MAPPING CHICAGOU/CHICAGO
A LIVING ATLAS

SETTLER COLONIAL CITY PROJECT

2019 CHICAGO ARCHITECTURE BIENNIAL

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The Settler Colonial City Project is a research collective focused on the collaborative production of knowledge about cities on Turtle Island/North America as spaces of ongoing settler colonialism, Indigenous survival and resistance, and struggles for decolonization.

At the 2019 Chicago Architecture Biennial, the Settler Colonial City Project worked in partnership with the American Indian Center of Chicago. This publication is one of the results of this partnership. The following people and organizations were part of the Settler Colonial City Project in Chicago:

Andrew Herscher (co-founder)
Ana María León (co-founder)
American Indian Center
Future Firm
Emily Kutil
Tyler Schaafsma
Some All None
Christine Hwang
Linda Lee
Lei Nie
Anjelica Hope Perez

The following people contributed their knowledge and insight to the work of the project:

Ayala Levin, Northwestern University
John N. Low (Pokagon), Ohio State University
Heather Miller (Wyandotte), American Indian Center
Tim Samuelson, Chicago Cultural Center
Meredith TenHoor, Pratt Institute

Cover: Drawing of Chicago Cultural Center, Chicago Tribune, June 23, 1886.

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This publication was published by the Settler Colonial City Project in 2019 on the traditional territories of the Council of the Three Fires—the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi. We recognize Indigenous sovereignty, the ongoing effects of colonization and colonial state violence, and the global struggle for the self-determination of Indigenous communities.

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Commissioned by the 2019 Chicago Architecture Biennial
...and other such stories, curated by Yesomi Umolu, Sepake Angiama, and Paulo Tavares

CHICAGO
ARCHITECTURE
BIENNIAL

...AND
OTHER
SUCH
STORIES

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LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In recent years it has become a trend to acknowledge the traditional homelands of the Indigenous peoples of a particular area through a land acknowledgement. This type of activity is designed to bring more awareness and understanding of the history of Indigenous peoples and their territories. But a land acknowledgement should also be more than that; it should be a call to rethink one's own relationship with the environment and the histories of all peoples. The American Indian Center has crafted the following land acknowledgement to help all rethink their relationships with the city, the land and the environment.

Chicago is the traditional homelands of the Council of the Three Fires: The Odawa, Ojibwe and Potawatomi Nations. Many other Tribes like the Miami, Ho-Chunk, Sac and Fox also called this area home. Located at the intersection of several great waterways, the land naturally became a site of travel and healing for many Tribes. American Indians continue to call this area home and now Chicago is home to the third largest Urban American Indian community that still practices their heritage, traditions and care for the land and waterways. Today, Chicago continues to be a place that calls many people from diverse backgrounds to live and gather here. Despite the many changes the city has experienced, both our American Indian and Architecture communities see the importance of the land and this place that has always been a city home to many diverse backgrounds and perspectives.

American Indian Center of Chicago

FOREWORD

This booklet is an important step toward acknowledging the colonial project we now call Chicago. Frankly, I was unfamiliar with the Chicago Architecture Biennial, and was surprised when members began contacting me about "an Indigenous perspective" and "decolonizing" the biennial to clear a space for native voices. Who knew? Since then, I have had the pleasure of making a small contribution to these efforts by consulting with Andrew Herscher and Ana María León from the Settler Colonial City Project and Paulo Tavares from the Chicago Architecture Biennial. Now, I am honored with providing a foreword to this document. This is significant – when individuals from distinctly different backgrounds, disciplines, and professions can organize and ally around a theme or issue, common understandings and common ground can emerge.

I am a citizen of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians of southwest Michigan and northwest Indiana. I grew up in that community and know that Chicago is a part of our ancestral lands. I had the opportunity to write about our connections to the city in *Imprints, The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi & the City of Chicago* (Michigan State University Press, 2016). I love Chicago. Our tribal nation is less than one hundred miles from the Loop—we are the closest Native nation to the city. I have fond memories of visiting the city as a child and going to the museums, planetarium, aquarium, and sporting events, including my beloved Bears, Cubs, Bulls, and Blackhawks. Later, I would earn an MA from the University of Chicago and live in Hyde Park, Lincoln Park, and Bucktown. I taught at the University of Illinois at Chicago and Northeastern Illinois University, and finished my dissertation while a scholar in residence at the Newberry Library.

Chicago has been ancestral home for many native peoples; Potawatomi, Ho-Chunk, Meskwaki, Fox, and others. It did not become an urban cosmopolitan place after the settler-colonists arrived. That is a false narrative. It has been a bustling place of interaction, trade, and habitation for thousands of years. But after 1833 and the last Treaty of Chicago, American Indians were not expected to be included in "the American dream." We were cultural patrimony—relics of the past. Modern America had no time for modern Indians. Pokagon Potawatomi author and activist, Simon Pokagon "talked back" to that notion with his oration at the World's Columbian Exposition and his raising of a birch bark tipi on the Midway during that event. Pokagon spoke before 70,000 people on Chicago Day in September of 1893 and his booklet, *The Red Man's Greeting*, expressing his thoughts about the celebration, was sold at the Exposition:

On behalf of my people, the American Indians, I hereby declare to you, the pale-faced race that has usurped our lands and homes, that we have no spirit to celebrate with you the great Columbian Fair now being held in this Chicago city,

the wonder of the world. No; sooner would we hold the high joy day over the graves of our departed than to celebrate our own funeral, the discovery of America. And while . . . your hearts in admiration rejoice over the beauty and grandeur of this young republic and you say, "Behold the wonders wrought by our children in this foreign land," do not forget that this success has been at the sacrifice of our homes and a once happy race.[1]

Clearly, it was difficult for him to celebrate this new Chicago. As he rode the Ferris Wheel at the Fair, Pokagon described his thoughts on how the place of his youth had changed:

As we were lifted up a strange sensation came over me, and I thought, the dominant race will yet invent a way for their sinners to reach heaven. For some cause, while our car was at its highest point, the monstrous wheel stood still. My companion said, "Pokagon, it stopped for you to view Chicago." I surveyed the White City, stretching along the lake beneath me. Then, casting my eyes northward, I surveyed the white man's Chicago. But how unlike the Chi-Kog-Ong of the red man! The shore line of the lake, with its fleet of canoes; the marsh and winding river, with flags and rushes fringed; the scattering wigwams and the red men were nowhere to be seen. But in their place rose roof on roof, with steeples tall, smoking towers and masts of ships as far as eye could see. All had changed, except the sun and sky above. They had not, because the Great Spirit, in his wisdom, hung them beyond the white man's reach.[2]

In large part, due to the U.S. government's program of Indian relocation in the 1950's, a new intertribal Indigenous community has emerged in Chicago. Simon Pokagon's "talking back" against the erasure of Indigenous presence in Chicago has continued; it is reflected in the creation of Indigenous monuments including the bricolage at Wilson Avenue under Lakeshore Drive and the historical marker and naming of "Battle of Fort Dearborn Park."

Migwetch (thank you) to the authors of this booklet and to the reader as well. It tells an important story about Chicago that you usually don't learn in school—a story that is too often ignored. This little booklet, like Simon Pokagon's little booklet of 130 years ago, is evidence that things are changing—not only in Chicago but around the world. Indigenous peoples are not just talking back; we are being heard.

John N. Low, JD and PhD
Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians
Director – Newark Earthworks Center
Associate Professor, The Ohio State University - Newark

[1] Simon Pokagon, The Red Man's Greeting: 1492 to 1892 (Hartford, MI: C. H. Engle, 1893), 1.

[2] Simon Pokagon, "The Chi-Kog-Ong of the Red Man," New York Times Sunday Magazine (5 December 1897), 7-10, 10.

INTRODUCTION

Mapping Chicagou/Chicago: A Living Atlas brings together three geographies that have been at once produced by and held apart by settler colonialism: the geography of Indigenous displacement in the United States; the geography of colonial land-filling and water-seizing in and around Lake Michigan; and the geography of Chicago's urban development. Bringing these geographies together, as we do here, allows for a documentation of the way in which the contemporary city of Chicago has been shaped by still-ongoing settler colonialism and the way in which Indigeneity has persisted and thrived even in the context of this colonialism's displacements, dispossessions, and violence.

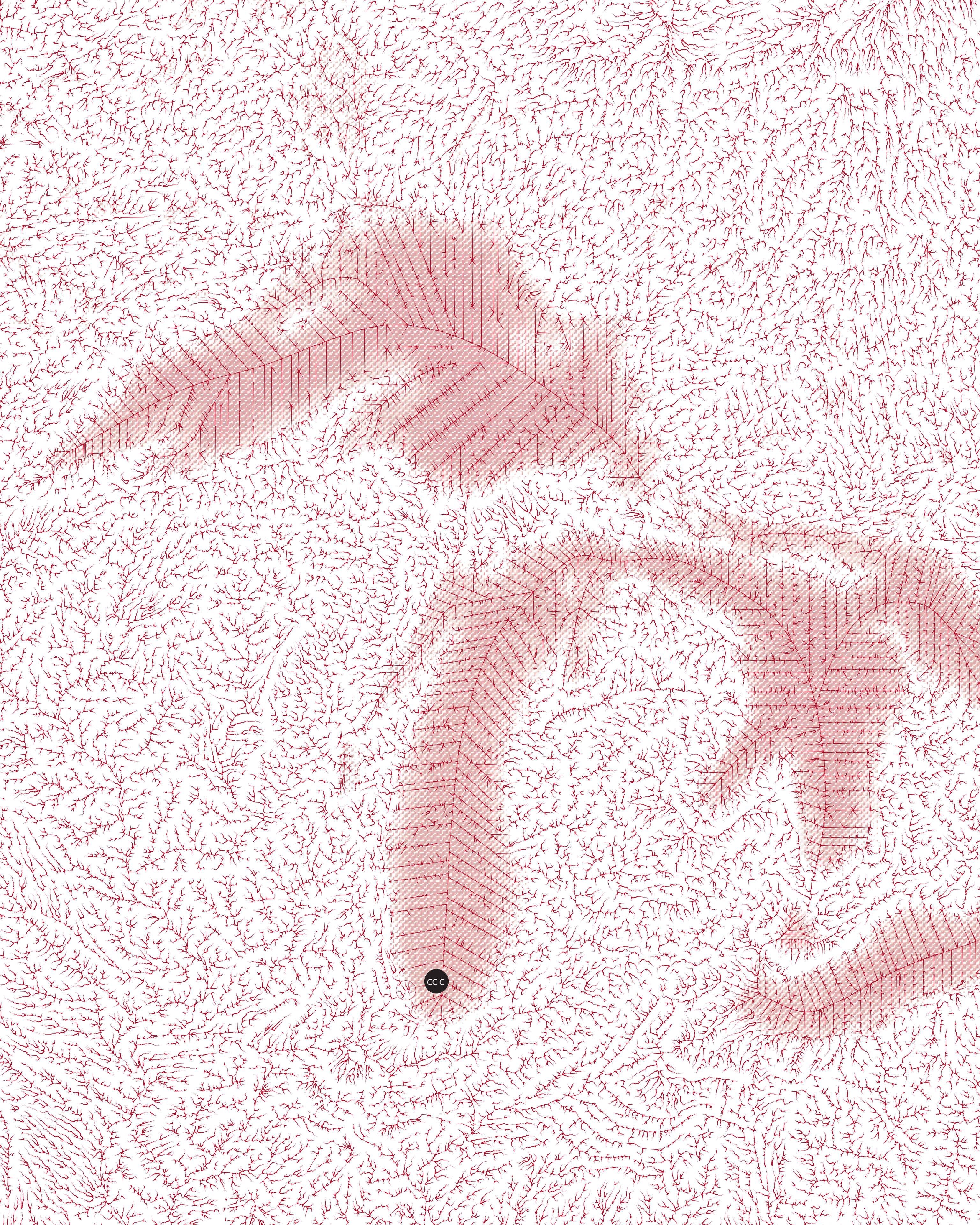
This documentation contests the colonial framing of settler colonialism in the United States as merely a historical phenomenon: a moment, long since passed, in the history of the United States. In fact, our documentation of Chicago as a city located on both occupied and unceded Indigenous land reveals the city's geography as a product of conflict, violence, and struggle that continue into the present. The maps in this publication, then, constitute a *living atlas:* a counter-geography that contests the colonial geography posing colonialism in Chicago, in the United States, and across the globe, as a historical artifact. This counter-geography calls for the world to be changed—or decolonized—to do justice to the violence by means of which the world was made.

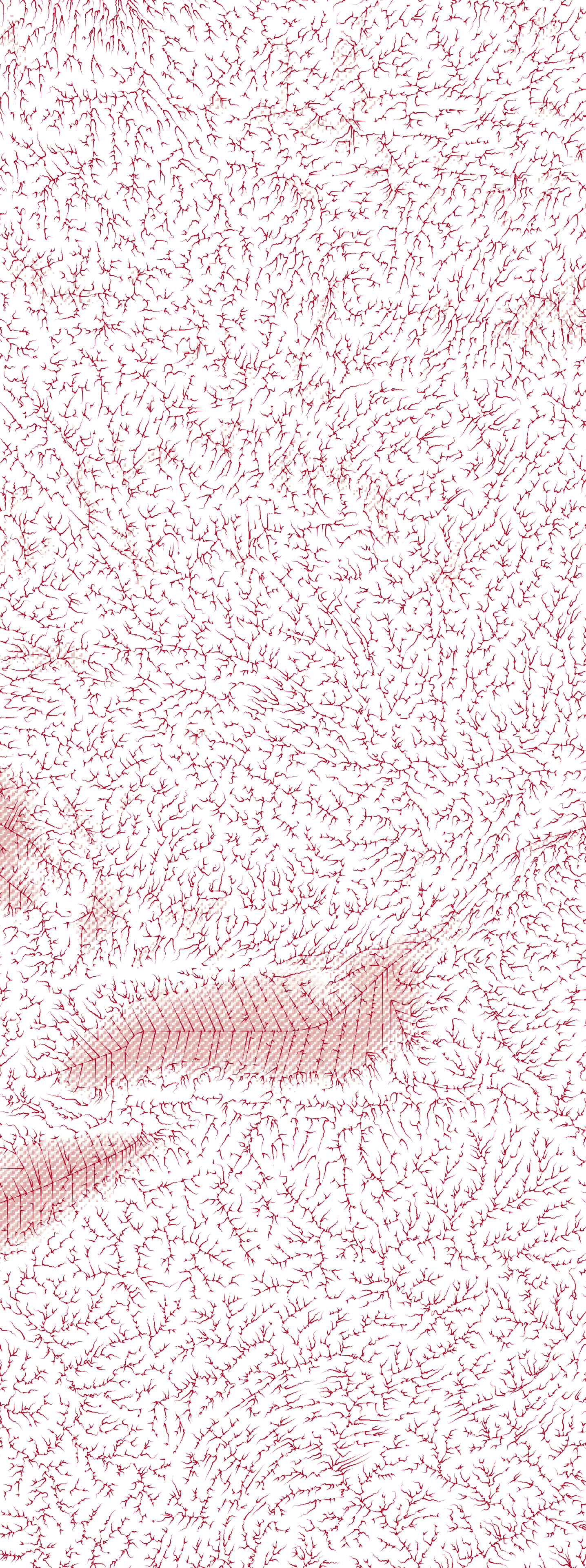
We entitle our living atlas *Mapping Chicagou/Chicago* in order to reference the way in which the colonization of Chicagou not only yielded Chicago but continues to structure relationships between land, people, and the multifarious elements of what in colonial ontology is called such things as "the environment," "nature," or "the natural world." The name "Chicago" references a French rendering of the Indigenous Miami-Illinois word for a type of wild onion, the *shikaakwa,* known in English as ramps. The word was later turned into *checagou* or *chicagou,* also in reference to a type of garlic that grew in the forests and plains of the region. With the colonization of the place known as Chicagou, the ramps and garlic that were harvested and sustained by Indigenous people in these forests and plains were replaced by wheat, a crop indigenous to the Fertile Crescent that was brought to North America by British colonialism.

While the colonial replacement of *shikaakwa* by wheat may have been almost total, settler colonialism yields practices of displacement, dispossession, and violence that continue to structure its development as long as it exists. Chicagou, then, lives on, both as a name for Indigenous presence in Chicago—a city with the third-largest urban Native American population in the United States—and as a name for all those spaces in Chicago that have experienced colonizing displacement, dispossession, and violence.

In *Imprints: The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and the City of Chicago,* Pokagon historian John N. Low shows how, in the early 20th century, the Pokagon Potawatomi appropriated colonial strategies and tools to recover land that colonialism had taken away from them. As Low writes, the Pokagon Potawatomi responded to colonialism "by using maps—the very tools that had been used in earlier times to deprive them of their lands—in their effort to regain some of their territory."[1] Inspired by this effort, we, too, aim to re-purpose a colonial cartography—the cartography of standardized and presumably objective maps—against colonialism itself.

[1] John N. Low, *Imprints: The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and the City of Chicago* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2016).



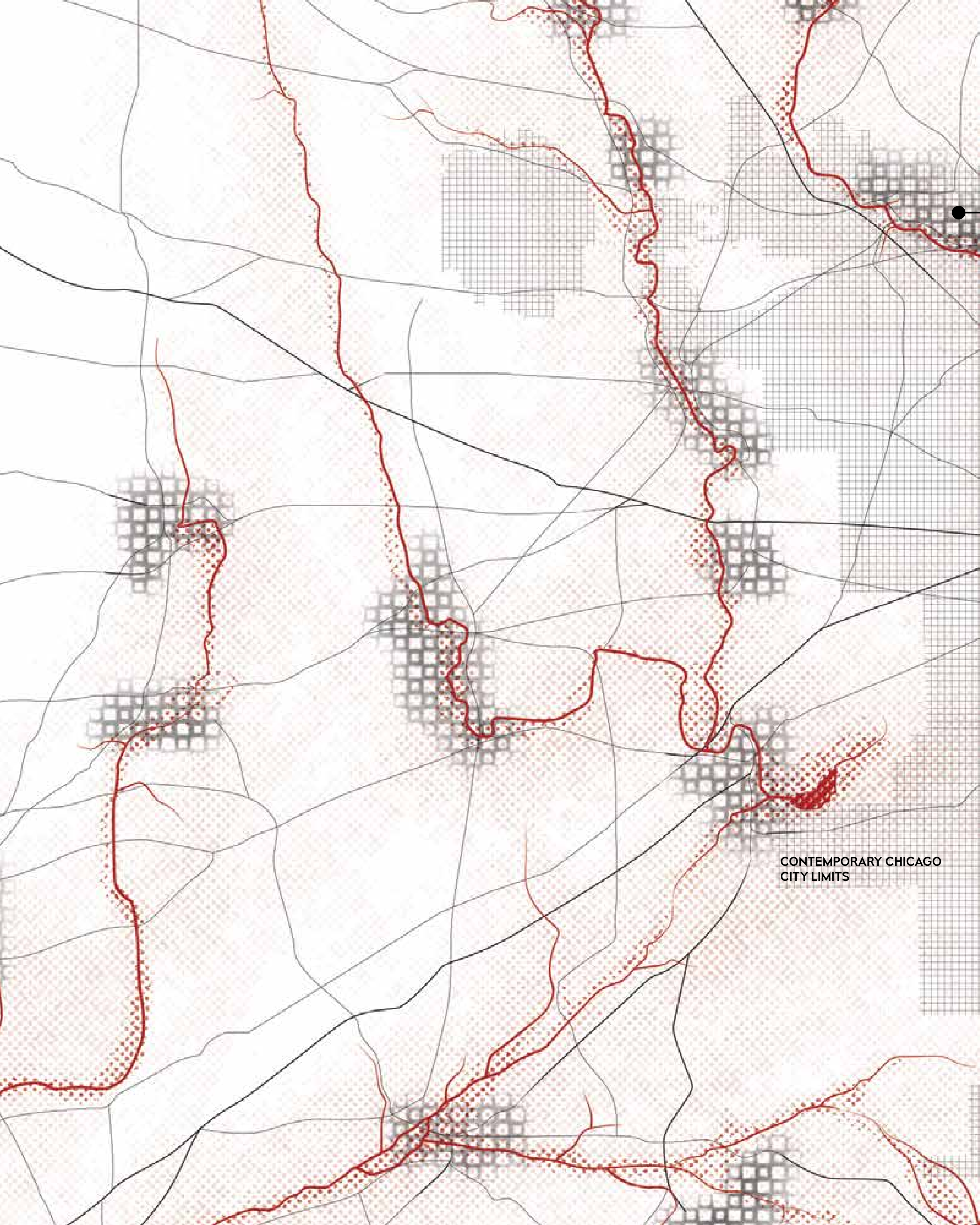


GREAT LAKES HYDROSHED

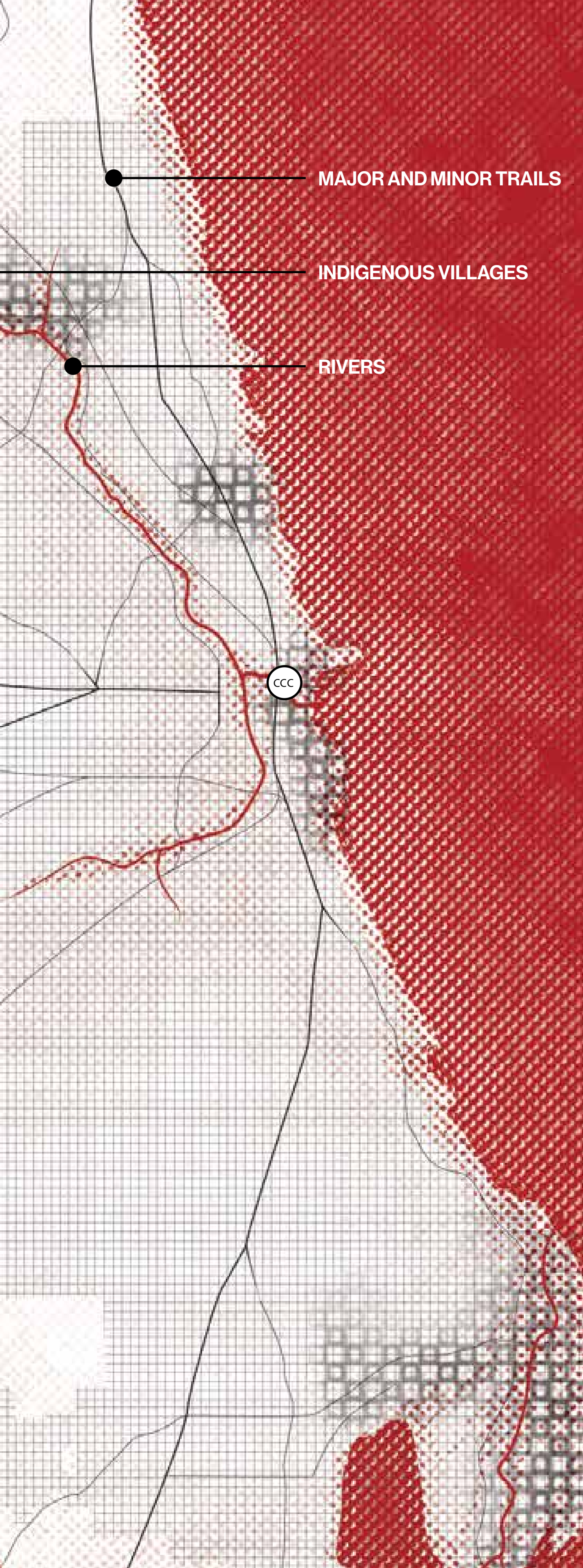
Colonial cartography typically renders "land" and "water" as categorically different entities. This rendering emerges from the differential histories of land and water in imperial, colonial, and capitalist contexts: while land became private property that could be bought and sold by individuals, water became the collective property of nation-states or empires. Indigenous world views recognize land and water as one continuous landscape categorically related to both each other and to the human and non-human beings who support and are supported by it.

Hydroshed maps, then, might approach Indigenous world views closer than other forms of colonial cartography. At the same time, however, hydroshed maps also register the inability of colonial cartography, and colonial worldviews more generally, to fully grasp the interrelatedness of land and water. This inability is revealed in the rigid lines that stand in for the hydroshed lines that the system is unable to trace because, in contrast to hydroshed lines on the land, these lie deeply submerged under the water of the Great Lakes. This hydroshed map of the Great Lakes thus acknowledges both conditions: the continuity of an Indigenous landscape and the incapacity of colonial tools of cartography to properly render this continuity. The hydroshed map is an acknowledgment of our limit condition and our own inability to fully grasp the Indigenous understanding of the world; at the same time, the map points to the decolonial imperative to acknowledge and respect that understanding.

Map Source:
HydroSHEDS (Hydrological data and maps based on Shuttle Elevation Derivatives at multiple Scales) North American stream network (www.hydrosheds.org). HydroSHEDS is based on high-resolution elevation data obtained during a Space Shuttle flight for NASA's Shuttle Radar Topography Mission in 2000.



CONTEMPORARY CHICAGO
CITY LIMITS

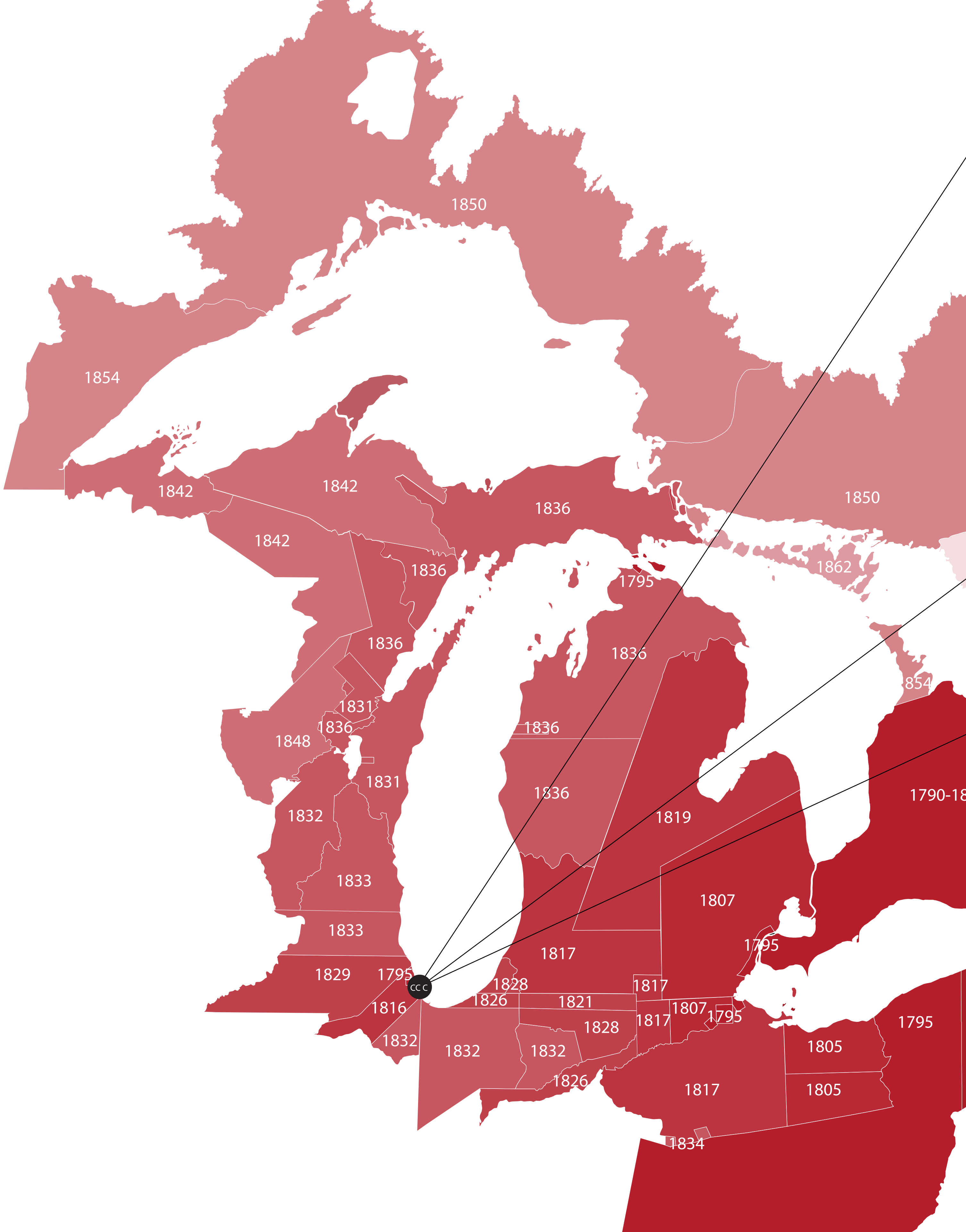


CHICAGOU AND ITS ENVIRONS

Land and water were not only conceptually and spiritually connected in Indigenous worldviews, but also practically enmeshed. Indigenous settlements in Chicagou and its environs followed waterways used to guide travel through and across the land—waterways that also guided the movement of the non-human beings that supported and were supported by land and water. These Indigenous settlements formed a network not only *across* the land but *within* the land—a network that bound the land together with human beings, animals, plants, water, and other animate and non-animate entities into a sustaining and sustained system.

This network had its own scale and morphology, different from colonial settlement patterns. The outline of contemporary Chicago, seen in grey, gives us a sense of the scale in which the land was inhabited by Indigenous populations before treaties and before the incorporation of the city.

Map Source:
Albert Scharf, "Map of 1804 Indian Trails and Village of Chicago and of Cook, Dupage and Will Counties, Illinois," published in 1900 (http://history.wilmettelibrary.info/2487821/image/1394360?w=2400&h=1200).



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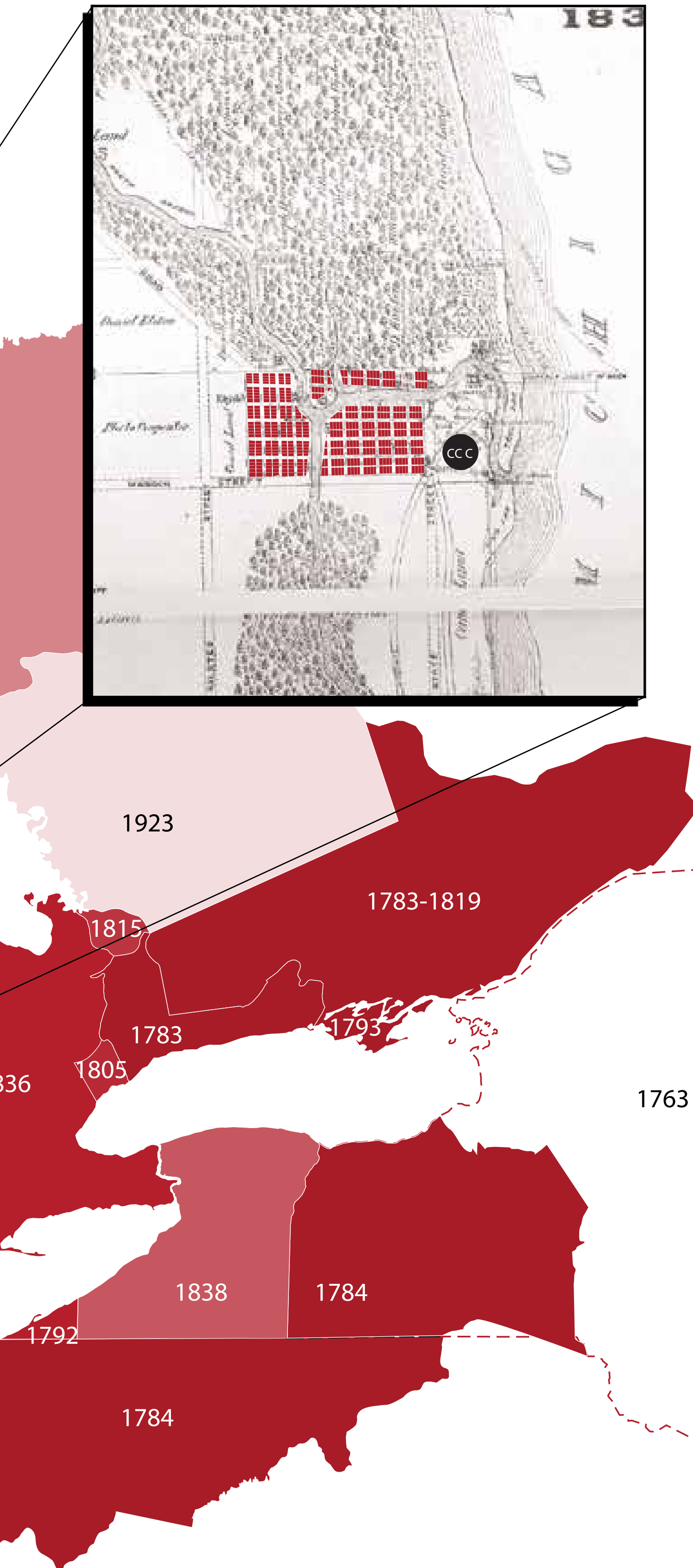
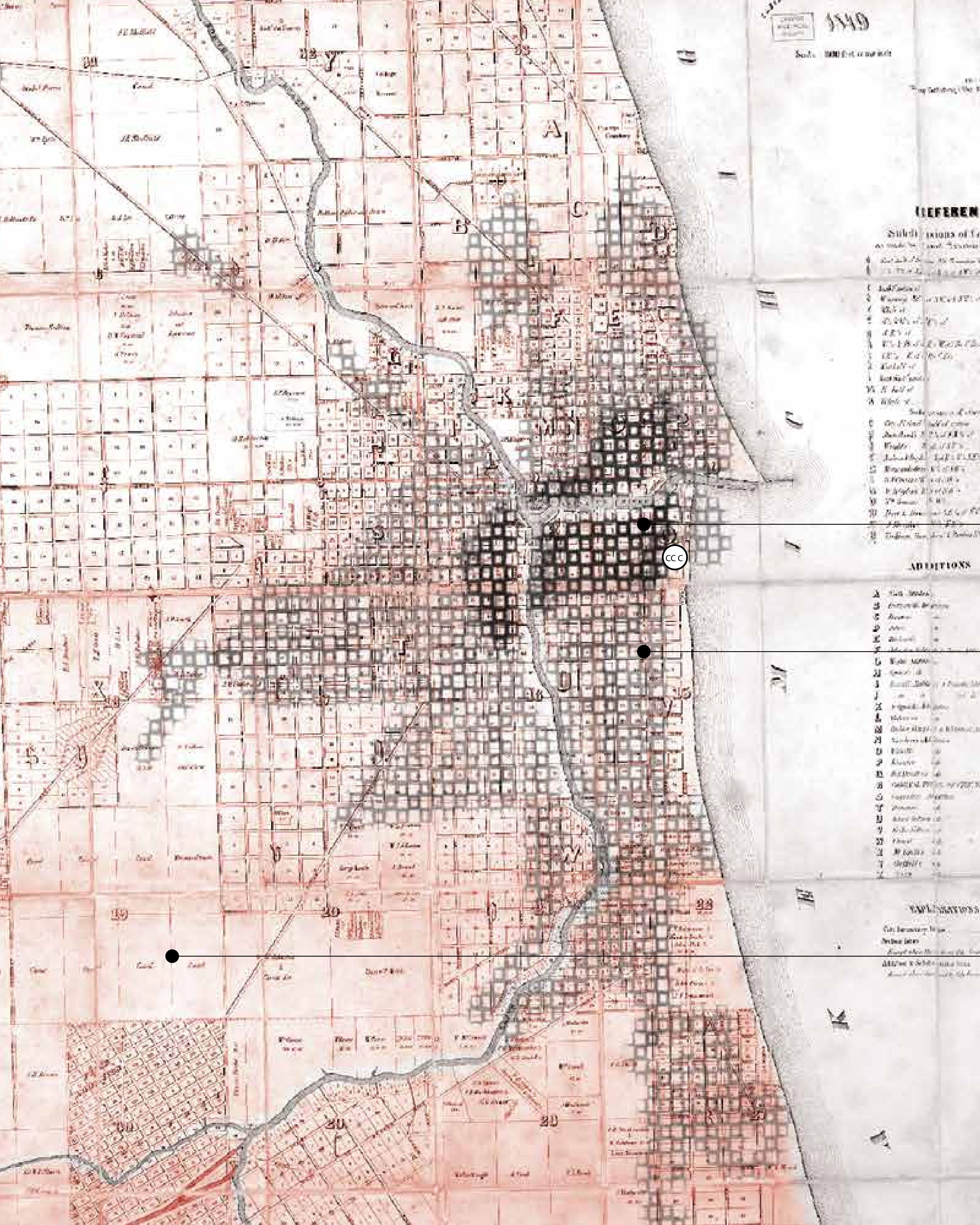


LAND SEIZURES UNDER SETTLER COLONIALISM

In the United States and elsewhere across the globe, settler colonialism was a project to seize land from the Indigenous people who inhabited and sustained it, and to transfer that land to the colonial state. In the United States, this seizure was accomplished by a conjoined program of coerced treaties between the U.S. government and Indigenous people and frontier violence, both state-sponsored and state-encouraged. Colonial land seizure not only displaced Indigenous people and the non-human beings they lived with from the land and water; it also transformed land and water into categorically different entities. The stark linear geometry of land seizure reminds us of the Public Land Survey System, the surveying method created by the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that was used to divide land for sale and settling or, in other words, turn land into property. The Public Land Survey System and land seizure are two sides of the same coin; each play a part in the capture of land from its human and non-human inhabitants and the rendering of land as real estate property to be settled by U.S. citizens, that is, non-Indigenous population.

The territory where contemporary Chicago stands was initially surveyed with reference to the Third Principal Meridian that was set in 1805. Twenty-eight years after the land had been occupied by this surveying geometry, in 1833, the U.S. government imposed the Treaty of Chicago on the Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Nations. Four years later, in 1837, the city of Chicago was incorporated. The platting of the land preceded land seizure but both actions should be understood together, as part of the set of settler colonial technologies that codified, occupied, and confiscated the land from its inhabitants.

Map Sources:
Treaty Map: “Canadian First Nations and Treaties” (https://files.ontario.ca/firstnationsandtreaties.pdf); “Library of Congress Indian Land Cession Maps” (https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3701em.gct00002/?st=gallery).
1830 Map: “Map of Chicago in 1830,” published in 1886 (https://publications.newberry.org/frontiertoheartland/items/show/6); “Thompson’s Plat of 1830” (http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/11175.html).


ADDITIONS
CC C

LAND INTO PROPERTY: SETTLERS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF CHICAGO

Before the 1871 Fire, Chicago developed on land seized from Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi Nations. The dispersed low-density settlements and sustaining land practices of these and other inhabitants of the land were thereby replaced by a fast-growing and increasingly-capitalized modern city developed on the basis of a grid laid out over the land and a new infrastructure—first a series of water canals and then an expanding rail network that transformed Chicagou into Chicago, a city built to connect the landscapes of colonial extraction on the United States Plains and West to shipping and trading sites on the Atlantic Coast and beyond.

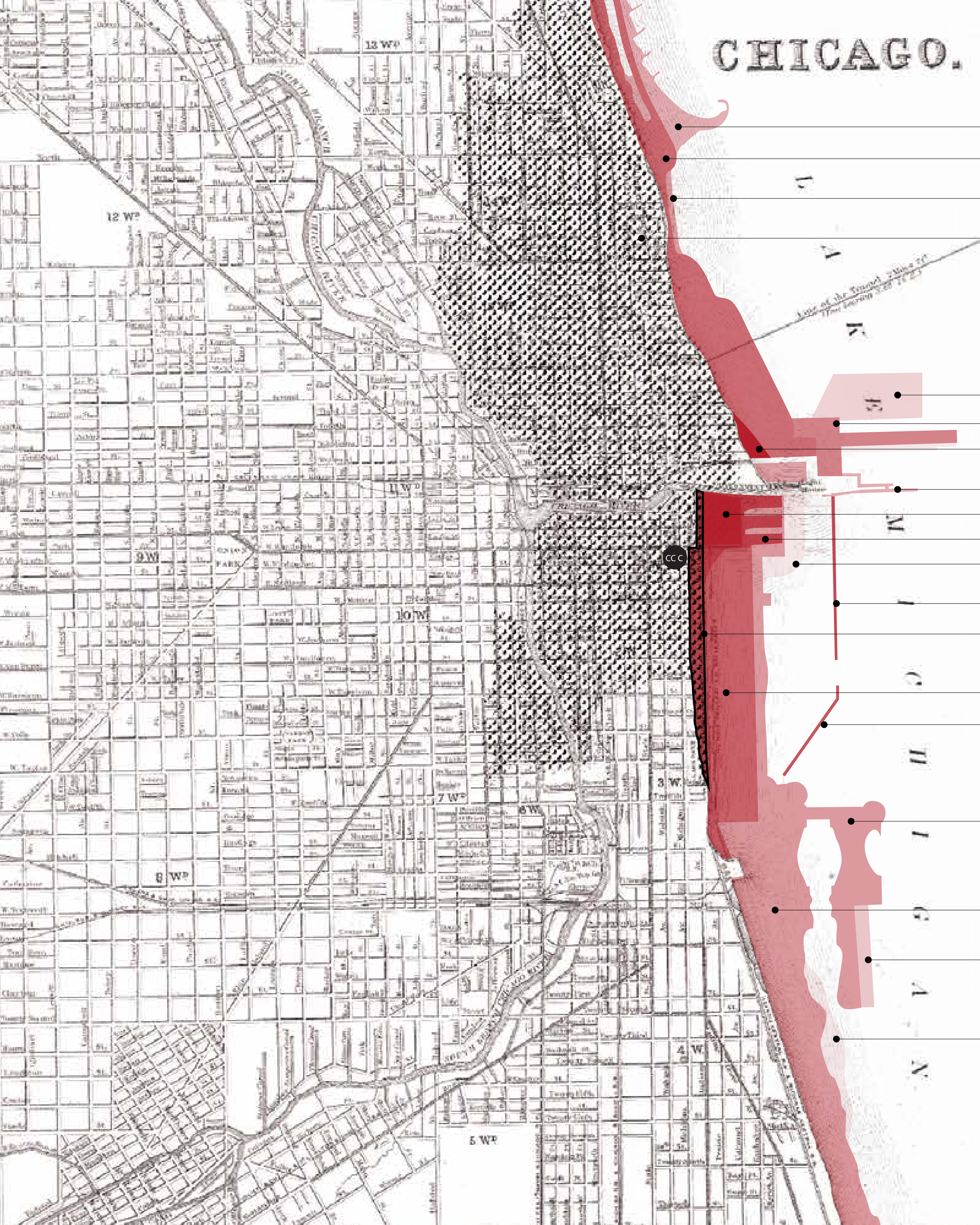
'SETTLED' AREA 1834-1844

Two narratives are made visible in this map: one, the griding and platting of the land, which suggests the land's population, and the other, the actual presence of a population that is assumed as generically "human." Neither of these narratives is completely accurate, and their inaccuracy opens on to a more complicated history. Much of the gridded and platted land was not populated, and the occupation of the grid, mapped by Homer Hoyt in his 1933 book, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago,* only included white settlers. Thus, this map of the "settlement" of Chicago in the 19th century is more precisely a map of the conjoined unsettlement of Indigenous people and settlement of settlers in Chicago over this time. *"Settlement" is reserved for settlers:* this is an axiom of settler colonial geography.

'SETTLED' AREA 1844-1857

LAND DIVISION MAP 1849

Map Sources:
"1849 Rees & Rucker Map of Chicago and Vicinity" (www.mapmania.org/map/17285/1849_rees__rucker_map_of_chicago_and_vicinity); 'Settled' Areas: Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (1933), Fig. 18.


CHICAGO.
LAKE MICHIGAN
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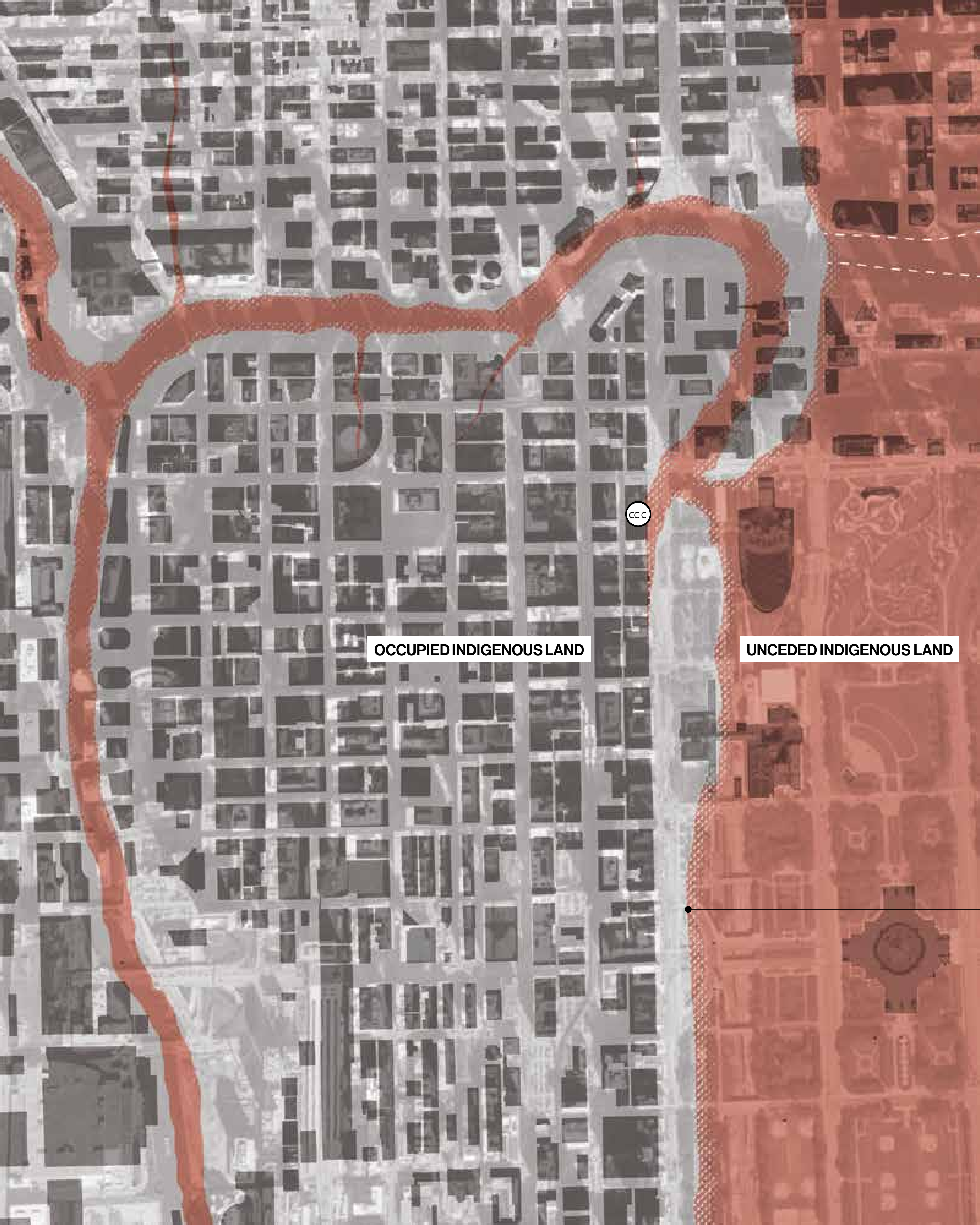
NORTH AVENUE EXPANSION 1938
SHORELINE BY 1900
SHORELINE BY 1934
AREA BURNED IN 1871 FIRE
JARDINE WATER FILTRATION PLANT 1955
NAVY PIER 1916
ACCRETION 1834 - 1867
CHICAGO LOCKS 1938
PIERS BY 1858
PIERS 1870s
SHORELINE BY 2001
BREAKWATER 1874
AREA FILLED WITH 1871 FIRE DEBRIS
GRANT PARK LANDFILL 1897 - 1907
BREAKWATER 1880
NORTHERLY ISLAND 1920s
BURNHAM PARK LANDFILL 1920s
MEIGS FIELD EXTENSION 1947
SHORELINE BY 2001

POST-FIRE LAND FILLING AND WATER SEIZING

The 1871 Fire both destroyed a large part of a growing city and also created conditions for the city's even more rapid post-fire expansion—rubble from the fire became landfill used to grow the city east of Michigan Avenue, which had previously run along the Lake Michigan shoreline. The thin sliver of land marked as filled from the fire debris points to the success of the fire narrative in propelling the landfill operation. This new urban territory, encompassing today's Millennium Park, Grant Park, and Burnham Park, took form on what was water when the Treaties of Chicago were signed; this territory, then, was at once new land and unceded land. In the early 1900s, in the course of land filling, the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians, who remained in Michigan and Indiana after the 19th century land seizures, began to assert a claim to the unceded land this filling created and in 1914 they sued the City of Chicago and other landowners as part of this assertion. The case went to the U.S. Supreme Court, which decided that the Potawatomi "abandoned" this land, despite the fact that this land did not exist when the Potawatomi signed the 1833 Treaty of Chicago.

Forcing the Supreme Court, and the settler colonial state this court represented, into an absurd argument, the Potawatomi exposed the gap between the state's avowals of equality and democracy and its ongoing practice of Native American dispossession.

Map Sources
Fire Extents: "Richard's Illustrated and Statistical Map of the Great Conflagration in Chicago," published in 1871 (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cc/1871_Richard%27s_map_of_the_great_conflagration_in_Chicago.jpg).
Landfill Map: "Chicago's Lakefront Landfill," published in 2004 (http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/3713.html).



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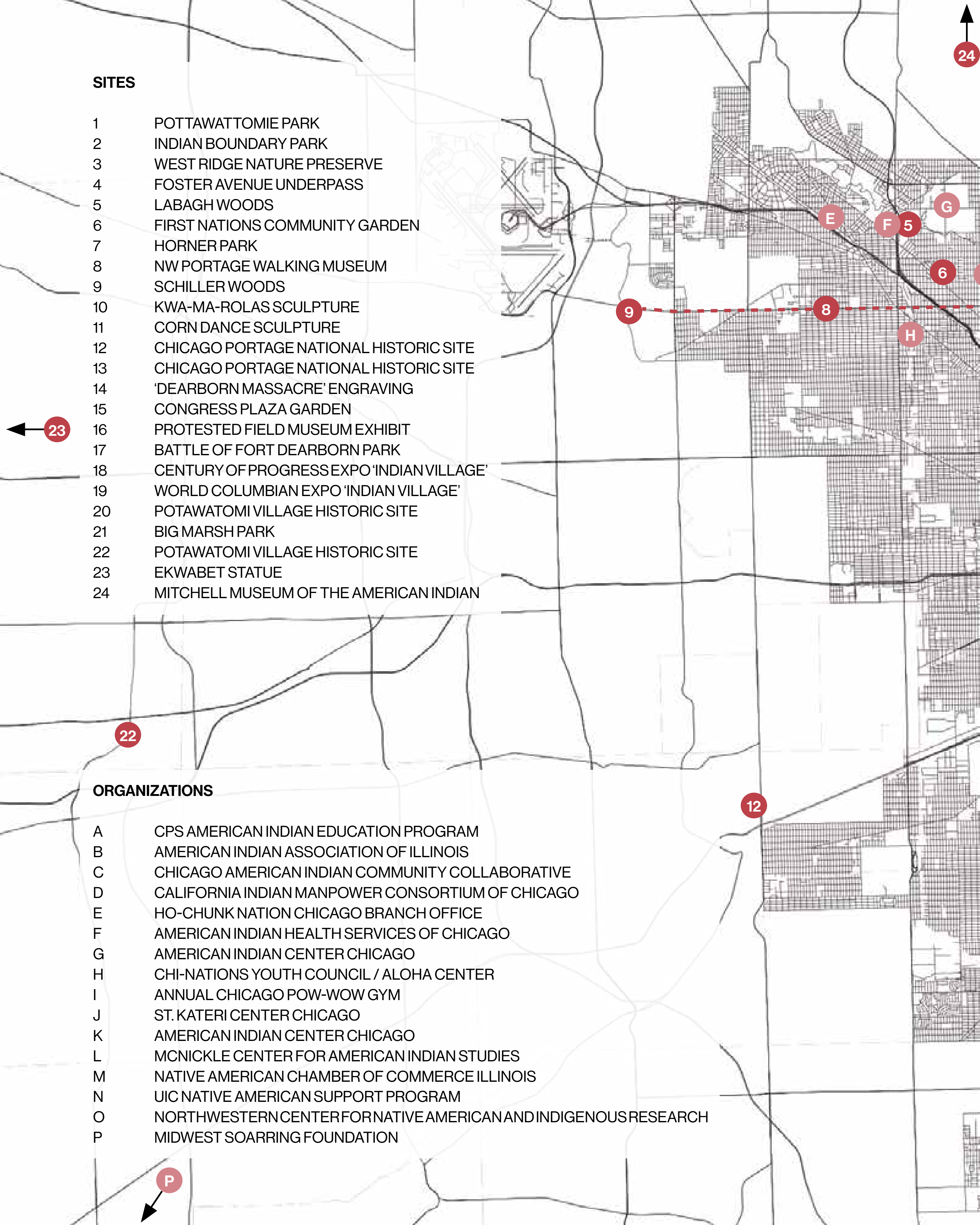
OCCUPIED INDIGENOUS LAND
UNCEDED INDIGENOUS LAND

OCCUPIED AND UNCEDED INDIGENOUS LAND IN CONTEMPORARY CHICAGO

Contemporary Chicago is built on occupied land. This land consists of both territory ceded through treaties that the U.S. government coerced Native Americans to sign and unceded territory created by landfill after those coerced treaties were signed. Standing in the Chicago Cultural Center—for instance, at Yates Hall—and looking out the building's east-facing windows, one stands on occupied land and looks onto unceded land. Thus, the entire Michigan Avenue facade of the building stands at the threshold between ceded and unceded land. This threshold—corresponding to much of Michigan Avenue south of the Chicago River—is denied and invisibilized by the beneficiaries of settler colonialism, but it is also asserted and visualized by the Indigenous people who colonialism displaced, along with their accomplices.

Map Sources:
"Map of Chicago, Incorporated as a Town August 5 1833," published in 1933 (https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~266398~90040793:Chicago,1833-?qvq=w4s:/where%2FChicago%2B%2528Ill.%2529;q:city%3D*%20;lc:RUMSEY~8~1&mi=145&trs=158); "Lake View Historical Chronicles" (http://www.lakeviewhistoricalchronicles.org/2015/06/researcher-sources.html).


SITES
1 POTTAWATTOMIE PARK
2 INDIAN BOUNDARY PARK
3 WEST RIDGE NATURE PRESERVE
4 FOSTER AVENUE UNDERPASS
5 LABAGH WOODS
6 FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITY GARDEN
7 HORNER PARK
8 NW PORTAGE WALKING MUSEUM
9 SCHILLER WOODS
10 KWA-MA-ROLAS SCULPTURE
11 CORN DANCE SCULPTURE
12 CHICAGO PORTAGE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
13 CHICAGO PORTAGE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
14 'DEARBORN MASSACRE' ENGRAVING
15 CONGRESS PLAZA GARDEN
16 PROTESTED FIELD MUSEUM EXHIBIT
17 BATTLE OF FORT DEARBORN PARK
18 CENTURY OF PROGRESS EXPO 'INDIAN VILLAGE'
19 WORLD COLUMBIAN EXPO 'INDIAN VILLAGE'
20 POTAWATOMI VILLAGE HISTORIC SITE
21 BIG MARSH PARK
22 POTAWATOMI VILLAGE HISTORIC SITE
23 EKWABET STATUE
24 MITCHELL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
ORGANIZATIONS
A CPS AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION PROGRAM
B AMERICAN INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS
C CHICAGO AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY COLLABORATIVE
D CALIFORNIA INDIAN MANPOWER CONSORTIUM OF CHICAGO
E HO-CHUNK NATION CHICAGO BRANCH OFFICE
F AMERICAN INDIAN HEALTH SERVICES OF CHICAGO
G AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER CHICAGO
H CHI-NATIONS YOUTH COUNCIL / ALOHA CENTER
I ANNUAL CHICAGO POW-WOW GYM
J ST. KATERI CENTER CHICAGO
K AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER CHICAGO
L MCNICKLE CENTER FOR AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES
M NATIVE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ILLINOIS
N UIC NATIVE AMERICAN SUPPORT PROGRAM
O NORTHWESTERN CENTER FOR NATIVE AMERICAN AND INDIGENOUS RESEARCH
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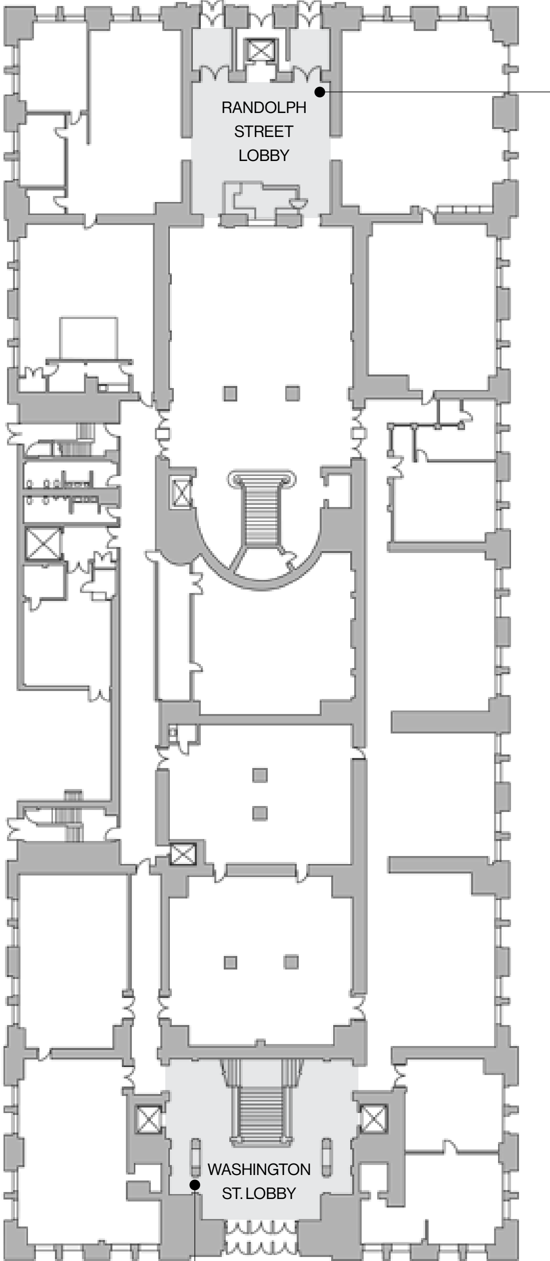
INDIGENOUS PRESENCE IN CONTEMPORARY CHICAGO

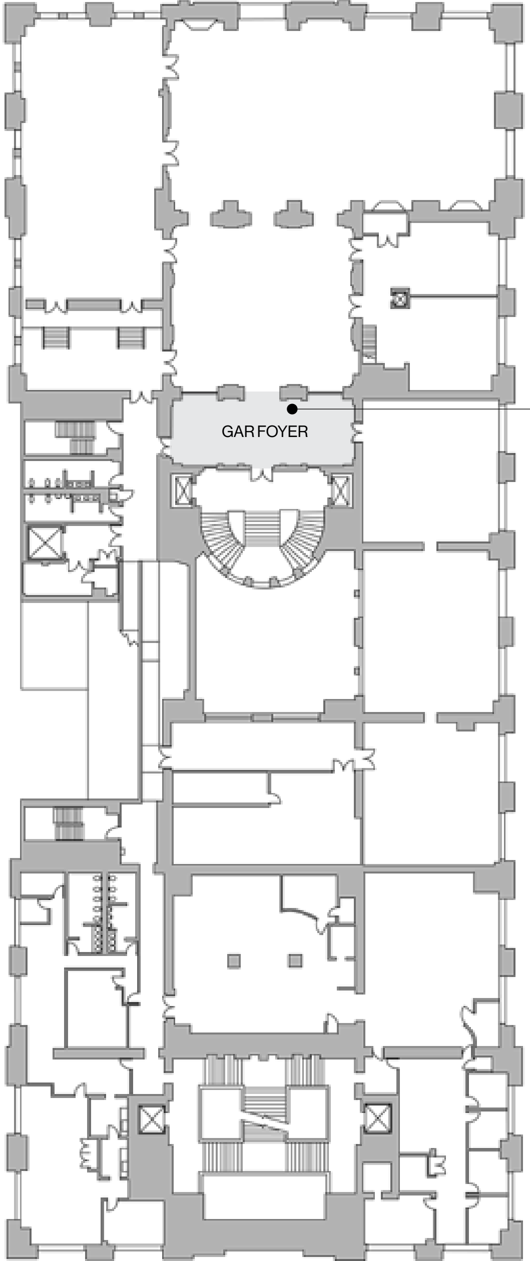
While 19th century settler colonialism almost completely displaced Indigenous people from the space that became Chicago, Indigenous people returned in large numbers to Chicago and its environs in the wake of the U.S. government's 1956 Indian Relocation Act. This Act sought to destroy the remaining spaces of Indigenous identity and self-determination in the United States by discontinuing federal funding for many reservation-based services, decreasing subsidies to reservation-based Native Americans, and ending federal recognition of many tribes. In the wake of the Relocation Act, many Indigenous people migrated to cities, with Chicago becoming a destination for many Indigenous families. The founding of Chicago's American Indian Center in 1953—the first urban community center for Native Americans in the United States—reflects the importance of the city for Native Americans in the post-Relocation Act era.

With some 65,000 Native Americans from around 175 different tribes in its greater metropolitan area, Chicago today has the third-largest population of urban Native Americans among U.S. cities. The presence of Indigenous people in Chicago is reflected across the city in a wide range of sites, ranging from murals and memorials, through community centers and social service providers, to historic sites. This network of Indigenous sites created by Indigenous people in the ceded and unceded land of the Potawatomi exposes Indigenous presence in Chicago. The dispersed location of these sites across the city reminds us of the network of Indigenous settlements that predated and configured Chicago. This echo across centuries hints at the presence of Chicagou *within* Chicago, a living presence that, together with the scars caused by settler colonialism, is a vital part of the city's history, contemporaneity, and futures.

Map Sources:
"Chekagou's First Culture: The Native American City, Then and Now" (https://newcity.com/2015/02/05/chekagous-first-culture-the-native-american-city-then-and-now/); "Without Native Americans, Would We Have Chicago As We Know It?" (http://interactive.wbez.org/curiouscity/chicago-native-americans/

THE SETTLER COLONIAL CITY PROJECT AT





FIRST FLOOR PLAN

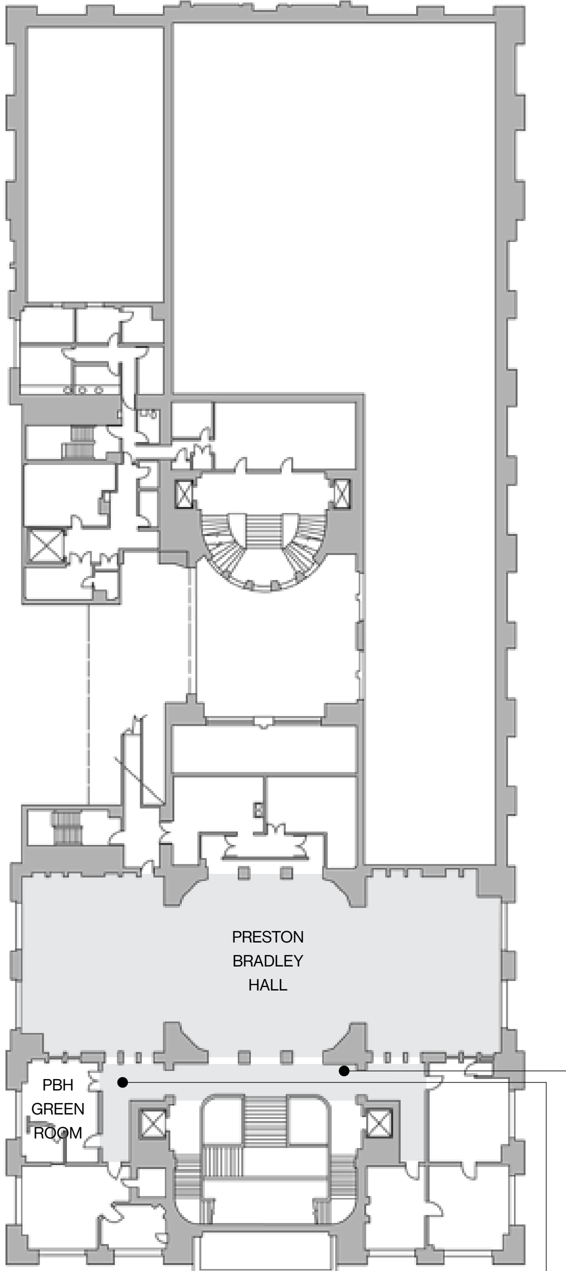
CHICAGO'S CITY SEAL LEGITIMIZES SETTLER COLONIALISM

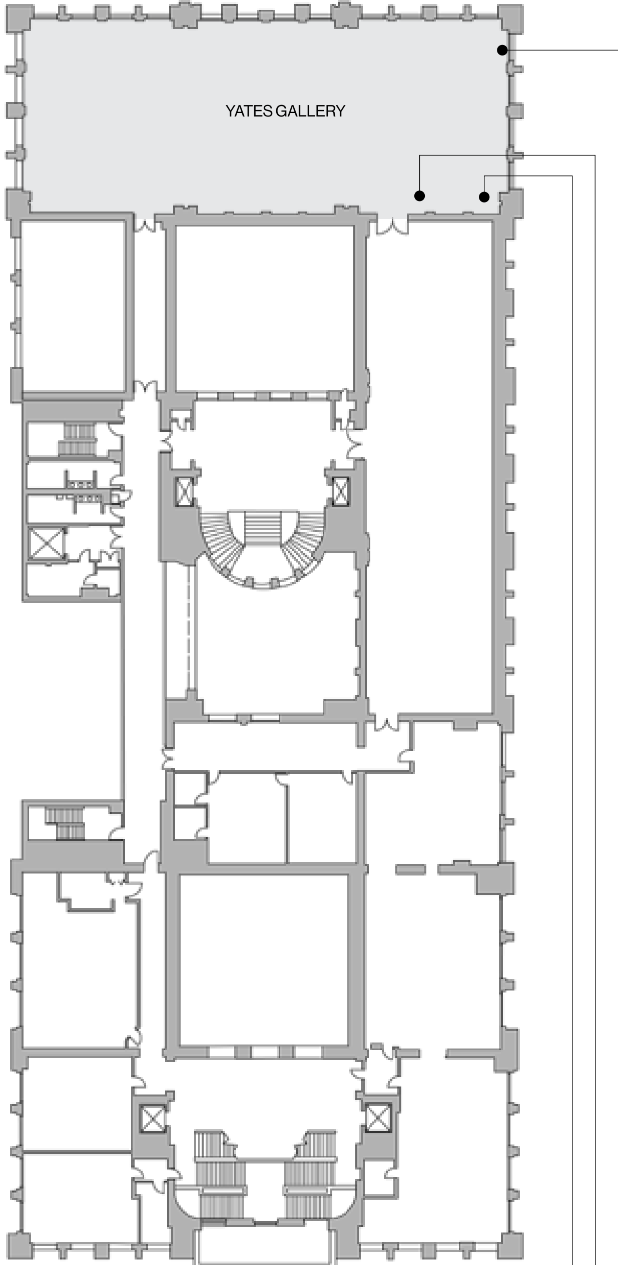
THIS MARBLE WAS QUARRIED AND ASSEMBLED BY EXPLOITED LABOR

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

THE CIVIL WAR WAS ALSO A SETTLER COLONIAL WAR

THE 2019 CHICAGO ARCHITECTURE BIENNIAL





THIRD FLOOR PLAN

THIS MAHOGANY WAS EXTRACTED FROM INDIGENOUS LAND

TIFFANY & CO. RENDERED SETTLER COLONIALISM "BEAUTIFUL"

FOURTH FLOOR PLAN

THIS IS ODAWA, OJIBWE, AND POTAWATOMI LAND.

19TH C. LITERATURE IN THE UNITED STATES LEGITIMIZED "INDIAN REMOVAL"

YOU ARE LOOKING AT UNCEDED LAND

WWW.SETTLERCOLONIALCITYPROJECT.ORG