-telling, a place that inspires allies to engage and take action, a place to remember the horrific reality of sexual violence that is prevalent in every community in Minnesota. Let this memorial state that we believe survivors, support survivors, and stand with survivors in solidarity."[5]

[4] For an in depth explanation of the landscape see "Nation's first permanent Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence will be celebrated in virtual ceremony October 10," Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, last modified October 9, 2020, https://www.minneapolisparks.org/news/2020/10/09/nations-first-permanent-memorial-to-survivors-of-sexual-violence-will-be-celebrated-in-virtual-ceremony-october-10/.
[5] Sarah Super, granite panel within the Survivors Memorial.

Each of the three column spines build upon the message present in the final panel. They read: "We believe you. We stand with you. You are not alone."[6] Every column is crowned with lights and more ripples, illuminating a light of hope out of the darkness.

Next, a circle of benches welcomes the viewer by offering space for conversation and reflection. Extending the work of the polished granite panel which invites the viewers image, the circle invites their voice. By sharing their experiences with others, survivor's memories might be remembered. The viewer steps over a perimeter of shattered rock and into the circle. The soil that surrounds the circle of benches is sculpted higher, as if to hold those who come here. The work of the ripple metaphor continues as they spread throughout the concrete base of the circle in varied directions.

While the Survivors Memorial attempts to offer an inclusive space for survivors' remembrance and healing, another monument within this commemorative landscape depicts something quite different. Turning southeast from the Survivors Memorial, the viewer looks to B.F. Nelson Park, where the 1936 Pioneers Monument stands so close and yet just out of view. Following the central concrete pathway to B.F. Nelson, the Pioneers Monument appears to the viewers left. Given its proximity to the only pathway, one cannot walk through the park and avoid encountering the Pioneers Monument. Towering over the viewer at more than 23 feet tall, it depicts three generations of white "pioneers" atop a rectangular base – an old man holding a rifle, a younger man with a plow, and woman holding a baby. Sheaves of grain are carved into the granite behind them. The front of the rectangular base provides the sole text present at the Pioneers Monument. It plainly reads, "PIONEERS." An anterior relief is carved into the granite, which depicts Native peoples interacting with Father Louis Hennepin, credited with having

[6] Super, granite panel within the Survivors Memorial.

"found" St. Anthony Falls, which would eventually become Minneapolis. The Native peoples offer the French missionary a peace pipe. The relief is positioned behind and below the white pioneer family. Without any text to contextualize the relief, the Pioneers Monument imagery evokes a sanitized and passive depiction of Native peoples and their interactions with white colonizers. The peaceful version of white conquest perpetuated by the Pioneers Monument then, acts like nobody was raped at all. Nearly one-hundred years later though, the Survivors Memorial explicitly reckons with this violence, and in so doing, recontextualizes the Pioneers Monument and its sanitized version of colonization.

***

Dedicated in Minneapolis in October 2020, the Survivors Memorial became the first permanent memorial to survivors of sexual violence in the United States. However, as my research reveals, sexual violence has long been a part of the commemorative landscape in northeast Minneapolis. Whereas the Survivors Memorial explicitly commemorates survivors of sexual violence, a much older site, the 1936 Pioneers Monument - commemorates sexual violence through silence. This thesis argues that with the building and dedication of the Survivors Memorial, a different memory than the one embodied within the Pioneers Monument begins to take shape. An older narrative of peaceful conquest and passive Native encounters with white settlers is no longer tenable. Transformed into a more complex and painful version of memory and historical events, the Survivors Memorial and its creation, dedication, and reception helps to undo the layers of silence and misdirection present in the same processes of the Pioneers Monument. Intertwining their stories illuminates how the commemorative landscape in Minneapolis has changed over time, from one of silence, erasure, and forgetting, to one that

explicitly reckons with sexual violence enacted against Native and other marginalized peoples historically and contemporarily.

This research began with a series of oral history interviews I conducted with a wide range of people who helped erect the Survivors Memorial. While discussing the Survivors Memorial with my interviewees (as the epigraphs above illustrate), the Pioneers Monument repeatedly and organically entered the conversation surrounding the commemorative landscape in Minneapolis. Their statements illuminated provocative connections between the two monuments and the commemorative landscape in Minneapolis. Sarah Super, most notably, described the Pioneers Monument as "an ode to white pioneers."[7] As an anonymous employee of the city, on the other hand, viewed the vandalism of the Pioneers Monument in 2020 as "erasing a part of history."[8] This thesis challenges this viewpoint by uncovering much deeper erasures and silences that have shadowed this monument since its erection in 1936. Indeed, I demonstrate how historical erasure is embedded in every aspect of the Pioneers Monument. An anonymous Minneapolis Park Board official hinted at these very questions – "What's our story telling? What's our responsibility?"[9]

***

Historians have long discussed the history of sexual violence in the United States, but few have looked at how these experiences have been physically commemorated.[10] Because

[7] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[8] Minneapolis Government Employee, interviewed by author, May 15, 2022.
[9] Minneapolis Parks and Recreation Board Employee, interviewed by author, March 14, 2022.
[10] Scholarship from historical fields outside public history addressing sexual violence include Eric Rise, *The Martinsville Seven: Race, Rape, and Capital Punishment* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 1995); *Sex Without Consent: Rape and Sexual Coercion in America*, ed. M.D. Smith (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Wendy Anne Warren, " 'The Cause of Her Grief': The Rape of a Slave in Early New England," *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (2007): 1031-1049; Joanna Bourke, *Rape: Sex, Violence, History* (Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 2009), Danielle McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance – A New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011); Estelle Freedman, *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

monuments occupy public space, their creation and reception intimately connect with what we choose to remember and forget. Their analysis becomes integral to a more holistic understanding of sexual violence and memory. Scholars of historical memory have shown that memorials and monuments are important commemorative objects connected to collective memory.[11] As Ana Lucia Araujo explains, collective memory is "a modality of memory that is deeply shaped" and "even determined by the group that can be as vast as a nation or as small as a family unit."[12] Drawing from Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Paul Ricoeur, and Pierre Nora, Araujo also describes collective memory as "plural, fragmented, and dynamic."[13] Monuments are the material objects imbued with fragmented and selective collective memories. Therefore, they facilitate the processes of forgetting, silencing, and erasure within their communities.

In his book *Memory, History, Forgetting*, French philosopher Paul Ricoeur argues that "forgetting indeed remains the disturbing threat that lurks in the background of the phenomenology of memory and of the epistemology of history."[14] He goes on to argue that acts of forgetting occur at numerous stages, potentially causing the most harm when connected to collective memories.[15] Addressing commemoration and the practice of history, Ricoeur argues that both remembering and forgetting are inextricably tied to commemorative practices and their

[11] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985); James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (1996): 7–23; *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, eds. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Dell Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?," in *Commemoration in America: Essays on Monuments, Memorialization, and Memory*, eds. David Walter Gobel and Daves Rossell (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013); James E. Young, *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016); Ana Lucia Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory: Engaging the Past* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021).
[12] Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory*, 4.
[13] Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory*, 4.
[14] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting,* 412.
[15] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 443-444.

competing representations.[16] His thoughts on forgetting provide critical theoretical ground to the study of monuments and sexual violence within commemorative landscapes.

Furthermore, many scholars of commemoration have shown how collective (and collected) memories, and their embodied materialization through monuments, are often challenged by competing representations and memories.[17]Ari Kelman, for example, explicitly reckons with the process of creating a memorial for the Sand Creek massacre, using the Sand Creek memorial as a case study on memorializing a traumatic and contested past. Kelman articulates how Arapaho and Cheyenne descendants and their memories of these events conflicted with the national narrative and were often excluded.[18] He argues that Indigenous memories in histories and the commemorative landscape were "more often forgotten than remembered."[19] By inserting themselves in the process of erecting a memorial, however, Indigenous descendants of Sand Creek created a polyvocal space. The narrative of Sand Creek as a massacre intertwined with the narrative of whitewashed westward expansion, courageousness, and white pioneers.[20] Kelman leaves us with a provocative cliff-hanger, speculating how the memorial will ultimately be received by visitors, as both "history and memory are malleable."[21]

Additionally, scholars who focus on the intention(s) and reception of memorials add another layer to the analysis of memory work with monuments and memorials.[22] As Dell Upton

[16] Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 409-411, 448-449.
[17] Cynthia Culver Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments: Constructing Cultural Memory* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 51-52; Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 20-25; Young, *The Stages of Memory, 8.*
[18] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre,* 270.
[19] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 270.
[20] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre,* 226-262; 279.
[21] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 279.
[22] See Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory*; Dell Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?," in *Commemoration in America: Essays on Monuments, Memorialization, and Memory*, eds. David Walter Gobel and Daves Rossell (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013); James E. Young, *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016).

argues in "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" there are "three rules of thumb about monument-building."[23] Monuments attempt to communicate a particular remembrance, "*to remember in a certain light*."[24] They also communicate more about the period in which the monument was created than they do about the events or individuals being commemorated.[25] Upton's third point intersects with his first: monument builders promote their work as offering "the nation's gratitude…[they] claim to speak for everyone."[26] Looking at the monument to Stonewall Jackson in Charlottesville, Upton explains how the United Daughters of the Confederacy recalled very different memories than Black Virginians when addressing the monument. These tensions make clear that the commemorative process actively promotes remembering and, conversely but connectedly, forgetting, silencing, and erasure.

The erasure of Native memories perpetuated by commemorative spaces and events, and the versions of the past that they depict, have particular consequences and approaches to consider. Native American memory scholars argue that the process of naming public space illuminates several aspects of collective and competing memories, and their relationship(s) to power. In *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, for instance, Jean O'Brien argues "claiming is present in the very process of naming."[27] By insisting they were the "first" Americans, white New Englanders claimed English settlement in the Americas as the proper beginning of American history, disavowing Indigenous claims to the land by altering the national memory of who was here first and by extension, memories of ownership.[28] Naming, then, promotes the remembrance of some participants while it silences and writes out

[23] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?," 20.
[24] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?," 20. (Emphasis with the author)
[25] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?," 20.
[26] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?," 25.
[27] Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 2.
[28] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 2.

others. In his book *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, John Bodnar explains how inscribing the names of the "old-time lumbermen" who "built" Michigan transformed, through the memorialscape, Michiganders' memory of these lumbermen from ordinary people into pioneer heroes.[29] White pioneers are not only depicted as "first," then, but also as martyrs of progress and civilization.

The need to create and perpetuate such narratives, however, illuminates certain tensions. For instance, Bodnar and Cynthia Culver Prescott have argued that American pioneer monuments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries frequently reflect concerns about industrialization, shifting gender roles, and changing social hierarchies. Bodnar suggests that these concerns contributed to pioneer monument building by recalling a "mythic Midwest" where early pioneers had conquered rugged terrain.[30] Furthermore, Prescott argues that white anxieties materialized within pioneer monuments, which depicted pioneer mothers and families, thereby promoting white civilization, traditional women's roles, and an "idyllic rural frontier past."[31] Inherent in such idealized representations of the past is the simultaneous silencing of that deemed undesirable to remember. Those who praised pioneers actively silenced competing memories held by Native peoples that acknowledged the many forms of violence, sexual and otherwise, enacted by white settlers against Indigenous peoples.

James E. Young engages with the notion of competing memories, remembering, and forgetting, by analyzing "collected memory" rather than "collective."[32] His use of collected memory provides particularly fertile opportunities for engaging with competing memories

---

[29] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1992), 127.
[30] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 121.
[31] Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments*, 51. While Prescott engages with Daniel's Pioneers Monument, it appears only briefly alongside her analysis of 200 other monuments/memorials. See pages 123-124, 261-262, and 286-287.
[32] Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 15.

surrounding violence and power. In *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between*, he also acknowledges that public memorials transform disparate memories into "common" understandings, or perhaps, into national memory.[33] The meanings we ascribe to life and to memorials "are animated by… a constant tug and pull between memory and oblivion."[34] As a dynamic process, Young confirms the active components present in the work of both remembering and forgetting.

In *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot also engages with questions of remembrance and forgetting. Trouillot presents silencing as active, a *process* by which sources, the archive, narratives, and history create and compound silences.[35] For Trouillot, silences exist not only as erasure but also through the production of certain narratives and representations of the past that perpetuate certain memories, while evading others.[36] It is with these silences in mind that this thesis analyzes what is being said, and therefore unsaid, through the commemorative landscape in Minneapolis.[37] Marisa Fuentes' *Dispossesed Lives* examines Caribbean slave society in Barbados, suggesting a crucial method for reading into silences within the archive, or what Trouillot refers to as the second stage of silence production.[38] Advocating for a "reading along the bias grain" rather than "against" it, Fuentes challenges the longstanding conception that some stories are simply lost, and instead urges historians to explore what can be recovered from archival silences.[39] Colonial archives are inherently silent surrounding sexual violence against marginalized women and, therefore,

[33] Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 15.
[34] Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 16.
[35] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26. See 21-22 for a brief discussion of memorials and silencing.
[36] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 27-28, 115-116.
[37] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 115-116.
[38] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.
[39] Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 126-129.

fragments of sources must be used to get at these narratives/experiences, even if they are often incomplete. All the aforementioned scholars explicitly acknowledge or suggest that commemorative landscapes have the power to silence, erase, and aid forgetting. These silences are inherently and inseparably intertwined with commemorative depictions of sexual violence and conquest.

If physical commemoration complicates remembrance and forgetting, the role of voice and voicelessness are also crucial to memory and understanding representations of the past and present. The oral history interviews included in this thesis critically enrich the historiography, infusing it with the voices of survivors and their allies. They shed light on the tension between what is remembered and forgotten, and highlight the complicated relationship between the two. In "Regarding the Pain of Women," Young analyzes how the physical and written representations of female experiences are often separated from "traditional versions of Holocaust history" - what Joan Ringelheim called the "split between gender and genocide."[40] Holocaust history and women's experiences in the Holocaust were perceived as distinct, allowing women's experiences to be relegated to a separate conceptual framework. As Young states, "it is often this voicelessness itself that endures as a theme in art and writing.[41] Overwriting female victims voices with our own narrative renders their own as "silence or absence."[42] This thesis therefore intentionally aims to provide the voices of the Survivors Memorial builders, in their own truth and at center, through the use of block quotations. My analysis aims to sit next to, and at times intersect with their voices, while refraining from superseding them. After all, how does one write about silences while advertently contributing to them?

[40] James E. Young, "Regarding the Pain of Women," in *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016),
[41] Young, "Regarding the Pain of Women," 113.
[42] Young, "Regarding the Pain of Women," 113.

Oral historians and their methods help us to carefully consider how our analysis can achieve balance between historian-interviewee voice(s). In *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*, Michael Frisch argues that historians must "search out the sources and consequences of our active ignore-ance."[43] He argues that we should create scholarship which explores remembrance and memory in ways that make the sources "active and alive, as opposed to mere objects of collection."[44] Taking Frisch's warning of ignore-ance into consideration, this thesis argues that "proximity" rather than "distance" is actually more useful. Identifying as a survivor does not make one's experience and insights "the same" as other survivors. It does, however, add a layer of concern and caution in perpetuating the objection and silence we experience(d) to varying degrees and in different ways – one that goes far beyond standard ethical concerns. At the same time, Frisch warns that "to be limited to the exact sequence and linkages" as spoken by the interviewee, "is to deny such speakers the privilege of communicating their fuller experience."[45] His points make it clear that there is a delicate line between silencing and failing to connect survivors' stories to the larger analytical point. On the one hand, historians risk perpetuating voicelessness by overriding the voices of our subjects, whereas on the other, we fail to elucidate their meaning.

***

In 1930 the U.S. Postal Service sought to build a new post office in downtown Minneapolis. Before the Postal Service would agree to a contract, however, they "suggested" city officials provide an "attractive" backdrop, which the city envisioned as a park.[46] At the height of

[43] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 1990), 27.
[44] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 27.
[45] Frisch, *A Shared Authority*, 86.
[46] David C. Smith, "The Yard" – or Downtown East Commons: A Caution from Minneapolis Park History," *Minneapolis Park History*, July 6, 2014, https://minneapolisparkhistory.com/tag/pioneer-square/; David C. Smith, "Lost Minneapolis Parks: The Complete List, Part II," *Minneapolis Park History*, July 23, 2012,

the Great Depression, Minneapolis city officials understood that accessing federal funds would provide much needed jobs to Minneapolis residents.[47] City officials were also likely delighted by the opportunity to demolish the existing "brothels" and "dilapidated buildings" in the downtown area.[48] The park and post office would be part of a larger civic center that would get rid of the existing "red-light district."[49] Of course, the unwanted inhabitants would be displaced as well.

By March 1933, the Park Board commissioners and residents of Minneapolis began submitting suggestions about what "Post Office Square" should be named permanently. Several letters from local organizations, residents, and city officials in the early 1930s, offered competing notions of what (and who) should be remembered in Minneapolis. The New Deal influx of funding and the jobs it would provide, magnified the excitement with which Minneapolitans engaged in the process of naming. On March 30, 1933, Joseph Zalusky, a member of the Minneapolis City Planning Department and self-proclaimed pioneer, proposed the moniker "Pioneers' Square."[50] Zalusky argued Minneapolis should "honor" its "early-day citizens" who helped create "the foundation of the City of Minneapolis."[51] He also listed all the people who came "first." For Zalusky, "first family names" should commemorate the park space - and for

https://minneapolisparkhistory.com/2012/07/23/lost-minneapolis-parks-the-complete-list-part-ii/. See David C. Smith, *City of Parks: The Story of Minneapolis Parks* (Minneapolis: Foundation for Minneapolis Parks, 2008), for more information on MPRB history more broadly.

[47] David C. Smith, "The Yard" – or Downtown East Commons."

[48] Cynthia Culver Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments,* 261.

[49] Cynthia Culver Prescott, "The Pioneers, Minneapolis, MN," *Pioneer Monuments in the American West: Explore Statues Honoring Early Settlers in the Old West*, accessed November 14, 2022, https://pioneermonuments.net/the-pioneers-minneapolis-mn/. For information on the Civic Center see also "Resolution of the Minneapolis City Planning Commission Adopted at Meeting of July 18, 1932, Relative to the Use of Granite in the New Post-Office Building," Subject Files, 1920s-1950s, Box 121, Folder: Pioneer Square (formerly Post Office Sq. & Block 20), Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[50] J.W. Zalusky, letter to Mr. Theodore Wirth, Superintendent of Parks, March 30, 1933, Joint and Special Committees, 1927-1935, 1939, Box 68, Folder 7, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[51] J.W. Zalusky, letter to Mr. Theodore Wirth, Superintendent of Parks.

him, only white families were in the mix.[52] In this historical period of financial uncertainty, Minneapolis residents sought control where they could wield it, and many rushed to support Zalusky's proposed name, including Park Board superintendent Theodore Wirth.

Citizens of Norwegian descent and those who aligned with them sought to commemorate Norwegian heritage and petitioned the Park Board to consider a different name: "Roald Amundsen Square." The Park Board received an eight page petition supported by dozens of Norwegian peoples and organizations who sought to commemorate the "Norwegian race…that their names and the memory of them are loved and revered," by naming the park after Norwegian pioneer Roald Amundsen.[53] Many Norwegian heritage organizations supported this proposal.[54] Ultimately, however, the Park Board special committee on nomenclature chose Pioneers Square, and in so doing sought to commemorate whiteness, courage, and heroism, rather than a particular immigrant heritage.[55]

At the same time, the Park Board commissioned a monument that would stand in front of the completed post office. Throughout 1934, the Park Board examined sketches they received from competing sculptors. One such competitor was John Karl Daniels. The renowned sculptor immigrated to Minneapolis from Norway in the 1880s and had since created several war memorials. These included monuments to Colonel Alexander Wilkin and General John P.

---

[52] J.W. Zalusky, letter to Mr. Theodore Wirth, Superintendent of Parks.
[53] "To the Honorable Members of the Board of Park Commissioners City Hall," April 2, 1934, Subject Files, 1920s-1950s, Box 121, Folder: Pioneer Square (formerly Post Office Sq. & Block 20), Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[54] President and Secretary Hans A. Stadem, letter to the Board of Park Commissioners, April 16, 1934, Joint and Special Committees, 1927-1935, 1939, Box 68, Folder 7, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[55] For more details about the intersections of whiteness and nation-building, cultural memory, and pioneer monuments in the Midwest see Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments: Constructing Cultural Memory* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2019). See also John Bodnar's, "Memory in the Midwest before World War II," in *Remaking America*, 113-125. Bodnar explores how patriotism became intertwined with local pride. The early decades of the 20th century, as he continues, experienced significant social change due to shifting gender norms and labor unrest, and officials often used the pioneer and what it invoked to promote a memory of unity.

Sanborn – both erected in 1910 in Minneapolis' twin city, St. Paul – among other works.[56] The sketch Daniels submitted to the Park Board was inspired by the name Pioneers Square and combined depictions of early white pioneers with sheaves of grain, meant to symbolize their contribution to the milling industry that built the city.[57]

Daniels sketch also depicted a relief of French missionary Father Louis Hennepin interacting with Indigenous peoples, where he "found" St. Anthony Falls, the foundation of modern Minneapolis. The relief sat both behind and below the white settler figures. For his part, Park Board superintendent Theodore Wirth preferred bronze figures depicting two white pioneers with figures of an "Indian squaw" and a male companion that "peer[ed] into the distance at the coming of the white man."[58] Wirth's concern with the direction toward which the "Indian" looked - "southeast" toward the arrival of the "white man" - sought to perpetuate the tale of benevolent colonization and Native passivity.[59] In the end though, the board selected John Karl Daniels proposal on May 9, 1935, and awarded him the contract.

Throughout 1936, Daniels chipped away bits of Minnesota granite from his workshop in Cold Springs until the pioneers he envisioned were complete.[60] The Park Board prepared to dedicate the Pioneers Monument on the afternoon of Friday, November 13, 1936. They sent

---

[56] Harry Thorn, "A Block of Granite: The True Story Behind a Statue," April 1934, in *Gopher*, Joint Committees, 1950-1951, Box 144, Folder 1, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota. See also Box SC19, John K. Daniels photo/clipping Notebook incl. Bison Move 2001-2, Hennepin History Museum Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota, for more information about Daniels work more broadly.
[57] Thorn, ""A Block of Granite: The True Story Behind a Statue."
[58] Theodore Wirth, "plan and estimate for the improvement of Post Office Square," April 23, 1934, Subject Files, 1920s-1950s, Box 121, Folder: Pioneer Square (formerly Post Office Sq. & Block 20), Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[59] Theodore Wirth, "plan and estimate for the improvement of Post Office Square," April 23, 1934, Subject Files, 1920s-1950s, Box 121, Folder: Pioneer Square (formerly Post Office Sq. & Block 20), Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[60] See Thorn, "A Block of Granite," for intersections between labor unrest at the time and the process of completing the Pioneers Monument. While attempting to acquire assistants, city officials blocked Daniel's request because they hoped to circumvent prominent issues of union and labor unrest.

invitations to members of city council, local news reporters, mayor Thomas Latimer, and of course, the remaining early white pioneers and their descendants. Many of them were members of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Native Sons of Minneapolis, and the Hennepin County Territorial Pioneers Association.[61] As members of these organizations, the pioneer descendants were already implicated in memory work that promoted idealized versions of the past. The dedication ceremony would reinforce their vision.

***

The dedication ceremony of the Pioneers Monument illuminates the memories Daniels and the Park Board wished to perpetuate – and suppress. On November 13, 1936, the dedication for the Pioneers Monument, which drew hundreds of Minneapolitans, opened with music selections by the Minneapolis Police Band. The Police Band concluded, and Park Board president Francis Gross introduced the honored guests, important early pioneers and their descendants. A local newspaper reported that Barclay Cooper, Minneapolis pioneer of the 1850s, would be celebrated for his contributions to the Johnson homestead and the building of the Curtis hotel.[62] Harriet Godfrey, the "first white child" born in Minneapolis, would be honored as well.[63] After these important white pioneers were honored, Frances Loring Partridge, the granddaughter of the first Park Board President Charles Loring, unveiled the monument.[64]

---

[61] Charles E. Doell, "Meeting of the Committee of the Whole: Dedication of Monument at Pioneers Square," November 4, 1936, Special and Joint Committees, Box 144, Folder 2, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, M/A 0324, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[62] "Early Settler, 9 Will See Unveiling of Pioneer Shaft," November 12, 1936, Memorials and Markers, Folder: Clippings from the Times Morgue, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[63] "Early Settler, 9 Will See Unveiling of Pioneer Shaft." See also O'Brien's *Firsting and Lasting* for further explanation of the role of "firsting" and its historical implications for Indigenous peoples.
[64] Board of Park Commissioners, "Pioneers Monument at Pioneers Square," November 13, 1936, Minutes, Joint Committees, Box 144, Folder 1, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota; "Monument to Pioneers is Dedicated: E.C. Gale, Son of Early Attorney, Delivers Address," *The Minneapolis Journal*, November 13, 1936, 4. https://www.newspapers.com/image/812707237/?terms=%22Pioneers%20Square%22&match=1

The dedicatory address which followed, exposes the erasures of Native experiences through the memory work of the monument. Edward C. Gale, the son of a Minneapolis pioneer and president of the Library Board gave the address.[65] Centuries ago, Gale proclaimed, Father Louis Hennepin "first discovered and made known to the world the upper Mississippi Valley and the Falls of St. Anthony on whose site we stand today."[66] He described the relief on the back of the monument as a "picture of this discovery by Hennepin and his two companions."[67] Despite imagery of Native peoples depicted to the side of Hennepin and below him within the monument relief, Gale did not acknowledge their presence in the region or even their existence. Gale's speech implied an empty world before the arrival of the French priest—a standard feature of all such speeches that celebrated the brave "firsts" of white colonial settlement.[68] Hennepin himself would have been the first to correct Gale's vision given the chance. Native American souls were as vital a part of his mission as were the furs and acreage claims he could return to Paris. But in Gale's hands, the notion of "first" was so vital that it rode roughshod over the obvious evidence that his championed settlers were indeed anything *but* first.[69]

Gale described Minnesota in its earliest days as a picturesque, pristine, and natural land – a classic frontier idyll.[70] Gale went on to discuss explorers that followed Father Hennepin. He stated, "Nearly fifty years went by…before the solitude of Minnesota was again broken by the advent of other white men."[71] By framing Minnesota as a land of solitude, Gale attempted to

[65] Board of Park Commissioners, "Pioneers Monument at Pioneers Square."
[66] For an analysis of the relationship between the term "discovery" and silences and commemoration see Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 115; Edward C. Gale, "The Pioneers," 1, November 13, 1936, Minutes, Joint Committees, Box 144, Folder 1, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records, Hennepin County Library Special Collections, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
[67] Gale, "The Pioneers," 1.
[68] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 14-16.
[69] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 14.16.
[70] Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 121; Prescott, *Pioneer Mother Monuments*, 51.
[71] Gale, "The Pioneers," 1.

create a collective memory of early Minnesota history – a timeline that picked up and left off with each white explorer. For him, there were no other peoples, no events in between. Moving on to the 19th century, Gale discussed the creation of the military post at Fort Snelling in 1819, to "keep peace among the Indians" and to protect white missionaries and traders – a sudden recognition that white settlers were not exactly alone on the prairie.[72] But for Gale, these people were solely there as adversaries of white civilization, who "served as a dam against the surging tide of Western immigration."[73]

Quickly referencing the treaties of 1837 and 1851, Gale's retelling solidified the idea of Minnesota as white land that "extinguished" Native claims.[74] In 1849, just before the treaty of 1851, there were only 4,000 white settlers, Gale explained, but by 1870 "nearly half a million people poured into Minnesota" during what he called "the first great taking over of the State by the white race."[75] Although Gale noted violence between Native groups, his "great taking over" seemed otherwise a peaceful and even natural act.[76] But who exactly, Gale asked, "were these people, the "Pioneers"?"[77]

Gale lamented that while the "romantic Frenchmen" and the English traders already "had their day" – the true pioneers of Minneapolis were the "Anglo Saxon, the Celt, the Teuton, the Scandinavian."[78] In Gale's eyes, "pioneers" were neither traders nor "gallant" Frenchmen – but those who built the frontier with their "bare hands."[79] They came alone, in families, and "sometimes in colonies."[80] Connecting the dots between pioneer mythology and Minnesotan

[72] Gale, "The Pioneers," 1-2.
[73] Gale, "The Pioneers," 2; O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, *xxiii-xxiv*.
[74] Gale, "The Pioneers," 2.
[75] Gale, "The Pioneers," 2.
[76] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 27-28.
[77] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3.
[78] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3.
[79] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3.
[80] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3.

iconography, Gale hinted, it was "not without reason" that the state seal depicted "the spirit of the scene."[81] A "plowman" was depicted "advancing steadily while gazing at the figure of a galloping Indian disappearing toward the setting sun."[82] In the seal and in Gale's dedication to this point, then, "Indians" figured only in their internal conflicts – or in their "leaving."[83] Gale continued, inscribing the persona of pioneers as martyrs. They "raised up towns" and "faced all the hardships of frontier" – but "on top of that they faced the Indian Savages."[84] Gale had meticulously built a world that once was, with each and every careful word. It is here where pioneer becomes synonymous with hero that Native people at last figure more prominently in Gale's speech – but as the violent adversaries of the benevolent protagonists in his account.

Gale invoked the tale of Norwegian Guri Endresen during the 1862 Dakota Uprising – and with it intertwined her narrative as pioneer with that of "heroine."[85] Invoking the memorial over her grave, Gale recalled how "before her own eyes" Endresen was forced to witness her husband and son killed, and "another son wounded."[86] Wounded son and "little girl" in tow, Endresen rescued other "badly wounded men whose wounds she cared for."[87] All this after the death of her loved ones and having watched helplessly as the "Indian Savages" carried her two daughters off "into captivity."[88]

Gale did not purport to know exactly what became of Endresen's daughters, but hung implicitly in the vagueness of his statement lies the notion that captivity included sexual violence. Leaving only their stories open-ended, a "what-if," Gale let them be raped in the minds

[81] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3.
[82] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3.
[83] O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, *xxiii-xxiv*.
[84] Gale, "The Pioneers," 3-4.
[85] Gale, "The Pioneers," 4.
[86] Gale, "The Pioneers," 4.
[87] Gale, "The Pioneers," 4.
[88] Gale, "The Pioneers," 4.

of the ceremony attendees.[89] He let the powerful notion of the white female victim do this work for him.[90] By 1936, a centuries-long narrative of white female rape victims had been wielded to frame minorities as "savages" to establish and maintain efforts of white supremacy.[91] Gale invoked sexual violence at the interstices of white imagination, and with it, the attendees' thoughts themselves submerged alternative narratives – of sexual violence enacted against Native women.[92] What other myths lived on, within and through their memory?

Despite the myth perpetuated by Gale and the monument builders, the white colonization of Minnesota was a violent and coercive process.[93] During the same period Gale had described, on June 7th, 1848, Indian Agent T.S. Williamson wrote to W. Medill hoping to use funds granted to the "Dacotah" to build "manual labour boarding schools" near present day St. Paul, Minnesota.[94] Referencing correspondence from Fort Snelling agents, he lamented that the "Indians would not be willing" to send their children, before discussing a "half breed girl" his family housed for manual labor.[95] Another Indian Agent condemned the "troublesome and inimicable" Sioux.[96] He noted these manual labor boarding schools housed "7 Girls of the ½ or

[89] See Marisa Fuentes methodology of "reading along the bias grain" in *Dispossessed Lives*.
[90] For information on the white female victim narrative see Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Lisa Lindquist Dorr, *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia, 1900-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Estelle Freedman, *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); Danielle McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance – a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Vintage Books, 2010).
[91] Freedman, *Redefining Rape*, 8.
[92] Sarah Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), *xxiv*.
[93] Recall Marisa Fuentes methodology of "reading along the bias grain." My examination of U.S. Indian Agent records recovers traces of narratives of sexual violence that have been suppressed. This goes beyond reading "against the grain" by incorporating narratives thought to be "lost" despite being incomplete.
[94] Correspondence from Thomas S. Williamson to William Medill, [Indian Office Letters Received – A.L.S.] Kaposia Minnesota Ter., June 7, 1848, Box 2, Folder 1, Letters Received July 1835; 1841; 1846-1848, MHS Manuscripts Collection, Gale Family Library, St. Paul, Minnesota.
[95] Thomas S. Williamson to William Medill, [Indian Office Letters Received. – A.L.S.].
[96] Correspondence from T.J. Donaghoe to G.W. Jones, [Indian Office Letters Received. – A.L.S.], January 30, 1849, Box 2, Folder 3a, Letters Received Jan-May 1849, MHS Manuscripts Collection, Gale Family Library, St. Paul, Minnesota.

¼ breed."[97] This fraught and inequal dynamic begs the question of what consent might have looked like in such an environment?[98] Their "mixed" bodies provide a trace of an experience that cannot be wholly recovered.[99] What did sexual relationships look like between those with unequal amounts of power, who were caught in a web of coercion and conquest? What are the possibilities for Native consent given the conditions of their environment? The Indian Agents remarks about "mixed blood" and the bodies they recall invoke a vestige of a different history than the one Gale buttressed.[100] This history suggests that white settlers were violent, too.

Gale closed by acknowledging Minneapolis pioneers deserved a monument "as a tribute to their spirit of adventure, their courage and often their very real heroism."[101] Several local newspapers describe the "courage" and "heroism" of "white pioneers" before and after the dedication, indicating that these discourses resonated with many Minneapolitans at the time.[102] In so doing, Gale's commemorative words silenced the Sioux and Ojibwe, among other tribes that existed on American lands first. By shifting focus to the white female victim, he completely silenced the sexual violence enacted on Native peoples.[103]

***

[97] T.J. Donaghoe to G.W. Jones, [Indian Office Letters Received. – A.L.S.].
[98] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 48-51.
[99] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 48-51.
[100] In terms of rape enacted by white southerners against enslaved women, see Caroline Randall Williams, "You Want a Confederate Monument? My Body Is a Confederate Monument," *New York Times*, June 26, 2020, 1-3. Williams provocative opening line states: "I have rape-colored skin." She continues to describe the connection between monuments, rape, embodiment, and slavery. To those who silence representations of the past that acknowledge sexual violence she writes "To those people it is my privilege to say, *I am proof*." Williams work provides an insightful look into historical representations of the past that some have and continue to silence.
[101] Gale, "The Pioneers," 4.
[102] "Monument to Pioneers is Dedicated: E.C. Gale, Son of Early Attorney, Delivers Address," 4; "Settlers' Courage Lauded at Pioneer Square Dedication," *The Minneapolis Journal*, November 14, 1936, 2; "Early Settler, 9 Will See Unveiling of Pioneer Shaft, November 12, 1936.
[103] Alternative narratives of the cause of the Sioux Uprising of 1862 that include Native accounts suggest that Native peoples were not only angered over hunger and other issues commonly purported by historians. Indeed, Sarah Deer argues this ignored the testimony of Dakota warrior Jerome Big Eagle, who Deer writes, explained that just before the uprising "some of the white men abused the Indian women in a certain way and disgraced them." See Sarah Deer, *The Beginning and End of Rape*, 33-34.

In 2015, the Pioneers Monument was the only in the park representing stories of interaction and relations between people. It was a New Deal Era piece of fabulism that hid the ugly realities of colonization and westward expansion behind a gloss of daring do, brave settlers, and passive compliant Native people. But Native people were rarely compliant, and violence was always part of the story—even when undiscussed. To Gale's chagrin, nearly one hundred years later, a white woman by the name of Sarah Super used her position to break the silence surrounding sexual violence – for Native and non-Natives alike – by providing a polyvocal space. On February 18, 2015, Super was raped at knifepoint by her ex-boyfriend Alec Neal.[104] Super escaped, and contacted local police, which prompted hours of painful interviews and medical exams. As Super recalled:

> **"**In the hospital, getting that forensic exam, I'm like…I don't know a single person that has gone through this or who knows what this feels like. And obviously that was untrue. But it was just a clear moment where…I felt super alone, and I felt like I had no one to reach out to. And it was not because it hadn't happened to people in my life. It's just because people hadn't told me it had happened to them."[105]

Super opened up about her assault to family and friends in the weeks that followed. Repeatedly during these conversations, others responded by sharing their own experiences.[106] In early April, Super decided to share her story publicly in a local paper, the *Star Tribune*.[107] Super's public disclosure resulted in hundreds of survivors reaching out to share their experiences with her. Breaking her own silence, Super realized, resulted in many other survivors

[104] Sarah Super, "The freedom and courage to tell our rape stories," *Star Tribune*, July 26, 2018, A9; Cheryl Thomas, "St. Paul rape case could be a turning point," *Star Tribune*, August 3, 2015, A9.
[105] Sarah Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[106] Super, "The freedom and courage to tell our rape stories," A9.
[107] To read the first news article that identifies Super by name see: Chao Xiong, "After attack, a healing path: A St. Paul rape victim is telling her story to fight stigma and be a 'voice for change,'" *Star Tribune*, April 8, 2015, B1.

doing the same. The power of sharing ultimately inspired Super to create a non-profit – Break the Silence. Through Break the Silence, Super held numerous truth-telling ceremonies in Minneapolis, providing a safe space where survivors could share their experiences, their names, and their pain, with those willing to listen.

Super knew the creation of a public memorial would provide a more permanent visibility and space for survivors. Sharing their experiences in a truth-telling ceremony would live on in the participants' memories as an important space for individual and collective healing. But a monument would provide something permanently in public focus. It would continue to unearth – to truth-tell – long after these ceremonies had ceased. As Super recalled, "I constantly see things that are, as Judith Herman would say, emerging and submerging, right? The nature of consciousness around sexual violence does this."[108] The submerging and emerging lines of consciousness she referenced can be traced to the Pioneers Monument and the Survivors Memorial themselves – both embodying intertwined but competing lines of consciousness and memories of sexual violence.

While Super recognized the necessity for a public memorial and space for healing that implicated the Minneapolis community in this process, it would take a skilled and passionate network of people to bring her vision to fruition. Throughout much of 2015, Super corresponded with hundreds of people to gain an understanding of what distinct survivors needed. She then formed a team of advocates in support of the Survivors Memorial, taking care to invite people with the necessary skillsets and positions to make it a reality. Super partnered with local artist and survivor Lori Greene in May 2015. On June 17, 2015, Super attended the Minneapolis Park Board meeting. To secure a space for the Memorial in Boom Island Park, Super and Greene

[108] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022. Judith Herman is a psychologist and author known for her work on trauma.

required both approval and partnership with the Park Board. The Assistant Superintendent, Michael Schroeder, stepped out of the meeting to discuss the Memorial idea with Super.[109] A few days later, Schroeder met with Super and Greene to ensure the proposal addressed the required components for the Park Board.[110] Over the next several months Super prepared for the proposal, raised funds via GoFundMe, held truth-telling ceremonies, and orchestrated the first city-recognized Break the Silence Day on August 18. At each stage in the process, Super had to reckon with her own trauma publicly, all while keeping the momentum for these projects going.

On November 17, 2015, Super presented the proposal for the Survivors Memorial to the Park Board Public Art Review Committee.[111] Super's proposal opened with a quote from Holocaust survivor and author Elie Wiesel: "We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented."[112] Silence, she recognized, could "encourage the tormentor" by allowing society to forget.[113] Super went on to describe the Memorial. It would be a public space where "survivors and allies can sit in circle" and "host dialogues" to "break the silence that surrounds sexual violence. *We will not solve a problem we do not talk about*."[114] Invoking trauma psychologist Judith Herman's *Trauma and Recovery*, Super acknowledged that rapists want communities to "do nothing and stay silent."[115] By harnessing the power of voice and community through the process of commissioning a public memorial, Super sought to counter silence with solidarity. The Board agreed that public space

[109] Sarah Super, email to Michael Schroeder, June 17, 2015.
[110] Sarah Super, email to Lori Greene and Michael Schroeder, June 23, 2015.
[111] MPR News Staff, "Rape survivor Sarah Super 'Breaks the Silence,' pitches memorial for sexual assault victims," *MPR News*, November 16, 2015, https://www.mprnews.org/story/2015/11/16/bcst-sarah-super-break-the-silence.
[112] Sarah Super, *Memorial for Rape Survivors* (Minneapolis: WholeBeing Solutions, 2015), 2.
[113] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 48.
[114] Super, *Memorial for Rape Survivors*, 3. (Emphasis added)
[115] Super, *Memorial for Rape Survivors*, 3.

would be made available for the Memorial – so long as it could be purchased with private funds.[116]

In 2016, Super continued discussions with Greene about the mosaic artwork for the Memorial and involved an architect to discuss the design concept. As Joan MacLeod, a landscape architect with Damon Farber, recalled, she "met Sarah for the first time" with members of the Park Board in Boom Island Park.[117] "For some reason," MacLeod pondered, we "ended up there at the end, just the two of us."[118] Given the chance, she couldn't help but ask – "Why are you pursuing this? What is it that is compelling you to take on a really hard venture here?"[119] MacLeod recalled being struck by Super's response, as if nearly a decade had not passed. Super said, "I had the privilege" – she paused – "of being believed" and "I have to create something, because so few people are believed."[120] With the assistance of Damon Farber, Super and Greene expanded the original vision for the Memorial. The original design presented to the Park Board exhibited a small circle of benches that would perhaps seat four, with Greene's mosaic art figuring atop the benches themselves.[121] Over the remainder of 2016 and throughout 2017, however, MacLeod and colleagues Rachel Blaseg and Jennifer Germain met with Super and Greene on numerous occasions to discuss the Memorial design.

---

[116] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Approving Memorandum of Understanding Between Break the Silence and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Regarding a Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence to be Located in Boom Island Park Within Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park*, Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2017-224, Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2017, https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/8569 (accessed December 15, 2022), 3.
[117] Joan MacLeod, interviewed by author, March 17, 2022.
[118] MacLeod, interviewed by author, March 17, 2022.
[119] MacLeod, interviewed by author, March 17, 2022.
[120] Alec Neal was sentenced to 12 years in prison for the rape of Sarah Super on July 28, 2015. See Chao Xiong's "Minneapolis man gets 12 years in rape of ex-girlfriend," *Star Tribune*, July 29, 2015, B5; MacLeod, interviewed by author, March 17, 2022.
[121] Super, *Memorial for Rape Survivors*, 10.

Ultimately, their collaboration yielded an expanded circle of benches that would provide more space for conversation, and therefore facilitate greater remembrance and community intervention. In addition to the benches, the architects of Damon Farber proposed vertical columns to display Greene's mosaic art from - the harsh Minnesota winters would not be kind to horizontally applied mosaic.[122] Greene's art also would not be obstructed while people sat on the benches. While their collaboration created a more nuanced space, it also increased the cost of production. What began as a $50,000 Memorial in 2015 was estimated at more than $300,000 in 2017. Of course, the design changes were not solely responsible for the increased cost. The bureaucratic process of utilizing publicly funded space required a seemingly endless string of permits, consultations, and other financial obligations that drastically inflated the Memorial cost.

It was essential that the Memorial stood on public land so that it could facilitate the memory work of survivor remembrance, a collective responsibility for healing. However, public remembrance and memorialization came at a cost – both financially and emotionally. Super simultaneously fundraised to reach the ever-expanding Memorial budget, attended Park Board and other meetings, continued hosting truth-telling ceremonies, conducted protests on behalf of fellow survivors in Minneapolis, worked a full-time job in the Hennepin County human resources department, started a Survivors Choir, and struggled with her own experience - sometimes in the face of public criticism.

When asked about the barriers and tensions that she encountered over the course of the Memorial project, Sarah stated "one of the largest barriers to this was also just my own trauma."[123] She went on to explain, "the tension of almost this whole process" was that "there

[122] MacLeod, interviewed by author, March 17, 2022.
[123] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.

were really good moments" – but they came at an emotional cost.[124] Having pondered just how steep this price was, she stated, "I broke myself mentally and emotionally on this project. This project exists at the expense of my well-being on a lot of, most of my days during those years."[125] Despite "making a difference," and having realized her "voice matters," she stated, "I don't love the memorial – I love how it turned out! And still, I don't feel tremendous pride or happiness thinking about it."[126] The emotional labor Super experienced is perhaps best described when she expands on these "other times."[127] She explained:

> "I am permanently tied to telling my rape story to people for the exchange of money or donations to this project, that for a really large part of it was holding me back in my own healing. Or was literally just so overwhelming to me to have to try and complete something and do it with grace while it cost me so much pain…And to feel like the only way out of this was just through it, I guess. That sense of captivity. I am stuck in this space. I can't move away because then I would be moving away from all the people who are supporting me."[128]

While the emotional labor Super referred to was not being imposed by a manager or other person in a supervisory role, the deepest recesses of her experience were accessed and utilized to complete the Memorial project. [129] It was an internal struggle. Her emotion, pain, and story were

---

[124] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022. For analysis of emotional labor see Amy Tyson, *The Wages of History: Emotional Labor on Public History's Front Lines* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013). I seek to stretch Tyson's notion of emotional labor to look beyond labor dynamics between the "emotional proletariat" and management within museum and other spaces of public history.
[125] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022. Super's comments are reminiscent of what Amy Tyson's *The Wages of History: Emotional Labor on Public History's Front Lines* describes as "emotional labor." Expanding on the work of sociologist Arlie Hochschild, Tyson addresses living museum interpreters and other employees at Fort Snelling, and the toll it takes on them when they "are asked to use their own emotions to create feeling states in clientele." But we see here that Super employs an emotional labor of her own.
[126] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[127] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[128] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[129] Tyson, *The Wages of History*, 14.

invoked to attain the donations necessary to make the Memorial a reality. With this in mind, we can stretch Amy Tyson's concept of "emotional labor," so the term incorporates the pain and emotional labor relegated to the space outside of conflicts within a tiered labor system - that space being the depths of oneself.[130]

Super's contributions of emotional labor facilitated hundreds of thousands of dollars in donations to the Survivors Memorial, donations that were vital to the Memorial's completion. At one fundraising event Karla Ekdahl "was just so moved" by Super's story that her family became a financial backer of the project because they "just believed in it so much."[131] Ekdahl's reaction shows how powerful were Super's personal admissions. Doing this work was painful for Super, but pieces of that pain were transformed into materiality, a physical space for survivors' pain to be acknowledged and diffused back into the community, no longer isolated within the individual self.

***

The "where" behind the plan to build the Survivors Memorial on public land was only slightly contentious. But the "how" – opening the Park Board coffers filled by public tax revenue – was quite controversial. While some interviewees remembered the process as being uncontentious, others recalled a different version of events. As Rob Super, Sarah's father and finance manager for the Memorial recalled:

> "There wasn't unanimity on the Park Board. There were voices of opposition, and they were really worried about supporting this memorial. Does this open the door to a slippery slope sort of argument? The Park Board is restricted by law to only contributing… money to veterans [memorials]…At one of the first Park Board meetings the chair of the Park

[130] Tyson, *The Wages of History*, 14.
[131] Karla Ekdahl, interviewed by author, March 14, 2022.

> Board made a motion that the Park Board provide $150,000 of funding for the memorial. And that triggered a lot of discussion and a lot of resistance from some of the board members. It had great support from a handful but then the Board attorney jumped in - and that was it. He [went to the] statute the Board was talking about. And he just said, you can't. We're prohibited from doing this. And that basically ended that discussion."[132]

Rob Super's comments refer to a meeting held on June 2017, where Michael Schroeder proposed an amendment to Resolution 2017-224, requesting the Board provide "$150,000" a "matching grant from the reserve fund excess balance towards the construction of a Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence."[133] Up to this point the Park Board had no obligation to financially support the Survivors Memorial – with one hundred percent of the funds expected to come from private donations.[134] The use of public funds to support the Memorial was clearly controversial – and the amendment was defeated on June 28, 2017. Denied access to directly fund the Survivors Memorial with standard funds, Schroeder sought other funds that sidestepped the limitation to memorials that honor veterans. The Memorial advocates would need to maneuver around both precedent and statute. But for now, the resolution left financing solely to Break the Silence, but the Park Board officially agreed to Sarah Super's Memorial proposal.[135]

More interesting than the actual defeat of Schroeder's proposed amendment were the reasons given by Park Board officials. In March 2022, Park Board President Meg Forney declined to participate in an interview about the Survivors Memorial. Phrases within her refusal

---

[132] Rob Super, interviewed by author, March 14, 2022.
[133] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Approving Memorandum of Understanding Between Break the Silence and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Regarding a Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence to be Located in Boom Island Park Within Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park*, 2017.
[134] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Approving Memorandum of Understanding Between Break the Silence and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Regarding a Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence to be Located in Boom Island Park Within Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park*, 2017.
[135] Break the Silence Day, "The room erupts in applause when the Commissioners vote unanimously in support of the memorial," Facebook, June 29, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/breakthesilenceday.

aligned with Rob Super's recollection of the "slippery slope argument." Forney's response alluded to the fact that previous memorial requests had been limited to ones "regarding veterans."[136] She worried that Super's project would open the floodgates and that "installing this memorial" would "open" the board to funding "other requests for memorials" that were less to Forney's personal liking. [137] The memorials Forney feared included ones dedicated to anti-abortion, white supremacists, and other causes. While racist and hateful memorials should certainly be feared, U.S. monuments and memorials "typically evoke neat visions of the nation's history" a "collective amnesia rather than remembrance."[138] Amnesia (or forgetting) is inseparable from collective remembrance.[139] Fear of memorials that may or may not materialize then, should not perpetuate "neat visions" of U.S. history that silence and sidestep the pervasive issue of sexual violence.

Several interviewees pointed out a disparity in votes falling along gendered lines, with male commissioners supporting the amendment while the female commissioners found it problematic. Super recalled it as "a kind of painful day" due to her expectations of "solidarity and support" from other women.[140] While many of the Park Board members reasonings for declining financial aid for the Memorial remain unearthed, what is known is the amendment did not pass. Fortunately though, outspoken advocates including Schroeder persevered in their efforts, so that one day, they might be able to attain Park Board funds for the Memorial by evading funding limitations.

---

[136] Meg Forney, email to author, March 16, 2022.
[137] Meg Forney, email to author, March 16, 2022.
[138] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 31.
[139] For elaboration on collective memory, remembrance, and forgetting see Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*; Pierre Nora, "Between History and Memory," *Representations* Special Issue Memory and Counter-Memory, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 8,19; Ricoeur, *History, Memory, Forgetting*; Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 15.
[140] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.

By 2018 the estimated budget had expanded to $480,000 and Schroeder attempted to again get the Park Board to consider providing other funds for the Memorial.[141] Despite the hashtag #MeToo going viral in late 2017, Super claimed her non-profit did not receive increased donations for the Memorial. It did result in assumptions by Park Board officials that public funds weren't necessary, however. As Super recalled, "one of the commissioners, had said something like, shouldn't it be easier for you to fundraise in this #MeToo culture?"[142] Exacerbated, Super replied, "#MeToo has changed a lot of things, but it did not give more funding."[143] Commissioner Latrisha Vetaw spoke of her own experience with sexual violence – but even still, she refused to approve the resolution.[144] With a close 5/4 vote, the Park Board approved Resolution 2018-133 which stated the Park Board would "look into ways" they could contribute financially to the Memorial - despite the law restricting their funds solely to veterans memorials.[145] While more successful than his first attempt, the Park Board coffers were still out

[141] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Directing Staff to Explore Options to Support Implementation of the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence, Proposed to be Implemented in Boom Island Park, a Part of the Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, for Consideration at the Board of Commissioners March 7, 2018 Regular Meeting, with Such Support Contingent Upon Approval by the Board of Commissioners of a Concept Design for the Memorial and a License and Maintenance Agreement Aligned with Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Practice and Policy for Art Projects, and Further Contingent Upon Board of Commissioners Approval of Modifications to the Memorandum of Understanding Between the City of Minneapolis, Acting by and through Its Park and Recreation Board, a Body Corporate and Politic Under the Laws of the State of Minnesota, and Break the Silence, a Minnesota Nonprofit Corporation*, Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2018-133, Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2018, https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/8759 (accessed December 15, 2022), 3.
[142] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[143] Super, interviewed by author, March 13, 2022.
[144] Fox 9, "Minneapolis Park Board approves funds for sexual violence survivors memorial," *Fox 9 Minneapolis-St. Paul*, February 22, 2018, https://www.fox9.com/news/minneapolis-park-board-approves-funds-for-sexual-violence-survivors-memorial.
[145] Fox 9, "Minneapolis Park Board approves funds for sexual violence survivors memorial;" Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Directing Staff to Explore Options to Support Implementation of the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence, Proposed to be Implemented in Boom Island Park, a Part of the Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, for Consideration at the Board of Commissioners March 7, 2018 Regular Meeting, with Such Support Contingent Upon Approval by the Board of Commissioners of a Concept Design for the Memorial and a License and Maintenance Agreement Aligned with Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Practice and Policy for Art Projects, and Further Contingent Upon Board of Commissioners Approval of Modifications to the Memorandum of Understanding Between the City of Minneapolis, Acting by and through Its Park and Recreation Board, a Body Corporate and Politic Under the Laws of the State of Minnesota, and Break the Silence, a Minnesota Nonprofit Corporation*, 2018.

of Schroder's reach. The vote had again largely fallen along gendered lines. For the second time, women had failed to support the Memorial.

Parallel to the contentious process of the Park Board meetings and its ongoing hurdles, Super and the design team solidified their artistic plans for the Memorial by engaging diverse survivors at Break the Silence events, advocacy group meetings, and in other public forums. In June 2019, the Park Board approved the final design concept.[146] Unfortunately, the cost to build the Memorial increased again, and exponentially. A soil report identified that it was necessary to remediate the soil – a process that would cost just under $43,000. JE Dunn Construction broke ground in August 2019 despite these setbacks.

The Park Board finally came through financially later that year providing $30,000 from the Hennepin County Environmental Response Fund grant to cover the cost of removing the problematic soil and disposing of it safely.[147] Received from the city, the grant money allowed the Park Board to provide external funds without dipping into their own. As Schroeder's grant application indicated, "prior to the property's use as parkland, it served as a construction and demolition yard for a local construction company, and prior to that it served as an extensive rail yard."[148] What the white pioneers had done to Minneapolis land in the name of "progress" then, would continue to silence the issue of sexual violence on that very same land.

---

[146] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Approving a Donation Agreement, Final Concept, and Addendum to the Memorandum of Understanding Between Break the Silence and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Regarding a Public Art Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence Proposed to be Located in Boom Island Park Within Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park*, Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2019-233, Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2019, https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/9094 (accessed December 15, 2022), 3.

[147] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Amending the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Capital Improvement Program and Approving the 2020 Allocation of $92,540 to the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence Proposed to be Located in Boom Island Park, a Part of Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, from the Saint Anthony West Neighborhood Portion of the Parkland Dedication Fund*, Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2020-201, Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2020, https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/9381 (accessed December 15, 2022), 3.

[148] Michael Schroeder, *Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) Hennepin County Brownsfield Gap Financing Participation Form*, Minneapolis, MN: 2020, 1.

After more than five years of effort, the goal of creating the first permanent memorial to survivors of sexual violence in the nation would soon be realized. By April 2020, Break the Silence had raised "approximately $660,000 in donations – but the project was still roughly $100,000 shy of the total amount needed to build the Memorial."[149] The budget continued to expand with each bureaucratic hoop that presented. In May 2020, Schroeder pleaded with the Park Board for a fourth time. He introduced resolution 2020-201, which requested use of parkland dedication fees from the St. Anthony West Neighborhood portion of the funds.[150]

Being that Boom Island Park was situated within the St. Anthony community, the neighborhood organization held considerable sway over the Memorial. Their opinion had the authority to either make or break the request for funding. Aligning with Super, the Chair of the STAWNO Board Margaret Egan wrote a letter back in 2017 to the Park Board supporting the Memorial. It stated STAWNO "supports and welcomes the Rape Survivors Memorial Project."[151] Park Board Commissioner Chris Meyer conducted community engagement with STAWNO again in 2020. STAWNO again supported the Memorial – but this time they also supported access to the dedication funds – not just access to the land.[152] On May 6, 2020, the Park Board voted unanimously in support of providing $92,540 in funds.[153] By targeting

[149] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Amending the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Capital Improvement Program and Approving the 2020 Allocation of $92,540 to the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence Proposed to be Located in Boom Island Park, a Part of Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, from the Saint Anthony West Neighborhood Portion of the Parkland Dedication Fund*, 2020, 3.
[150] Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Amending the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Capital Improvement Program and Approving the 2020 Allocation of $92,540 to the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence Proposed to be Located in Boom Island Park, a Part of Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, from the Saint Anthony West Neighborhood Portion of the Parkland Dedication Fund*, 2020, 4.
[151] Margaret Egan to Beth Pfeifer, Letter of support for Rape Survivors Memorial Project at Boom Island Park, January 13, 2017.
[152] city of Minneapolis, "May 6, 2020 Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board," YouTube Video, 5:27, May 7, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZfN9tLUiw9s&t=12198s.
[153] city of Minneapolis, "May 6, 2020 Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board."

STAWNO funds, Schroeder successfully maneuvered around the restrictions to Park Board funds which required memorials to honor veterans.

Over the course of the summer, J.E. Dunn Construction toiled with painstaking care for each and every aspect of the Memorial.[154] When any element did not materialize to plan, the employees of J.E. Dunn started anew. They even went so far as to waive some of their standard charges to support the project. After a process that had spanned more than half a decade – the Memorial was finally completed on September 27, 2020.[155] Perhaps the ongoing public response to #MeToo pushed the Park Board to action after all?[156] 2020 saw numerous high-profile cases of sexual violence in court and on national television, after all. Or perhaps Schroeder's determination had eventually paid off? Some combination of the two? Either way, survivors of sexual violence had a space to be remembered and to heal.

***

The completed Survivors Memorial provides a glimpse of what is possible when diverse people collaborate and are invited into a polyvocal space.[157] The mosaic artwork displayed on the Memorial panels is contextualized through Lori Greene's experience as a survivor and her artistic process. As Greene explained, "Mosaic offers many metaphors and possibilities."[158] She explained that "broken pieces are put together to create a whole. A mixed-race person is a

[154] Break the Silence Day, "The three 12' panels," Facebook, June 16, 2020, https://www.facebook.com/breakthesilenceday/. Blaseg, Super, and MacLeod all noted Dunn's care for their craft and the Memorial.
[155] "May 6, 2020 Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board," YouTube, uploaded by city of Minneapolis.
[156] The Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board is a semi-autonomous body with access to their own funds and tax revenue. They are quite unique in that commissioners of the board are elected rather than appointed. Given the high visibility of Super's case combined with #MeToo might have prompted previous critics to comply.
[157] See Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).
[158] Lori Greene, "A Place to Be Seen," *Minnesota Women's Press*, September 21, 2021, https://www.womenspress.com/lori-greene-survivor-memorial-a-place-to-be-seen/.

mosaic. Diversity in American culture is also a mosaic."[159] Greene identifies as African American, Native American, and white. She is also a survivor. Asked to explain more about the woman that appears through the third and fifth panels described briefly in the introduction, she said, "she is me."[160] As Greene recalled:

> "I'm not from the reservation… My grandmother was Choctaw and from Mississippi, but I was camping in northern Minnesota on a reservation to go snowshoeing for the winter solstice. And when I was kidnapped there…the man who kidnapped me had the intention of prostituting me…I was able to escape the next day…I felt very much that I am connected to 'that' because of my own experience."[161]

The "that" which Greene referred to is the Missing Murdered Indigenous Women Project. Greene's inexplicably painful recounting gets at her own experience – the memories otherwise left in the interstices that she endured and grappled with as she persevered through the Memorial project.[162]

In 2019 Minnesota legislature signed a resolution into law which created the MMIW Task Force to address the "root causes, systemic problems, and potential solutions to violence against Native women and girls."[163] Prior to this, artists in Minneapolis and beyond built on the work of Jamie Black and the REDress Project, which "positions the indigenous female body as a target of colonial violence while reclaiming space for an indigenous female

[159] Lori Greene, "A Place to Be Seen," *Minnesota Women's Press*, September 21, 2021, https://www.womenspress.com/lori-greene-survivor-memorial-a-place-to-be-seen/.
[160] Lori Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.
[161] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.
[162] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26; Tyson, *The Wages of History*, 14.
[163] "Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Task Force," Amherst Wilder Foundation, accessed December 20, 2022, https://www.wilder.org/wilder-research/research-library/missing-and-murdered-indigenous-women-task-force.

presence."[164] The woman who appears in the third, fourth, and fifth panels wears a red dress, inviting the pervasive issues surrounding Native women into the Memorial space. Greene's acknowledgement that the woman is her is particularly powerful. Her acknowledgement provides space to address the pervasiveness of sexual violence surrounding Women of Color more broadly. Greene's words infuse the memorial-scape with a deep and painful layer of Native memory, of colonization – and its persistence in our present through imagery, rhetoric, and bodies. In so doing, Greene inadvertently offers us a powerful critique of the Pioneers Monument, and others like it, that silence Native memories and commemorate conquest over their land and bodies.[165]

While the final three mosaic panels depict a woman in red, the first panel provides an unsexed, unraced, depiction of grief which opens the space to recognizing the experiences of all survivors. The figure appears curled up in agony.[166] The second panel is still identity neutral, but it depicts the person being held and heard. Greene explained it represents, "Trauma, Comfort, and Catharsis."[167] Despite the collaboration that surrounded the Memorial design, the covid-19 pandemic resulted in Greene creating the first two panels, in their entirety, "alone."[168] While the Memorial would help to bridge the distance between Native memory and representations of the past embodied within the Pioneers Monument, Greene had to operate within the distance created during the pandemic. Greene felt her story slowly materialize, tessera by tessera as she placed each with care and intent upon the canvas. Process transfused her experience into the art itself. She recalled it was an "extremely painful process."[169] Greene also stated:

---

[164] "The REDress Project," National Museum of the American Indian, accessed December 20, 2022, https://americanindian.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/item?id=973.
[165] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.
[166] Greene, "A Place to Be Seen."
[167] Greene, "A Place to Be Seen."
[168] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.
[169] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.

> "Most of the building happened during the [covid] shutdown…and the aloneness…I think it was very helpful in the first two panels especially…I was able to bring so much pain into it really naturally, because I could focus remembering everything which I needed to. And to remember all of the stories that I had heard."[170]

In discussing ideas for the Memorial over the course of several years prior to the covid lockdowns, Greene, Super, and the architects from Damon Farber intentionally sought to make the Memorial a space that was inclusive and accessible to all survivors. Each builder brought their own experience and memory to these discussions. Their memories were in turn collected through the Memorial building process, and then embodied in the physical space.[171] The Memorial space afforded the chance to "collect" many "disparate and competing memories," so we might "find common understanding" and "our very reasons for recalling them."[172] The mosaic panels provide a space that is both a *product* of collected memory, and capable of *building* upon the collected memory of survivors.

The final mosaic panel is an extension of the diversity and inclusivity witnessed in the first four. The woman in red is no longer centered, but stands among many, extending a hand to an elder woman. As Greene recalled, these people are "the ancestors."[173] As they materialized, she saw in them "all the women and men in the past" who "have been raped and not been able to share their story, or have a voice at all.[174] She felt they were "there to comfort her" and to "give her strength, and also find their own comfort."[175] With every conceivable identity coalescing in

[170] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2020; Tyson, *The Wages of History*, 14.
[171] Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 15.
[172] Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 15.
[173] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.
[174] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.
[175] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.

the final panel, Greene consciously tried "to recognize as many people" as she "could think of."[176]

The fifth panel physically imbues the space with the polyvocality present behind the scenes of the Memorial's erection.[177] People from a wide range of cultural identities have been intentionally centered by Greene through the tesserae. Perhaps narratives of history and memory might shift no longer relegating them to the periphery. They are, after all, "malleable."[178] The Memorial pushes at the soft formed boundaries of collective memory and narratives of colonization. It creates a powerful shift in what is remembered and acknowledged in the commemorative landscape in Minneapolis. It brings voice to what was, and so often is, enshrouded in silence.

The sixth and final panel departs from the mosaic pattern presented within the first five. Instead, it presents the builders intentions for the Memorial space in text, following a pattern in recent monument and memorial building since the dedication of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial in 1982.[179] It extends another layer of undoing of the Pioneers Monument narrative – a narrative of sanitization or displacement of blame. A narrative so fragile, so dependent on erasure and misdirection, the Memorial risks undoing it – even inadvertently.[180] What is undone in imagery through the Memorial tesserae is undone through discourse in this final panel. A text which reflects collaboration, polyvocality, and inclusion, it reads:

> "This Memorial, which stands on the land of the Dakota Oyate, honors the experiences of the countless people in Minnesota who have endured sexual violence.

[176] Greene, interviewed by author, March 23, 2022.
[177] See Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*.
[178] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 279.
[179] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 21.
[180] While narratives of the benevolent colonizer are fragile - so fragile they must erase or misdirect the roles of People of Color – these narratives have very real consequences.

> Survivors surround all of us, though we often don't know who they are. Survivors have been silences by a justice system that fails to hold perpetrators accountable and by a society that most often invalidates, blames, and shames survivors if they speak out.
>
> As a community, we are choosing to break the silence that protects perpetrators and isolates survivors in their suffering. Judith Herman, M.D., wrote, "All the perpetrator asks is that the bystander do nothing…the victim, on the contrary, asks the bystander to share the burden of pain. The victim demands action, engagement, and remembering."
>
> Let this Memorial be a place for dialogue and truth-telling, a place that inspires allies to engage and take action, a place to remember the horrific reality of sexual violence that is prevalent in every community in Minnesota. Let this memorial state that we believe survivors, support survivors, and stand with survivors in solidarity."[181]

The very first line simultaneously invokes the pain and experience of the Dakota Oyate, acknowledges Minnesota as stolen land, and implicitly acknowledges Native survivorship. Super connected with members from the Minnesota Indian Women's Sexual Assault Coalition in July 2020.[182] By inviting MIWSAC into conversations about the granite plaque, Super ensured their communities voices were included in the space. Other lines reflect Super's experience with truth-telling ceremonies. She proclaimed the Memorial to "be a place for dialogue and truth-telling."[183] The medium for the text was suggested by Damon Farber. As MacLeod explained, they selected "polished granite because as you look and read those things, you see yourself reflected back."[184] The granite invites you to "become a participant, you become part of the memorial."[185] She sought engagement and inclusion, rather than following a model borrowed from funerary and war memorials to create a "mournful mood."[186] The granite extends an invitation that is implicit through the polished granite medium, and explicit through Super's call

[181] Super, granite panel within the Survivors Memorial.
[182] Sarah Super, email to MIWSAC, July 27, 2020.
[183] Super, granite panel within the Survivors Memorial.
[184] MacLeod, March 17, 2022.
[185] MacLeod, March 17, 2022.
[186] Upton discusses the use of polished granite in "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 22.

to "engage and take action." To feel represented and also implicated in the process of healing, here. While truly polyvocal and representative spaces are few and far between, the text and visual elements within the Memorial achieves it.[187] They replace layers of silence and absence with voice and remembrance, which is amplified further through the Memorial commemoration.[188]

***

Commemorative events, as well as their monuments, ask us to remember "in a certain light."[189] The dedication ceremony for the Memorial extended the work of inclusivity present in the Memorial space, and in so doing attempted to shift the memory of sexual violence from one of silence, or white female victims, to a more inclusive one. On October 10, 2020, Minnesotans and sexual violence advocates from across the country tuned in for the virtual dedication to the Survivors Memorial. Tarana Burke, founder of Me Too, members of the Minnesota Indian Women's Sexual Assault Coalition (MIWSAC), Sarah Super, Superintendent of the Park Board Al Bangoura, and V, author of the Vagina Monologues and so many more came together to share their hopes for the Memorial.

Super opened the dedication by acknowledging the "land that we stand on is stolen land. Land that belonged to the Dakota people."[190] Like the opening words of the granite plaque, her words implicitly evoke a deep history of sexual violence against Native peoples by white colonizers. They are the first words heard by the viewer, and they intertwine the Pioneers Monument and the Survivors Memorial. Super challenges Gale's sanitized version of white

[187] Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26; Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 22; Young, "Regarding the Pain of Women," 123-125.
[188] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 22.
[189] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 20.
[190] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," YouTube, uploaded by Break the Silence, October 10, 2020, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fqx9AG8OGxM&t=1724s.

settlement, recontextualizing the memorial-scape. These monuments both stand on "stolen land."[191] Minneapolis was not empty, it was (and is) inhabited by "the Dakota people."[192] While both memorials may depict Native peoples, one dedication portrays them as violated, and the other as violator. One sanitizes and transfers blame, while the other links the community in the process of remembering. One centers, while the other relegates to the periphery. Monuments and their dedications tell us more about the time they were built, and therefore, we are able to see a change over time from the silence and forgetting being commemorated through the Pioneers Monument to a new memorial that asks us to remember and to act.

Super went on to further center issues of violence against Native women, but also issues of colonization and racial violence more broadly. Sarah demanded justice "for the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women" and "justice for George Floyd who should still be here, as well as Philando Castile, Jamar Clark, Breonna Taylor, Elijah McClain, Sandra Bland, Trayvon Martin, Eric Garner, and so many others."[193] Moving forward, Super addressed the culpability of systems and institutions in perpetuating suffering, before transitioning to their failure to address, and therefore silencing of the issue of sexual violence. Super went on to proclaim that healing is often expected to occur in private. Challenging this expectation, she stated "this Memorial represents our willingness to share the burden of pain."[194]

Break the Silence Board of Directors moved the dedication forward. Asma Mohammed Nizami stated "we dedicate the memorial to Black women, Women of Color, queer and trans folks, sex workers, undocumented immigrants, people who are incarcerated, people experiencing

[191] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[192] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.

[193] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[194] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.

homelessness, people with disabilities, children, and young people."[195] Nizami's words achieved in rhetoric what Greene's final mosaic had achieved visually. This could be a space for all survivors. Sarah Colford added, "we dedicate this memorial to those who have endured sexual violence as a means of colonization, slavery, social oppression, and as a weapon of war." As Colford's list went on, the threads of narrative Gale had spun into the tightly woven fabric of a sanitized colonial project began to unwind.

Next, MIWSAC members Nicole Matthews and Angelica Allery contributed to the dedication, opening in their Native language. Nicole Matthews, executive director and White Earth Ojibwe said that she stood with an "acknowledgement of our people, of our Indigenous relatives who experienced sexual violence."[196] Shattering the fragile and misdirected claims Gale made decades prior, Matthews voiced that this sexual violence "occurred over multiple generations by non-native people."[197] For Matthews, white colonizers raped as an "act of the continued colonization of our people."[198] While Gale let white imaginations further the work of the colonial project, by allowing Endresen's daughters to be raped, Matthews let contemporary thoughts dismantle it. She recognized Native family members and friends, and their broader community and experience(s) with sexual violence.[199] She shifted the vantage point of Minnesota history, and with it the prescribed narrative of Native violence and "savagery" next to white benevolence.[200] They closed by singing a water song in their Native language.

Several speakers went on to recognize the power that public space wields. Anishaa Kimesh, board member of Break the Silence, stated that, "this memorial is a way to honor

[195] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[196] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[197] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[198] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[199] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[200] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 279; Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 26.

victim/survivors of sexual violence" by having a "public space."[201] Public space, Kimesh posed, could "acknowledge" ones "trauma instead of silencing it."[202] It holds the potential for "community healing."[203] Superintendent Al Bangoura echoed this sentiment, reiterating the need for public space to address this issue. V (formerly Eve Ensler), also stated that one of the "greatest challenges with sexual violence has been the enforced silence around it due to patriarchal machinations and stigma."[204] It is because "this memorial is a public place," V continued, that it has the capacity to acknowledge "by its existence" that "sexual violence is real and that it matters – It refuses to allow us to turn away."[205] But the Survivors Memorial shares this space with the Pioneers Monument and therefore, it also refuses to allow us to turn away from the elements that have long been silenced, as well. The narratives the Pioneers Monument helped to impose and extend, are no longer tenable.

Moving forward, Tarana Burke who founded the #MeToo Movement in 2006, spoke to the power of the Survivors Memorial. Starting in late 2017, the #MeToo Movement was co-opted by wealthy, famous, and largely white women, and with it many Women of Color began to feel like the movement was no longer for them. Since then, Burke's work has reclaimed space at the center for Women of Color within #MeToo by addressing these shortcomings. Her inclusion in the dedication ceremony reflects the aims of inclusion and diversity the Memorial builders aimed to achieve. Burke found the Memorial and its inclusive take so inspiring that she "waived her speaking fee" in entirety.[206] Memorials tend to be received very differently than their founders intended.[207] But in this particular instance, intent and reception appear in harmony.

---

[201] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[202] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[203] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[204] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[205] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[206] Sarah Super, email to Tarana Burke, March 3, 2020.
[207] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 22.

Burke's comments reflect the themes of public space present in her fellow speakers' comments. But her words also get at the sentiment of surviving:

> "We are often made to feel small…like we can't take up space… Our surviving should be celebrated and memorialized…My hope is that you will feel seen by this memorial, will feel uplifted by this memorial and know that they're not being memorialized for being victims. You're being memorialized for being a survivor. And that's a very important distinction for me…There would be no movement without the people who gave voice to their pain and their experience and their trauma…I want this to be a space that is living and breathing for all survivors. It is not just stagnant and still…because we deserve life."[208]

Burke's language reminds us of the many interviewees who acknowledged this to be a living memorial – of the polished granite that invites participation and engagement. While Civil War and Pioneer Memorials reinforce the "status quo" by reaffirming the desires of those in power, the Survivors Memorial flips this script on its head in order to undo it.[209] It challenges the narratives perpetuated by those in power, and by inviting collected polyvocal voices into it, seeks to undermine the fraught collective memory of colonization.[210] The Pioneers Monument helped solidify the myth of the white pioneer, who "first" uplifted Minneapolis from the wayward and violent Natives.[211] The Survivors Memorial instead disrupts power relations between rapists and survivors, institutions and individuals, and communities and isolation. In other words, it intervenes in what is silenced and remembered. Yet the Survivors Memorial does not break from

[208] "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony," uploaded by Break the Silence.
[209] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 73. See also Dell Upton's *What Can and Can't Be Said: Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).
[210] Young, *The Stages of Memory*, 14-15.
[211] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 73; O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 2.

the pattern of inventing tradition, like those that preceded it. Rather, it supplants sanitized traditions with something more fraught. It commemorates what is often silenced. The Memorial shifts remembrance into other directions and spaces, despite the request from "pioneer" and contemporary society, that we simply continue to forget.

***

Commemorative landscapes themselves change as people interact with these *lieux de mémoire*. In 1936 the Pioneers Monument builders referenced violence between Native peoples and white settlers. Being careful to frame themselves as the victims of Native violence, they silenced the collected memories of Native peoples within the monument space. Super, Greene, and other builders of the Survivors Memorial invited Native communities into the conversation. Through the process of building the Memorial and during the dedication ceremony, they began to undo the memory work of the Pioneers Memorial. They offered a competing version of events that acknowledged the centuries of sexual violence enacted by white colonizers and the ways that institutions systemically implicate Native bodies still today.

Oftentimes, viewers of memorials and monuments take away different messages and meanings than their builders intended.[212] Their reaction(s) imbue the memorial space with added layers of memory. Monument builders insert their own meanings into the memorial space through text, iconography, and other visual representations and metaphors. But it is the response from community members that make them dynamic, as each memorial is perceived differently over time and through each individual's lens. Recent debates surrounding confederate memorials are a prime example of this.[213] Pioneer memorials, as we have seen, are also perceived differently over time.

[212] Upton, "Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?" 22.
[213] Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory*, 95.

On Thanksgiving morning 2020 protesters covered the bodies of the white pioneer family that stood both above, and in front of, the depiction of Indigenous peoples on the Pioneers Monument with red paint.[214] They wrote, "no thanks," "no more genocide," "Decolonize," and "land back."[215] Their sharp words constructed a very different narrative of early American history than the one earlier perpetuated by Gale. Their refusal to accept a whitewashed narrative of Indigenous history transformed the Pioneers Monument, while the Survivors Memorial transformed the commemorative landscape. The vandalism of the Pioneers Monument in B.F. Nelson Park challenged "neat" narratives of history, and by extension the silencing of competing memories and versions of America's past.[216] These acts implicate the recent past and present in remembering. Their voices antagonize a "collective amnesia."[217]

Connectedly, by interviewing viewers of the Survivors Memorial we come to understand not only the layer of the builder's intent, but how it has been received. Vandals removed the tesserae from the face of a Black man depicted in Greene's final mosaic panel in the spring of 2022. Their hateful actions make it known that creating a more complex memory of our past by creating spaces of inclusion and recognition will not come without pushback. Fortunately others have received it more positively. Anna and I met, perhaps by serendipity, at the Survivors Memorial site. She was unaware of the Memorial before she stumbled upon it with a friend but found herself drawn to the space after reading, "You are not Alone."[218] As Anna recalled, "it was a little sad to be reminded."[219] Explaining the complexity of emotions it evoked, Anna went on,

---

[214] Pioneer Monuments in the American West, "The Pioneers, Minneapolis, MN."
[215] Pioneer Monuments in the American West, "The Pioneers, Minneapolis, MN."
[216] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 31.
[217] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 31.
[218] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022. The use of "Anna" is a pseudonym in order to protect the identity of the interviewee. (The interviewee was given their own choice of pseudonym). Reference to Anna's Native heritage, rather than mention of a particular tribe has been intentionally used to create further protection for the interviewee against identifying factors.
[219] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.

"it's meaningful" but "it's also painful."[220] "Those things are not something you really want to be reminded of," she said as she recalled being "sexually abused as a child," it was "personal" for her.[221] She "was represented" in the Memorial.[222] Despite the painful memories elicited by the Memorial, Anna countered, "but at the same time, it's not something anybody talks about." Anna described being at the memorial as a kind of "reminder, but in a good way."[223] She took it as a symbol that "we're going to talk about it. We're going to heal from it."[224]

Anna's comments get at the heart of the complexity within the Memorial space. Anna does not necessarily want to be reminded of her experience, but at the same time, takes comfort in the fact that its existence in public space means we are open to having the conversation. Pain plays a powerful role in collective and collected memory. Pain can cause us to avoid reckoning with traumatic events and experiences, but if we choose to grapple with it, has the capacity to promote a more nuanced remembrance of the past. The memory that Native peoples and their allies spoke of in the Survivors Memorial dedication, as well as the acts of vandalism against the Pioneers Monument – are painful memories. Like the emotional labor employed by the Survivors Memorial builders, these agents also pull from a deep well of pain in order to create a better present. Pain, then, does not have to be suppressed or ignored.[225]

Despite her complicated experience, Anna found a reason to endure painful memories if this meant the public had to contend with them as well. Whereas other public spaces discussing sexual violence left her on the periphery, the Survivors Memorial had not fallen prey to these familiar pitfalls. Asked to describe the Memorials connection to #MeToo, Anna said, "the

[220] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[221] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[222] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[223] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[224] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[225] Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre*, 279.

Movement was really meaningful" and yet "the weird thing is, I never felt a personal connection to the #MeToo movement.[226] Anna wondered if that was because she is "Native American,"[227] a response to mainstream narratives "being about non-native people."[228] She continued to express that when something "becomes really popular" she felt "disconnected from it."[229] The "issues my people face" she insightfully claimed, "don't become these big things."[230] And therefore, "people don't recognize the Native American experience."[231] In conversation with Gale's dedicatory address and the legacy of white colonization, it becomes all too clear how these experiences have been written out, and the compounding consequences of such narratives. Anna continued:

> "It seems counterintuitive but when things become big they lose meaning. The reason I like the memorial is it's not this big flashy thing…We are such a small population and we're just used to being overlooked…And in my community the issue of sexual violence, it's only meaningful if it's coming from within our own people. That conversation needs to start from within – not something that's popularized in the media. Feeling personally included makes it mean more, and I've just never felt like that…That makes it really special… the thing with memorials is you don't really appreciate it unless you have something in common."[232]

Anna reminds us that if memorials fail to incorporate and embrace those they meant to honor, then they failed.[233] When she stated that she felt "represented" in the Memorial space (a

[226] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[227] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[228] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[229] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[230] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[231] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[232] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.
[233] Upton, "Why Do Confederate Monuments Talk So Much?" 22.

key goal of the Memorial builders), her experience demonstrated a beautiful symmetry between intent and reception – at least for those the Memorial sought to reincorporate into narratives of sexual violence and conquest. Unlike #MeToo which was co-opted by white women's experiences, Anna perceived the Survivors Memorial to be a space for her community's pain and experiences to be acknowledged and reckoned with. Her sense of connection to the Memorial allows it to accomplish the work of shifting misguided and silencing narratives. Anna poignantly stated, the Survivors Memorial "asks you to remember that this violence affects everybody."[234]

[234] Anna, interviewed by author, March 29, 2022.

Bibliography

Anna. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 29, 2022.

Araujo, Ana Lucia. *Slavery in the Age of Memory: Engaging the Past*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2021.

Block, Sharon. *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Board of Park Commissioners. "Pioneers Monument at Pioneers Square." Program. November 13, 1936. Box 144, Folder 1, Minutes, Joint Committees, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1992.

Break the Silence. "Survivors Memorial Dedication Ceremony." YouTube Video, 0:33. October 7, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fqx9AG8OGxM&t=1724s.

Break the Silence Day. "The room erupts in applause when the Commissioners vote unanimously in support of the memorial." Facebook, June 29, 2017. https://www.facebook.com/breakthesilenceday.

Break the Silence Day. "The three 12' panels." Facebook, June 16, 2020. https://www.facebook.com/breakthesilenceday/.

Deer, Sarah. *The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

Doell, Charles E. "Meeting of the Committee of the Whole: Dedication of Monument at Pioneers Square." November 4, 1936. Box 144, Folder 2, Special and Joint Committees, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Donaghoe, T.J. to G.W. Jones. [Indian Office Letters Received. – A.L.S.]. January 30, 1849. Box 2, Folder 3a, Letters Received Jan-May 1849. MHS Manuscripts Collection. Special Collections at the Gale Family Library, St. Paul, MA.

"Early Settler, 9 Will See Unveiling of Pioneer Shaft." November 12, 1936. Folder: Clippings from the Times Morgue, Memorials and Markers. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Egan, Margaret to Beth Pfeifer. Letter of support for Rape Survivors Memorial Project at Boom Island Park. January 13, 2017.

Ekdahl, Karla. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 14, 2022.

Freedman, Estelle. *Redefining Rape: Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Frisch, Michael. *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. Albany, State University of New York Press, 1990.

Fuentes, Marisa J. *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

Fox 9. "Minneapolis Park Board approves funds for sexual violence survivors memorial." *Fox 9 Minneapolis-St. Paul*, February 22, 2018. https://www.fox9.com/news/minneapolis-park-board-approves-funds-for-sexual-violence-survivors-memorial.

Gale, Edward C. "The Pioneers." Dedicatory address. November 13, 1936. Box 144, Folder 1, Minutes, Joint Committees, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Glassberg, David. "Public History and the Study of Memory." *Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (1996): 7–23.

Greene, Lori. "A Place to Be Seen." *Minnesota Women's Press*, September 21, 2021. https://www.womenspress.com/lori-greene-survivor-memorial-a-place-to-be-seen/.

Greene, Lori. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 23, 2022.

Kelman, Ari. *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

MacLeod, Joan. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 17, 2022.

Minneapolis Government Employee. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 15, 2022.

Minneapolis Park Board Employee. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 14, 2022.

Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board. “Nation’s first permanent Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence will be celebrated in virtual ceremony October 10.” Posted October 9, 2020. https://www.minneapolisparks.org/news/2020/10/09/nations-first-permanent-memorial-to-survivors-of-sexual-violence-will-be-celebrated-in-virtual-ceremony-october-10/.

Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board. *Resolution Approving Memorandum of Understanding Between Break the Silence and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Regarding a Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence to be Located in Boom Island Park Within Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park*. Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2017-224. Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2017. https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/8569 (accessed December 15, 2022).

Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board, *Resolution Directing Staff to Explore Options to Support Implementation of the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence, Proposed to be Implemented in Boom Island Park, a Part of the Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, for Consideration at the Board of Commissioners March 7, 2018 Regular Meeting, with Such Support Contingent Upon Approval by the Board of Commissioners of a Concept Design for the Memorial and a License and Maintenance Agreement Aligned with Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Practice and Policy for Art Projects, and Further Contingent Upon Board of Commissioners Approval of Modifications to the Memorandum of Understanding Between the City of Minneapolis, Acting by and through Its Park and Recreation Board, a Body Corporate and Politic Under the Laws of the State of Minnesota, and Break the Silence, a Minnesota Nonprofit Corporation*. Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2018-133. Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2018. https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/8759 (accessed December 15, 2022).

Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board. *Resolution Approving a Donation Agreement, Final Concept, and Addendum to the Memorandum of Understanding Between Break the Silence and the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Regarding a Public Art Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence Proposed to be Located in Boom Island Park Within Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park*. Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2019-233. Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2019. https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/9094 (accessed December 15, 2022).

Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board. *Resolution Amending the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Capital Improvement Program and Approving the 2020 Allocation of $92,540 to the Memorial to Survivors of Sexual Violence Proposed to be Located in Boom Island Park, a Part of Central Mississippi Riverfront Regional Park, from the Saint Anthony West Neighborhood Portion of the Parkland Dedication Fund*. Michael Schroeder. Resolution 2020-201. Minneapolis, MN: Agenda Suite, 2020. https://agendasuite.org/iip/mprb/file/getfile/9381 (accessed December 15, 2022).

"Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women Task Force." Amherst Wilder Foundation. Accessed December 20, 2022. https://www.wilder.org/wilder-research/research-library/missing-and-murdered-indigenous-women-task-force.

"Monument to Pioneers is Dedicated: E.C. Gale, Son of Early Attorney, Delivers Address." *The Minneapolis Journal*, November 13, 1936. Newspapers.com.

MPR News Staff. "Rape survivor Sarah Super 'Breaks the Silence,' pitches memorial for sexual assault victims." *MPR News*, November 16, 2015. https://www.mprnews.org/story/2015/11/16/bcst-sarah-super-break-the-silence.

National Museum of the American Indian. "The REDress Project." Accessed December 20, 2022. https://americanindian.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/item?id=973.

Nelson, Robert S., and Margaret Olin, eds. *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Nora, Pierre. "Between History and Memory." *Representations* Special Issue Memory and Counter-Memory, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 7-24.

O'Brien, Jean M. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Prescott, Cynthia Culver. *Pioneer Mother Monuments: Constructing Cultural Memory*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019.

_____. "The Pioneers, Minneapolis, MN." Accessed Nov. 14, 2022, https://pioneermonuments.net/the-pioneers-minneapolis-mn/.

President and Secretary Hans A. Stadem to Board of Park Commissioners. April 16, 1934. Box 68, Folder 7, Joint and Special Committees, 1927-1935, 1939, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Ricoeur, Paul. Trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Schroeder, Michael. *Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) Hennepin County Brownsfield Gap Financing Participation Form*. Minneapolis, MN: 2020.

"Settlers' Courage Lauded at Pioneer Square Dedication." *Minneapolis Journal*, November 14, 1936. Newspapers.com.

Smith, David C. “The Yard” – or Downtown East Commons: A Caution from Minneapolis Park History.” Accessed Nov. 10, 2022, https://minneapolisparkhistory.com/tag/pioneer-square/.

_____. “Lost Minneapolis Parks: The Complete List, Part II.” Accessed Nov. 10, 2022, https://minneapolisparkhistory.com/2012/07/23/lost-minneapolis-parks-the-complete-list-part-ii/.

Super, Rob. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 14, 2022.

Super, Sarah. Interviewed by Alissa Roy. March 13, 2022.

_____. *Memorial for Rape Survivors*. Minneapolis: WholeBeing Solutions, 2015.

Thorn, Harry. “A Block of Granite: The True Story Behind a Statue,” April 1934. Box 144, Folder 1, Joint Committees, 1950-1951, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

“To the Honorable Members of the Board of Park Commissioners City Hall.” April 2, 1934. Box 121, Folder Pioneer Square (formerly Post Office Sq. & Block 20), Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records Subject Files. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.

Tyson, Amy. *The Wages of History: Emotional Labor on Public History’s Front Lines*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013.

Upton, Dell. “Why Do Contemporary Monuments Talk So Much?” In Commemoration in America: Essays on Monuments, Memorialization, and Memory, edited by David Walter Gobel and Daves Rossell, 11-35. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013.

Williamson, Thomas S. to William Medill. [Indian Office Letters Received – A.L.S.] Kaposia Minnesota Ter. June 7, 1848. Box 2, Folder 1, Letters Received July 1835; 1841; 1846-1848. Special Collections at the Gale Family Library, St. Paul, MA.

Wirth, Theodore. “Plan and estimate for the improvement of Post Office Square.” April 23, 1934. Box 121, Folder: Pioneer Square (formerly Post Office Sq. & Block 20), Subject Files, 1920s-1950s, Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board Records. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MA.

Xiong, Chao. “Minneapolis man gets 12 years in rape of ex-girlfriend.” *Star Tribune*, July 29, 2015.

Young, James E. The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.

_____. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

city of Minneapolis. “May 6, 2020 Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board.” YouTube Video, 5:27. May 7, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZfN9tLUiw9s&t=12198s.

Zalusky, J.W. letter to Theodore Wirth, Superintendent of Parks. March 30, 1933. Box 68, Folder 7, Joint and Special Committees, 1927-1935, 1939. Special Collections at the Hennepin County Library, Minneapolis, MN.