

University of Nevada, Reno

**Reflective Essays on Archaeology's Engagement with Neme
(Northern Paiute) Tribal Cultural and Heritage Management**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Anthropology

by

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December 2024

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

We recommend that the dissertation
prepared under our supervision by

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entitled

**Reflective Essays on Archaeology's Engagement with Neme
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Abstract

This dissertation takes an autoethnographic approach to the experiences of the author, a Neme Mogo'ni (Paiute woman) practicing and researching in archaeology, anthropology, and western philosophy over the last four decades. My knowledge and experience allow for a unique perspective. I provide insights and facilitation between mainstream US understandings of tribal culture and heritage as juxtapositioned with traditional Neme (Northern Paiute) understandings of tribal culture and heritage needs and concerns.

Keywords: Paiute, Native American, Indigenous, Decolonial, Collaborative, Self-reflexivity, Autoethnography, Archaeology, Multivocality, Great Basin

This work is dedicated to All My Relations

Acknowledgements and Supports

All my life's work toward cultural protection and revitalization is in dedication to my Ancestors. The work completed toward this dissertation has been called for and watched over by e naanapeame, e momoatepe (my Elders and Ancestors). My service in protection of our Ancestors will continue until I graduate to take my place among them. I am eternally grateful to my immediate family for their tremendous sacrifices and support during this long academic journey. Their tacit acceptance of the mission has made all the difference between success and failure of my objectives. I only hope I will be able to adequately support them as they each pursue their own goals. I am appreciative of my reservation and college campus tribal communities for their support over the decades. My mentors and advisors have helped me keep on track and have provided an immeasurable and invaluable library of experiences and knowledge from which to draw strength and support for this long journey. It has certainly taken a village of scholars to keep me moving toward the completion of this work. My past and current dissertation committees will always be remembered for their willingness to give of their time to help me complete this goal. I owe a particularly special and pointed debt of gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Sarah Cowie, who is a warrior in her own right. I so greatly appreciate her partnership in the continued shared vision of making things better for our tribal people in terms of the archaeological machine. She has employed her social capital to its fullest and perhaps sometimes overdrawn it, leaving her own personal career advancement objectives at a deficit. If not for Dr. Cowie, I would not have the structural positionality within the academy to complete this dissertation. I look forward to many more engagements with her and each of the other community and academic scholars that have enriched my life. Blessings to all who work to improve the protection of Ancestors. Power to those making 21st century cultural and heritage management more meaningful for Indigenous people.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Being cognizant of the space we hold in any given context is a fundamental teaching of our Neme (Northern Paiute people). While always the same person, an individual might be called to serve in various capacities throughout life and because of those assignments, be exposed to new places, new people, and previously unencountered teachings that add to the individual's life skills toolkit. I have continuously worked to understand the space I hold in various contexts to mediate between what I understand my purpose to be versus what others perceive it in various contexts. My calling from a relatively young age has been to protect Ancestors. I am imperfect, but I understand my duty and have accepted it. A secondary space I hold is as an interpreter and intermediary between Great Basin tribal understandings of our Ma ne pu neen (unwritten laws) and the outer non-Neme worldviews. I am no expert, but I am a philosopher who often can identify numerous facets from which to ask relevant questions that serve to illuminate purpose and understanding. These questions are not always answered, but important to ponder, nonetheless. In more recent contexts, I have experienced a growing role organically in mentorship. I am a perpetual student myself, and endeavor to bring my experiences to others who because of age or personal circumstance, have not yet attained the breadth of experience I hold. While there is much more to do, this dissertation reports the culmination of my experiences, research, and revelations of the last 36 years related to protection of tribal Ancestors, culture, and heritage. In my reporting, and as will be discussed in greater detail below, I draw on a multitude of interrelated methodologies including autoethnography (Adams et al. 2021; Battle 2024; Bochner and Ellis 2016;

Boylorn and Orbe 2020), standpoint (Rubio 2011; Wylie 2003, 2017), and critical theory (Bochner and Ellis 2022:8; Leone 2018; Poulus 2021; Jones et. al. 2016). Collaborative (Colwell 2016; Cowie et al. 2019; James 2024; Silliman 2008), decolonial (Hamilakis 2016; Smith 2005; Stein et al. 2022), multivocal (Atalay 2008; Hodder 2008; McDavid 2002), and phenomenological (Tilley 1994) considerations are infused throughout all my research and life's efforts as well. Finally, building on the foundation of the decolonization of academic research, are the critically important efforts of Indigenous scholars working to create Indigenous research methods and paradigms (Nicholas and Watkins 2024; Van Last and Gover 2024; Wilson 2008; Windchief and San Pedro 2019). It is within my own recent archaeological research collaborations (Cowie, Teeman, and LeBlanc 2019; Cowie and Teeman 2022), coupled with the community of dialogue on decolonization, that I have found satisfactory answers to my own research dilemmas as they relate to social justice and academic research in my home and relative communities. I have struggled to find value for my culture and community in the work my Settler-Colonialist Archaeologist colleagues engage. I value our commonalities as people, and their positionalities situated within their own cultural understandings. There is, however, much more at stake for my community, and the communities of my Great Basin relatives. In addition to evaluating my research question, I introduce some of the additional stakes to illuminate the myriads of issues tribal people and communities face when intersecting with archaeology that Settler-Colonialist archaeologists may not be aware. I do this to bolster continued conversations.

The primary research question *is to determine how might archaeology overcome its colonialist and ethnocentric foundations to become valuable cross-culturally?*

Traditional archaeology has not been kind to our tribal efforts in this regard. Still, there may be value in archaeology for our Great Basin people, whether taken as practiced or perhaps modified in some way to meet what our Ma ne pu neen, our unwritten law, tells us. The traditional academic system requires expensive and time-consuming degrees to be able to speak with acknowledged authority cross-culturally. This needs to be re-evaluated. In my own academic career, I have witnessed and come to understand that academia marginalizes and excludes tribal individuals that refuse to set aside traditional value systems and ideological understandings in the completion of their research. No where is this more painfully obvious than in archaeology. In my personal efforts to achieve a PhD, I have attempted to find research questions that I can safely complete that satisfy the academy, while at the same time allowing me to maintain my credibility as a traditionally minded Neme woman. I've had to frequently maneuver and adjust the what's and how's of my efforts to maintain my own cultural integrity. Because of my own experiences, I commiserate with others experiencing the difficulty of navigating the archaeological system as traditionally practiced. Archaeology was birthed withing a broader colonialist system. During the gilded age, philosopher, Herbert Spencer (1975) laid the foundation for the ideals of Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism was used to justify the legislative and institutionalization of discrimination and the subjugation of people of color. Academics focusing on race and cultural difference borrowed such sociological and philosophical theorizing to create narrative describing a hierarchical system for cultural groups. Settler-Colonialists placed themselves at the pinnacle of the hierarchy and other races in subordinate positions to them. Following social evolutionary theory, Morgan (2022) contributed to the justification of race inequality with the

development of his culture categorizations wherein tribal groups were described as that had not advanced. Morgan (2022), Spencer (1975), and other 19th century (Morton 1844) academics justified the socio-political policies that resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of Indigenous people. Their dangerous theories also laid the foundation leading to the eugenics of the early 20th century, and other race-based acts of genocide since then. Thousands of Native American skulls remain at the Smithsonian exempt from the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA 1990). It is no wonder that Western academia remains fraught with systemic racisms (Ramdehall 2022; Winfield 2007). Our traditional ways of knowing as tribal people are well developed, having been honed for Millennia. Yet the power of academic narratives to control the public's understanding of us is unwavering. It is truly a paradox of reason to have an ancient way of knowing that is tried and true under the yoke of Western science, which is still in its infancy in comparison to other cultures' sciences.

After three and a half decades of participant observation in Great Basin archaeological research and cultural resource management, armed with my personal understanding of our traditional culture, I feel I am uniquely prepared and qualified to explore the research question at hand. In the following chapters, I look for how, when, and where contemporary archaeological theory and practice may serve to be useful cross culturally to Great Basin tribal communities.

As some of you may know this is my second attempt to complete a PhD in anthropology focusing on archaeology. In reflecting on my first attempt, I now understand that it was not the right time to ask the questions I was asking, and therefore I was unable to get enough responses to meet what would have been considered adequate

data. I did not read the signs that must surely have been screaming out for me to pay attention. I may have strayed from the teachings.

The 21st century has ushered in a proliferation of Indigenous scholars working to address the objectification by academic researchers our communities have universally experienced. I have personally found a sense of community in many of their reported experiences, but little satisfaction in how what others are doing have applicability to the needs of Great Basing cultures and their heritage issues. I recently encountered Wilson's (2008) *Research is Ceremony, Indigenous Research Methods* monograph, and found a meeting of the minds and sense of community with his work. A primary struggle in writing this dissertation has been the learning, communication, and knowledge transference norms of my own community, which is often circular and repetitious, juxtaposed with the expectation of how a doctoral dissertation should be organized. I found solace in knowing Wilson (2008:8) also faced this issue and made it to the other side despite incorporating his own Indigenous structure within his doctoral thesis.

This time, armed with an initial research topic that seemed invulnerable to a potential paucity of data, I was certain my method of collaboration and consensus with a team of intertribal community members would ensure success. In the phenomenological experience of the action of research, however, I came to understand that I could not proceed to write about Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow (OAWS) Project in depth at this time for the very reason that I would have no control over what other people chose to do with the data reported. Despite our research team's best efforts to keep our work low key, this at the request of our tribal community participants, our inquiries have caused some stir among the public. Unsolicited and in some instances, unwelcomed attention has been

brought to OAWS by outsiders, and I must do my best to not feed that hunger. Simpson (2014:33-35) defines her cartography of refusal as choosing to assert cultural sovereignty over the narratives of her tribal community. For the OAWS Project, our participants have done the same. We are refusing greater passport to access the history of our people, until such time we decide it is appropriate to share. Likewise, as an Indigenous researcher, I refuse to risk overexposure of our tribal history. Therefore, I am diverting the academic gaze back toward the research mechanisms that comprise cultural heritage management and archaeological research inquiry.

Since the initial convening of the OAWS descendants in 2017, we have moved by consensus. When or if our convening descendants choose to share more will be up to the group. I will elaborate in Chapter VI on my own experience of attempting to perform the OAWS Project as a decolonial-minded research effort. To this end, I have concluded that mainstream society is not ready to ethically maintain the information that they frequently gain access to through archaeological inquiry. Our heritage is perceived as treasure, for treasure hunting. Indiana Jones is the poster child of archaeology for the public, and our discipline has done relatively little to change that perspective. Attempts at public education in the form of archaeological roadshows and television programming further sensationalize archaeological work as an exciting quest for answers contemporary society is entitled to without adequately pumping the breaks to contemplate who is paying the metaphysical and socio-political costs for such inquiries. While there have been some increased attempts to teach and practice heritage preservation by archaeologists, it has been pitched from the value system and moniker of the archaeological record. The ratio

of education and outreach focused on protection and preservation versus the enticement of treasure seeking remains unacceptable from this Neme woman's perspective.

My goal here is not to chastise, but to root out the issues through critique so that we can collaboratively work together to fix them. Our discipline was founded in colonialism and control, a dark legacy that haunts us in our 21st century archaeological endeavors. Many of the issues that I bring to the table herein are not solely my own observations. They are commonly held understandings of archaeology that are discussed in our Great Basin tribal communities. In my work, I have continuously welcomed the input of all those people working in our cultural resource management, tribal historic preservation offices, and our community, generally, that are traditionally minded and seek protection of our Ancestors and our ancestral lands. This feedback loop is critically important. Whether and when I am going down the wrong path or rabbit hole, they have no reservation in correcting me. I owe a tremendous state of gratitude to all my relatives in the Great Basin for keeping me grounded and on the right path. In my own imperfection I sometimes temporarily become mesmerized by the fanfare of research before realizing the true course that needs to be taken in bringing these understandings to proper discussion.

In our traditional culture, when knowledge is to be shared, often we use story and metaphor. We also share stories of experiences of other people so that people may learn through what transpired in another place in another time, but similar situation. Repetition is also an integral piece of this knowledge transference. I believe that within the growth of our cross multicultural discussions we bring tremendous value to western theoretical research. We have no reservations about critiquing archaeology, and that energy and

effort should be appreciated. The critique of and pedagogical response to oppression and marginalization in endeavors are not new, as some researchers have been wrestling with such issues for at least the last half a century (Freire 1970). At the end of the 20th century, some archaeologists (McGuire 1997; Zimmerman 1997) were questioning the appropriate future of the profession. Additionally, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 has provided the impetus for further discussion among archaeologists and anthropologists regarding legislated tribal engagement (Evans and Stoffle 1997; Halcrow et al. 2021; Thomas 2000; Watkins 2004; Wilcox 2009). The paradigmatic shift that seemed imminent because of these discussions is yet to fully emerge, although there are increasing examples of greater inclusivity and collaboration in archaeological research (Cowie et al. 2019; Kerber 2010; McDavid 2002; Silliman and Dring 2008). Here in the Great Basin, we need to take a long hard look at how archaeology is practiced. As the first quarter of the 21st century ends, we are waiting for this last bastion of unfettered colonialist research folly to be deconstructed and rebuilt into something that is palatable for all cultures.

This dissertation is about being practical in allowing for a space at the intellectual table to hear the voices of the objectified. While this work does not fully comply with the dictate of what a traditional archaeological research dissertation should look like, it holds value. I offer you the experiential understandings I hold, delivered in a method acceptable to our tribal ontological and epistemological knowledge structure.

These discussions are still very relevant. Even though I think we have made great inroads in recent decades, a situation arose for one of my tribal colleagues recently that was like an experience I faced during my first field season in 1988. The power dynamic

between archaeologists and tribal representatives in the field may not be contractually or otherwise agreed upon, yet the assumed and unspoken privilege and authority of the Western academic is ever-present. This unspoken and perhaps subconscious privilege affects the social interactions between our tribal cultural representatives and archaeologists working in the same spaces within our homelands. Just this summer, one of my most well-seasoned and best educated traditional cultural practitioners was out monitoring in one of our sacred spaces as a tribal observer reporting to the Tribe. The archaeologist onsite felt for whatever unknown reason that he had some authority over our tribal representative. I share this experience as a point from which to launch thoughtful discussion about what presuppositions archaeologists carry when they're working in the field with our tribal people.

It is often difficult for tribal people to work with archaeology crews because of the inherent biases those trained in Western academia hold toward our people. It is frequently a lack of exposure to living breathing Native American people that is the root of this situation. Our tribal representatives experience an onslaught of stereotypical assumptions in addition to the recitation of a plethora of anthropological narratives assumably shared by the archaeologist, to teach us about ourselves. Such ignorance's and faux pas typically surface during comments made while working alongside one another. We are all people, and while our tribal members may grow personal friendships with archaeological personnel assigned to work on the same project, it is a rare occurrence that our representatives don't get confronted with some very awkward questions or comments. Oftentimes archaeologists will still try and tell our representatives about our

tribal cultures while asserting an intellectual authority over the subject. It is a preposterous scenario that plays out over and over in the field.

We train our staff to do their best to have patience with these neophytes, citing that the archaeologists who engage in this folly just don't know any better. Just when I think we have overcome these types of interactions, it happens again. We had two incidents of this nature occur during the field season of 2024. I thought we were doing better, but we still have work to complete together. Our more well-seasoned staff prepare our incoming team members for what often happens when a tribal member is interacting with archaeologists. The preparation we provide helps take some of the sting from the archaeologist's utterances when they occur. We prepare our people for the presumptuous superiority and ego they will encounter. This conflicts with the humility we are raised to emanate as we move through life. Often when archaeologists are willing to listen to tribal viewpoints, they respond in terms of our truths being folklore or primitive belief. The response also often is given in the tone of correction with the archaeologist asserting an authoritative decisionmaker role. Their own outside academic understanding of anything typically trumps our tribal peoples' understandings, at least in posturing. What I offer to you in the following chapters are peer-reviewed publications and other chapters that relate to our history, as well as critical review of current topics important for consideration as we work together in our Great Basin lands. I also offer insights of opportunities for cross-cultural growth and relationship building.

Finally, I must introduce the concept of trauma concerning the topics I've written about in this offering. Trauma is a part of everyday life for our tribal people, and in every facet of this research and reporting, shades of that trauma exist. Everything we

experience as tribal communities, as marginalized individuals, speaks to our reactivity to those traumas. This is our situatedness in the world. In our communities we have learned to make light of very serious circumstances as a coping mechanism. When we make the choice to grapple with the deep chasm of hurt and oppression colonialism has caused, laughter turns to tears. We are gaining strength in unpacking our pain and concurrently healing. Scholarly work is emerging concerning the decolonization of trauma response (Linklater 2014). We are resilient and will overcome. Together, we rise.

I am grateful for the other movements by marginalized sectors of our population that bring opportunity for us to join in critical conversations. Beginning with the civil rights movement and the subsequent research of a multitude of feminist (De Beauvoir 1989; Conkey 2005; Nelson 1990; Oakley 1981; Rose 1983; Wylie 2001), Black (hooks 2014; Porter et al. 2023; Washington 2022), LGBTQ (Crossett 2018; Manning 2015; Moral 2016), and other subjugated groups (Blouin and Daswani 2020; Said 1978), have created space for our tribal people to speak on our plight (Deloria Jr. 1970, 1992, 1997), and growing opportunities for our scholars to engage in Indigenous research (Kovach 2015; Gaudry 2015; Strega 2015; Van Alst and Gover 2024). I am humbled and honored to add to the chorus of voices chronicling the relationships of ontological, epistemological, and axiological discourses between Settler-Colonialist and Indigenous researchers at the close of the first quarter of the 21st Century. Such discussions have opened the door for critique of dominant paradigms and led to the development of new innovative paradigms that are inclusive of our cultural realities and values. I turn to several relatively unorthodox research methods for completion of analysis of my primary research question. For the discussion that is not yet part of a published work, I offer my

lived experience to you as autoethnography. I hope that my experience and the knowledge I have gained will illuminate some of the issues and concerns that I have found to be commonly held among our Great Basin communities, but to which non-Natives working in archaeology may be oblivious. At the very least, awareness of these issues should give individuals additional fodder for discussions in those long rides to and from field work sites, and the interlocutors in those conversations can draw their own conclusions of the topics.

An Introduction to Autoethnography

Autoethnography has been gaining momentum since the mid-1990s in a growing number of disciplines. Of this Ellis (Jones et al. 2013:21) states:

Numerous researchers have also turned to autoethnography, forever changing the landscape of qualitative and interpretive methods. The method flourishes in professional journals and at academic conferences, and numerous books (e.g., Bochner & Ellis, 2002; Chang, 2008; Chang & Boyd, 2011; Ellis, 2004; 2009a; Hayler, 2011; Muncey, 2010; Poulos 2009; Spry 2011; Tamas, 2011) and special issues of journals (e.g., Berry & Clair, 2011; Boyle & Parry, 2007; Ellis & Bochner, 1996; Gingrich-Philbrook, 2000; Hunt & Junco, 2006; Myers, 2012; Ngunjiri, Hernandez, & Chang, 2010; Poulos, 2008) are devoted to autoethnographic inquiry. Disciplines such as nursing (e.g., Wright, 2008; Foster, McAllister, & O'Brien, 2006) and music (e.g., Bartlett & Ellis, 2009), criminology (e.g., Jewkes, 2011), education (e.g., Duncan, 2004), sociology (e.g., Wall, 2006, 2008), anthropology (e.g., Behar, 1996, 1998; Reed-Danahay, 1997), psychology (e.g., Philaretou & Allen, 2006), political science (e.g., Burnier, 2006), social work (e.g., Averett & Soper, 2011), communication (e.g., Holman Jones, 2007), and business (e.g., Dolorierr & Sambrook, 2011; Vickers, 2007) have embraced the method.

Autoethnography is a well engaged methodology across numerous disciplines. When I defended my first dissertation topic that concerned a comparative analysis of the relationships between First Nations and archaeologists in British Columbia, as compared

to the relationships between the tribal communities and archaeologists in the western United States. I was told the question was asked by one of the more provincial archaeologists on my previous PhD committee, *what will she be if she pursues this research topic?* Meaning, that if I did not follow a traditional archaeological path, I would not make muster to be ordained a true archaeologist. Others (Jones et al. 2013:20; hooks 2017; Biolosi and Zimmerman 1997:17) report recognizing the same professional risks and having the dilemma of following the status quo or pursuing work that leads to social justice.

A question concerning this unorthodox methodology may be, what exactly is autoethnography? Jones et al. (2013:22) explain, “One characteristic that binds all autoethnographies is the use of personal experience to examine and/or critique cultural experience.” This method is like coming home for me as my understanding of our traditional tribal cultural knowledge is current lived experience in community conversations laid upon the experiences of every previous generation of our Ancestors. Further illuminating autoethnography, Jones et al. (2013:22) explain:

While all personal writing could be considered examinations of culture, not all personal writing is autoethnographic: there are additional characteristics that distinguish autoethnography from other kinds of personal work. These include (1) purposefully commenting on/critiquing of culture and cultural practices, (2) making contributions to existing research, (3) embracing vulnerability with purpose, and (4) creating a reciprocal relationship with audiences in order to compel a response.

Furthermore, in addition to the above defining criteria, Adams and Herrmann (2020:3) include *thick description* as an additional aspect of Autoethnography. Thick description considers the context alongside physical behavior and incorporates the explanations of

meaning by those engaging in such behaviors (Geertz 1973:6). With these descriptions of the definition of autoethnography, it is easy to see that I have been endeavoring to engage this method for all my academic career yet often felt held back in sharing experiential knowledge by the perceived need for providing references for claims; claims that I and other tribal people see as self-evident. We have provided discussion of the what and the who of autoethnography and hinted at the why. In further discussion of why we do autoethnography, Bochner and Ellis (2022:8) explain:

Autoethnography addresses the need and desire to make the human sciences more human by writing in ways that are more poignant, touching, vulnerable, and heartfelt. Since social work is a field not only of facts but also of meanings and values, researchers should not be obliged to cling to a narrow range of methodologies and writing genres that may be scientifically acceptable but poorly suited to the broad objectives of the field. Concerned more with evocation than information, autoethnography enables researchers and practitioners to address what it feels like, and what it can mean, to be alive and living in a chaotic and uncertain world, and to show others how they might endure it and move forward. As we developed evocative autoethnography, we not only questioned the boundaries between social sciences and humanities, we tried to stretch and cross them in ways that would create new practitioners and new genres for representing lived experience appealing to the hearts and senses of readers as well as their intellects.

Despite a recent proliferation of peer-reviewed publications by and about decolonization of archaeology, the opportunity to share qualitative, and sometimes quantified experience, is critically important to carryforward discussion of the issues we continue to face in our heritage protection efforts as well as other social justice objectives

Autoethnography allows for a way to engage academia from a culturally appropriate position. In addition to sharing our personal and community experiences relevant to research, it is important to chronicle our interactions, collaborations, and

accomplishments together. Despite being individuals positioned in Indigenous and provincial archaeologies; our collaborations are furthering cross-cultural understanding.

Collaborative and Indigenous Archaeology

Collaborative archaeology often follows a community-based model, but not necessarily. Sometimes, collaboration may simply be forging ahead together with full disclosure as a group of interested individuals to complete a short-term task. Larger collaborative archaeological projects endeavor to provide spaces for multivocality. This supports the meaningful participation of all stakeholders desiring to participate in a project.

The early 20th century use of the term Indigenous archaeology appears to simply originate as a categorization for the archaeological study of Indigenous people. Later, Watkins, a Choctaw archaeologist, authored a peer-reviewed publication entitled *Indigenous archaeology* (2000), capturing the term for Indigenous archaeologists and establishing Indigenous values as the datum from which this genre of archaeology would be measured. Since 2000, Indigenous archaeology and Indigenous archaeologies have been defined somewhat differently dependent on the author. Descriptions of Indigenous archaeology(ies) vary but share an inclusivity of diversity. Contemporary Indigenous archaeology(ies) are a far cry from the term's original use prior to Indigenous involvement in academic archaeological pursuits.

Of Indigenous archaeology, Wilcox (2010:222) states “many of its practitioners have consciously resisted the temptation to enshrine or institute Indigenous archaeology as an exclusive intellectual domain a trend not usually supported by the intellectual

territoriality of the academy.” I assert that Indigenous Archaeology(ies) exist(s) in a perpetual state of becoming, and that the primary foundation of Indigenous archaeology(ies) is that we as humans hold a level of equality that requires consideration of epistemological difference. Nicholas (2008:1660) enumerates the major goals of Indigenous archaeology(ies) including:

Indigenous archaeology is an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or directed projects and related critical perspectives. Indigenous archaeology seeks to (1) make archaeology more representative of, responsible to, and relevant for Indigenous communities; (2) redress real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology; and (3) inform and broaden the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of Aboriginal worldviews, histories, and science.

The reality of the way pre-contact archaeology has evolved, without tribal voice, doesn't make sense. That is, until the consideration of the sociopolitical context of archaeology's emergence in colonized spaces is considered.

One benefit of Indigenous archaeology, as practiced by Indigenous researchers and their allies, as well as the collaborative efforts associated with it, is the ability to have expanded cross-cultural experiences (Harris 2010:67). Having Indigenous community members involved throughout the life of a research project allows for multiple knowledges on a topic to be shared, experienced, and potentially implemented (Atalay 2010a; Harris 2010:68).

In my experiences of working with my tribe, our research product has always been exponentially enriched when we have actively involved the community. Although there are still hard feelings in some tribal communities toward archaeologists for the

heritage transgressions, and some archaeologists bemoan the loss of control over data, we must work to improve those relationships.

Standpoint Theory

Standpoint theory proposes that reaching toward objectivity is best accomplished by a diversity of observers who each represent different standpoints (Intemann 2010:782). Examining something from a multitude of angles allows for a more complete understanding of the object and/or objects of inquiry. Akin to standpoint theory is the concept of multivocality which invites a multitude of voices thereby collecting perspectives from various standpoints. As early as 1997, discussion of the potential value of multivocality inclusive of tribal voices for archaeology was occurring (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:2).

Phenomenology

Phenomenology as traditionally defined concerns the focus and evaluation of subjective experiences as we experience life. My work in this dissertation engages at least two primary phenomenological considerations: 1) the implementation of phenomenology as it concerns direct efforts in protecting tribal landscapes and heritage, and 2) the phenomenology of engagement in collaborative and decolonizing relationships with others leading to the experience of reflective thinking, writing, and subsequent teaching and outreach. In this context, the latter is expressed by me, the writer, in the organization and content of this work, and subsequently the reader of my text will gain their own

experience of my efforts. Tilley's *Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) champions this theoretical model for archaeological enquiry. This makes perfect sense to me knowing that from a tribal traditional culture practitioner positionality, real-time interactions with a given landscape always dictate the behaviors that occur in that space.

David and Thomas (2008:36) discuss the proliferation of archaeologists employing varying forms of landscape archaeology to understand the geographic contexts of archaeological sites. This method supplements traditional archaeological discussion of environmental context. The layering of cultural value and meaning between ancient understandings and interactions with a landscape needs to be taken into consideration when revisiting a place. How to disentangle these varied meanings and values associated with the landscape is a challenging task. Casey (2008:44) proposes a philosophical approach to landscape archaeology wherein place is not considered solely as a geographic location but a "unit of lived experience." He argues that finding the value in place from cultural anthropological contexts is also applicable and worthwhile in archaeological applications. The difference between culturally contextualized place and western scientific conceptions of a space as an objective location in which things happen, is a very worthwhile consideration. Two people can experience the same space at the same time and find different meaning in that place. This phenomenon is the experience of place and landscape. The incorporation of multiple voices to ensure the accuracy of recordation, interpretation, management, and protection of important cultural landscapes is a must.

Reflexivity

In preparing the most thoughtful toolkit for rooting out identifiable biases, another useful process is reflexivity. We as researchers should perpetually keep in mind this internal checkpoint to make sure we are tracking our positionality within a research effort. Of reflexivity Strega and Brown (2015:8) state:

Various forms of reflexivity and critical reflection have been developed and advocated in the research literature for several decades (Ryan and Golden, 2006). Some feminist scholars (e.g. Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz 1992) have proposed reflexivity as an essential methodological strategy because it enables us to examine the ways in which our own values, identities, and positionality affect our research and particularly our relationships with participants.

The subjectivity of the objectified has been pointed out again and again by anthropological researchers as a given, and my own subjectivity has been and will continue to be on full display to the degree I understand it. What I ask is the subjectivity of those who have worn the cloak of Western scientific objectivity to position their work as more valid, take an honest assessment of themselves and their motivations. It is in that reflexive effort; they too shall be set free to imagine the possibilities. The dream of objectivity is indeed something particular to the Western cultural experience ala Descartes (Bordo 1987). Gaudet and Lewis (2021) asserts that critical self-reflexivity may provide for Indigenous-Settler reconciliation. The acknowledgement of ascribed Settler-Colonialist privilege and power opens the possibility for establishing more socially just pedagogical models.

Bringing it All Together

I am someone that thinks in pictures; my recollection of conversations is always situated in the landscape where the conversation took place. I think this is part of my

ancestral way of knowing the world. When I return to a landscape, I also recall all the discussions that happened there. Those discussions and events live there in place. The energy and emotion of past events and words spoken can also be felt generation to generation when our people return. When our people return to places, both the recently lived memory and the residual Ancestral energy become part of the present-day experience. Western academia dismissed the land-based learning practices of our people/ Our people have always shared and carry on the knowledge of our relationship with everything else in our ecosystem. This has allowed for balance. When we are living our lives, our traditional understandings of interacting with our ecosystem include taking no more than needed, honoring everything that you're interacting with, and to be grateful and happy when you engage with these other things. We are also taught to give prayers and offerings for the wellness of everything when interacting with other beings. When we as people adhere to these teachings' times are good. We are imperfect beings though and when we fall astray from our teachings, things get more difficult. We see this now, not only in the Great Basin but worldwide. It is my hope that for our own small piece of the planet, we do better at interspecies multivocality and inclusivity of consideration for all beings. Of concurrent importance is honoring our Ancestors and our heritage. We need to be reverent in our actions. People need to strongly consider whether they are negatively impacting Ancestors and the things that they left here. Without this balance, if we continue to unravel our ecosystems complex weaving, the big questions of archaeology and how we work together will be a moot point.

I am not here to shake my finger and tell everyone how rotten they are. I am here hoping that we can have an open honest mutually respectful dialogue seeing each other

for who we are and not see each other as caricatures built of stereotypes. I believe we are indeed moving towards a better future together, being empathetic and considering issues cross-culturally as we conduct our work. It is with that glimmer of hope I offer the reader the remainder of my writing efforts herein.

I will share several influential works that helped me as I was working through my graduate program at University of Oregon. David Thomas's *Skull Wars* (2000) helped me know that at least some archaeologists were doing deep research into the socio-political contexts of archaeology's situatedness. I thought it a well written account of issues happening at the time. It provided a decent amount of effort toward presenting tribal history and tribal concerns on pertinent issues. I have encountered a fair number of bullies in the discipline of archaeology. People who use their status to assert harmful narratives under the guise of objective science. Thomas's writing appeared to be from a standpoint of attempting full transparency. The work of Vine Deloria Jr., particularly *Custer Died For Your Sins* (1970), chapter four, titled Anthropologist and other Friends, allowed me to find humor in what would otherwise be very somber topics. I fell in love with the mind of Dr. Deloria, and his work affirmed that my immediate instinct to be highly critical of what I was learning in anthropology, was justified. I had affirmation through his writing that I wasn't alone, and I wasn't crazy to feel the way I did about how professors were speaking about us. Later, I became aware of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999). Her work read as a battle cry for change. I could feel power emanating from the words on each page of her writing.

I have a few comments on the topic of civilization versus savagery as they relate to overall sustainability and sophistication. Anthropological assessments concerning the

evolution of cultures (Morgan 2022) situate our Great Basin cultures at the earliest stages of progress. I would like to use quotation marks as I write several of these words to mark how incensed I become about such theories. Current writing conventions disallow my urges. Instead, I am using mind-quotes as I write, which are akin to air quotes. I would like the reader to know my disdain for social evolutionary theories. We were placed by anthropologists at the opposite end of the spectrum from the civilized cultures. Barely human one might conclude. From my current position at the end of the first quarter of the 21st century, I must say this anthropological modeling looks highly questionable. The ecosystem we once managed is in tatters. Our Great Basin species are experiencing the disastrous consequences of 150 years of civilized management. Considering our environmental crisis, one really must ask which cultures truly have more advanced practices. How do we critically evaluate what is most advanced? Traditional Great Basin tribal knowledge systems that guide our traditional practitioners' interactions with everything, have allowed for ethical and responsive engagement with our ecosystem. This has always allowed for sustainability of diversity where all have a right and a place. The civilized ones are destroying and consuming faster than ever before. It's time to revisit our discipline's jargon and evaluate which terms are innocuous and which need to be aggressively retired. We need to question the origin of our terminology and evaluate if it is appropriate given our current understandings of race and cultural diversity. We need to determine what jargon brings value, and what should disappear. Perhaps we owe it to humanity to do greater outreach to the public to mitigate those especially dangerous ideas that emerged from anthropology historically so that we help heal society. To argue nobody believes in social Darwinism anymore is to live in an insular academic bubble.

At one point in my academic journey, as I was working to grab those brass rings and get all these important letters behind my name. Because I was not doing a traditional archaeological project replete with excavation or some type of lab analysis, some members of my committee questioned if I would indeed be an archaeologist once done with my research. The scope was rather rigid for what was acceptable to be an archaeologist at that time, and I am extremely thankful that nearly two decades later, a dissertation such as the one I offer is welcomed by the discipline as valuable to archaeology.

I do not believe that complete objectivity exists, and I also know that consideration of the subjectivity each of us brings to any research question or experience is often not evaluated. This is one of my greatest pet-peeves in terms of the authority bestowed upon Western academics. A badge of objectivity is issued to research, often without much question, so long as statistical analysis or some other quantification of data is included in the methodology of the work. Yet, at the same time, our traditional knowledge is typically rejected at the start without and critical consideration or evaluation. Such decisions exemplify ethnocentric subjectivities in action.

Power, the State, and Traditional Archaeology

The United States has had numerous policies to control, disempower, and in some cases, exterminate Indigenous North Americans. Since its inception, archaeology and anthropology have been tools of the State to control Indigenous peoples and their heritage (Atalay 2010a:79; Warrick 2017:88; Wobst 2010a:77). In North America, anthropology dismissed Indigenous peoples' perspectives of their own cultures (Thomas 2000:101).

Many Indigenous groups had been silenced by their experience with colonialism and the sociopolitical plight they were left with after conquest. Through these same mechanisms, the academic gained and maintained the position of expert of Indigenous communities (Deloria Jr. 1992:595), and gatekeeper to Indigenous heritage via archaeology (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010).

The American Indian Movement (AIM) assisted tribal people in North America to gain voice in some of the archaeological research that was occurring in their aboriginal lands beginning with a protest that occurred in Minnesota (Thomas 2000:198). I initially rejected joining the Society for American Archaeology. I must say however that the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) has continued to make strides toward greater inclusion of Indigenous scholars. The creation of the Committee on Native American Relations has increased opportunities for discussions related to Indigenous topics. The ethics and repatriation committees have also been more responsive to Indigenous concerns. Numerous sponsored sessions on issues of archaeology and Indigenous peoples have occurred. At least one plenary session on the issues of Indigenous peoples and archaeologists working together has been sponsored by the SAA. There has been more representation of Indigenous archaeologists on the SAA Executive Board including in 2018, the election of the first Native American SAA President, Joe Watkins. I find these changes intriguing in terms of big picture theoretical considerations and look forward to seeing where we go together from here.

Overview of Subsequent Chapters

In the following chapters I provide some of my recent published works and other manuscripts as they inform the scope of topics and issues related to moving archaeology along the spectrum toward inclusivity of tribal voices and the true acknowledgement of descendants as the rightful decision makers on topics of tribal heritage. In Chapter II, I offer my contribution (Teeman 2024) to an edited volume published this year. In a continued effort to give voice to Indigenous Scholars around the world, Joe Watkins and George Nicholas gave of their time to bring together scholars from numerous continents to discuss our experiences and relationships with archaeology. This book (Watkins and Nicholas 2024) represents the second such edited volume bringing together the voices of Indigenous archaeologists from around the world. Because the pool of Indigenous North Americans archaeologists is relatively small, I know all the first edition authors from the United States. I am grateful and honored to be among the voices in the 2nd edition. In Chapter III, I further introduce what I see as the origins and progression of Settler-Colonialist doctrine that has formed and been informed by the development of Anthropology and subsequently, archaeology. The foundation for inequality and racism early anthropological theories created cannot be overstated. It is a legacy of prejudice that must be acknowledged and overcome. I further elaborate on some of the primary problems with archaeology for our Northern Paiute people. I do this to have a point from which to offer potential remedies in later chapters. Chapter IV provides an overview of the precontact history to current era experiences of our Neme. This discussion incorporates both Western archival and academic references as well as our own tribal epistemological understandings of the past and present. Because I do not want to entice potential future research of our history unless and until our communities desire it, I

intentionally cloaked the specific reference documents related to our history, oral or otherwise, within the reference to our Burns Paiute tribal archival collections. Let those who have further interest in our history put in the work to find specific documents themselves, or better yet, come to our communities and offer to help. I made the choice to refer to our archival documents as a conglomerate over asking for my dissertation to be embargoed. I believe this dissertation contains information that needs to be shared so I weighed my options carefully with caution and advise from well-trusted Elders. Chapter V provides an academic discussion of some of the methods used to identify and manage linear features such as removal trails. Many linear features in use today were once wagon roads, and tribal foot and equestrian travel routes even earlier. For all these reasons, considering the proper identification and management of such features should be important to us all. Chapter VI is a redacted reporting of the extensive work the OAWS team, including academic researchers and descendent community, has undertaken together. This work will continue long after conclusion of this dissertation and will become whatever the collaborators choose it to become. It is my responsibility to protect the convenors' right to make those decisions together and in their due course. I do wish to share my own experience of the project and process as it has affected me as a researcher and a descendant to date. Chapter VII is a published article (Teeman 2018) that considers archaeology from a tribal perspective for the broader geographic Great Basin region. Chapter VIII Is an in-preparation chapter invited to a special edition publication of the Oregon Historical Society's Quarterly Journal. Its initial iteration was a transcript. The content is primarily holding the answers to questions and discussant remarks I made during a two-day event subjecting recent archaeological work being done in our Neme

homelands. Chapter IX further examines some issues, concerns, and points of tension specific to the work of archaeologists in the Great Basin past and present. I conclude with Chapter X, an enumeration of proposed considerations with recommendations toward developing best practices among and between our Neme and archaeologist who work in our homelands. This discussion guided by my own desire as a researcher and land management professional, to extinguish institutionalized racisms within archaeology, and the academy. The desired outcome I envision will be a mutually respectful future that ensures social justice for our tribal people. Like many of my experiences, this dissertation effort is on the margin of the status que. Stylistically there is some overlap and repetition. I find comfort in that both because pedagogically I was taught while a graduate teaching fellow at the University of Oregon that topics should be presented at least three times in different ways to achieve the greatest potential of retention in the students memory, but also because in our traditional system of learning, living, and teaching, is a cyclical journey always returning back to the same places, but with a different set of eyes because of the experiences had since the previous visit. I hope the reader finds usefulness in this approach. All my relations, pisatu mia.

Chapter II: Walking the Walk: The Adventures of an Indigenous Decolonialist in Archaeology

Introduction

Once upon a time, there was a small group of Indigenous archaeologists and allies who found each other and regularly convened at the Society for American Archaeology's annual meetings to support one another in efforts to make room for tribal voices as professionals in archaeology. Chapter II (Teeman 2024) is an invited contribution to a book edited by George Nicholas and Joe Watkins, two of my fellow *Closet Chickens*. For more on the history of the *Closet Chickens* see Atalay (2006), Echo-Hawk (2010a; 2010b), Wenner-Gren (2012), and Zimmerman (2010).

Personal Introduction and Positionality

Ne Diane L. Teeman me nania, ne Wadatika Neme, Boina Waitu. My name is Diane L. Teeman, I am a member of the Wadatika band of Northern Paiute, from Burns, Oregon.

Becoming

My Ancestors have lived and remained in the intermountain west of what is now the United States since time immemorial. I am a culmination of all my Ancestors and their experiences, as well as my own. When I travel on, my lived experience will join those of the Ancestors before me and inform my descendants in this timeless continuum. May my descendants and our future generations walk a good path. All my relations.

The Northern Paiute Nation is geographically expansive including much of current day, Nevada, and portions of California, Idaho, and Oregon. Northern Paiute traditional marriage calls for marrying someone from a different band. Because of this, within a few generations a person will have relatives across numerous tribal communities. I have blood ties to many places, but I call myself Wadatika.

My people, now officially known as the Burns Paiute tribe (www.burnspaiute-nasn.gov), primarily descend from the Wadatika (seepweed- eaters) Band of Northern Paiute. Our post-contact history includes extermination campaigns upon our people by the United States Cavalry, the creation and then dissolution of our 728,435-ha Malheur Reservation, and later a forced prisoner of war march and exile to Washington State. Our tribe includes the descendants of the survivors of numerous other Northern Paiute bands as well.

We hold a familial relationship with the lands from which we were made and have traditionally maintained a reciprocal relationship with all other beings in our ecosystem. Because of our violent and traumatic post-contact history, we were “landless” by Western definition, in our own homelands for a time, although we recognize 8,450 km² of lands are our primary responsibility to protect as a federally recognized tribe. Today, we are headquartered in Burns, Oregon.

My foray into understanding my heritage from an archaeological lens began in 1988 when my tribe offered a training position sponsored by the Organization for Forgotten Americans, with the United States Forest Service, Malheur National Forest, for an archaeological technician position. At the time, I had no idea what an archaeological

technician was, although some exposure to Archaeology came in the way of our community discussing the “Bone Diggers,” as well as Indiana Jones fame of the era.

Employment in our economically depressed region was hard to come by, and the work would be out on the forest that is within our former Malheur Reservation and aboriginal lands, so I decided to learn more about archaeology and judge its merits for myself. During my first field season, as a naturally hyper-inquisitive person, I learned so much about Archaeology and cultural resource management from my crew leader, Lyle Whittier. Lyle was a non-Native life-long student who would do his best to answer my numerous daily questions about our work. If it hadn't been for my introduction to Sydney Lamb's (1958) *Numic Expansion Hypothesis* (NEH) in my conversations with Lyle, I might have continued indefinitely as a seasonal employee without much incentive to ever leave my homelands. Little did I know how the unveiling of this narrative about our people would guide much of my work to this day.

The Numic Expansion Hypothesis was first posited by linguist Sydney Lamb in the mid-1950s. He used glottochronological models developed for European languages to create a model for the divergence of Uto-Aztecan related languages, including Northern Paiute. Lamb used glottochronological theory to suggest that our Northern Paiute people, as well as many other related tribes, migrated rather rapidly across the Great Basin from a relatively small geographic region of present-day California. While on the face of it this academic pondering seems innocuous enough, the hypothesis has been used in very damaging ways for Great Basin cultures. Our exhumed Ancestors have been held hostage by those waving the NEH as a refutation of our Elders' expert testimony and our oral histories that speak of times stretching back to the late Pleistocene.

Over the course of the last 33 years, I have come to see the NEH, much like the Clovis First hypothesis, and Bering Land Bridge theory. These are examples of researchers getting on a band wagon about an idea, and then not being able to reel back die-hard supporters when supporting evidence wanes. If we are told by professors with a lifetime of research under their belt that something happened in a specific place at a specific time, how frequently does that knowledge get challenged? Perhaps not as frequently as it should. Researchers naturally want to find additional support for the grand narratives of their academic families. It is only later when paradigmatic tides turn that a more critical eye is usually applied.

After my first Arch tech field season, I made the personal commitment to return to school to pursue a Ph.D. in Anthropology as soon as my children were of school age. This, because my crew leader impressed upon me that I would need an advanced degree for my, and my peoples' words and understandings to have any consequence and standing among those in academia holding the power to create the narratives. Prior to my exposure to NEH, I had never even considered a four-year college degree, let alone graduate school. As my youngest child prepared for kindergarten, I prepared for community college.

There was no college fund for our tribal people at that time so I left the kids with my mom until we could secure an apartment. My partner and I camped in the woods in the shadow of Mt. Hood until my federal and state financial aid was fully processed. We had two boxes of commodity food and \$0.52 once rent and deposit was paid. We reunited as a family, and I completed two years of study at Mt. Hood Community College. We

then moved to Eugene, Oregon, where I became a member of the Anthropology Department student body.

I completed my undergraduate studies in both Anthropology and Philosophy. When the colonialist anthropological and archaeological theories I was being exposed to became too overwhelming, I found solace in the study of philosophy; the philosophy of race, of law, of science, and other topics that hinted at the academic recognition of my tribal community's way of knowing having validity. Philosophy is the love of learning and often focuses upon asking pertinent questions of current knowledge, as opposed to asserting absolute truths. In contrast, I found that Anthropology and more specifically Archaeology, consistently required the researcher to posit, support, or refute specific research questions. In my community, the research questions of archaeologists have often used our heritage as objects of inquiry. Because of this, Archaeology has been troublesome to our tribal community. Indeed, I assert that Archaeology has far to go to meet the critique raised by a growing number of Indigenous peoples around the world.

On Archaeology, Heritage Management, and Cultural Protection

My earliest years of archaeological work involved pedestrian survey and site recordation of pre-contact sites spanning more than 15,000 years, as well as recording historic sites dating to the late 19th through mid-20th centuries. Once I completed archaeological field school in 1995, I began “shovel bumming”—working for a variety of archaeological firms in the Great Basin and Pacific Northwest of the United States surveying and excavating. This experience gave me a lot of time to help form my own conclusions about the positive and negative aspects of cultural resource management. In

my current work, as the Culture & Heritage Department director for my tribe, we take great effort in helping land and project managers to avoid the direct physical destruction of cultural sites. This includes advocating for complete avoidance so that archaeological testing and collection of cultural items can be completely avoided. Additionally, today, I can advocate for limited archaeological disturbance to our Ancestral sites.

I typically say I “do” archaeology, instead of referring to myself as an archaeologist, although since archaeology has become somewhat more palatable to my tribal community, being an archaeologist doesn’t seem like such a negative thing anymore.

Because our Northern Paiute people have so much obsidian in our part of the world, I became fascinated early on with the Western scientific descriptions of it and with the flintknapping techniques associated with the production of cultural items. I realized early that the way archaeologists describe and find value in the items made by my Ancestors is very much different from the value and knowledge we have about the same items. I suppose therefore I find archaeological work to be impressionistic in many ways. Items that have been modified by others for some purpose will always be looked at and their function determined based on the experiences of the observer. If the purpose of an item is a physical function, then all things being equal, one human may be able to deduce a list of potential functions related to basic subsistence needs. However, if the function is metaphysical—that is, it has spiritual, ceremonial uses or is associated with ritual—such understandings are beyond the grasp of archaeological understanding without the meaningful involvement of knowledge keepers culturally affiliated with that heritage.

Encouragement and Challenges

During my first experiences working with the Forest Service, I initially worked with another tribal member on our archaeological pedestrian crew, Joe Barney. We were the first two tribal members to work in cultural resource management (CRM) on our local district. Joe's family is also very traditional. He and I would discuss the similarities and difference between archaeological ways of knowing and our own ways, which our people call our Ma ne pu neen. Later, my own father was hired to work doing surveys and I am blessed to have had the opportunity to work with him. Subsequently, additional tribal members came on to work with us. The crew, comprised of Native and non-Native people, rode to and from the field each day, and had many enriching conversations about tribal culture, tribal history, and the appropriate role of archaeology in protection of our heritage.

My father and paternal family are members of what some called the "heathen" contingent of our tribal community. This distinction began among our people back in the 1920s when Catholicism was the primary option of religious conversion for our people. Baptism and some level of participation in the Christian church allowed for access to food and other scarce resources. While nearly all our tribal community allowed themselves to be baptized, including my father, our family continued the cultural spirituality and practices that sustained our people for millennia. This way of carrying out our Ma ne pu neen was later supplemented with additional teachings of the Native American Church, which focuses on traditional tribal values and beliefs infused with complimentary aspects of Christianity.

Because of my father's unique understandings and relationships to our traditional culture, I inherited so much invaluable traditional knowledge that has contributed to my own sense of self identity and helped form my unbreakable sense of duty to my Ancestors and tribal community. In the decades since those critical conversations, I've come to see that individuals among our younger generations do not have as thorough an awareness of our once commonly held traditional understandings. The challenge now is to make sure that such knowledge does not go into perpetual slumber but is awakened and honored as should be done. Our Ma ne pu neen is timeless and tied to both place and people. It is critical that we do all we can to pass along our ways as it is through the practice and recognition of our ways that we can legitimately continue to call ourselves Northern Paiute.

While protecting the Ancestors has always been a widely held priority in my tribal community, the concept of needing to complete higher education has been less commonly held. My tribal community is working to overcome systematic and generational efforts by the United States to assimilate our people and destroy our traditional language, culture, and general way of being as a tribe. There is risk in separation. Our tribe is relatively small and having people leave for school with the risk of them not returning is troubling. My immediate family was mostly away from our reservation for eight years while I pursued higher education. It was the most difficult for my children, who desperately missed our Burns Paiute reservation. Reintegration after returning home wasn't easy either. People welcomed the knowledge I carried to benefit the community, but the different way of speaking I had acquired in a university setting positioned me at an uncomfortable distance from my tribal community. Even though I

tried to keep from changing, indeed I had. In a traditionally egalitarian community like ours, the vocabulary I had become accustomed to using while at the university was not beneficial. At one point, one of my dearest Elders stated that I had gone to school for too long. We tell our own to go to school and learn and come back and help our people, but the community must recognize our education warriors will be changed by the experience yet continue to be worthy of community acceptance. I am hopeful our tribal community will embrace our scholars more fully in the future.

Having spent the last 18 years back on my reservation while still being a trained academic, I have become aware of what academics refer to as “code switching.” This is the act of moving from one language to another, depending on who the audience is and can include moving between community-based language standards of the same language—for instance, academic language versus tribal community language expectations. While on campus and in certain professional situations, professional jargon is the rule, but at home in my tribal community, using language that is college-based is frowned upon and can lead to people assuming the speaker is being high toned or abusive with their words. Because of this, I choose my words wisely.

This for me, like many other aspects of the work I perform, is akin to being “in-between”: someone who understands both worlds but somehow has been transformed and relegated to the in-between. This is an individual sacrifice of tribal scholars in service to the people: to lose some degree of one’s acceptance by allowing oneself to integrate at some level into other cultures and ways of knowing. At the same time, our community understands that we need to send our people off to achieve Western education and training so that they can come back and help the people.

Collaborative and Decolonial Approaches

In my understanding of a decolonized and collaborative Archaeology, a fully vetted project requires both the meaningful involvement of tribal knowledge keepers, the “Ph.D.s” of our traditional culture, and archaeologists with advanced training in Western academia. While some answers to the past may never be possible, a more complete picture is achievable through the inclusion of communities that hold cultural ties to the cultural materials in question. I have been involved in the field of Archaeology since paper maps, alidade, and compass technology were all standard necessities of the trade, with those tools now mostly replaced by GIS, total stations, and the like. Witnessing that a paradigmatic change is occurring because of the multitude of voices rising from within academic circles and beyond to question the status quo is extremely encouraging.

Furthermore, since cultural resource management is a legislated reality of today’s world, tribes can utilize it to protect heritage. My personal goal as a traditional knowledge keeper is to prepare our tribal members to have intellectual toolkits containing both our traditional values, and archaeological understandings. Archaeology is not what we call our heritage, but it is what most state and federal laws call our heritage, so we must maintain an understanding of how to navigate between worldviews and lexicons. I find it to be very fulfilling to have meaningful and well-received interactions with land management agencies, as well as with private and public landowners about my community’s needs. The work of helping people understand that our tribal people are still here, and that they have familial ties to the lands that non-tribal people now call home is important toward initiating conversations that often lead to facilitating the protection of our Ancestors.

One of the most meaningful projects I have worked on in this regard is a collaborative project concerning the post-contact historic era of our Northern Paiute people as that period intersects with collaborative Archaeology. The Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow project, as it has been named by the participating descendants, is an effort to both further represent the post-contact history of the Northern Paiute people in the northernmost regions of the Great Basin, now southeastern and central Oregon. This project from its beginning has been collaborative. The co-principles of the project, Dr. Sarah Cowie, and I, conceived a historic collaborative archaeological project that we would only pursue if descendant communities tied to that history wanted the project to occur. I contacted 13 present tribal communities to seek an invite to come and share the proposal. At each community where I received an invitation, I provided an overview of the proposed work, to gather more information about the forced prisoner of war march that occurred in January 1879, where our Northern Paiute people were marched from Fort Harney, Oregon, to Fort Yakama, Washington. A trek made by over 500 of our Ancestors in knee-deep snow for over 562 km.

The presentations were conducted to ensure we had the support of those prisoner of war descendants who wanted to have a voice in the decision-making process. Sarah and I agreed that if we had even one descendant object to the project, we would not pursue it. Our visits to the various tribal communities resulted in only voices of support for the effort. Since then, every aspect of the work, including the scope, the methods, and the culturally appropriate way the work should be carried out, including any prohibitions, has been talked through to consensus by our participants. The project, while being the topic of my dissertation, has also resulted in, at the request of the descendant conveners, a

collaborative historic archaeology field school that I instructed and was comprised solely of tribal member students. This is to our knowledge the first archaeological field school of its kind in the United States, and certainly so for the Great Basin.

The ability to design an archaeological field school that takes into consideration our Ma ne pu neen made all the difference to the students. Most of the descendants of the forced military march participating in the Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow are also Elders in their respective tribal communities. There is a shared sense of responsibility to make sure the hardships of that brutal march are not forgotten. It is equally important to the conveners that memorial to those who suffered so much, including those who died during the march, is acknowledged.

Furthermore, the Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow Project participants see the value in training our own tribal people to perform various archaeological techniques and to know the reasoning and western science driving archaeological work being done in our homelands both as research and as cultural resource management. The OAWS Project is also unique in the level of decoloniality it demonstrates. Sarah, a non-Native tenure-track professor well positioned to achieve all the academic accolades and promotions someone of her talents could quickly acquire, has without pause chosen to help empower our tribal people. Christina McSherry, one of Sarah's advisees, also non-Native, has been an integral OAWS project team member as well. Christina chose to accept the risk of pursuing her Ph.D. tied to a project that sits on the fringe of what is common for mainstream archaeology. Happily, I saw her complete her degree last spring. Additionally, our OAWS project tribal descendant participants asked that Sarah, Christina, and I not publish on any specifics of our research efforts until and unless the

topic and scope of such publications are approved by consensus by the group. This, of course, approach is different from standard academic discourse, but it does incorporate multivocality in a meaningful way and helps equalize the control and voice within the project.

Finding and Maintaining Equilibrium

Balancing our own ways of knowing with the ways of knowing of traditional Archaeology is always at the forefront of my thought processes. For our Burns Paiute tribal community, tradition and practice perpetuated for millenia tells us that we do not bother our Ancestors' burials and/or the physical items they left. Our Ancestors' energy/power (puha) is alive and well residing on the physical items and within the cultural landscapes. To this day, our unwritten law tells us we don't bother things belonging to the dead and we have specific practices to make sure we honor and respect those items belonging to those who have left us. To assert this understanding into the practice of Archaeology, my tribe has legislatively asserted that they do not support archaeological research solely for the research itself. It is understood, however, that sometimes the current land uses will impact our heritage. In those instances, we have worked to reduce the amount of disturbance to our heritage as is legally possible.

To this end, our understanding is that taking heritage items away from their original location to a repository causes adverse effects to our Ancestors, to our heritage items, and by extension to our tribal current day tribal community. Specifically, we consistently have negotiated the reduction of the archaeological excavation both for

testing and data recovery, to decrease the potential quantity of heritage items being removed permanently to a curation facility.

My early efforts were focused on trying to identify whether there was really something more “advanced” or “enlightened” about the way Western culture evaluated and understood our culture than our own worldviews. Systematic evaluations of the differences and similarities between my tribe’s traditional ways of knowing and the ways of knowing of Western culture led me to understand that there is no absolute “better.” There is only absolute difference.

Whether one way of doing things is better or worse than another is completely dependent upon a variety of variables that may be affected by the way culture acts upon other factors, such as how it affects others in the ecosystem and/or how it affects the planet. This ethical and moral consideration of worldviews, from my standpoint, is measured in terms of survivance and wellness of living things.

In the United States, Archaeology is considered a sub-discipline of Anthropology. Anthropology at its foundation teaches that we should not be ethnocentric in our examination of cultures and their attributes. In my opinion, this teaching hasn’t transferred in a meaningful way into archaeological discourse. A prime example of the ethnocentric lens from which researchers speak, is the epistemological assertion that tribal heritage is what Western culture calls the archaeological record. We Wadatika Neme do not call our Ancestors belongings, Archaeology. I believe that the discipline must accept the whole package of the anthropological endeavor. This means that archaeologists and Archaeology must evaluate the ethnocentrism of both the discipline and the researcher and work more holistically. To be anthropological, it seems necessary

that archaeologists acknowledge the validity of other cultures knowledge systems and working to equalize the ability of those cultures knowledge keepers to engage in archaeological research in a meaningful way, is critical. Finally, Archaeology as a discipline needs to continue coming to terms with the biases inherent within the Western academic worldview before Archaeology will ever truly meet its endeavor to be anthropological.

Currently, I am in the process of dissertating and look forward to completing my Ph.D. soon. From my experiences, I have come to understand that while changes are happening among some research projects, innovative new legislation along with amending current CRM law is the most effective way to decolonizing archaeology. Because of this awareness, I am considering law school as my next academic effort. I will continue working building cultural resource management capacity at my own tribe as well as facilitating networking opportunities between my tribe and our relative tribes so that our Ancestors and descendants will each be blessed through the work, we accomplish

Chapter III: Setting the Stage: Colonization, Power, Trauma, and Representation

In 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue. Shortly thereafter, the Doctrine of Discovery was adopted to justify the colonization of Indigenous people's lands by European monarchs. The Doctrine asserted that non-Christians could not own land so colonizing Christian entities could take immediate title of newly identified lands. The Doctrine also justified the subjugation of the Indigenous populations in these newly acquired properties. The Doctrine of Discovery conveniently positioned the invading European explorers in an authoritative relationship to the first peoples of lands previously unknown to Europeans. Miller (2015) states:

This legal principle was shaped by religious and ethnocentric ideas of European and Christian superiority over other races and religions of the world. When Euro-Americans planted their flags and religious symbols in lands they claimed to have discovered, they were undertaking well-recognized legal procedures and rituals of Discovery that were designed to establish their claim to the lands and peoples. The European colonists in North America, and later American colonial, state, and national governments utilized the Doctrine and its religious, cultural, and racial ideas of superiority over American Indians to make legal claims to the lands and property rights of Indians.

The Doctrine has affected all the lands where tribal peoples lived from Africa to the Pacific Islands to India, and the Arctic to the tip of South America. In North America, the ideological development of the United States as a nation-state required further justification of the control of Indigenous populations. Manifest Destiny, the assertion that the Natives were destined to die away, and it was God's divine will for the Settler-Colonialists to inherit the land, was a natural sociopolitical extension of the justifications for genocide.

The development of anthropology also helped support and justify through Western science, the creation of race and racial characteristics (Blackhawk 2008). Social Darwinism further supported the marginalization of people of color, and was used for a myriad of legislative acts that further institutionalized the positionality of Settler-Colonialist ideology as the pinnacle of knowledge and power. The subdisciplines of anthropology have matured within the assumptions of entitlement, dominion, succession, and inheritance of the spoils of colonization. This is the legacy of contemporary anthropology.

In the United States, archaeology is considered a subdiscipline of anthropology. Anthropology at its foundation teaches that we should not be ethnocentric in our examination of cultures and their attributes. In my opinion, this teaching hasn't transferred in a meaningful way into archaeological discourse. A prime example of the ethnocentric lens from which researchers speak is the epistemological assertion that tribal heritage is what Western culture calls the archaeological record. We Wadatika Neme do not call our Ancestors' belongings, artifacts. I believe the discipline must accept the whole package of the anthropological endeavor. This means that archaeologists must evaluate the ethnocentrism of both the discipline and the researcher and work more holistically. To be anthropological, it is necessary that archaeologists acknowledge the validity of other cultures knowledge systems. To position archaeological research on an ethical foundation in terms of social justice, tribal traditional knowledge keepers, and any other official representation appointed by affected sovereign nations, must be invited into meaningful discussion early in project formulation. Finally, archaeology as a subdiscipline needs to continue coming to terms with the biases inherent within the

Western academic worldview before archaeology will ever truly meet its endeavor to be anthropological.

The topics central to much of my work concern power, inequity, colonization, and attempts at decolonization of a discipline founded as a methodology for reifying colonialist controls. The most meaningful project I have worked on to date that strikes back at the colonialist agenda is the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow (OAWS) Project. The experience of the project to date is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI. My greater lifelong project is to expose the broader systemic walk of sorrow that began with colonization of our homelands and continues insidiously to this day. Settler-Colonialist ideology has been highly effective in silencing our attempts to be seen, heard, and engaged in our own sociopolitical affairs as fully formed human beings with rights and equitable intellect.

Because heritage protection is my lifework and duty, interpreting traditional tribal understandings with the ways of knowing of traditional archaeology is always a central consideration for me. For our Burns Paiute tribal community, tradition and practice perpetuated for millennia tells us that we do not bother our Ancestors' burials and/or the physical items they left. I was taught that our Ancestors' energy/power (Puha) is alive and residing on the physical items and within the cultural landscapes. To this day, our unwritten law tells us we don't bother the belongings of the dead and we have specific practices to make sure we honor and respect those items belonging to those who have left us. I don't think we are so different from other humans, but the way our burials and heritage have been treated is indeed dehumanizing.

To assert this understanding in our interactions with others, the Burns Paiute Tribe has legislatively asserted via Burns Paiute Resolution 2013-17 (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013a) that they do not support archaeological research solely for the research itself. In some instances, despite our best efforts, current land uses have and will continue to impact our heritage. When such cases arise, we work diligently to reduce the amount of disturbance to our heritage as is legally permissible.

To this end, our understanding is that taking heritage items away from their original location to a repository causes adverse effects to our Ancestors, to our heritage items, and by extension to our current day tribal community. In response to this realization, we have consistently negotiated for reductions in the volume of archaeological excavation both for testing and data recovery. This, in theory, is to decrease the quantity of heritage items to be permanently exiled to curation facilities.

We are still struggling under the yoke of terminology born from anthropology that labels some cultures as advanced while other cultures are viewed as primitive. Freshman undergraduates taking introduction to cultural anthropology at any given place of higher learning will be taught that ethnocentrism is something to be avoided. That we must look through the lens of cultural relativity. Students are taught that a universal of cultures is that every culture needs to have systems that justify the existence of that culture. Those systems include the philosophers of the culture, the thinkers if you will, that evaluate what is right. The science of a particular culture sets forth the methodology for proving what is right, what is real, what has credence and validity. Every culture possesses processes within their cultures to justify belief systems. The continued existence of a culture is dependent upon a self-evaluative understanding of the legitimacy of their

values. Every culture wants to be right and consider itself just. The thinkers of such cultures create narratives that justify and support the political structures. The political structures legislate and institute the affirmations of cultural justness. Since colonialism was the initial sociopolitical lens by which Indigenous cultures have been evaluated, the judgements and subsequent Western science and legislated treatment of tribal people has been subjectively skewed since at least 1492.

Anthropology and archaeology have served to reify the colonialist agenda even though archaeologists may not be aware of their positionality in this dilemma. Furthermore, archaeology is built on the premise that an ontological break between the present and the past occurred by colonialist intrusion. This perceived break marks the difference between cultural anthropology and archaeology. This premise has also assumed that living Indigenous North American peoples do not have strong affinities to their pasts. Additionally, ideological assertions associated with colonialism such as the Doctrine of Discovery, Manifest Destiny, and the White man's burden effectively culminated in Indigenous North American peoples' loss of control over tribal spaces, tribal children, and our own tribal histories. Another legacy of colonialism is the inherited authority of the archaeologist to control both the physical elements of our pasts, and near exclusive right to control the narratives built around the physical elements of our histories. Today, we understand the inherent ethnocentric faults such premises and legacies hold, and decolonization of our discipline is well under way. Colonialism and racial prejudice have resulted in legislated power and control inequalities that serve to favor the efforts of Western researchers over the ethical assertions of tribal peoples. Tribal Ancestors should not continue to be plundered as the inheritors of the spoils of

colonialism invade our homelands to mine tribal items for theoretical conjecture.

Performing cross-culturally ethical research is a must if archaeology is to continue in North America and beyond.

Landscape Exploitations

Another residual legacy of colonization resides with the naming of places and landscapes. Names are indeed sometimes anglicized versions of tribal language words or phrases, but more often the geographic names represent the first non-Natives to witness our lands. Place names also often were titled to honor the heroes of the American endeavor to tame the land. In the northern Great Basin for instance, many of the locations are named after military officers that led actions against our Ancestors. This is a source of continued trauma as a reminder of the horrific historical atrocities visited upon our people. Another practice of reenactment of these Settler-Colonialist endeavors happened for decades in archaeology as the people performing inventory of our heritage were given the latitude to name our heritage sites after themselves, or another title of the discoverers choosing. I am thankful to report as of the writing of this chapter, my experience tells me that enough social justice conversations and government to government discussions have happened to discourage this practice in current day archaeological efforts. I do not know that it is no longer a practice anywhere, however. The original names of the places now bearing the names of Settler-Colonialists, were not named after people, they had and continue to have names indicating their locations own personhood. Another example of the ideological differences between our Neme people and the Settler-Colonialists that

came to conquer and attempt to control. Other ecosystem degradations are discussed in Chapter IV.

Conclusions

Systematic evaluations of the differences and similarities between my Tribe's traditional ways of knowing and the ways of knowing in Western culture has led me to understand that there is no absolute "better." There is only absolute difference.

Whether one way of doing things is better or worse than another is completely dependent upon a variety of variables that radiate from the primary tenets of a culture, the core values. Our traditional Northern Paiute Ma ne pu neen places ethical and moral considerations in terms of survivance and wellness of all beings. This, juxtapositioned with the Settler-Colonialist capitalist economic value systems of historic to contemporary mainstream North American society, makes for a wide chasm of unfamiliarity between the culture systems. Still, we must press forward if we are ever to make archaeology a socially just endeavor.

From my experiences I have come to understand that while changes are happening among some research projects, innovative new legislation along with amending current CRM law is the most effective way to decolonize archaeology. Because of this awareness, I am considering law school as my next academic effort. I will continue working to build cultural resource management capacity at my own Tribe as well as facilitating networking opportunities between my Tribe and our relative Tribes so that our Ancestors and descendants will each be blessed through the work we accomplish

in the present together. To fully understand how we came to be where we are today, I provide an account of our epistemological and historical positionality in the next chapter.

Chapter IV: Tammi Nemedui A Recounting (Our Family: A Recounting)

Since Time Immemorial

Our traditional people assert we were created in our homelands, and of our homelands with specific geographic locations being the birthplaces of not only humans, but all the other beings that are part of our ecosystem. Our people have existed in our homelands since before the formation of the Cascade Mountains.

There are a multitude of etic accounts providing alternative narratives of our beginning, and our culture. These other narratives are the explanations of another culture, the Settler-Colonialist culture, and not our own. These varying accounts are of little consequence on the face of it as they are from any anthropological standpoint, one culture group providing its own emic perspective with other cultures beyond, providing an etic account. It is only in the sociopolitical application of power that one narrative dominates and affects another. Some of those considerations of the effects of Settler-Colonial control are discussed later in chapters, but it is important to realize, no cross-cultural discussion in archaeology escapes the sociopolitical situatedness of Colonialism. These power dynamics allow archaeologists to control the public's understanding of who we are as tribal people. Archaeological narratives are the default representation of our histories and are sometimes pitted against our own understandings of our histories when archaeologists choose to flex their power to dispute our cultural understandings. For all these reasons, anthropological and archaeological narratives have always and continue to be a critical aspect in the equation of our representation, whether we like it or not.

Ma ne pu neen

Our Ma ne pu neen is commonly translated as “the way that it is” and that seems very straight forward on first inspection. Shoshone scholar Steven Crum (2008) published an article that broadly discussed some aspects of our Ma ne pu neen, but Crum only touched on the surface aspects of the philosophical concepts that encapsulate this term. Our Burns Paiute tribal history booklet bears the same phrase as its title (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997, 2001). Our Ma ne pu neen is however much more than history, it is also philosophy in praxis. It also includes the ontological and epistemological foundation of our culture that provides intrinsic value to our existence as a people. As traditional anthropologists might tell us, the Northern Paiute people are a simple highly mobile hunting and gathering culture situated in savagery (Lerner 2013:4). While I loathe the traditional anthropological jargon, Elders who lived before the first White people came to our basing would agree that moving about to seasonally favored camps was integral to a happy life (Louie, 1989:5). Traditional archaeologists might tell us, the Northern Paiute people were in constant search of calories and between food acquisition and procreation, there was little time for anything else. I have the utmost disdain for how overly simplified and debased our peoples’ cultures have been portrayed by a good amount of past archaeological literature of the Great Basin. A complete critique of the old guard is however for another day. A plethora of peer-reviewed and otherwise published literature exists with a wide variety of standpoints from which to view our people. I provide a sampling within the body of this work.

As a traditional practitioner of our Northern Paiute culture, I can confidently say that our culture is anything but simple. Our Ma ne pu neen is indeed quite complex with

many layers and contingencies. It is the lens through which all traditional Northern Paiute realities exist. This ontological and epistemological lens guides how our Ancestors dealt with day-to-day living. It also helped provide explanation and appropriate response to the barrage of troubling encounters and events that permeated our 19th century history. It has carried us through the hard times and the good times and survives today, battle worn from the constant attacks by colonialism, but still functioning at the core of our understanding of the world. It is not my place to put down in writing all the intricacies of our Ma ne pu neen but it is central to our collective traditional understanding of our world. The fact that anthropologists and others do not know it in a meaningful way yet have come to be the experts on our people, is disturbing, but also somewhat reassuring in that our Ancestors have been able to keep the core of our cultural essence to ourselves as our own intellectual property.

The Ones Who Write

Our people, consisting of different bands that live across the Intermountain West of what is today the western United States. We recognize our blood ties to one another, and our bands together comprise a single culture. Other Northern Paiute people are identified distinctly within our traditional language, culture, and custom. Oral history tells us of a visit from conquistadors that ended badly for the explorers. One of the uniquely shaped metal helmets was kept as a physical attribute of that encounter. I had the honor of learning from Elder Ralph Burns, recently as he explained the etymology of our Northern Paiute word for White settler colonialists. He explained (personal

communication, 2022) that the word for White people, “Taibo,” refers to their activity of writing. In our language, it means to write or draw about us.

The first well known intrusions into our lands by non-Natives occurred with the arrival of the fur trappers. Peter Skene Ogden in particular, journalled about his observations of our material culture along the arteries of numerous watercourses and then later with us directly at what is now known as Malheur Lake.

The goal of the Hudson Bay Fur trapping expeditions was to turn areas south and east of the Columbia River into a fur desert to discourage American trappers from venturing too far west (Taylor III, 1999:47; Lalande, 2005a: 02). For numerous reasons, waterways, water bodies, and particularly confluences of water drainages have always been preferred locations for habitation among our people. For instance, Peter Skeen Ogden stated in his Journal of 1836 that along the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, he encountered numerous recently abandoned encampments that were identified by him as “Snake” encampments which had remnants of “Snake” huts and fish weirs that he attributed to seasonal salmon fishing camps. Ogden also stated that the “Snake” camps were so numerous that he was surprised his party had as much success with their trapping as they did. Ogden noted that on numerous occasions during his party’s movement east along the John Day and Burnt Rivers, they had encounters with “Snake” Indians (Ogden 1950).

Our oral history recounts a great curse upon our people that resulted in two cycles of sickness and large death counts (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). Some scholars have paralleled this with epidemic outbreaks occurring in the region at about the same time. The settler-colonial epidemics reached our Ancestors indirectly at first (Heizer et al.

1972:48-49; Lalande 2005a:2). Oral history captured by early research estimates the loss of life in the thousands during the first half of the 19th century.

Our people's way was living for most of the year in small extended family groups, following our seasonal round, but punctuating the traveling seasons with visits to other basins for extended family visits and attending regional gatherings for gambling, dancing, and the like. Northern Paiutes' traditional marriage practices included band exogamy. The children of a couple belonging to two different bands, typically but not always, became a member of the band where the family resided. Of the great mobility, Couture (1996: 14) writes, "The bands were intensely fluid in character, and exhibited no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds." It is broadly understood that band exogamy helped to create and maintain long distance kinship ties. Our families would travel deep into what is now Idaho and Nevada, sometimes staying over a winter before returning home. The typical seasonal round would bring congregations of families together in the fall as a larger village to winter in the vicinity of our beloved lake, Wada Paa (Malheur Lake). When in smaller family groups, our Neme were subject to raiding by unrelated non-Numic tribal groups directly to the north and west. The slave raiding efforts increased as the economies of some Columbia River and Plateau Tribes experienced increased trading opportunities after 1700. Our captured Neme would be taken to be traded as chattel (Jaffe 2016; Lerner, 2013). This raiding and slave trading may also have been the vehicle by which disease entered our homelands. Regardless of how it arrived, epidemic was among our people before the first direct interactions with nontribal people occurred.

According to the written historical documents, Fremont (1845:222) traveled through a portion of the Great Basin including what is now Malheur, Harney, and Lake counties in 1843-44 (Lalande 2005a:2). He and his party produced some early narratives and maps (Weiss 1999). Our oral history speaks of his party and the cannon that was left behind early on in their expedition.

Our Neme documented some of the sightings of Taibo through our oral histories. One such instance of first contacts is documented in our oral history as told by Marion Louie in 1979 and later translated and written down for our Burns Paiute Tribal archives. Then, Elders Myrtle Peck and Ruth Lewis translated the recounting with the assistance of linguist Timothy Thornes. Louie's account is such (Burns Paiute Tribe 2005):

Those from here, then, saw them and followed along beside them (on either side) together. (They) were together with them, not angry at them, but together with them. And they waved to them. Those white folks were passing by them slowly, and then the Indians called out to them as relatives, "Hadipo waihaate!" (they) called to them so (in friendship). Then the whites got down from their wagons, unloaded from their wagons a blanket which they spread out upon the ground, took down from a box, like so, this chewing tobacco, and "black tobacco" the Indians called it back then; and it was divided among the men, who they showed how to smoke, distributing it among them like so. And then to their womenfolk they gave dishes, buckets (pots with handles) like they use for boiling jackrabbits; to those that did that kind of cooking (they) gave those. Then when they were done, they went on again around the bend, (as the Indians) pointed the way. In this way, (they) showed them how to go and the Indians waved to them as they left. And along the way, raising dust, the wagon, the cattle, (they) kept going through the dust (they) stirred up. So that way then (they) went out of sight. At that time, those that first saw them, the one(s) that belong here saw them. Seeing them, then, so it was later on these ones, the young women that saw them made their own song. Having made a song about them then, so it was, they sang about them as they went along the way. Later, on their own over there singing, these women sang about what it was they had seen. Singing, then, so they said, because they saw where they came from, so they said (sang): Later, on their own over there singing, these women sang about what it was they had seen. Singing, then, so they said, because they saw where they came from, so they said (sang):

Along the edge of the true valley
 The cattle emerge from the dust
 Along this side of the big water
 The cattle emerge from the dust
 Heading ever westward
 The cattle emerging from the dust.

So it was, too, (they) would sing about that. They figured out themselves what they thought they saw their traveling, how it had appeared to them those young women would sing about it; that which they sang about upon seeing, so they did. As for the song, somehow those girls sang about what it was that had happened. The way they thought about that, (they) came along singing it. And so then, too, the next one went:

Along that side of the alkali flat
 The cattle emerged from the dust
 Along this side of Harney Lake
 The cattle emerged from the dust
 This way they went toward
 The cattle emerged from the dust.

They sang that after they met up with those (people), and next, having sung it, the people were singing and the young women like these girls sang about it.

This account from our Ancestors tells of the initial direct encounter with a wagon train. It is quite likely this was the Meek's, or Lost Wagon Train of 1845 (Lalande 2005b:2; Oregon Historical Society 2008) that split off from the main wagon train contingent headed for the Oregon Trail. This tale of potential unlimited wealth has fallen into folklore in relation to the Blue Bucket Mine story (Hoffman and Webber 1992). This wagon train is said to have stumbled across an enormous amount of raw gold present in a stream along the route of the wagon train. Unfortunately for all who have reportedly tried to return to find the location of the reported remaining gold, it has never been relocated.

The Struggle for Post-contact Existence

Initially after contact, the eastern side of what is now Oregon, was not of interest to Settler-Colonialists and that is why there was relatively late effort for homesteading. The region had been designated as Indian Territory by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Joel Palmer, in cooperation with the U.S. Army (Lesniak 2014:6). This designation meant settlement and mining was prohibited in our Neme lands. But it wouldn't be long before subsequent key historical actions changed everything.

Robert Owen, claimed to be the first Indian agent for Oregon Country's Great Basin region, and he claims in his journals to of had multiple interactions with our people. Owen's trading post that is often referred to as Fort Owen, is in Montana. It is well documented that Owen had a Shoshone wife named "Jennie" (Owen 1927), but little is currently known of her band or tribal family ties. Our oral history doesn't account for interactions with Owen, although the records of the fort (Owen 1927) indicate that some of our Neme traveled to Fort Owen.

Mining, Settlement, and Statehood

While the Northern Great Basin of eastern Oregon continued to be avoided to the degree possible by those heading to the west side of the state, a sharp decline of up to 50% was noted for immigration to Oregon in total between 1848 and 1849 (Malheur County Historical Society 1988:9). The decline in overland travelers to Oregon is attributed to the California gold strikes happening at that same time.

In 1850, the Oregon Donation Land Law (Oregon Encyclopedia 2024) brought opportunity for those of a Settler-Colonialist mindset to strike out on their own with a

tract of land to call their own and pursue what was an earlier sentiment of what was later coined as the American Dream. The Settler-Colonialist dream to displace tribal people from their lands was supported by Manifest Destiny; a nightmare for the Indigenous peoples being murdered and dispossessed.

Oregon achieved statehood in 1859, and control over the east side of the state changed. Shortly after Oregon officially became a state, the effort to build infrastructure in the way of roads for passage through Neme lands was initiated. Our tribal history indicates that many of the initial Settler-Colonialist roads were developed directly on top of ancestral travel corridors.

The Yahuskin Band of Northern Paiutes joined the Klamath and Modoc Tribes in signing the “Treaty with the Kamath etc.” of 1864, thereby ceding their rights to lands in exchange for certain provisions including a reservation later to be commonly known as the “Klamath Reservation” (Deloria and DeMallie 1999). The Walapai Band of Paiutes under Paulina also signed a treaty August 12th, 1865, which ceded lands and called for his band members to remove themselves to the Klamath Reservation. But the Walpapi’s residency at the Klamath Reservation was short-lived and within a short time of their arrival, the Walapai were once again roaming their homelands in central Oregon. Our people remained free for decades after most other Tribes in the northwest were residing on reservations. The people following Chief Paulina, and later Chief We you We Wa, and other prominent leadership such as Owitze (aka oits), and Ehegant (aka Egan; Eagle Eye), tried desperately to live as Creator intended. Increased intrusions by Euro-American immigrants led to increased tensions.

The Snake War

Our relatives to the south in what is now the state of Nevada, encountered wagon trains coming across the Cason Sink area as early as (Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022), and later with growing tensions and the kidnapping, rape, and imprisonment of two 12-yearold girls by two adult male settlers, violence erupted into what would be called the Snake War (Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022). At the conclusion of the bloodshed directly associated with the Snake War, the Pyramid Lake Paiute Reservation was established. The general rule of the day was, however, that Paiute people did not have protection from the newcomers who chose to prey on our Ancestors, and despite the factual circumstances, the rumor mill and newspaper headlines frequently flipped the script to generate further outrage against our people deemed as the Declaration of Independence calls us, “merciless savages” (NPR 2021).

Death from introduced disease and hostile settler colonialists led to a sharp decrease in our populations. The state of grief and grieving is evident in all the depictions of our people from this era. Winnemucca-Hopkins (2022:32) described a commonly held practice to cut our hair during death and mourning. Traditionally, hair length was related to a person’s strength and longer hair was preferable. Yet so much death visited our Ancestors there is not one depiction available of our people from that time with longer than shoulder length hair. This is very telling of the state of things at that time.

There have been multiple research efforts focused on the myriads of massacres happening in our homelands (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). Arguably, the most comprehensive chronology of massacres in Nevada was recently compiled by Reno-Sparks Indian Colony (2021). Again, because of our traditional practices around death,

especially violent death, our people tend to avoid specific areas where violent shedding of blood occurred, but our oral histories have continued to hold the remembrance of those violent and devastating encounters.

In the North, within our lands now part of Oregon, violence was also prevalent. Neme warriors using what the military refer to as guerilla warfare tactics successfully kept people fearful of coming to and staying within our lands for decades. While the remaining Tribes of Oregon had completed land cessions and were confined to reservations, our Ancestors continued our seasonal round relatively unmolested until the late 1850s. There was initially limited effort toward settlement in eastern Oregon, but mining (Lesniak 2014:6) was a draw for people, and by 1860, the military was tasked with finding a place for a permanent post in Neme country as well as identifying suitable routes for future military wagon roads (Beckham 2006:172-173). These fair-weather military expeditions brought troops deeper into Neme homelands. Indian Scouts from the Warm Springs Reservation helped the troops try and locate our Ancestors, but our people did well as remaining unseen resulting in only a handful of violent interactions (Beckham 2006:174-175).

There was a shortage of military in the northwest at that time due to the Civil War. Militia recruits were few due to the relatively low wage and benefits offered those volunteering. When the militia had come to eastern Oregon, they spent most of their time traveling and not seeing anybody. Once the weather turned cold, the troops withdrew each year. This continued until after the conclusion of the Civil War, when a concentrated military effort was made to bring our Ancestors under military control. This renewed effort would include the military leadership of General George Crook.

Extermination Campaign

General George Crook (1986:144) was assigned to address the hostilities in eastern Oregon and came in December 1866. He strategized winter pursuit when our people were most sedentary and dependent on cached foods. Leaving Fort Boise and moving along the Malheur River, Crook (1986:145) had his first major encounter with our Neme warriors at a location on the mainstem of the Malheur River. Our people held salmon fishing camps all along the Malheur and its tributaries in precontact times. Spring was the primary run of salmon, but resident fish have availability year-round in the Malheur River. Crook was set on taking no prisoners. Crook (1986:149) writes of “cleaning up” small bands of Indians while traveling through our lands.

While taking prisoners was a rare occurrence, General George Crook spared one of our Wadatika Ancestors. General Crook named him Louie Crook, raised this boy to be a Scout as the US military fought the Modoc to the west of our lands. This Ancestor was eventually released and later came to be known as Chief Captain Louie. Chief Captain Louie, recounted the atrocities he was forced to experience while under the tutelage of General Crook, including watching and being forced to participate in the mutilation and torture of Modoc captives (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b).

While the federal government was very careful not to openly authorize the outright murder of women and children, it is common knowledge among our Tribes that it happened with frequency in US military–Indigenous interactions (Blackhawk 2008). General Crook discussed the complete annihilation of our Paiute camps but attributed the murder of women and children to the Indian scouts hired by the military. Crook was not shy about his willingness to exterminate our people. McKay (Oregon History Project

2024) led the Scouts from the Warm Springs Reservation drawing on traditional hostilities between some of the Columbia River Tribes and our people and exacerbating animosities. Crook's strategy was to actively go after our people in the winter when people were more sedentary and more vulnerable. Of this, Wooster (1988:127) states:

Although the peace initiative halted army offensives on the Plains, violence continued to mark Indian-white relations in southern Oregon. Here, Crook exhibited the aggressive spirit that had brought him to the forefront of his country's Indian fighters. Crook's feats of endurance amazed fellow officers and the enlisted personnel alike. His tireless pursuits, utilizing swarms of Indian auxiliaries and mules to provide added mobility, set important precedents. Continuing offensives into the winter, Crook's forces delivered devastating psychological and economic blows to even the most secure Indian haunts. By 1868, the Paiutes sued for peace.

As a result of the extermination campaign efforts, our people were devastated but determined to remain in our homelands. Despite attempts to forcibly relocate us, we remained, and a treaty of peace and friendship was executed.

Treaty with “the Shoshone” at Fort Harney 1868

The Treaty with the Shoshone (Deloria Jr. and DeMallie, 1999:1385-1386) was signed at Fort Harney, December 10, 1868, and was between our Northern Paiute leadership and J.W. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, representing the United States government. Of our Ancestors, Superintendent Huntington (Huntington 1868) writes:

At Fort Harney (about) 700 souls. This band is supplied with clothing to about the same extent as the band at Fort Warner and furnished with beef by the Commissary at the same rate. One small issue of flour I think one fourth of one ration to each had been given them also for ten days but is not to be continued. They have a very small store of roots and seeds, but they were industriously engaged in digging in the adjacent marshes,

whenever they were not frozen too hard. The roots they obtain are “Kamas,” Sowweet,” “Queah,” and “Khouse.” They are very nutritious and if the Indians could obtain a plentiful supply they would thrive, but the little marshes which furnish them are scattered all over the country, and to permit the Indians to visit them would preclude the idea of gathering them upon a reservation. If limited to one or two marshes, the roots would soon become exhausted. If they are ever gathered upon a reservation some other means of obtaining food must be provided them.

The location of Fort Harney is at one of the most geographically vast and densely abundant sources of Camas. Early summer is the appropriate time to collect this bulb so the attempt to harvest in December surely must have been a survival strategy. The reports of the Indian agents, and others engaging our Ancestors versus the reports of the Military engaging them are starkly different (Crook 1986; Lesniak 2014; Michno 2007; Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022). It is notable that the federal agent misnamed the tribal group entering the treaty and exemplifies their ignorance of our cultures.

The execution of our treaty marked the end of the relentless effort by General Crook to extinguish our Neme people from existence. It also marked the turn of our people toward attempting to live a life as the non-Natives demanded of us. While most treaties of the era were land cession treaties, our treaty was a treaty of peace and friendship. It simply stated we would stop fighting the encroachment of our lands and in exchange, a reservation would be set aside for us. This treaty was never ratified by Congress. It marked the ability for unmolested settlement by settler colonialists in the Harney Basin and the reservation, as discussed below, did later come to pass briefly. It must be noted that here that in addition to this treaty being wholly mistitled, at least one major mistake in reporting tribal signatories was made. “Pashigo” (Soucie 2007:46), is,

changes to Tashigo, in typed version of the treaty. Pashigo, later came to be known in English as Chief Peter Temen, and still later, as Chief Peter Teeman.

Settlement in Harney and Malheur Counties and Grazing

John Devine is noted as the first settler to bring cattle herds en masse to the Harney Basin in 1869 (Whiting 1950:22). This, a year after the treaty signing at Fort Harney but prior to the creation of the Malheur Reservation. The cattle devastated our sacred waterways and springs. Devine's importance to the post-contact history of the Malheur Basin can be surmised from the number of places that bear his name in Harney County. Corporate cattle companies invaded our lands prior to Settler-Colonialist encroachment.

Malheur Reservation and Agency

Ulysses S. Grant initially established the Malheur Reservation by executive order on March 14, 1871. President Grant's executive order proposed that all Indians east of the Cascades, regardless of their current treaty status and/or reservation residency, be removed to the Malheur Reservation. Grant ordered (Minor and Beckham 2003:5):

The portion of the state [Oregon] lying between the forty-second and forty-fourth parallels of north latitude and from one hundred and seventeen to one hundred and twenty degrees of west longitude (excepting so much thereof as may have been or may hereafter be granted for military wagon road purposes) be withdrawn from market as public lands, for the space of eighteen months, with a view of the selection of a reservation upon which to collect all the Indians in that State east of the Cascade Mountains, except those who may select lands in severality upon the reservation on which they are now located.

Grant's initial intent was to remove Indians from Klamath Reservation, Warm Springs Reservation, and the Reservation at Umatilla, to hold them along with our Neme people. T.D. Ordeneal, Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs was responsible for mapping the proposed Malheur Reservation, which he indicated would be exclusively for "Snake or Piute Indians" (Kappler 1904[1]:888). Odeneal (1872) described the reservation as:

Beginning at the mouth of the North Fork of the Malheur River, thence up said North Fork, including the waters thereof, to Castle Rock; thence in a northwesterly direction to Strawberry Butte; thence down Silvie's River to Malheur Lake; thence east to the South Fork of the Malheur River; thence down said South Fork, including the waters thereof, to the place of the beginning (to be known as Malheur Reservation), including lands within said boundaries, excepting so much thereof as may have been granted for military or wagon road purposes.

This is the description of the Malheur Reservation given in President Grant's September 12, 1872, Executive Order.

The location of Malheur Reservation headquarters was determined in May 1873 (Minor and Beckham 2003:12), established near the northeastern boundary of reservation nestled away in a prosperous valley bisected by the north fork of the Malheur River.

Later, on May 15th, 1875, President Grant issued another executive order increasing the reservation to 1,778,580 acres including the following:

Commencing at the point on the Malheur River where the Range line between ranges 39 and 40 east of the Willamette Meridian intersects the same; then north on said range line to a point due east of Strawberry Butte; thence west to Strawberry Butte; thence southeastwardly to Castle Rock; thence to the Westbank of the North Fork of the Malheur River; then down and with the said west bank to the Malheur River; thence along and with the Malheur River to the place of beginning, be, and the same hereby is, withdrawn from sale or settlement, except such lands within such boundaries as have passed or may pass to the Dalles Military Wagon Road Company, under the act of Congress approved July 5, 1866

(vol. 14, p. 89), and the same set apart by Executive order of September 12, 1872 (Kappler 1904[1]:888-889; Royce 1899: 858-859).

It is unclear why the reservation was expanded, but it is rumored this came about because of the negotiating skills of some of our tribal leadership at the time who desired to have additional sacred sites included.

The United States government's policy toward reservations dictated that each reservation be assigned a Christian denomination to lead the tribal people into such faith and belief. Churches would be assigned reservations on a rotation that brought each denomination additional assignment as new reservations were established. Of this practice, Minor and Beckham (2003:12) write:

In the 1870s the Grant administration's "peace policy" led to dividing up the reservations among a number of denominations. The Friends (Hicksite and Orthodox), Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Catholic, Dutch Reformed, Congregational, and Christian churches gained control of Indian agencies. In Oregon the Catholics got the Grand Ronde and Umatilla—locations of active Catholic missions. The Methodists got Warm Springs, Siletz, and Klamath Reservations. The Christian (Disciples of Christ) denomination got Malheur as well as the Makah Reservation at Neah Bay, Washington, and some jurisdiction among the Ri Grand Pueblos (ARCIA 1872:73).

Special agent of the church Harrison Linville was placed in charge at Malheur Agency, and he supervised staff including a man well known in our oral history, Samuel Parish, serving as the Agency's purchasing agent (Minor and Beckham 2003:11). Samuel Parish was the employee in charge of the commissary, but by multiple accounts, he also was the lead on construction activities at the Agency. The oral history from our Ancestors tells us that Samuel Paris was a good and fair man that treated our people with dignity and respect. Because of this good relationship, Parish was able to convince our men to make an earnest effort at farming and he worked with them as they cleared fields within

Agency Valley. They excavated an irrigation ditch to divert water from the North Fork of the Malheur River to irrigate the fields with crops planted by our people. This cooperation and optimism for a peaceful future was short lived, however, when various pressures were brought upon the agency and the people.

Our Neme oral history is silent regarding special agent Linville, but he reportedly had much to say of our people. His monthly reporting includes identifying the number of people the Agency served, the number of resources expended, and the general situation at the agency. Eight employees were reported to operate the Malheur Agency in January 1874 serving reportedly 1000 of our Ancestors (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b).

While the first two years of the Agency's existence were relatively peaceful, a perfect storm of bad circumstances brought about discontent in the spring of 1874. Firstly, Linville was unable to secure enough beef and flour to support the subsistence needs of the 500+ people making the Agency Valley their sustained home (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b; Minor and Beckham 2003:15).

Agency records indicate that the primary effort at the agency was to teach our Ancestors to become farmers. Farming, as in plowing deep into the soil, is an affront to our traditional Ma ne pu neen (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). The Malheur Agency administrative reports give us a glimpse into the qualitative assessments of the progress being made by personnel assigned to the task of managing our Ancestors' assimilation. A schoolhouse existed at the Malheur Agency headquarters and our children were learning to read and write.

Several events in 1876 culminated in a turn for the worse for our people and the Malheur Reservation and Agency. Firstly, President Grant once again by Executive Order

modified the boundaries of the Malheur Reservation, this time reducing it to nearly the same extent as he had increased its acreage in his May 15th, 1875, Executive Order. The resulting net gain from the original reservation designation was a minimal increase in acreage on the eastern boundary of the reservation. Secondly, Samuel Parish was coerced from his position after being starved of supplies and pay. The final blow to our Ancestors was when William Rinehart took supervision of the Malheur Agency on July 1, 1876 (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). This was a major turning point for the Malheur Reservation and for our people. William Reinhardt had been a contractor for the Malheur Agency prior to being appointed the Agency superintendent.

The Bannock War of 1878

The Bannock War as it is formally titled, began near Camas Prairie, Idaho, with trespassers disrespecting the camas with which the Bannock people maintained a strong reciprocal relationship. The troubles in Idaho coincided with the growing ill content happening at the Malheur Reservation and Agency. People were hungry and being treated poorly at the Malheur Agency.

A flurry of original written communications survive within the National Archive records of the US Dept. of War (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b), as well as within the administrative records for the Malheur Reservation Agency as it communicated with the Office of Indian Affairs in the late spring through fall of 1878. Sarah Winnemucca also chronicled the events of that time in her autobiography and other communications. Closest to heart and home, our Elders and Ancestors continuously share our truths down through the generations. A recounting of the events is a frequent topic of discussion

whenever families gather to commemorate the suffering and resilience of our people. For the most part, the larger themes between accounts remain consistent. The hostilities began in Idaho because of a lack of respect for important landscapes and the savage treatment of tribal women by White men. The entire region was ripe for turmoil as recent political and economic pressures resulted in mistreatment of Neme and Newe in Idaho, Nevada, and Oregon. Cattle and sheep were trespassing on reservation lands and Rhinehardt was intent on misappropriation of food, clothing, and other stores. All accounts agree that the Malheur Agency was abandoned as word of the impending hostilities arrived in Malheur County.

The treaty of peace and friendship signed at Fort Harney in 1868 with Northern Paiute band chiefs set the stage for the creation of the Malheur Indian Reservation (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). Once established, the Malheur Reservation promised to provide enough of a land base to sustain the Northern Paiute people who had survived years of military pursuit. Times were good at the Malheur Reservation under the management of Samuel Parrish, but when Agent Rhinehart replaced him, discontent grew on the Malheur Reservation. When an uprising occurred to the east with the Bannock Indians, they came to the Malheur Reservation for support. Most of the Paiute People at the Malheur Reservation but some of the younger people were ready to join the fight (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). The Bannock War was short-lived, and the death of Chief Egan was the final blow to the uprising. As an employee of the military agents, Sarah Winnemucca was instrumental in convincing families who had fled the Malheur Reservation to return. Once back at the Reservation and held at Fort Harney, the returning Northern Paiute people were considered prisoners of war (POWs). Debate over what should happen to the

prisoners of war ensued. The Oregon Historical Society (2008) offers an account of the POW removal:

After the end of the war in the fall of 1878, the U.S. Army brought Paiute Indians from southeastern Oregon to Camp Harney, located about fifteen miles east of present-day Burns. In December of that year, the camp commander told Sarah Winnemucca, a Paiute interpreter and activist, that he had orders to remove the Paiute to the Yakama Indian Reservation 350 miles to the north. In her autobiography, Sarah wrote that she was struck with horror. “What, in this cold winter and in all this snow,” she responded, “and my people have so many little children? Why they will die.”

Approximately 550 Paiute men, women, and children—many of whom, ... had not engaged in hostilities—traveled north for nearly a month through the snow and over two mountain ranges. The women and children traveled in wagons, but some of the men were forced to march in leg irons. Five children, one woman, and an elderly man died along the way, their bodies left alongside the road since it was too cold to bury them. ...Rinehart complains about the exorbitant cost of the winter removal and notes that the Paiute were forced to leave Camp Harney underequipped even though supplies were enroute from the Malheur agency. Yakama Agent James Wilbur remarked that the newly arrived Paiute were “utterly destitute” and that he was given no notice of their coming “and of course no arrangements for giving them rations.”

The people who survived the march struggled for survival at Ft. Simcoe. Some people escaped from their internment, but most of the prisoners of war weren't released to leave for five years. In 1950, descendants of the forced march sued the U.S. Government for \$3,500,000.00 citing the wrongful taking of the Malheur Reservation (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). The Indian Claims Commission ruled against the claimants, but a federal court later overturned by a federal court. The next Indian Claims Commission review resulted in a favor of the claimants and Public Law 88-464 (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b) spelled out the eligibility criteria for claimants. The 1959 Claims Commission report determined the value of the acreage under consideration totaled \$1,449,304.77. After a determination of

individual claimant eligibility for payment, each claimant received \$743.20 (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). Many of the descendants of the forced march survivors now live on numerous reservations and tribal communities in five western states. The current collaborative work being done by the descendants of these atrocities is found in Chapter VI. There were numerous influential leaders during the contact period between tribal people and Settler-Colonialists. One of the notable Neme that has continued to remain in the public's imagination is Sarah Winnemucca. For numerous reasons, I feel it important to discuss her positionality.

An Enigmatic Neme

Sarah Winnemucca's book, *Paiutes Their Wrongs and Claims* (Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022) chronicles the Bannock War and subsequent forced removal of our Neme from her standpoint. Her effort of taking pen to paper was the first written accounting by our people. Sarah Winnemucca, daughter of Chief Winnemucca, was taught English at an early age as directed by her father's will and gained employment working as an interpreter for the US military. Some of the earliest written records of her employment come from complaints she filed against military personnel stationed at Fort McDermitt, Nevada (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b).

Sarah holds an enigmatic position in our US and tribal history. In addition to her role as an interpreter between our Neme and the military during a highly tumultuous time on post-contact history, she recounted in autobiography her experiences (Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022). Sarah's reputation was deeply tarnished among our Neme who suffered through the Bannock War. Our oral history among numerous Bannock War survivors that

returned to Harney Valley is that Sarah was a traitor to her people (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). This is what I had first learned of her. Our people say that she both informed the soldiers of where people were hiding, which at least some of the time led to Neme being found and killed, and she also enticed people in hiding to come into Fort Harney.

Perceptions of Sarah vary however, and the reality of any experience is often shaped by the position from which individuals are situated. There seems little way to find any absolute truth in the evaluation of Sarah's actions and intents from our seats in the 20th and 21st centuries. It seems to me that Sarah spent much of her life in an unfavorable position, exacerbated by her positionality in the Settler-Colonialist socio-politics of her lifetime. Bound by an expectation and sense of duty to our people, from which she found little relief or gratitude, I have witnessed this happen in my lifetime among other prominent leaders in my community. For this reason, and for the advocacy that Sarah was able to perform on behalf of our people to the various audiences in social and legislated power, she must be given due credit for raising the public's awareness of the plight of our people.

Through my own experiences, as an academic and as a person labeled as "mixed blood," I understand the impossible positionality Sarah must have found herself in. While my own efforts aren't tied directly to the immediate decisions of life or death over others, Sarah also did not have the latitude to make such decisions. She could only advocate and lobby for people's survival. While I do not and will not attempt to make personal judgement of this prominent Ancestor, I offer that despite the oral history that is shared of her enticing our people who were in hiding to come into Fort Harney, there is archival documentation that she at least at times was actively engaged in resistance against

military action and proactively trying to advocate for her people (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b; National Park Service 2020; Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022). What I do strongly believe is that even if Sarah was unable to achieve all that she advocated for on behalf of our Neme, the historical record of all that happened would be even less well documented if it had not been for her efforts. For this, I am thankful she is contributing to the voices working today to increase awareness of our history, and of Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow.

Becoming “Landless”

In January 1880, while our Ancestors were being held at Fort Simcoe, a contingent of Neme including Sarah Winnemucca, her Father, Chief Winnemucca, brother, Natches, and their relative, Captain Jim, traveled to Washington DC to advocate for our imprisoned Neme. Their mission was an attempt to gain the release of our people from Fort Simcoe, and toward the removal of Agent Reinhard from the Malheur Agency. Natchez specifically testified to the Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, of the minimal participation of Paiute people in the Bannock War, and the unfairness of innocent people being held as prisoners of war far from home (Beckham 2006:245-246). According to records of the Secretary of the Interior (Beckham 2006:247), our Ancestors were released as prisoners on July 20, 1880, although our common oral historical understanding is that people were not allowed to leave until 1883.

While our Ancestors were being held at Fort Yakima, and under pressure from the local cattlemen, the Malheur Reservation was extinguished on September 13, 1882, by Executive Order of President Rutherford B. Hayes. A small remnant of the reservation,

320-acres, consisting of the grounds where Ft. Harney stood, remained in trust until May 21, 1883. (Beckham 2006:245; Royce 1899:911). When our people returned from Ft. Yakama, they were considered squatters in our own lands.

The exile of our people to Ft. Simcoe, Washington, created what is today a diaspora of survivor descendants that are affiliated with a multitude of federally and state recognized Great Basin Tribes. The Burns Paiute Tribe (2013b) descends from the twelve extended families that returned to our homelands and created a new chapter for our people. Our land is where our Ma ne pu neen is best practiced, so it is the relationship with place that drove our Ancestors to return to where we were created in the Wada Paa basin.

Chapter V: Cultural Landscapes and Linear Archaeological Features

An important aspect of finding meaningful outcomes for the Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow (OAWS) project is understanding cultural landscapes and linear archaeological featuring from both an academic viewpoint as well as tribal understandings of these spaces. Here I address the theory and methods used to identify them, and the cultural attributes that often accompany such features and landscapes. Following, I discuss the research themes often pursued in cultural landscape and linear feature investigations. Finally, I discuss some of the challenges associated with linear feature and cultural landscape research, providing discussion of potential future linear feature and cultural landscape investigations.

Linear features such as trails and roads have facilitated movement of individuals and groups across the landscape since time immemorial. Not surprisingly, many of the trails and routes developed by Indigenous people have later been used by other people for their needs. Oftentimes, the locations that are linked by linear archaeological features, are the focus of investigatory attention. Significantly less research has occurred documenting linear features across cultural landscapes. To achieve a greater understanding of how cultural interaction between the destination points occurred, it is important to also evaluate the spaces in-between. To achieve this, both quantitative and qualitative evaluations should occur.

Theory and method from anthropology and related disciplines has applicability in studying cultural landscapes to study linear archaeological features. Trails and other linear features are an important aspect of human behavior. Many animals and perhaps other mobile species create and maintain trails, and for the most part, there is a logical

probability identifiable for when, where, and why, a trail is developed. Culture, however, sometimes affects the logic of many things, including human movement. Identifying the physical material aspects of such features is important to our understanding of human cultural landscape use. Attempting to identify the ideological aspects of trail development maintenance and use is another key aspect of Linear feature and cultural landscape research.

In the United States, and elsewhere, the trails of Indigenous peoples were often used by early explorers and then emigrants moving ever westward until arriving and settling at their chosen destinations. For these reasons, trails as we know them today have multiple layered histories and importance for a variety of people. Determining the tangible aspects of a trail such as the route and construction is a relatively straight forward process if physical aspects of the feature have survived, determining the more qualitative aspects of a trail may take relatively more research and time.

Roads, paths, and trails have been the life veins of humanity throughout time, yet they remain relatively unexamined by archaeologists (Snead 2011). Archaeological studies of roads and trails offer opportunities to apply a variety of theoretical lenses. For instance, a travel corridor may be economic, social, administrative, or for defense purposes.

Trails and roads as linear physical features hold direct importance for a multitude of reasons, but the surrounding landscape also often holds meaning. David and Thomas (2008:36) discuss the proliferation of archaeologists employing varying forms of landscape archaeology to understand the geographic contexts of archaeological sites in a more than environmental context. They find that landscape archaeology has grown in

popularity since the 1990s and assert it is because of this relatively new consideration but also because archaeologists are recognizing that ideological social engagement of people with landscapes is a fundamental consideration.

Disentangling and deciphering the multitude of meanings and values imbued within a landscape is challenging. Casey (2008:44) proposes a philosophical approach to landscape archaeology wherein a “unit of lived experience” is addressed as opposed to viewing a space only in terms of its geography. He proposes engaging cultural anthropology to bring together the lived experience with archaeology, but I would argue collaboration with affiliated communities would be better.

Western scientific approaches have been developed to support theoretical and methodological research in geography. Methods for identification of archaeological features and cultural landscapes, including linear features such as roads and trails have relied on use of satellite imagery (Agapiou et al. 2013; Agapiou et al. 2014; De Laet et al. 2007; Belliss et al. 1985), ArcGIS analysis (Badillo 2014. D’Urso et al. 2017; Eisner et al. 2010; Enescu et al. 2015; Fairbanks et al. 2015; Luo et al. 2014; Raitz et al. 2010; Shashi and Dwarakish 2015; Vileikis et al. 2017), LiDar (Anderson 2012; Freeland et al. 2016; Ladefoged et al. 2011; White et al. 2010), remote sensing (Giardino 2011; Hritz 2014; Jett 2014; Silver et al. 2015; Skaggs et al. 2016) technologies, and old-fashioned ground-truthing (Vega et al. 2011) to identify their physical footprint. While successes have been achieved identifying the main corridor of these features, questions remain about landscape uses associated with the features that may be less detectable. Ephemeral use of areas is difficult to identify and measure. The tools of positivist methods have enormous potential for identifying quantitative data associated with archaeological linear

features and the broader landscapes that encompass them. There are phenomenological considerations that should also be considered as I will discuss in the next section.

On Cultural Landscapes

Tilley and Cameron-Daum (2017:23) consider the experiential perspectives of individuals in their approach to cultural landscape analysis. Variables such as personal biography, place, mediation, agency, aesthetic and wellbeing, conflict and contestation, and nature and culture, are considered in contextualizing the landscape. Tilley and Cameron-Daum (2017:56) assert that landscape is a combination of the embodied experience of place with the events and actions that occur between an individual and the material landscape.

Memorialization of predecessors is a common cultural phenomenon among humans, and there are attempts to identify this activity within the archaeological record. Something as simple as curating a dish, scarf, or quilt, passed down a family lineage eventually leaves its mark in the archaeological record, but being able to identify the occurrence takes some careful consideration. Even more challenging is to identify the ideological impetus for the curation in such instances. While we may never know for certain that we have identified the absolute reasoning behind such events, it should not stop us from endeavoring to ask the question.

Campbell (2006:102) discusses increasing cross-cultural awareness of memorialization practices among living people, to understand how it affects ideas of the past. He discusses the fluidity of memory and how it may change depending on circumstance, and he also discusses differences in concepts of time. Time can be

perceived and experienced differently from individual to individual, intergenerationally, and cross-culturally. Additionally, individuals living within the same culture contemporaneously may recall and choose to commemorate cultural landscapes differently (Carlson and John 2015). These are important concepts to remember when working in a multicultural environment with an archaeological feature that holds multiple meanings for multiple people.

There are numerous challenges to identifying, recording, interpreting, and preserving linear features from both cultural and archaeological standpoints. Any trail management effort necessarily requires a multifaceted approach. Using methods from geography and anthropology can assist this effort. Public education and historic preservation coupled with tourism can create a system that both engages the public to care for and helps preserve important linear features, but it also provides a means of revenue to maintain such a program. Identifying, mapping, and protection management of ancient and historic linear features usually requires a concerted group effort as such features typically cross multiple land ownership and management boundaries.

In the United States, efforts continue to be made to protect, preserve, and provide educational interpretation of some of the key historic and ancient routes and trails. The National Park Service (NPS) oversees management of trails and routes that have received elevated attention such as the Oregon Trail. Most of the trails that have received heightened protection can be tied to American history and heritage. Many other trails and routes that may be important to local or Indigenous communities have not been listed as frequently.

The physical and cultural boundaries of a linear feature and if/when a protection buffer should be implemented for management purposes is dependent upon many factors. Determining the physical space that should be considered and how and when it is accessed has a great deal to do with the type of linear feature being managed. For instance, in recent decades there have been “rails to trails” (Hawthorne et al. 2008) projects that incorporate historic railroad trails into walking and bike paths. While built upon a historic linear feature, and numerous contemporary sociopolitical issues arise from these projects, there are few preservation concerns reported.

An analysis of other recorded archaeological sites, and resources that may have been utilized during linear feature construction or use is advisable. Additionally, taking into consideration the aesthetic attributes of a linear feature corridor may provide additional insight into its management needs.

Management of cultural landscapes and linear features is primarily governed by the interest and support in a location and/or corridor, coupled with the governmental laws and administrative rules enacted to address its management. Alberts and Brinda (2005:391) discuss the changes in preservation ideology and practice in Quedlingburg, Germany, since the reunification of west and east Germany exemplifying how changes in governmental administration can drastically affect preservation values. Economic and human resources are often a factor in preservation efforts as well. Cultural landscapes and linear features that can generate their own revenue through tourism are often more valued.

In the US, the National Park Service (NPS 2017:2) manages trails that have been maintained by their organization since 1916. The United States Forest Service (USFS),

established in 1905, also administers trail for recreational activities. The early federal trails system operated on a philosophy of constructing and maintaining trails that would blend aesthetically with the natural surroundings (NPS 2017a:6). In the US, federal laws such as the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 and its amendments provided legislation to protect cultural resources including trails. The National Trail System Act of 1968 served to provide federal authority over long distance scenic trails that passed through numerous states and met the criteria of the Act. The National Trails System Act was amended in 1978 to include trails that held importance for exploration, migration, commerce, civil rights, and military action (NPS 2017a:8). Other legislation that affects trails in various ways in the US includes The Wilderness Act of 1964, The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, the Endangered Species Act of 1973, and the Clean Water Act of 1977. Executive Order 13007 of 1996 to protect sacred sites also is a consideration in trails management.

In the US, the National Park Service has established criteria to assist those working to document trails and provides a series of tips for trails management. A Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) provides a comprehensive analysis of all the factors of consideration in management of historic trails. A general management plan (GMP) is required of all other trails within the NPS system (2017a:9). Within the NPS assessment's in addition to the GMP, a historic research study (HRS), a historic structure report (HSR), a cultural landscape inventory (CLI), a list of classified structures (LCS), an archaeological overview and assessment, and ethnographic overview and assessment, and an assessment of eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) may each be conducted as part of the methods for determining treatment of a historic trail. The NPS

(2017a:12) recommends creating a database to track all the notable characteristics that may be recognized and evaluated as part of a trail project.

The CLR includes information about the identified origin of a trail, its evolution through time for potentially different purposes, and prepares for further analysis and evaluation of the trail's significance. Some of the information the CLR should provide includes the historic context of the trail, its development history, and its management history (NPS 2017a:11). In assessing the characteristics of a trail, it may be possible to trace social changes, funding situations, and other land management decisions that have affected the trail. Historical administrative and other documents can assist with determining the nature and reasoning behind such management decisions. Existing conditions are an on the ground effort to inventory a trails condition and is a critical aspect of the CLR. NPS (2017a:13) discusses the use of a variety of tools including GLO maps, USGS maps, GPS, and GIS technology for mapping efforts. Some of the design features that are important to note include: 1) the design and layout that provides beginning and endpoints of the trail and trail segment, 2) guides such as stone curbing, 3) drainage structures, 4) retaining structures, 5) crossings including bridges and stepping stones, 6) steps, rungs, and ladders, 7) tread including edging and surface material type, 8) trail related structures such as benches, constructed water features, and assembly areas, 9) associated cultural features such as archaeological sites, and 10) associated natural features such as water, geologic formations, and vegetation (NPS 2017a:14).

An evaluation of the trail's historic conditions versus the conditions today is conducted to determine integrity. Additionally, a trail's historic significance is assessed based on its association with an historic event, historic figure, its distinctive construction,

or its association as an archaeological feature. Generally, the same criteria used for determining eligibility of historic properties to the National Register can be applied to guide the evaluation of a trail. (NPS 2017a:14). Additionally, a comprehensive management plan (CMP) is required for all trails meeting the criteria of National Scenic or National Historic Trail designation regardless of the managing agency.

Freedman (2007) discusses the issue of sacred sites management on public lands in the US. Specifically, he provides an analysis of the Mato Tipila-Devil's Tower litigation. This issue concerns religious freedom as it relates to Indigenous landscapes.

Of public lands preservation theory in the US. Freedman (2007:3) states:

Three principal theoretical considerations underlie this case study. First is the relationship between Native American religion and culture with place. Second is the panoply of federal judicial mechanisms that recognize shared or overlapping interests in public policy litigation. Third are factors typically involved in litigation alliances in public policy disputes.

Despite religious freedom and religious protection laws, the primary protection of a landscape is via cultural resource management laws developed to protect archaeological interests and interests of the American public. This is problematic for Indigenous communities who have sacred and otherwise critically important landscapes and linear features. Unless an argument can be made to satisfy the criteria of NRHP eligibility, preservation is difficult. The NPS Trails evaluations and nominations have typically been conducted on trails that relate to American history such as westward expansion trails, military trails, and the like.

A more grassroots effort to provide management of trail markers is being conducted by an artist and author named Dennis Downs (Abderholden 2017). His work

of more than 30 years is to document remaining Native trail marker trees, but he is also revitalizing and perhaps memorializing the trails by creating new trail marker trees in the fashion of the traditional cultural practice. Alberts and Brinda (2005:391) discuss the concept of preservation as protecting from further harm, but this brings up an interesting issue between material and ideological harm, and concepts of integrity and memorialization. For in the case of the newly created trail markers, it is the ideological integrity and memorialization of the trail marker trees that draws value, where in more material-based considerations, the integrity is determined by the degree of preserved original or completeness of objects. There are many more conversations needed on these topics.

The way archaeologists define the integrity of largescale, linear archaeological features and trails is often different from tribal perspectives of the values of such places. Caltrans (2016:22) discusses the work of the National Task Force for Historic Routes (NTFHR). NTFHR has four historic route types it considers: 1) cultural, 2) exploration and discovery, 3) Aesthetic, and 4) engineered routes. Cultural routes include Native American trails and other corridors that were created from necessity or tradition. Caltrans (2016:22) states:

Pre-automobile routes are often overlain by automobile roads or highways and have generally undergone significant changes and modifications since their inception, often leading to multiple layers of use. Multiple layers of use often provide interesting historical juxtapositions but are also a challenge for preservationists. These routes may have evolved from Native American or Spanish period trails, or simply from convenient connections between farms and villages, such as along railroad grades. Generally, the only original features of these routes are the historical corridors through which they pass, or in other cases the original route runs parallel with the newer route. Historical maps, along with remaining roadside features, such as hostelryes, motels,

restaurants, and motor courts, generally provide important information regarding the history of the routes, as well as settlement and travel patterns....

As has been discussed elsewhere in this paper, oftentimes, there are multiple subsequent uses of the same corridors. Determining how best to decipher layered uses may call for sampled subsurface testing and geomorphic analysis in instances wherein archaeological excavation is an option within trails and linear feature research.

Other types of data to identify trails and cultural landscape features include oral histories, historic maps, historic diaries and journals, official records, and historic photographs and illustrations, and even hieroglyphs (Gardiner 1920), when available. The physical footprint can be analyzed using the various forms of modern technology discussed elsewhere in this paper but also, standard archaeological pedestrian survey can assist with identifying material clues on the surface, as well as blaze and other culturally modified trees used for indicating a trail corridor. In some instances, wooden or metal signage is still identified as well. Additionally, because early utilities typically followed historic roads, data about utility line insulators may be of use in identifying a trail or road corridor even when the physical footprint on the ground's surface is obliterated.

Interpreting Trail Attributes Archaeologically Versus Tribal Cultural Landscapes

Because linear features are not as well studied as other types of cultural sites and features, academic literature is sparse. Gates (2006:315) argues that linear features are overlooked because they are viewed as relatively unimportant compared to the locations such features connect. While some roads offer elaboration exhibiting affluence, the roads Gates discusses are scantily more than dirt trails. These trails and roads, however, were

used to help build the Roman Empire and therefore have intrinsic meaning and value through the ability to attribute them to that effort if nothing else. Gates (2006:316) states that roads and trails indicate cultural practices, although the meanings of the practices may be lost. Meaning and function therefore while contemporaneous at any given moment. David and Thomas (2008:25) contend that traditional archaeology doesn't adequately consider the landscape in contextualization of archaeological sites.

Vivian (1997:35) argues cultural development can be assessed by focusing on roads. This early work with Chacoan roads was no doubt informed by culture-historical and cultural evolution theoretical frameworks. With the emphasis on interpreting road function as opposed to road design and attributes, discussion of the roads beyond a utilitarian function was absent. Past communicative, integrative, and transportive explanations for road functions are outlined by Vivian (1997:36), before she turns the discussion toward more holistic interpretations of the Chacoan Road systems. She argues that while still seeking functional explanations for the roads, she supports exploring potential ideological meaning of the roads as well.

Christie (2008:41) points out that in some instances cultural groups used roads to construct nature. She also identifies architectural attributes of roads that she argues are both practical in nature but also symbolic. This scaled down construction modeled after nature is also found on the Hilinawalo Village, Indonesia, and may also be a cultural landscape construct elsewhere (Feldman 2011:36). While Christie (2008:43) considers her methods processual, the analysis and interpretation of Incan shrines necessarily considers the metaphysical aspects of features within the constructed landscape of the Peruvian highlands. The discreet shrines sometimes consisting of a few piled rocks have

meaning and symbiology for the inhabitants and their culture. Additionally, since the first Spaniards arrived, various other groups have also ascribed meaning to the shrines that have created other culturally held understandings of the shrines for non-Indigenous cultures as well.

Dyce (2013) offers a nonmaterial study of the Athabaskin Landing Trail, which chronicles the origins and history of supply between Edmonton and Athabasca, from study of a supply trail that was active in the 1890s. He provides three spatial histories that commemorate the trail in the memories of the contemporary communities.

Mormon Wagon Road Corridor is a landscape offering multiple cultures differing meaning. The Mormon Wagon Road Corridor of southern Nevada having at least five separate cultural contexts: first as a Native American Trail, then as a part of the Old Spanish Trail, next as a route used by John C. Fremont, then as the Mormon Wagon Road, and now as part of Interstate 15 a contemporary asphalt road. Numerous historic documents speak to the use and location of the trails and roads associated with this multiuse, multistate linear cultural feature (Baker and Thompson 2014).

Since the 1930s, Baker and Thompson (2014) state that academics have been interested in the Old Spanish Trail that is a component of the corridor. The discuss Warren's (1974) argument that some of the areas traversed by Fremont were different from previously used routes, and to argue that multiple travel routes are apparent within the lands traversed during the era the route was used by Mormon travelers. They also argue that because the Boy Scouts memorialized the route of John C. Fremont with memorial markers in 1964, that subsequent research academic and otherwise has done so with the presumption that the Boy Scout markers are positioned correctly. Because of

Baker and Thompson's (1974) continued research from multiple lines of enquiry, they found additional route segments that were not currently identified but that had been identified on GLO maps and subsequently dismissed by researchers.

This example also provides a specific methodology for survey, identification, recordation, and evaluation of the travel corridor. Outer track widths of the road as well as inner track measurements were taken, roadbed assessment to determine assessment of road use in discreet sections, and artifacts near the feature were dated and recorded to help assess the temporality of the road section. Track widths as well as wear on rocks including polish, abrasions, abrading, and battering were identified and documents which helps assess the type and quantities of wagons and/or vehicles using specific tracts of the road. Because one event succeeding another use obliterated much of the earlier use, the mapping and interpretation of the travel corridor took a great deal of consideration, time, and ground-truthing. A broader issue within this work concerned the varying cultural understandings of trails and roads and what they mean to the people using them, the experience of understanding them later. To this, Baker and Thompson (2014) state that it is important to not attempt to make the maps or descriptions fit with our preconceived ideas of their locations.

Snead (2011:479) discusses some of the useful aspects of modern technology such as GIS but finds more compelling the issue of paths that primarily exist as a linear feature on historic maps and/or in the imaginations of those have memorializes the passages. Snead (2011:485) discusses the symbolism of constructed military roads as "roads of control," and argues that such features not only serve a utilitarian and administrative function but also serve as an ideological marker.

Snead (2011:486) examines the spatial differentiation made between trails and destinations. Within archaeological research trails have been designated interspace between destinations. Snead argues that the trail has value in its own right. He (2011:486) states:

Indeed, many landscape perspectives argue that place and path are oppositional (e.g. Tilley 1994). From that perspective, paths are spatial – scalar, content-free links connecting meaningful places. But, of course, paths are built, or at least established, embellished and maintained with the correlative investment of meaning. As we move, we respond – physically, culturally – to terrain, vegetation, people, boundaries, etc. Routes are selected on the basis of such responses, which, when shared in context and over time, produce paths, along which travelers engage a common set of meanings in the landscape through which they pass. Paths are also – in definition bending fashion – inhabited.

For archaeologists researching linear features, those features are the destination. Snead et al. (2009:2) discuss the issue of definition and scale in terms of recording trail and road features. They argue that traditional methods used to define archaeological sites and features are less likely to be successful with trail corridors. They describe the discontinuous and segmented elements of archaeological landscapes of movement as difficult to grapple with for even the most flexible researcher (2009:3). Snead et al. (2009:3) use the term “landscapes of movement” to encompass trail, paths, and roads discussions. They support a methodology consisting of reconnaissance survey, intensive survey, remote sensing, GIS, and subsurface testing excavation. Additional approaches mentioned include modeling and graph analysis to define accessibility. Predictive modeling also available through ArcGIS applications is now available and likely a quicker opportunity for predictive modeling than those described by Snead et al. (2009:13-17) consider a variety of theoretical interpretations kin to other researchers

surveyed including: political economy, phenomenology and spatial theory, practice theory and structuration, ethnography, cultural evolutionary, ritual and memory, and cosmological organization of the landscape.

There has been limited relative interest in the study of linear archaeological features. This may in part be due to linear features often being difficult to identify, and require more administrative and coordination effort, but it could also be that a perception exists they have less information to offer. On the contrary, they have enormous potential to increase our understanding at a landscape level.

Our tribal people have managed our landscapes through our reciprocal relationship interactions since time immemorial. Our Ancestors knew our homelands even more intimately than we do today, despite our best efforts to maintain relationships. Our families hold oral histories of long-distance travel that stretch into deep history. Our well-traveled trails eventually often became military routes, then wagon roads, and eventually in some cases, highways and interstates. We have continued relationship with these places despite Settler-Colonialist appropriation of our linear features. Oftentimes, we have Ancestral remains and heritage to protect along these corridors. Because our trails were used for millennia by many generations, we have intense ongoing relationships with the landscapes along these corridors as well. We work to ensure our voices are included in CRM evaluations of such places.

Topical research themes for studying trails

Topical research themes in trails research typically concern an event or era of use of a corridor for a variety of purposes. Movement of people, equipment, or merchandise

are some of the primary trail types. Exploratory routes and trails, migration routes, corridors associated with movement of troops, and trade networks are research themes that typically involve trail or road features. The importance of linear features such as trails and historic roads is often referenced to trade, economy, and power relations. Discussion of the ideological and metaphysical attributes of linear feature analysis is relatively recent. Another type of trail concerns borderland trails and illicit smuggling network trails that attempt to avoid governmental surveillance. Dzuvichu (2013) discusses this in terms of the Naga Hills, India, during colonization. The road building served both to allow the colonialist government access to remote areas, but also served as a symbol of state control, and the illicit borderland trails symbolize resistance to colonization, but also to counter efforts at subordination.

Trails used for migration, tourism, religious practice, or commerce versus population movements accompanying conflict and violence often leave very different archaeological signatures. There are quickly identifiable differences in the way a probability model might be developed depending upon the type of linear feature being researched and the specific known or hypothesized uses it had. For instance, with a freely moving population that had no identifiable encumbrances to land use, one would expect that linear features associated with their use of the land would take the shortest route between two points, or at least the path of least resistance between two points. Other environmental factors such as availability of water and other resources along the route may also be factored into consideration. Such models do not, however, explain other factors that come into play such as varied land control and access in a region, potential unknown benefits to taking a longer route. In some historic railroad and wagon road

contracts in the west, the longer the road, the more land the contractor received as a deliverable, so the roads were in many cases unnecessarily long, and detoured through the prime real estate. Forced movement along specific linear corridors may have seemingly unexplainable detours, and taking into consideration the number of people, animals, and equipment types and quantities would better guide a research effort. In times of war, movement may have no discernable pattern at all. In such instances, archived military records and enlisted men's journals, along with official military dispatches would guide a research design. Other environment and/or seasonality factors that may not be easily evidenced in today's conditions, also should be considered as potential factors in movement across the landscape.

Berry (2008:3) discusses the efforts of cultural geographers to be more inclusive of and collaborative with Indigenous peoples. She cites the critical importance of this interactive work to increase consciousness of cross-cultural understanding of use of space occurs. The suggestion of "mainstreaming" (Berry 2008:2) Indigenous ways of knowing lands into the theory and method of geography is akin to the efforts of Indigenous archaeologists in their field of study. There is much potential for collaboration between the researchers in each discipline.

Ferguson et al. (2004:1) discuss the problems expressed by some Hopi trying to preserve and protect the ideological markers on the landscape within their "Hopitutskwa" homelands. Subtle trails imbued with highly valued cultural meaning and value exists across the landscape but because of colonization, appropriation of tribal land, and a lack of access, these important features are not being protected sufficiently. Additionally, because of the lack of access, many contemporary Hopi have lost explicit knowledge of

the exact locations of some of these trails. Roads, mining, and other land development are quickly erasing these sacred and spiritual pathways. The Hopi have taken a multidisciplinary approach in documenting and protecting these important cultural elements, some of which are described as “umbilical cords that spiritually link Hopi villages with outlying shrines and sacred features on the landscape” (Ferguson et al. 2004:2). The Hopi trails also hold significance because of the Ancestors who have walked on and used them over the centuries, and trails are associated with sacred springs, shrines, and trail markers. Like many other places, those trails that were developed in conjunction with secular use have sometimes evolved into motorized routes as need called for it. Arizona state highway 264 is one such trail, as Ferguson et al (2004:4) state, it began as a foot trail and evolved into a wagon road. The wagon road later became a modern asphalt highway, although portions of the original foot trail are still apparent along aspects of the highway corridor.

The Hopi used aerial photography, ground verification, and historical and ethnographic information to help relocate trails (Ferguson et al. 2004:7). These documented sites recorded by the Hopi effort are firstly, important places for the Hopi, while coincidentally may also be archaeological sites, but not necessarily. The management of the data collected is left to the Hopi cultural preservation office so the Tribe can maintain access control of it (Ferguson et al. 2004:8).

There are several notable challenges in the research on linear features. Preservation of linear features is an issue with which researchers must continuously contend. Taphonomic processes always have some bearing on the identification and integrity of archaeological sites, but with large linear features and landscapes, there is

more opportunity for loss of contextual data. Places that continue to be good for travel routes will be used repeatedly with each subsequent use affecting evidence of earlier uses. Obtaining access to some tracts of land can be restrictive to research. Projects occurring exclusively or primarily on public lands take coordination but typically don't have restricted access. Linear features that cross into private lands have the potential to be more problematic. The research focus may sometimes also be an issue. If the linear feature is within a country that does not support the type of research questions being asked, administrative controls may impede such research. The effort to look at the phenomenological aspects of linear features is relatively recent, at least within archaeology. Drawing on the efforts of Indigenous communities, cultural geographers, and other collaborators should allow for a broadening of this topic in the future. There is also a lack of consideration for protection of trails that are locally or regionally important which is a major gap in trails preservation.

Cultural landscapes that connect more visible and well-known archaeological sites such as forts and cities have future potential to inform understandings of human experiences. Our historical understanding of archaeological sites will be enhanced through greater understanding of how landscape level thinking and interaction affects people's decision making. The material record has much to offer if we are able to take a macro-approach to the cultural relationships represented in the assemblages. Moving beyond the physicality of material objects to consider the ideological contexts within which they were created, employed, and deposited within the Earth is also a critically important avenue for future consideration. Likewise, linear features may hold significance to people for a variety of reasons beyond our current understanding and it is

important to always hold the door open for broader potentialities. The value and meaning attributed to archaeological features by archaeologists, is likely very different than the value and meaning attributed by people that built and used those features. Ananchev (2013) stresses the importance of defining the relationships between people and their landscape to determine agency and perception. Such concepts allow for the phenomenological aspects of cultural sites, including linear features, to be considered. Identification of the physical attributes of a linear archaeological feature is important but so is identifying any associated metaphysical or ideological attributes. While difficult to ascertain in many instances, the search for the cultural meaning of trails and roads beyond economic and/or administrative purposes remains a worthwhile endeavor. Cultural resource management (CRM), particularly in the US, has embraced preservation and public education efforts toward linear features that represent migrations that were hallmarks of American history. Many of the trail and road features cross multiple governmental and administrative properties engaging multiple landowners to interact in trail management processes.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I identified the prevailing academic theories and methods guiding identification, evaluation, and protection, of linear features. I discussed the theory and methods supporting archaeological efforts to preserve, protect, and make accessible, linear archaeological features. In examining the academic and management literature, the importance of having interdisciplinary, and cross-cultural collaborations are obvious. The material and immaterial components of these features should be viewed from as many

vantage points as possible. The concepts of time and memory need to be explored cross-culturally in these preservation and memorialization considerations. The quantifiable and qualitative aspects of linear features should be considered, recognized, and accounted for in academic research and landscape and feature land management practices. This effort should include theoretical considerations and practical methods for protecting features related to cultural resources on and within the landscape.

Chapter VI: Lessons from Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow

Introduction

On January 2nd, 1879, in knee deep snow, a brutal forced march of Bannock War survivors commenced. Over 500 souls were forcibly led from their homelands in eastern Oregon and marched over the course of a month to Fort Simcoe, Washington on the Yakama Indian Reservation. The people, some barely clothed due to the deprivations of the Bannock War, braved the hostile elements and military. The men, forcibly separated from their families, were marched under heavy guard walking in shackles (Johnson, 1989:11). Women and children were loaded into metal wagons and traveled huddled together to try and maintain as much warmth as they could muster. Numerous people died and were killed during the journey. The march took the entire month of January. The freight wagons, used for the trek, were mostly privately owned and operated under contract with the federal government.

The march was brutal and of those that made it to Fort Simcoe (Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022), many of the victims perished in the coming days, weeks, and months from frostbite, sickness, and continued exposure due to inadequate clothing and shelter. The agent in charge of the Indians at Yakama, Agent Wilbur, had not been given any warning of the impending arrival of the POW victims (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013). Some of the captives were diverted to Fort Vancouver to await trial for charges associated with their alleged acts during the Bannock War. Others, at Fort Simcoe, took refuge in a building that has been described by our people as a wooden shed. The shed became our Ancestors' primary headquarters during their half a decade internment. A lucky few,

including one of my great grandparents, escaped Fort Simcoe, sneaking away, finding refuge with extended family on reservations in Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, and California. A danger existed in returning home due to some settler colonialists holding grudges from the earlier hostilities (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013). A few of the interned survivors chose to stay at the Yakama Reservation. Many of the remaining survivors and their descendants, born while in exile, left in mass in 1883. The largest contingent of exiled survivors making their way to our homelands, went to what is now Northern Nevada. They eventually joined the Shoshone living on the Duck Valley Indian Reservation (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013). Other surviving victims escaping Ft. Simcoe, immersed themselves into the tribal fabric of numerous reservations in Oregon, California, Idaho, Nevada, and beyond. Once home, our Ancestors at Wada Paa (Malheur Lake) managed to eke out an existence and eventually gained enough momentum to be federally recognized as the Burns Paiute Tribe via an executive order in 1968 (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b).

It is in the oral history of this tragedy that I found a deeper understanding of myself, my family, and people. On one of our many drives in the country during my youth, a relative shared with me what she had been told by her grandmother, one of the survivors of the forced prisoner of war march. Her voice got shaky as she told the story, pointing to specific places in the landscape that held horrific memories. I listened and cried as I received the knowledge. From those invaluable lessons of our history, I committed to learning more from anyone who would share. I am a lifelong student of our Ma ne pu neen. The seeds of our project were planted and are now being sown. The combined efforts among the OAWS project team are to evaluate our methods and outcomes from the perspective of our Ma ne pu neen. The project reporting presented

here is from my own perspective and I take sole responsibility for any mistakes or omissions in my retelling of events.

Numerous discrepancies exist between the official and firsthand experiential accounts of the forced march including how many people were involved, the number of lives lost, and the distance of the march. The specific route during this military action also remains in question.

Defining Words and Phrases

Our people refer to the Bannock War Prisoner of War Trail, or the Malheur Prisoner of War trail, but most often the Paiute Trail of Tears, when speaking of this era of our history. The tragic removal of the Indigenous people of the Northern Great Basin has never held a commonly accepted descriptor. I have used these terms interchangeably during previous discussions. In the fall of 2017, the inaugural convening of descendants occurred at Burns, Oregon, Attendees came to collaborate on how to protect our shared history while honoring our Ancestors. The convenors spent the first day on a field trip along a portion of the southernmost extent of the removal corridor. We shared with one another their relationship to the heartbreaking circumstances our Ancestors endured.

Together, the convenors by consensus agreed to name the project *Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow* (OAWS). We discussed making a subsequent effort to translate the intent of that English title to Paiute. Since languages often do not have a direct and complete translative word, the title continues to need time and discussion to achieve an adequate translation.

A note on the ethnicity of the exiled forced march victims. Captives were survivors of the Bannock Campaign, now commonly referred to as the Bannock War, but most of the prisoners were not Bannock Indians. They were predominantly Northern Paiute people with some Western Shoshone and Bannock people included. Each of these three cultural groups have sanguine and sociocultural affinities from millennia of intermarriage and neighborly interaction throughout the northern and eastern peripheries of the Great Basin. During this era, the Settler-Colonialists commonly referred to each of these tribal groups collectively as Digger or Snake Indians, as discussed in previous chapter.

Assessing a Safe Place for our Work

There are many considerations when attempting to research a highly sensitive historic tragedy. OAWS Project is important for numerous reasons. For archaeological and cultural resource management (CRM) purposes, identifying the physical corridor is important. Being able to manage the linear feature appropriately is a fundamental duty of land managers. Addressing the full identification of the metaphysical footprint of the removal corridor is also critically important for CRM and other purposes. It is important to fully identify the phenomenologically felt corridor so that the spirits of the people that lost their lives are honored and the subsequent energy that was deposited in those places is protected. are acknowledged and honored. Acknowledgement of the unspeakable acts that took place needs to occur, particularly so we never allow such atrocities to happen again. When we do our duty to our Ancestors, healing will happen, and it has already begun.

A primary aspect of making sure the project remains collaborative is to facilitate conversations and other interactions that ensure all the stakeholders who have expressed an interest in collaborating have an opportunity to communicate their approval of proposed actions. These collaborative discussions include seeking consensus for the proposed scope of the research, as well as the proposed methods to be employed within the research. Our collaborative group determines where physically we interact with the corridor, and how much access, if any, we allow to the project by others. We monitor our decisions and activities and then reflect on our work. Our progress is slow in comparison to a traditional Western scientific academic research endeavor, but it is just the right pace for us as we thoughtfully advance our efforts.

At the onset of my doctoral work, the plan was to make finding the physical and hopefully metaphysical removal corridor my central research topic. It became evident over the course of our research, which would not be able to effectively gauge the scope of potential adverse outcomes that publication of our research could bring. In Chapter X, I provide discussion of ethical considerations archaeologists would do well to methodologically evaluate throughout a research project. I would never forgive myself if I caused harm to our Ancestors. Therefore, I am sharing my experience of the OAWS research efforts to date, as a self-reflexive inquiry, and my greater dissertation scope and research question concerns broader issues in Great Basin heritage management as they relate to our Neme and our Ma ne pu neen.

Ground Zero

While many tribal communities have members of their membership who hold descendancy from OAWS, The Burns Paiute Tribe has been the closest keeper of memories to where the tragedy unfolded. A recent Burns Paiute tribal government resolution, set aside the entire month of January each year for a time of memorial and remembrance to the struggle, death, and survival of our people (Burns Paiute Tribe 2023). What follows herein is an overview of the experience that has been the OAWS Project to date.

The OAWS Project goals currently include compiling all the data related to the prisoner of war march, and to recount, contextualize, and illuminate the family histories to the degree individual convenors want those histories documented. To collaboratively grow our reconnections among the families that were torn from one another and whose lives changed forever. The OAWS Project diaspora continues to heal and plan for future efforts together. The OAWS descendants are the true owners of the primary intellectual property of the research scope. Our efforts also led to a historic Indigenous collaborative archaeological field school discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII. We are proud of the decolonial work we have completed thus far. The OAWS Project is blazing a new trail concerning social justice and archaeological research. This inquiry has been unorthodox by traditional archaeological research standards.

Everything, for our traditional Neme (Northern Paiute People) revolves around adherence to our Ma ne pu neen. Our unwritten laws encompass our history, ontology, epistemology, ethics, and so on and so forth. Since the conception of the OAWS Project, we have evaluated each of our actions through the lens of our Ma ne pu neen. Because of

the positioning of our work, the outcomes meet social justice needs and have been collaborative and transparent to and for our participants. A project our convenors can stand behind, for, and with as we continue to honor our Ancestors, our culture, and our future as the Indigenous people of these lands.

The people Indigenous to the Northern Great Basin are the experts and rightful inheritors of their histories and heritage both post-contact and deep history spanning Millenia. For our Burns Paiute people, our traditional culture and oral history speak of how we emerged in our lands with the assistance of the other beings that made this landscape their home. The relationships practiced and honored prior to the incursion of the recent Settler-Colonialists, sustained our people and the nonhuman persons in our ecosystem since time immemorial. Times were not always easy, but they were in symbiosis. Our unwritten laws have sustained our people for Millenia. The geographic landscapes and seasonal weather cycles are also part of that relationship. Our people find predictability and reliability so long as we maintain ethical standing concerning our Ma ne pu neen, by holding up our end of the reciprocal relationship. The ability to effectively carry out this symphony of interaction was severely adversely impacted by settler colonialist incursions beginning for us in the early 19th century, as discussed in Chapter IV.

The importance of the legacy of colonialist philosophies, policies, and actions since at least 1492, and everything that came after cannot be understated. As mentioned above, it has become apparent that due to the continued legacy of colonialist oppression in law, policy, and practice, it is not currently safe from a traditional Northern Paiute cultural practitioners' perspective, to bring detailed data of such a sensitive topic to the

forefront of the Western academic gaze. Our current understanding of the potential harm our well-intended project could bring if pursued without adherence to our Ma ne pu neen, has become increasingly apparent. Our research team has encountered people who refuse to contain their own curiosity about our history. This is especially troubling when researchers write and publish about our tribal intellectual property while intentionally circumventing our legislatively approved research permitting process (2013b). In such instances, individuals have used their White privilege to continue to speak for us. We cannot say that individuals pursuing such research are intentionally trying to harm our families, but it is apparent they proceed with entitlement and arrogance pervasive among practitioners of Western culture. White privilege is a pervasive reality for us all, and the objectification of colonized people is second nature to majority culture. In what other contexts of modernity would it be acceptable to write about the lives of your friends and neighbors without conferring with them first? It is respectfully asked that our history and our Ancestors' lived experiences not be appropriated by those seeking personal fame and/or fortune from the telling of our stories.

At the beginning of the OAWS Project journey, we went to as many communities as would have us to seek permission for this work knowing that if even one descendant did not want the research done, we would not pursue the work. This level of consent is in keeping with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (United Nations 2007) and inherently is in keeping with our Ma ne pu neen. Yet, even with the greatest attempts at full-disclosure and transparency, we find that our efforts have been repeatedly circumvented by individuals emboldened with their sociopolitical positionality, to tell our history. It is from this experience; we find ourselves without

safety despite having developed operating rules amongst ourselves toward consensus and transparency.

I find it troubling yet somewhat ironic that I find myself in the same general predicament as a researcher that I did when I attempted my first dissertation in archaeology at the University of Oregon. In that instance, I was unable to find adequate participation in the interviews and anonymous questionnaires attempting to examine the scope and depth of relationships between First Nations communities in British Columbia, Canada, and compared to the same between tribal groups and archaeologists in the western United States. I was also plagued at that time with a paucity of peer-reviewed publications speaking of the issues which I hoped to address.

Fast forward a quarter century and there exists a delightful quantity of published work to cite on past and present topics concerning decolonizing archaeology. A prevailing concern, however, is the disclosure of sensitive tribal knowledge to the academic community. This concern has put the brakes on moving forward with the Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow as the central focus of the investigation. This is not for lack of intentional design. Our research team and the project convenors have taken great effort to protect as much of the information as is needed to stay true to our commitment of protecting the physical and metaphysical integrity of the forced march trail corridor. Perhaps my own naiveté kept me from fully comprehending the level of disclosure that would be required to complete my dissertation on this subject. When I realized the lack of control, I would have over future uses of the disclosures made, coupled with the overwhelming responsibility to protect community, the decision to error on the side of caution has been easy at which to arrive. Our Elders teach us “do not to tell them

anything,” when interacting with researchers seeking information about our people. Our communities have a commonly held understanding of the harms that come from sharing too much with anthropologists (personal communications Tribal Elders). While many inroads have been made to build relationships between the archaeological and Indigenous communities, many of the core issues of inequality linger. It is also from this experience that I have concluded we are continuing to live our walk of sorrow as colonized people. I believe entitlement has kept Western academics from having to fully consider the indirect harm potentially resulting from their research. Below I provide additional discussion to illuminate some of these connections between anthropology and archaeology as they relate to continuing sociopolitical and socioeconomic issues.

The same stereotypes and predispositions about tribal people in the United States have continuously brought death and destruction to our people. One need gaze no further than the Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative (Department of Interior 2024a) revelations or the missing and murdered Indigenous women and people epidemic to understand that the lens from which anthropology created the early narratives of our people, continues to place us as lesser beings deserving of fewer considerations than mainstream society. Leading 19th century anthropologists with their classifications and Western scientific inquiries left us with very little standing as competent humans. Indeed, such professional anthropological work led to a myriad of federal legislative acts that created such initiatives as the boarding school system and served as the impetus for legislators to bring forth the Dawes and Allotment Acts, among others (Blackhawk 2008). The truth of the matter is anthropology has continued to inform every aspect of tribal life since contact and is still employed to determine many aspects of federal tribal

funding we receive as well as having a role in which Tribes successfully cross the threshold of being recognized by the federal government.

Working in Collaboration Toward Decoloniality

The OAWS Project has been collaborative since day one. The co-principles of the project, Sarah Cowie and I, conceived a historic collaborative archaeological project that we thought would serve a social justice outcome. We contacted numerous current day tribal communities to seek an invite to come and share the initial outline of the proposal. At each community where I received an invitation, I provided an overview of the proposed work. The presentations were conducted to ensure we had the support of those prisoners of war descendants who wanted to have a voice in the decision-making process. Sarah and I agreed that if we had even one descendant object to the project, we would not pursue it. Our visits to the various tribal communities resulted in only voices of support for the effort. Since then, every aspect of the work, including the scope, the methods, and the culturally appropriate way the work should be carried out, including any prohibitions, has been talked through to consensus by our participants.

The conveners are whoever attends a particular OAWS get together and is descendent. The composition changes and has grown over time. The first conveners we hosted were in Burns, Oregon. There were folks from numerous related tribal communities. We had about sixteen people that were there, almost all Elders at that time, and most attendees descend from of prominent historic tribal leadership.

Then the next convening was in Reno in 2019, and we had some of the same folks come from Oregon, California, and Nevada Tribes, but we also had community members

from additional Great Basin communities, plus tribal students and community from the Reno metropolitan area. There was a snowstorm at that time, so some of our regular convenors could not attend. We provided follow-up info to those missing attendees. After our in-person convening in Reno, the pandemic erupted and caused us to reassess how we could continue to make progress together while separated. We held two virtual convenings via zoom to update convenors about the post-field school reporting progress and advancements on removal corridor research. While in-person is always preferred for such important conversations, we did have a greater attendance at the virtual convenings.

We continue to welcome new participation and are honored by the continued participation of people who have taken the time to contribute to this work so meaningful for our Ancestors and future generations. We have lost several Elders, now Ancestors, who participated from the beginning and who expressed their ardent desire for us to carry on together. The shared goal is to memorialize the struggles of our Ancestors both to honor them for all they endured to carry our people forward, but also so that our future generations and the world would know the full history of what happened not so long ago.

The OAWS Project has also resulted in, at the request of the descendant convenors, a collaborative historic archaeology field school that I instructed and was comprised solely of tribal member students in 2019. This is to our knowledge the first archaeological field school of its kind in the United States, perhaps North American, but certainly so for the Western Great Basin.

The ability to design an archaeological field school that takes into consideration our Ma ne pu neen made all the difference to the students. Many of the descendants of the forced military march participating in the OAWS Project are also Elders in their

respective tribal communities. There is a shared sense of responsibility to make sure the hardships of that brutal march are not forgotten. It is equally important to the conveners that memorial to those who suffered so much, including those who died during the march, is acknowledged. Furthermore, the OAWS Project participants see the value in training our own tribal people to perform various archaeological techniques and to know the reasoning and Western science driving archaeological work being done in our homelands both as research and as CRM. The OAWS Project is also unique in the level of decoloniality it demonstrates. Sarah, a non-Native associate professor well positioned to achieve all the academic accolades and promotions someone of her talents could quickly acquire, has without pause chosen to help empower our tribal people. Christina McSherry, one of Sarah's advisees, also non-Native, has been an integral OAWS project team member as well. Christina chose to accept the risk of pursuing her PhD tied to a project that sits on the fringe of what is common for mainstream archaeology. Happily, I saw her complete her degree (McSherry, 2022). Additionally, our OAWS Project tribal descendant participants asked Sarah, Christina, and I not publish any specifics of our research efforts. When the group may approve future publication is currently undecided. This of course is a different approach than standard academic discourse, but it does incorporate multivocality in a meaningful way, helps equalize the control and voice within the project, and is an effort toward social justice in this research.

For all these reasons and more, I find it necessary to modify the primary research question of this dissertation to ask: *How might archaeology overcome its colonialist and ethnocentric foundations to become valuable cross-culturally?*

We are continuing these convenings and plan to for long after my current academic efforts have concluded. While the memorialization of Our Ancestors Walk of Sorrow is critically important to all our tribal communities with descendants of that horrific action, it is also critically important to engage in activism within the OAWS Project to decolonize archaeology. Our fight as living tribal communities to achieve primacy, or at least equality, in decision-making concerning our Ancestors, heritage, and culture. We also need control over the stereotypes academic researchers create and perpetuate about our people to contemporary society. To do nothing means acquiescing to the perpetuation of our oppression. This project provides an opportunity for descendants of the 1879 Prisoner of War forced march to reclaim their history. We are reclaiming the platform for creating our own cultural knowledge. The OAWS Project will evaluate multiple knowledge standpoints, and we give each their proper opportunity to address the research questions at hand. As a byproduct of this collaborative work, new and renewed connections between descendants of the forced march are growing. Renewing relationships and planning is underway to honor those who died on the removal trail as well as those people that survived. Such memorialization promises to help heal intergeneration wounds and give agency and voice to those silenced by state colonization and 160 years of assimilation efforts. Given the amount of work our team has completed, coupled with the desire exhibited by descendent community convenors to continue the work of compiling all we can about the experiences of our Ancestors, we will continue the OAWS Project long after the conclusion of this dissertation. Institutionalized power controls have historically silenced the voices and perspectives of Indigenous people around the world. Overcoming the yoke of colonialism in the United

States, and the resulting intergenerational trauma as well as ongoing subjugation as of tribal peoples as wards of the federal government has taken time.

Phenomenological consideration of the removal trail corridor will also be discussed and evaluated by the collaborators. The corridor trail project will provide a model for potential future intergovernmental resource protection collaboration.

Chapter VII: Issues in Great Basin Historic Preservation One Practitioner's Considerations (University of Utah Press)

Introduction

I was invited to participate in the plenary session of the Great Basin Anthropological Conference held in Las Vegas, Nevada. Later, many of the papers presented in the session were published as the University of Utah Anthropological Papers (Fowler et al. 2018).

Bringing the Discourse Home: Issues in Great Basin Historic Preservation

To contemporary Western culture, the Great Basin is one of the richest regions for archaeological information in the Americas, yet many Indigenous Great Basin peoples do not see the material culture of the past as the “archaeological record.” It is more often viewed as tribal heritage toward which living tribal people have a moral imperative to protect. Furthermore, for many Tribes, cultural resources include not only the material record of the past, but also air, water, plants, animals, minerals, and other aspects of a landscape. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA 1966) definition of cultural resources is narrow, and because that is often the primary impetus for consultation, lingering dissatisfaction of the efficacy of historic preservation practices result. Cultural resources are critical, finite, and invaluable assets needing greater protection. When all stakeholders are engaged in meaningful dialogue, collaborations leading to greater resource protection often result. Some cultural preservation efforts in the northern Great Basin are examined.

The Wadatika Neme are currently the northernmost band of Northern Paiute peoples. Our tribal histories as invoked by our people through family stories and oral histories span Millennia (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997). In fact, our people understand that we have been in our lands since time immemorial, and some Neme assert the Harney Basin as an origin or beginning place of all Northern Paiute peoples. The Wadatika share a common language and history with the other Neme or Numu bands of the Great Basin. As Indigenous people of the Northern Great Basin, we are taught that living Wadatika people have a moral imperative to protect our Ancestors, our lands, and our way of life. We are charged with protecting what has come before for what will become in the future. Our people have always sought to protect our Ancestors, lands, and heritage, as all these things are interdependent and cyclical.

Through all the hardships since contact including military extermination campaigns (Lewis 2016), and war which culminated in the removal and exile of our people from the Great Basin for a time, our people have held the knowledge of our need to protect all of what is a part of us.

For contemporary Western culture, the Great Basin is one of the richest regions for archaeological information in the Americas. Some of the oldest and most well-preserved evidence of humans and human culture in the Americas exists within the aboriginal homelands of Neme (Numu) people. Since the Wadatika assert our existence in our lands since time immemorial, it has been no great surprise for us that archaeological evidence (Gilbert et al. 2008; O'Grady et al. 2012) also suggests ancient human occupation in the Great Basin.

As my community continues to strive to protect our heritage, we struggle to minimize the degree to which the American public's fascination with artifact hunting affects our important places. We are working with various law enforcement agencies to curb the looting that often goes hand in hand with the illicit drug trade, we are working to support conservation archaeology that reduces the permanent "displacement" of our material heritage to repositories, and we are seeking additional public outreach opportunities to help teach non-Natives about our living culture.

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA 1966) and other pertinent legislation, policies, Executive Orders, and Solicitor's opinions, have helped to strengthen protections for tribal cultural resources. The Burns Paiute however, like many other Tribes, has felt the burden of finding capacity within our administrative and legislative bodies to fully engage in review and compliance processes. This engagement is critically important, so we do the very best we are able despite very limited resources. The Burns Paiute assert the material culture should remain where it was initially deposited whenever possible, and the removal of individual aspects of the material record from its origin is extremely troubling and creates adverse effects to our cultural landscapes (Burns Paiute Resolution 2013-17). While the ideal of protecting "cultural resources" is something I believe everybody can support, cross-culturally, words, their meanings, their intent, and their application, often muddle communication. We strive to be understood.

My tribal community has never until recently referred to the material culture of our past as the "archaeological record." My community views the material record as an aspect of tribal cultural heritage with memories and relationships unto itself, as well as

containing blood ties and active social affinities to living tribal people (Teeman 2008). Because of the harsh post-contact history my community experienced (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997; Stowell 2008), coupled with a lack of political voice for a time due to a lack of formal federal recognition, and regrettable academic theories that attempt to divorce my tribal community from the material record of our past, we struggle to communicate with efficacy, our concerns.

The earliest stories of outside researchers coming to document our culture are now part of our oral history. Anthropologists such as Beatrice Blythe-Whiting (1950), Olmer Stewart (1941), and Marilyn Couture (1974), among others, helped preserve in written form some of our practices and beliefs.

In the early days of cultural resource management consultation interactions, puzzlement was voiced within my tribal community as to why agencies and researchers would come to our community and ask for our opinions about protection of places and yet the resulting decisions and actions rarely appeared to consider or mitigate our concerns. Little evidence was offered to show that our concerns had been included in the resulting management and implementation of projects at hand. In many cases, the process seemed to be nothing more than lip service. We in our community discussed how we could help bridge the chasm of cross-cultural misunderstanding that often-curtailed effective communication. We also realized we needed to better understand the broader sociopolitical processes in play to have a stronger voice within them. Our organically derived strategy has been to train some of our people to navigate the spaces “in-between” what we know, and what was being told us by *Others*. In 1984, our tribal leadership began seeking training opportunities for our youth in cultural resource management at the

local United States Forest Service (USFS), Malheur and Ochoco National Forests. Further engagement in this process included having tribal members obtain training and employment in cultural resource management at the local Bureau of Land Management (BLM) district as well. While this effort provided both a source of income for the individual participants and an opportunity to share our culture with those managing our traditional lands, it soon became clear that cultural resource management as federally mandated was not inclusive enough to meet the concerns of our tribal community.

For our tribal community, cultural resources include not only what anthropologists define as the archaeological record, but also: air, water, plants, animals, minerals, and other considerations of the present (Burns Paiute Tribe 2006). Because of the inherent continued responsibilities, the Burns Paiute community and Tribe have in addition to our traditional protection methods we have turned to enacting tribal legislation and policy to further reify the Tribe's position on heritage protection.

In addition to the federal and state laws that address tribal heritage concerns, and because those laws aren't tailored to the specific needs of our tribal community, the Burns Paiute Tribe (2007) adopted our Burns Paiute Cultural Code. The Code defines cultural resources from the Tribe's perspective and identifies federal and tribal laws and penalties for cultural resources on trust lands. Similarly, an Aboriginal Lands Protection Policy (2006) was approved by the Burns Paiute Tribe that delineates the Tribe's position on cultural resource management issues and establishes protocols to address various situations including inadvertent discoveries of Native American human remains. The Policy also provides a position on and a tribal application procedure for research activities occurring within our jurisdiction and/or concerning our intellectual property.

Finally, a legislated process was established for expediting review and compliance of the hundreds of federal undertakings and state projects notices is tribally legislated wherein some authorities of government-to government consultation are delegated to the Culture & Heritage Director. We are also anticipating recognition as a Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) in 2017, to address trust lands heritage protection issues specifically. Our Cultural Code and Aboriginal Lands Protection Policies each call for a Cultural Advisory Committee (BPTCAC) which serves to assist the Cultural Director with identifying which undertakings may be detrimental to heritage resources. The advisory committee is comprised of elder members of the Tribe. Our culture and heritage protection efforts are not unlike many other Tribes across the United States. At least some of the larger Tribes are making great strides toward efforts in their homelands. As a small tribal community of approximately 200 people residing on our reservation, we are grateful for the advances we have made toward protecting our heritage. Several experiences related to our efforts are now provided.

Mining and Heritage Protection

Prior to the 1990s, our Tribe didn't have to worry about a lot of corporate open pit mining. But in the mid1990s, a mining claim brought about the initiation of a federal undertaking in one of the Burns Paiute Tribe's sacred landscapes (Burns Paiute Tribe 1995). The direct Area of Potential Effect (APE), contained within it: prayer related stone features, lithic scatters, temporally diagnostic projectile points, and an obsidian source. The surrounding landscape contained all those same attributes, as well as known human remains in numerous loci across the landscape. The antiquated federal General Mining

Act (1872) loomed large over our efforts to protect a sacred space. After discussions with attorneys and regular dialogue with land managers, the project proponent, and the other related Tribes, it was concluded that there was no way to avoid destruction of the sacred attributes of this location, the Tribes moved to do what we believed was the best that could be made of a horrible situation. We used this tragedy as an opportunity to strengthen our ability to protect our heritage resources in future undertakings. Specifically, the Tribes negotiated annual scholarships as part of the mitigation to send our tribal members to archaeological and/or geoarchaeological field school. While this case represents a great loss for our people, we were able to salvage something positive from the rubble. The two tribal members, who first took advantage of the scholarship opportunities in 1995, are now employed by our Tribe and actively engaged in heritage management protection. Others who have completed the field schools serve as archaeological technicians and cultural monitors for our Tribe. While we would always choose preservation in such instances, we were able to gain tools to prepare us for the future. Until cultural resource protection measures increase to supersede historic mining claim law, and/or until Tribes are successful in removing sacred landscapes from mineral entry, the issue of mining versus heritage will continue.

Tribal Traditional Cultural Properties

Telecommunication tower development was proposed at a location the Burns Paiute Tribe (2013b) has designated as a tribal Traditional Cultural Property (TCP). Despite the Tribe's designation, an initial archaeological pedestrian survey concluded no cultural resources would be affected. A series of meetings between the project proponent,

land managers, and related Tribes led to the direct APE and a portion of the indirect APE being resurveyed with trained tribal members participating. Numerous sites were documented because of the second survey including prayer related stone features, power and medicine seeking attributes, lithic scatters, and temporally diagnostic projectile points. As a result of the resurvey and continued regular meetings between the project proponent, the land managers, and the related Tribes, an agreement to meet everyone's needs was established in the form of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). The Burns Paiute Tribe conducted an ethnographic study in support of documenting the importance of the landscape (Reed-Jerofke and Teeman 2017). The project proponent was able to reevaluate their plan to reduce adverse effects (no prayer related attributes will be effected), the land managers have a better understanding of the past, present, and future uses of the location and can improve land management practices in light of the knowledge, and the related Tribes have been included as equal participants in every pertinent conversation and decision made about the project and its proposed implementation. From our combined effort, an application for nomination of the location as a national landmark is being prepared.

Collaborative Research

News of an archaeological field school planned for Stewart Indian School came to me in the form of a flyer. Stewart Indian School is located beyond our aboriginal territory, but it is a place that some of our Ancestors and relatives experienced during the mandatory Indian boarding school era. The flyer was sent out to advertise positions and scholarships. As a member of a Great Basin Tribe with an advanced degree in

anthropology I was encouraged by someone I knew from another project to apply to assist at the field school. I have had less than positive experiences over the decades with projects billed as *collaborative*. When I met with the Principal Investigator, Dr. Sarah Cowie, she seemed genuinely intent upon making the Field school as collaborative as possible. Perhaps it was because Dr. Cowie reached out to tribal people at the very conception of a field school project to determine interest in collaboration, or perhaps it was because she engaged collaborators throughout the research design process holding regular meetings. Perhaps it was the communicative and empathetic nature of everyone involved, or that somehow the sum was greater than each of the parts. The result was an enriched experience from standard archaeological field schools.

The Stewart Project achieved a greater level of collaboration than anything I had experienced before in my 28 years in heritage management. It gave me renewed hope for the future of Great Basin heritage protection. Further details of this experience are chronicled in an edited volume (Cowie et al. 2019). The Stewart Indian School Historic Collaborative Historic Archaeological Field School was a collaborative heritage protection success.

I am now working with Dr. Cowie to collaboratively engage my own Tribe as well as others in the northern Great Basin in another collaborative historic research project that I hope will achieve parallel success to that of the Stewart experience.

Discussion

Landscapes that hold archaeological materials are often frequented to the current day by tribal people for a multitude of practices, ceremonies, and events that may or may

not be evidenced in the material record. In some instances, tribal heritage resources are not recognized by others because the cultural value and use is beyond the experience of the land manager or researcher. For these and other reasons such as federal and state mandates, it is critically important that land managers and researchers engage Tribes at the very inception of a research project or undertaking.

The fact that Indigenous communities can be known in the “living” realm, beyond what their Ancestors left in and on the ground should be celebrated. Consideration must be given, full disclosure must be made, and meaningful dialogue must be engaged. Cultural resources including but not limited to the material record of the past are critical, finite, and invaluable assets in need of greater protection by all people. Meaningful dialogue can and does occur more frequently when all stakeholders are engaged early and often in the process. Thank you to those researchers and cultural resource managers that understand these concepts and continue to move toward greater collaboration. You are setting the standard for what strong meaningful relationships in heritage protection can be and what can be achieved, together.

Chapter VIII: A Room with a View: Invited Concluding Remarks from the Oregon Historical Society 2022 Great Basin Symposium

Introduction

The dialogue expressed in this chapter is an edited adaptation, with additional discussion, of the closing comments given at the conclusion each day of a two-day symposium hosted by the Oregon Historical Society. Saturday, November 5, 2022, focused on Land & Resources/non-Human Relatives, and the presentation on Sunday, November 6th, 2022, centered on people and climate. I was invited to publish this chapter as part of a special edition of the Oregon Historical Society's Journal and am preparing this manuscript for publication. The Symposium, titled *Human Experience in OR Great Basin*, brought together presentations from submitted papers focusing on archaeological research in the Great Basin. The archaeological research presentations were book ended each day by tribal representation. Wilson Wewa Jr., an Elder from Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, Oregon, introduced the symposium topics each day positioning the discussions in terms of his experiences. Diane L. Teeman, a Burns Paiute tribal member and Director of her Tribe's Culture & Heritage Department, served as a concluding discussant at the end of each day's sessions.

Teeman Dialogue Introduction

I was very interested in all the presentations during the symposium. From my perspective, I listen for how well a research project meets the standards of traditional Western scientific methods, but I am also listening and watching for evidence the researcher is aware of and implementing any degree of collaboration in their research, or

even better, that they have graduated to implementing decolonial models in their work. My method these last two days has been to take notes down when there was something I wanted to touch back on. Traditional Northern Paiute practitioners approach the world differently than those immersed in mainstream western culture. I will speak about some of these differences as well as discuss some of the key issues we face in relation to the work of archaeologists and cultural resource managers.

Invisibility, Authenticity, and Representation

For various reasons, our Native people, even though we are still alive, are situated in the minds of the public as being part of the past, as being gone. This phenomenon, of being invisible, has allowed for others to fill the gap and assume the authority to speak on our behalf. Another possibility of how strange reality may be that it has been posited that we became inauthentic as tribal people when we strayed from doing things exactly as our Ancestors were doing when Settler-Colonialists first witnessed them. Since mainstream culture has discounted us or has deemed us as invisible, someone needed to fill the void. Enter the archaeologist. The task of an archaeological researcher being: “we came to this place, and we saw all these things, and we need to come up with an explanation for what we found because we are uniquely qualified to provide the explanation.” When that happens, when someone comes into your backyard and starts creating a narrative about you and your people, it can be frustrating, especially when there are political consequences for your living community as well as your Ancestors.

Decolonizing Archaeology

Anthropology and archaeology are born of colonialism, but I think that things are changing and improving. There are decolonization efforts, where there are archaeologists that do recognize that there are tribal communities that do continue to have an interest in our landscapes and should have a voice in what happens there. I really am appreciative for those archeologists that recognize that and do their best to make sure that we are involved in meaningful way. Until the power differential changes to give us more voice in our heritage concerns, we need allies willing to make space for us.

Cultural Resource Management

Culture resource management as traditionally practiced has rarely allowed for meaningful inclusion of tribal voices. It is a legal process. Sometimes it feels like, because of other forces in whatever agency it is managing a landscape, they are kind of just trying to get through their box, or check all the boxes, so that they can get their project accomplished. I think research archeologists, academics, have more freedom to be able to be collaborative and work at decolonizing efforts. I say that, although I think it is a bit of a double-edged sword, because of the way that academia works, and I have been in school since 1997. I took about a four-year break, so I feel like I have a little bit of experience in that arena. For those academics, those people that want to get tenure-track professorships, they need to toe the line to some degree. So whatever school they go to, wherever their advisors are, the strong theories in their school and discipline, if they go against those too much then they are not going to have much of a career. Then, even if they do get a tenure-track professorship at another university, they are not going to be

able to push the margins too much. I have observed both in academic departments and among land managers, tenure is elusive for those who are openly critical of the status quo.

Decolonization and Indigenization

The effort of decolonization must go hand in hand with Indigenizing. Trying to figure out how to make more space for Indigenous voices really is troubling yet critically important to make happen. There are places where it is happening. When I first started school there were, I could count all the Native American master's and doctoral archaeology students in the United States on my hands and toes. Now there is a proliferation. In that break, that half decade break I took, I came back, and I found all kinds of publications and all these students who were in graduate school that were Native that weren't there before. I think the more people there are in the classrooms, in the conferences, in the symposia that are talking about these difficult topics, the more people will question the status quo. A critical eye should be cast upon knowledge created about different cultures, or even more so, past cultures created by archaeologists.

Land Ontology

I already talked about the difference in the way that we interact with the landscape. I heard a term recently, *kinscape*. I have published (Teeman 2008) before, and some of our other community members have talked about the familial relationship that we have with our landscapes. The term *kinscape*, appears to capture the way that our culture, our traditional culture, relates to everything around us. Traditionally, we do not

have the right to own land, but we have ties to places as family. This necessitates we relate to places in a respectful way to sustain it, just as we help sustain our other family members.

I think that that relationship is why when people first came to this area, they said it was pristine and untouched even though there had been thousands and thousands of people that have lived here for thousands and thousands of years. Because ours is more of a walk lightly approach: “don’t take more than you give,” that type of thing. I wanted to share that because I feel like it is important in the way that we interact with these landscapes that are fragile. I was asked one time to define fragile as I am trying to use it in that term, and the only thing that I can say is that it is a delicate balance, is the way that I would put it, between how our humans take what we need, and we leave enough for everything else to also survive and thrive.

The Realities of Heritage

A big difference I have noticed also, in the way that archeologists (and I have an advanced degree in archeology) but, the way that archeologists and our people talk about the cultural items that our Ancestors have left behind. Ideology drives our traditional tribal people’s behavior, always. Archaeologists focus on the utilitarian form and use of items. They talk about the function of things a lot. For us, yes things also have a function, but the relationship with everything is carried out with honor, unless someone is simply a bad person. There are all kinds of practices that must go into everyday life.

I know the state and our Tribe have worked on what they call a ceremonial hunting permit process, and we were asked to define the term ceremony. We said, for our

Northern Paiute people, ceremony: life is ceremony. From the moment you wake up in the morning until the moment you go to bed, you are in ceremony. So, everything that you eat, that you are interacting with throughout the day is a part of that ceremony.

Western culture appears relatively segmented between the secular and the sacred. I am not trying to say our way is better. I recognize my own degree of ethnocentricity. My point though is that it is easy for me and people like me to recognize those cross-cultural differences. They are important to note, I think, because if we don't know what our differences are when we are at ground level talking about things, then everything we build will be artificial and incomplete when we are trying to communicate cross-culturally.

Archaeologists, by nature of the subdiscipline, focus on material objects. In the Great Basin particularly, a focus on the functionality of objects, while ideological attributes or values are less likely considered. Practically and broadly speaking, archaeologists are not qualified to unilaterally assign ideological values to objects and landscapes, the acknowledgement that items do carry with them ideological value must be a central caveat to any interpretation. Anthropologists, in their sorting and pigeonholing as they classify objects and cultures, typically assign value to specific items from their own experience of living and understanding of reality. Anthropologists' understanding of such items are based on their own sensory perceptions, their own cultural and life experiences, and the training and educational lenses from which they emerged. The adequacy and accuracy of an anthropologist's evaluation of an item, or an assemblage, or landscape, is only as good as the degree to which that anthropologist's reality is akin to the reality of the person and culture from which that item came. There

are material objects that people leave as offerings and archaeologists have little to no insight into what an offering looks like. Offerings vary from situation to situation. I'll use an example. When people go out and collect medicine, a lot of times they will leave a piece of thread there. They will leave other things too, including prayer things that won't be saved in the archeological record, but they leave things as an offering. This is one of the concerns that our community, our tribal community, has about collection of items. We understand that just like how we leave offerings, our people have always left offerings. Those things are meant to stay where they were deposited. It is often difficult for us, if not impossible to know, well, did this fall out of somebody's pocket or is this an offering? While we as tribal people have some level of insight and are taught to err on the side of caution before even touching things, it is impossible for non-Native archeologists to know. I bring that up because I think it is an important thing to think about when we are talking about doing ethical work and what really needs to be collected and what may be better left where it is instead of taking it. Does everything really need to be collected?

The Importance of Cross-Cultural Training in Cultural Resource Management

For us, Neme (Northern Paiute), we have a familial relationship with our landscape, and it has been that way since time immemorial. When we engage with other beings in our ecosystem, the primary initial consideration is always ideological. While the functional value of an interaction is undoubtedly a consideration, the ethical considerations tied to our ideological considerations, our Ma ne pu neen, take primacy for individuals wanting to be good and do the right thing. Our Ma ne pu neen asserts all beings have spirit and personhood. A goal for ethical reciprocal interaction is to honor the

other entities we are interacting with and acknowledge the equality of the other things we are interacting with whether plant, animal, mineral, etc., because this is the true nature of reality. Our understanding of our ecosystem and our role within it is often very different from the foreign ways archaeologists speak about us.

For our cultural technicians to be able to communicate in a meaningful way cross-culturally to the archaeologists, our people need to have a familiarity with archaeological terminology and culture. They need to know what archeologists think about and why they think the way they do about our heritage. It's important for our people to understand archaeological perspectives so they can find ways to interpret our positionality in a way that archaeologists can gain an awareness that our culture is alive and complex. It is important for us to be philosophically bilingual so we can speak to archaeologists about our heritage in a way that they will have a deeper understanding of us. One based on our reality and relationships with our heritage.

If we begin these conversations at some point of common understanding, I have found that fruitful cross-cultural dialogue can occur. Also, if our people do not couch our information within an archaeological context, it is easier for archaeologists to dismiss our comments as unscientific folklore. Those individuals immersed in academic elitism and/or White privilege have a perceived inherent societal authority to dismiss the voices of marginalized people who don't hold academic degrees.

This is why cross training our cultural staff in archaeological field methods as well as introducing them to archaeological theory is important from my perspective. If they are going to be effective in serving the needs and interests of the Ancestors and the Tribe, they must learn to assert themselves with equal authority when issues arise in the

field that may adversely affect our heritage. We do our best to teach our field staff the terminology archaeologists use for lithics, as that is the primary material type likely to be encountered. Our technicians are introduced to some of the different lithic classification systems and stages, and we familiarize them with the attributes that define them from an archaeological standpoint, such as the various tool manufacturing processes.

Paleo Indian Hunters

As I discuss in the next section, I'd like to mention an unlikely arrangement between our Burns Paiute Tribe's Culture & Heritage Department, Geoff Smith of University of Nevada's Great Basin Paleoindian Research Unit, and Daniel Stuber, a renowned flintknapper and archaeologist. From my experience, it is difficult to find common ground cross-culturally with archaeological researchers that are heavily immersed in archaeological processualism. I think a primary reason for difficulties in communication with many processualists is that Western scientific inquiry requires a relative rigidity in what can be concluded as feasibly factual, whereas our tribal ontological and epistemological knowledge seeking mechanisms leave the realm of possibilities in a far broader range. Also, I do hold animosity toward some processualist veins of study. Behavioral ecology, for instance, is one of the most difficult for me to stomach as a tribal person due to its dehumanizing assumptions about our people. It is a curiosity that those who are of the processualist variety, enjoy creating and perpetuating archaeologically invented cultures. While I appreciate a good story built on narration of places and things, what is troubling is the assertion that these archaeological yarns should be given authority over our oral histories. The Paleo Indians and Paleo Indian culture are

an example of an archaeologically manufactured group, as is the Fremont Culture, the Anasazi, and so on and so forth. While I have come to know and befriend individuals who are indoctrinated into processualist beliefs and values, there is always an elephant in the room related to what I know of their presumptions about my people. I did a lot of soul searching after my first department orientation at UNR. It was held in a room with skulls lining every wall. Food was being offered in this space, and I chose not to accept it due to tribal laws about eating amongst the dead. I did not know if this set-up was intentional or if it was simply due to ignorance of our ways. The experience confirmed for me that I was indeed in the belly of the beast; the place where our people are objectified and transformed into pure data. My Ancestors often put me in such situations as one of their most well-informed warriors to help improve their plight. My mission was accepted.

Because of other manufactured ideas about the past, some archaeologists argue Paleo Indians, predate my tribe and are not my relatives. This assumption of course is a declaration of extreme hostility toward our people's *Ma ne pu neen*. In what I believe is an olive branch of sorts, the University of Nevada, Reno, Paleo Indian Lab has now been renamed to *Artemisia*, the scientific term for sagebrush. For a very long time, the UNR Department of Anthropology has been a mecca for Paleo Indian types. The whole idea of a *Paleo Indian*, and the myriads of Western scientific inquiries about them is so odd from a tribal perspective. Paleo Indians do not exist beyond the imaginations of the archaeologists that created them and continue to perpetuate their existence in the imaginations of the public. Paleo Indian culture is a foreign concept far and away different from anything that we would recognize in speaking about our Ancestors.

For our tribal people, our history is an uninterrupted continuum, because we have continuously been here since time immemorial. Archaeologists, through their examination of the archaeological record create cultures that become popularized in the public's imagination. These archaeologically created cultures are different from who we are and foreign to how we believe and think about ourselves. What our Ancestors have left while having lived on the land still belongs to them. The relationship between an individual and the tool or offering they deposited is not of the past, it is a factor of the present. Our people and archaeologists have at least two very different realities of the same objects.

Finding Mutual Interest and Benefit Cross-Culturally

The first year when we worked together, we held training for our tribal archeological technicians (arch techs). Some of the arch techs in the training had already completed one or more archeological field schools, and a few had a decade or more experience doing cultural resource management, still others were new to archaeological heritage management. The students took a lot away from the training and they enjoyed the inter-personal interactions during the time that we were working together. Seeing Dan's masterful work with stone and the way that he explains archaeological technique was helpful for the students to understand how archaeologists view our heritage. I hope that the conversations that we had were mutually valuable - that the folks that were non-tribal also got some good value out of it.

The second year of the collaborative lithic workshop allowed us to focus on inclusion of the tribal Youth Opportunity Program (YOP) students, who are high school

students. Our Culture & Heritage Department strives to provide important traditional culture opportunities for our youth. We encourage them to talk to their Elder relatives about things that they might not otherwise discuss. During the workshop, extended family conversations happened organically outside of the formal workshop. In the workshop the students would share some of what their Elders talked with them about. They are still drawing from and reflecting on the lithics workshop experience as they gain more recent field experiences.

I know that the kids that participated in the second year of our lithics workshop have continued to show an interest and have a real sense of pride in what they have accomplished. I have even seen them wearing some of the things that they have made. I also know they engaged in our traditional practice of giving away the first of what they created, because individuals who were gifted items mentioned it. I hope the instructors enjoyed working with the teenagers' energy. I do know, despite any attitude that may have surfaced, the students were listening, and they did appreciate the workshop. I have heard them recommend it to incoming YOP employees.

Sagebrush

It was exciting to me to hear about this sagebrush with a foot diameter. I had one uncle, my favorite uncle (gapu) Wehoben (Mourning Dove). He would never stop talking about sagebrush. I mean, sagebrush is super important, and I know that for a lot of different reasons. But it was, for him, you know, every time there was some kind of issue, sagebrush would be the answer for it. We were told that Creator gave us sagebrush because it will save us. It has everything that we need. It was used for clothing; it was

used for medicine; for housing, all these things. For when it is cold, our Creator said that it would burn even when it is wet, and it does. So, the fact that this very honored plant is having difficulty right now because there were attempts to eradicate it, people treat it like it is nothing, you know, is really very sad. I think about my uncle when people talk about things that are important and things that are not, and things that we should keep and things that we shouldn't, because he was right. Sagebrush is everything. Sagebrush used to be large, tall, like over your head. Another thing that we are taught is never to take too much from any one place. I think when things like our food, things that we eat and things that we interact with to be used for clothing and whatnot, they need our interaction as much as we need them. At the point that our tribal community stopped interacting with a lot of these plants and animals and other things, they started to deteriorate as well. I think that is a part of our strategic plan too, is to get our people back out on the landscape again and rebuilding some of those lost relationships with those places and everything in the ecosystem so that they know that we care, they know that we are honoring them, and that they will want to come back in a better way. Everything else in our ecosystem, including us, has a value, and a place, and a function, and a sacredness. It is critical we do not take more than we need to sustain ourselves. It is critically important we make sure that we continue to exist as people who practice traditional ethics within our ecosystem. If we do our part, everything else will continue together with us.

Rabbits

Another example of that right now is the rabbit population. So, rabbits were very important. They are still very important; we just don't have access to them like we had in

the past. Rabbit skin blankets usually take one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five rabbits pelts to make a full-sized rabbit blanket. Those are critical for living in the Great Basin in the wintertime. We hardly see rabbits anymore. A part of that might be because of environmental change. A part of that might be because people see them as not being worth keeping around so they just shoot them and kill them. We also have done a lot of talking about how we have not been honoring them. We have a rabbit dance that is supposed to happen after the first snow every year. We have not been actively doing this as a community, and perhaps that is a part of the problem. So, we are trying to identify what we have stopped doing that we can start doing again to make sure that we are doing our part. So that maybe they will see that we are trying, and they will try harder too.

Successful Decolonization: How will we know when it's achieved?

This is a whole area of discussion that is going on right now among decolonialists and those that either support it or don't. I think decolonization has to be based locally, just like collaboration has to be based locally, so it is based on a given community to determine whether or not they have reached a point where they feel like they have regained enough of their autonomy and power to be able to express themselves in a way that is going to be given equal footing in a conversation. That, to me, is decolonization.

It is also about understanding that this isn't trying to go back to like the point of contact, the ethnographic present. It is about trying to identify what the things in our traditional culture are key to our survivance and key to us being able to live in a way that was meaningful to our Ancestors. Acquiring a depth of understanding of our tribal

philosophies and science and then sharing with the next generations will be critically important for decolonization of our tribal communities.

It is not to say that we must throw off anything from other cultures, because of course, that interaction has happened now. But you take the best of whatever it is that is within your reality and you either choose to adopt it or not. It is a real assessment, and it is an honest evaluation of what is helping and what is harming. That is what decolonization means to me. As I said, there are lots of other publications out there, so you probably have just as many different opinions about it as there are people talking about it.

The best way to reach out to Indigenous people is community dependent. Every tribe and tribal community are unique, and care should be taken to make appropriate communications with the right people. We talked about being in collaboration. Colwell's (2016) chart diagrams how there is some collaboration that is not going to be very expensive to either group, the researcher and the community, as far as time, politically, vulnerability, professional vulnerability, those types of things. That chart, I really like it because it shows a lot of the increase in all those factors to where the researcher, or whoever it is who has all the control, relinquishes a lot of that to the community.

Decolonization is going to take time, and it is going to take trial, error, reflection, improvement, and so on. It is not a one and done thing, where somebody comes up with the solution and it is going to fit in every instance. It must be an interaction with whatever community you are working with, to identify where their comfort level is and what they would like to see. Because there are some communities, including my own, where we do have, we do see some value in western scientific methods for a variety of things. But we

also know that when there is a conflict with that method and what our own Ma ne pu neen says, our own unwritten laws say, we must evaluate how far we are going to move into that or whether we are going to hold back.

I think the question about decolonization, and I was trying to provide an academic, theoretical model, but in practice, it is like the community getting together and getting out on the land and doing things together in a prayerful way and in a respectful way, and so that is what we are working on and some of the other Tribes are too - with other partners too that are not from our traditional tribal community, but our larger community.

Since then, a place called Tucker Hill was brought up because of the obsidian that is out there, and there is a perlite mine out there. It is in Lake County, and our Tribe and other Tribes tried to stop the perlite mine when it was happening out there. We were unable to. Mitigation, which we talked about before, because of adverse effects to cultural resources, ended up with us having negotiated archaeological field school scholarships that would happen every year for a Tribe. So, those continue to happen, and unfortunately that perlite mine is expanding. So, or at least it is anticipated to expand, so we'll be adding on to the mitigation, which will include additional scholarships and other things in the future. But everything kind of ties back together.

During that period that we have had those scholarships, we have had over a dozen, and I am sure Dennis knows exactly how many of our Burns Paiute tribal members attend the archeological field school as well – and their geoarchaeological field school. We also used the scholarships for our Indigenous field school in 2019, as well as

sending one tribal member to attend a field school at Oregon State University several years ago.

Curation Issues

The curation issue- for the Burns Paiute Tribe we have a resolution that was approved by our Tribal Council that says that one, our tribal nation does not support excavation strictly for research purposes. Excavation must come about because it is needed for some reason, such as when a damage assessment needs to be completed. Within federal law, when you excavate with an archeological permit, you are required to curate those things in perpetuity, which is another issue for our culture. So, we ask the various agencies and schools that we work with to really limit, you know, to really think about how much they are going to be excavating, because that will reduce the potential number of things that will need to be curated. That also goes along with what Katelyn was talking about as far as, try not to disturb any more of the site that is absolutely needed, because we want to have portions of the site from a western archeological perspective for future generations. As technology improves, they might be able to figure out more from what is left there. So, we have a slightly different idea about how curation should happen.

One thing that has been happening with increased regularity is the return of our heritage by amateur collectors and/or family members and friends of looters. I won't say it happens weekly, but on average we have people contacting us, either through official channels or more community word of mouth, to request to return items their family members or others have at some point stolen from our Ancestors. People send things

back to the Tribe that, usually they say, “my parents,” or “my grandparents” collected these things somewhere, and we want to return them to the Tribe. I get those in the mail all the time. We also have resolution about that. So, we reinter those things. And we have a specific place where they get reinterred on the reservation. Unfortunately, sometimes we also get Ancestors in the mail. There is a slightly different reinterment process that happens for our Ancestors’ human remains. The Burns Paiute Tribe has a culture code and an Aboriginal Lands Protection Policy that speaks to the legislated process. We are only one of few with such legislation and it helps expedite and streamline taking care of our Ancestors to return them on their journey. Every Tribe is different in their process but most Great Basin Tribes typically agree on what should happen.

I want to go back to Richie’s presentation and just say that I really see a lot of potential, future work, collaborative work that could happen with what is commonly referred to as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) as it relates to the work that you are doing, so, just all the way through it was like there was really a lot of things that I think could be happening there.

A few words on the topic of rabbits from Dennis’s talk. My father-in-law, he was born in the early 1930s, and he talked about when he was little, he and his brother, they were still using rabbit skin blankets at that time. When they would wake up every morning, they would have rabbit fur in their mouth because of the rabbit blankets. So when you were talking about the cave and all of this fur and other things, and people putting matting down, but you know, so much fur that we have a time of year that we typically collect rabbits, and that is after the first snowfall, and then by January they usually are so skinny and you know, having a hard time just surviving that we don’t

usually go after them when their season concludes. The appropriate harvest season is also when their hair will be retained the best on the pelt.

And then also I may have mentioned this before, but DNA, how western science talks about DNA, and how I really see that relating to what we have, which is Puha. Puha is energy, including your personal energy. You are born with it. You can acquire more of it. You can give it away. You can achieve it through other physical items. It can be prayed over to you and gifted. But everywhere you go, you leave it. You leave your Puha there. And that's very traditional, well-known, and it permeates everything else we do about how we have personal protection over our energy and then how we protect other people, say when they pass on. There are many different things we do to help make sure that their Puha and their energy gets sent off in the right way. So, I just wanted to reiterate that I think that all these discussions about what western science is doing, what western scientists think, and what our traditional culture talks about, we may not call things the same, they may have different terms. They may not have the exact same definition. But the more that we talk together, the more there are correlations. At least that in my mind I see, here and there. So, that is exciting.

On Collaboration

Chip Colwell is one of a handful of professional archeologists that has been advancing collaborative efforts with Tribes for decades (Figure 8.1). He has done a lot of work with collaboration, and so I just wanted to share that, following up on a question that a young woman had yesterday, to show this figure here. This is the chart, for those of you that were here, that I was talking about, that shows, traditional archeological practice

as an entirely colonial endeavor. And then how, as you move towards the right along this table you can reach collaboration and, on the other side, Indigenous control of a particular project. I have really found that this chart discusses the different aspects of what a truly collaborative project looks like.

When I had that lull, that half a decade that I wasn't in school, I was doing a lot of what they call shovel-bumming. I was going around doing contract archeology. I heard a lot of

| Colonial Control | Resistance | Participation | Collaboration | Indigenous Control |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Goals set solely by archaeologists | Goals developed in opposition | Goals develop independently | Goals develop jointly | Goals are set by Tribe |
| Information is extracted and removed | Information is secreted | Information is disclosed | Information flows freely | Information is proprietary and controlled by tribe |
| Descendants involved as laborers | No stakeholder involvement | Limited stakeholder involvement | Full stakeholder involvement | Archaeologists are employees or consultants of Tribe |
| No voice for descendants | Little voice for descendants | Some voice for descendants | Full voice for descendants | Full voice of descendants is privileged |
| Acquiescence is enforced by state | No support is given/obtained | Support is solicited | Support is tacit | Support is authorized by Tribe |
| Needs of science are optimized | Needs of others are not considered | Needs of most parties are mostly met | Needs of all parties are mostly met | Needs of Tribe are privileged |

Figure 8.1: Collaboration Gradient: Adopted from Colwell (2016:217)

people throwing around the word collaboration, but I wasn't really seeing it anywhere. I was pretty much done with the whole idea that collaboration could occur. But at the same time there were ideas emerging around something called Indigenous archeology. This is a whole other area of discussion, a subarea of archeology, where Indigenous people around the world that are looking at ways that, they are not trying to do away with archeology. They see value in it. But they are trying to identify how it can work in their tribal communities, in their Indigenous communities. George Nicholas (2010a:11) states:

The benefit of Indigenous archeology is proving to be substantial in many ways. For some individuals and communities what is most rewarding is renewed connection with their own history and repair of connections to the past that have been severed by colonialism. They are not only new educational opportunities for Indigenous students at all levels, but an increasing number of Indigenous scholars and educators now available to train them. There are also economic benefits through capacity building and other ventures that enable community members to be employed in culture resources.”

Nicholas leads the Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (IPinCH) group up at Simon Fraser. I was a graduate student affiliate with IPinCH for a time.

In my own most recent work, I try and identify a removal trail. You would think that something as important of an event as that, there would be a pretty good record of it. But there isn't. So even our own children were not learning about our history in a meaningful way.

The Stewart Indian School Collaborative Research Project

For a period in my career in cultural resource management, I was convinced that collaboration in archaeology would never happen. At least not to the degree it would be meaningful for tribal values and concerns. A flyer announcing a historic archaeological

field school at Stewart Indian School was presented to me when I was participating in video project about the role of tribal monitors in the Ruby pipeline project. The project coordinator for the film encouraged me to reach out to the Principal Investigator, and that is how I met my current advisor, Sarah Cowie. Like I said, I really didn't think that collaboration was happening anywhere. But I thought, I'll go ahead and give this a try. It says it's collaborative. You know, I am going to be critical of it, I am sure. I am going to go ahead and see what is happening.

During my time at the Stewart Indian School field school, I saw what I, in my heart, believed was true collaboration between the research project staff and tribal people who had expressed an interest in the project. And I was like, wow! It can happen! So, you know, what's next? I told Sarah, "Hey, if there is ever an opportunity to do another truly collaborative project, count me in."

During that time, too, she was like, "Yeah, that'd be great." I thought, I'm never going to hear from her again because I know how much of a reach it would be to get that kind of funding to support such a research project as well as graduate student study, but I did tell her I would come to UNR if the opportunity presented itself.

During the latter part of the Stewart Field School project, we were talking about how it would be cool to do an edited volume on what happened at the school. Getting everyone who was involved, whoever wanted to write something, to get their input about it would be a neat thing to accomplish. That effort took quite a few years, and Sarah was the driving force behind making it happen, but with Chris and other folks' contributions, the Stewart edited volume was born. I have no idea where it is on the Amazon, you know, archaeology favorite whatever list. But it has academics, it has community members,

tribal members, all the different facets of people that were involved in this project and in the edited volume. I was excited and honored to be involved.

Indigenous Collaborative Historic Archaeological Field School at Malheur Agency

The Elder tribal folks that are in the room now have also been a part of this project since that inception. It was named the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow project because of the decisions made at our first convening that we had in Burns. This project includes descendants of numerous present-day Tribes. I found a record from the 1930s that was a convening of people that were going after something called the Malheur Claim during the Indian Claims Commission for the purposes of resolving the loss of our 1.8 million-acre Malheur Reservation. We used the minutes from the 1930s inter-tribal General Council meetings that occurred at Burns as a starting point for outreach. We needed to seek invitation to all these communities, so we could tell them what we are proposing. If anyone, one person, objected to our proposal we would need to cancel our research proposal, and find something else to research.

At one of our convenings, we talked with the collaborators, the conveners, about what else we could do. The conveners said, "Let's do a field school. Let's do a historic field school." We don't want anyone digging on the actual removal trail because we know people lost their loves along it and it is hallowed ground. We discussed other potentially acceptable places to hold a tribal field school, and it was decided to have it at the historic Malheur Agency. We don't know of any of our people having been buried where the Agency headquarters is located. The Malheur Reservation and Malheur

Agency period was an important part of this historic era, and the convenors wanted the field school to be Native-taught, and Native students only.” So, that is what we did.

There was one non-Native staff that we had on board, which is Christina McSherry, who was affectionately given the new name of “Listina” by everyone in the field school, because she was constantly taking lists and keeping track of things, which was awesome because that is critically important with a field school. There were students from many of the descendant communities. I was the instructor. My advisor graciously shared the role of Co-Principal Investigator with me as well. We taught the students how to do a standard straight-lined survey. We recorded as much as we could of that area. There are several landowners in the vicinity.

In our traditional culture we are not supposed to do extensive digging. That probably sounds weird because they call us “digger Indians.” But when we do dig, there is a certain process and protocol. Only specific tools can be used and closing the ground back up is important. For our Ancestors who were at the agency, the men capitulated to farming. It does not fit well with the Ma ne pu neen, but it was a desperate time. They were trying to survive, and I am sure struggling to find forgiveness in the new way of life being forced upon them. Our 2019 field school also spent much time contemplating a way to mediate our traditional culture dictates with archeological training protocols.

There is an ongoing issue with collecting artifacts to be permanently curated. The federal law says that anything that is excavated in an archeological context must be curated. But it is up to the agency that interprets that law what is considered an archeological context. So, for the Bureau of Reclamation, and for U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, if you are doing testing, subsurface testing just to look for presence or absence of

cultural materials, they will allow you to return things to the ground. You record them, do whatever you need to do, and return them. If it is a larger unit, like this square, fifty-by-fifty, it then falls into that other realm where cultural items must be collected and curated.

Our Elders, our conveners, said they didn't want anything collected that was precontact. So any of the lithic items, anything that would have been that our people were using before the settlers came in, but, if they said if it was historic, a can, what have you, anything that had been brought in that was foreign, even if our people had used it, it would still be okay to collect.

So, this was the rule we needed to apply. We were very careful to initially use a lot of shovel probes as opposed to larger excavation units to identify the presence or absence of cultural items. We had a process so that if we did encounter anything, that area would be closed, and we would relocate. Our goal was to try and reduce the number of things we were collecting overall, with a particular desire not to have to collect any precontact cultural items. We were successful. It was very different from your standard archeological field school. I remember Dennis (Jenkins) to this day. And I still employ his teachings under regular contexts: start with where you know the most about and work outward. This strategy makes perfect sense towards exposing the highest volume of artifacts. You begin where the highest densities of items are known to be on the surface. But our tribal field school had different objectives. The primary objectives of our field school were to collect data and teach archaeological field methods including excavation practices, of course, but to do so in a way that met to the greatest degree possible, our traditional values at the same time. The goal was to not find much. To not take more than

we needed, and to ensure the students would walk away from the field school with the concepts of archaeological excavation in their experiential toolkit.

The field school was collaborative, so we were in continuous communication with the project convenors living throughout the Great Basin. Every week we had convenors, many of them Elders coming out from different tribal communities. We also had our Youth Opportunity Program (YOP) students come out and familiarize themselves with our important landscape. They got to hear from the enrolled field school students about their experience and what was being learned. Then, every week we would take one of these photos.



Indigenous Collaborative Historic Archaeology at Malheur Reservation
Agency Headquarters -University of Nevada, Reno, 2021

The Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow (OAWS) Project is an exploration of how collaborative archaeology can be done in a fully respectful manner to our traditional values. It provides another example of how archeological tools can be used to bring value to a specific tribal community, the descendants of the people who endured that march and internment. It is providing, hopefully, through our edited volume and other outreach, it is providing more discussion about how Indigenous people can retain their own values while working in the field of archeology.

Excavation Issues

We do sometimes dig, but only when we must, and always on a conservative and limited basis. Our most recent excavation activities have been for completing damage assessments. At the largest site damage assessment we assisted with, there was a previously documented site with a subsurface cultural lens identified to about 40 centimeters below the surface, and then it was determined from the testing that no cultural deposits existed in the sample excavations for 20 centimeters below that deposit. In Oregon, two sterile levels are the requirement to be able to terminate a unit. But when the damage happened, a large stem point was identified in the back dirt of the trench and was believed to have come from a point at about a meter below the surface. During the damage assessment investigations, we had to excavate deeper than one meter to identify if there was an earlier cultural deposit from the initial one recorded during the pre-construction testing phase. The damage that occurred at that site situated in the terminal Pleistocene Malheur Lake floodplain changed the way that the SHPO recommends we

should do testing in that basin. There is now evidence of relatively deep subsurface deposits that they previously hadn't been finding using earlier standard testing methods.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Determining what methods are acceptable in a collaborative research project is foundational to all that will come after. For the Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow, we discussed ground penetrating radar (GPR), and we did conduct some sampling grids using GPR.

I have done a little bit of reading from some of the other Tribes about, dependent on the type of energy that goes into the ground to get the data, some Tribes will accept or not accept varying types of Ground Penetrating Radar. For us at Burns Paiute, Ground Penetrating Radar has never been like, not allowed. We have even talked about doing it at our cemetery where we have burials that may not have had headstones.

LiDAR [Light Detection and Ranging] which is where measurements of the light beams directed at the Earth's surface. The time taken to reach the ground and return is measured and discreet elevational data of the Earth's surface can be mapped in a very tight way. LiDAR is not being done in our part of the state to the finest degree of resolution that it is on the west side. During our initial research efforts, we concluded that there wasn't enough LiDAR information for our specific research landscape, and what little was available wasn't at the increased quality of what was available on the west side of the state. Any time there is a new tool that comes into the toolbox, then we are assessing whether it is something that is acceptable to use from our traditional tribal standpoint.

To our knowledge, the Indigenous Collaborative Historic Archaeological Field School we conducted at Malheur Agency, is the first and only Native taught and Native students only field school to have ever occurred in the United States. There are other field schools that are collaborative that have had a combination of tribal and nontribal teachers and students. The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde had a field school with the University of Washington. Down at Santa Catalina Island, one of my colleagues, Desireé Martinez, has worked as an instructor at the Pimu Catalina Island Archaeological Project (2024), it is accredited through the University of California, Los Angeles. My understanding is the work at Catalina Island is a collaborative effort. They have done some work down there.

Chapter IX: In Search of Social Justice in the Socio-Politics of Tribal Heritage and Archaeology

The positionality of individuals is critically important to understanding the lens from which all the information is presented. This is true of any effort but is particularly important to declare in Western academics. What motivates people to attend college, what drives them to seek additional training and education in particular specializations, is often firstly associated with personal interest, but may have many other reasons attached. For me, a sense of duty to our Ancestors became the driving factor. This coupled with a desire to right past wrongs and set records straight or at least provide our voice in some of those conversations where others, through the vagaries of colonialism, had been recognized as the expert voice of our people, our culture, and our history.

There are a variety of issues that occur when people of different cultural backgrounds work amongst each other. The degree of mutual value and benefit of such exchanges depends upon the degree to which each interlocutor is allowed the freedom to fully express themselves, the degree to which others respectfully accept others' rights to express themselves, and finally, the equality of full consideration to such expressions. This will naturally, not always lead to an equality in outcomes, but it will allow for the ability to incorporate considerations in decision making processes such as individual positionalities, historical inequalities, ontological and epistemological differences. When done well, ethical considerations will interplay with every step in the communication process and the comprehensive goal will include doing what is just. This I call the ought; how things ought to be. True, this level of intellectual maturity is not automatically available for everybody, and additional effort must be exerted even among the most well-

trained in ethics and logic. If we choose to evolve to the state of highest cross-cultural communication and equality, we must build in time to make sure this process happens. Egoistic intent has no home in such important work. The outcome of being more thoughtful individuals leads to the betterment of humankind, and in turn improves everything else with which we interact. With this goal in mind, I turn to critical evaluations of what I have identified as four persisting problems for our Great Basin cultures.

Great Basin Indigenous Heritage Management Issues

Great Basin archaeology is a geographically defined, and broadly accepted focus of study. The Western Great Basin of the United States is a culturally rich region both in terms of heritage dating back millennia but also continued cultural traditions alive and well among its Indigenous populations. As we shall see, archaeology and Indigenous heritage in the western Great Basin of the United States often concerns the same material objects, sometimes pursues paralleling trajectories, yet infrequently results in mutually satisfactory and beneficial results. At the visible points of intersection, archaeology and Indigenous heritage have often been at odds. In the last several decades, these points of contention have reached a fever pitch around Native American Human Remains issues. From heated contestations, some compromise has resulted. Newly emerging subfields in archaeology such as public, community, and collaborative modes of engagement with the living and the material record of the past are yielding beneficial results. New discussions are strengthening relationships and making archaeology more representative of broader

viewpoints and populations, but also more relevant to the tribal communities from which the material record derived.

We have much to be thankful for in the Great Basin. The arid climate of the Great Basin allows for excellent preservation of all types of culturally modified and natural organic materials from the recent to ancient past. A multitude of culturally modified lithic materials including high-quality obsidian, basalt, and cryptocrystalline silicate (CCS) materials available within the region provide opportunity for collection of a variety of spatiotemporal data. Much archaeological study has been conducted in the Great Basin with many numerous edited volumes available (Beck 1999; Fowler and Fowler 2008; Grayson 1993; Madsen and Rhode 1994). Some of the oldest evidence of human occupation in the Americas is found in the Western Great Basin (Connolly et al. 2008; Gilbert et al. 2008; O'Grady et al. 2012). Ancient physical evidence is to be expected since many if not all Great Basin Indigenous populations claim a history in the area since time immemorial (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997). To understand current issues in Great Basin Indigenous heritage, a topical analysis is useful, but to understand how such topics came to their status, it is best to discuss the historical development of cultural resource management and cultural heritage management.

There are numerous heritage management issues currently facing Great Basin Indigenous peoples. There are only a few known tribal people of the Great Basin with advanced degrees in anthropology or a related western academic discipline (Blackhawk 1999; Brewster 2003; Crum 1983; Harry 2009a; Teeman 2003; Weaselboy 2021). Burt (2024) is currently also pursuing his PhD at University of Nevada Reno in the Dept. of Anthropology. There are, however, numerous Tribes, each with their own heritage

experts, that hold knowledge that may have never been shared, let alone considered by others. This intellectual property of the Great Basin Tribes is invaluable to illuminating the heritage issues and concerns of Indigenous Great Basin peoples, but it also has an inordinate value for all contemporary peoples working toward ecological balance and cultural preservation in the region.

Highlighting the conflict without providing sufficient background or understanding of the complexity of the issues that surround such cases can lead people to opinionated positions only superficially based on accurate information. To help students have a broader understanding of the driving forces that have been precursors to today's issues as well as to provide tools for seeking more well-informed understandings in the future, it is critical that they understand the historical to contemporary development of today's sociopolitical power inequities and how those issues affect Great Basin Heritage.

Thomas's (2000) "Skull Wars" continues to be an excellent introduction to many of the issues that have affected Native peoples in the United States, and Harry (2011) provides discussion of biocolonialism. For a Great Basin critique of the relationship between archaeologists and Great Basin people writ large, Brewster's (2003) dissertation brings up a multitude of topics. Teeman's (2003) master's thesis addresses the problematic nature of the cultural affiliation determination process within the NAGPRA.

One of the primary problems of discussing Great Basin heritage issues from tribal perspectives is that traditional tribal practitioners rarely publish, although this is slowly but steadily changing for the better (Graham 2019; Howard, 2017). While it is true enough that the material record developed and deposited for later archaeological examination is tribal, and that at least for a time ethnographic analogy was employed in

attempt to interpret some archaeological findings, heritage protection in the Great Basin has primarily concerned itself with protecting archaeological interests. In the following sections, numerous issues that examine the differences and similarities between Indigenous Great Basin peoples' heritage interests and those of archaeology will be examined.

It is important to understand the ontological and epistemological variances at play among and between Indigenous Great Basin peoples and that of the archaeological community. Because this issue has not been widely discussed in published literature, I draw on such discussions more broadly (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2010; Cruikshank 2005; Steeves 2015; Stump 2013). Such evaluation needs to be considered repeatedly with each new research endeavor because collaborative archaeology is not a one size fits all proposition.

For Western science, what is real is what is supported by Western scientific analysis; how it is known is through following the procedures enumerated within Western science. For many tribal people, what is real is not only what is observable, but also the correlations that have been observed over decades, centuries, and Millenia. How it is known is via the human senses and in understanding of the other elements in our Universe. Phenomenological approaches to understanding reality and how everything in existence operates and interacts with other things is an understanding that is ancient and well developed. How it has been expressed in the verbal and written translations into positivist nomenclature has discredited its complexity. Dean and Marler's (2001) article was written in cooperation with Great Basin tribal people from southeastern Idaho. They assert that having a greater grounding in tribal spiritual ways will allow archaeologists to

be more aware as they perform their work. Dean and Marler (2001:34) state that tribal peoples are asking for due consideration “to bridge the needs of both tribal people and archaeologists.”

Western science is the primary mode of archaeological research. Indigenous Great Basin science is also based on observation, but not necessarily direct observation, and very rarely in a controlled setting. The experiential understanding of the Elders is supported by oral history that examines every aspect of us and everything beyond ourselves, and which has allowed tribal people to survive and flourish for Millenia, must contain something of value for today and the future of this World.

Western philosophy gave birth to the Western academic disciplines found in today’s research universities. Knowledge production from Great Basin tribal communities is also steeped in long traditions of philosophical discourse. This knowledge has no traceable written genealogy, but they are ancient just the same. Theology, biology, botany, ecology, anthropology, sociology, political science, and many more areas of understanding are integrated into the totality of Great Basin cultural norms.

Tribal-archaeological relations in the Great Basin are changing. The colonialist ideology that has traditionally guided much anthropological work still has a strong foothold in much Great Basin research.

In the 20th century, Julian Steward’s (Clemmer et al. 1999) research helped to guide the development of the theoretical basis of much Great Basin archaeological discourse. Binford’s (1968, 1980) “new archaeology” has also been heavily employed in the Great Basin. Processualist models provide a way for researchers to test their hypotheses and provide cogent and reliable explanations for the questions posed, and that

is most likely the reason that followers of that method of knowledge creation believe in their system. From my point of view there is no contest that requires there be only one way to determine what is real and can be valid knowledge, except to the degree control and power influence such systems. It is an interesting condition that Western science only allows one path to truth, and Western religion only allows one way to salvation. What enormous power in such a scenario, those who control religion and knowledge creation possess.

Anthropologists have been instruments to the objectives of the State since there have been anthropologists. In the Great Basin, both Julian Steward and Omer Stewart testified in the Indian Claims Commission hearings (National Archives n.d.) and their “expertise” of tribal peoples determined who would be awarded settlements and whose aboriginal rights claims would be rejected (Blackhawk 2008). Steward’s testimony against Great Basin Tribes had enormous impacts on the outcomes of the cases. Every utterance from an “expert’s” lip and every conclusion taken to pen and paper becomes potential fodder for some later determination of tribal rights. What an enormous burden to bear. I’ve been involved with several cultural resource violation cases over the last several decades and in every instance, the “expert” to testify has always been an archaeologist. The tribal Elders, the tribal experts, have only been asked to sit in the courtroom for support, with the rare occasion that they should be asked to give a statement as a victim.

If researchers were more aware of the implications of their educated guesses, I wonder if they would be more conservative in their assertions? Because many archaeologists are so focused on achieving publication and gaining a career in academics,

without considering other aspects of their work, this discussion should serve to increase awareness among researchers of how their work may fit into the grander scale of things. While each new research endeavors furthers narratives about Great Basin heritage, the knowledge created will have less dimension when it has only been evaluated with a Western lens. I have yet to find a publication that discusses the importance of a location or an object to a tribal person that doesn't either then go on to narrate from a western perspective the tribal person's statement. If not a full narration, the term *folklore* or *belief* reads as a signifier of something that is not fully qualified as Knowledge. I am also unaware of any publications that put Western notions of knowledge in the realm of *belief*, and I recognize these simple verbal and written cues as unspoken signifiers related to *validity*.

Employing traditional knowledge and oral history as understood by traditional practitioners is critically important to the decolonial project. Analyzing the degree and frequency to which tribal knowledge remains intact as knowledge, or the degree and ways in which it was modified to serve the Master's narratives needs analysis. We can examine the use of oral tradition and history in their analyses (Carroll et al. 2004; Martindale 2006). While most of the attempts to recast tribal oral histories and traditions in a different light are relatively harmless, some are more malevolent. Those attempts to use oral histories to support language and/or population movement hypotheses are an example of the latter. One such effort has made it popular online media recently (The Archaeologist 2024). As the story has been recast over the last several decades, Great Basin people have a legend of the red-haired giants that lived here before them. Some archaeologists have taken our oral history to mean that the redhaired giants were killed

off by the Ancestors of today's Great Basin people. Following this line of logic, the archaeologists say our oral history is proof of their argument that we are not culturally affiliated to ancient heritage and ancestral remains. This bastardization of our oral history is an affront to our sensibilities and to everyone's common sense.

Representation: Who Represents Us, and Why?

Anthropological literature has, since first publications, attempted to represent Indigenous peoples (Frühsoerge 2007; Issac 2006; Keller 2014; Martinez 2012; Steeves 2017; Walker 1999). Our efforts include identifying similarities/dissimilarities, issues of contention, and examples of complimentary use of academic works. Most archaeologists' understandings of tribal cultures come from cultural anthropology. The ethnographies collected from within the Great Basin are predominantly from the first half of the 20th century, although there are several anthropological works that are more recent including those conducted by Tribes. While the ethnographic material is very useful to identify the presence or absence of certain cultural traits among and between cultural groups, they leave much to be desired from a tribal perspective. The questions that were asked of tribal "informants" were based on the presuppositions and/or research parameters of the ethnographer, and while interesting, do not reach anything beyond superficiality in their explanation of the relationships between various aspects of tribal culture and the tribal Universe. A recent example concerns tribal discussions of medicinal uses of obsidian both for its metaphysical elements, and for its utilitarian use for things such as a form of cataract surgery (Jerofke and Teeman 2017). Several other Tribes with ties to the Great Basin have also initiated their own ethnographic and cultural research in their

communities although accessibility is limited due to the recent completion of this work. The work being performed by the Tribes will no doubt not only expand the overall breath of information of the Tribes but also provide more depth and draw greater connections between previously recorded ethnographic information and other knowledge tribal communities hold.

There are issues concerning scientific analysis and survey some of the methods as they relate to tribal heritage concerns. One of the most pressing heritage issues in the Great Basin concerns ancestral human remains. Concerns over their continued curation, their cultural identification (or perceived lack thereof), the invasive and destructive analyses they are subjected to, and other issues surrounding their short and long-term treatment are of critical importance to Great Basin tribal peoples. Understanding these issues more fully, and the roles archaeology and archaeologists play in these issues is central to understanding Great Basin heritage issues.

The Legacy of Legal Authority to Control our Ancestors and Heritage

Of very recent discussion in the Great Basin is the repatriation and reinterment of the Ancient One of Spirit Cave. In the Great Basin precontact era, oral history tells us that caves and rockshelters were preferred locations for burials. While burials can and do occur in many contexts, if there is a cave, there is likely one or more tribal persons interred within it. For a variety of reasons including guano mining in the 20th century, amateur and professional archaeologists performed salvage excavations within many Great Basin caves. The burials that were exhumed were usually taken to a repository for curation, but also ended up in private collections as is evidenced by the quantity of calls

the Burns Paiute Culture & Heritage Department receives of people wanting to return our Ancestors. Due to sociopolitical circumstances discussed below, tribal people rarely if ever had any control over the treatment of their dead. There are specific instances of currently living peoples' grandparents and great-grandparents being exhumed and removed from their burials. Many of these burials sat in repositories relatively untouched until in 1990 the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) required all repositories and museums with the exception of the Smithsonian having a federal nexus, to complete an inventory of all human remains and burials that were protected under the NAGPRA. Despite the NAGPRA specifically stating that it did not initially authorize additional testing, but in at least some cases such as the *Kennewick Man* and *Spirit Cave Man*, I am aware that additional testing was done as a direct response to the NAGPRA. Of the Ancestors subjected to additional analysis, a mummified Ancestor of the Fallon Paiute Tribe was subjected to invasive destructive analysis. Despite numerous efforts to have the Ancient One of Spirit Cave repatriated to the Tribe for reinterment, he remained in the repository for more than a decade more, before a preponderance of the evidence finally eschewed his return to his people. This is one of many instances wherein the heritage of Indigenous populations clashed with the interests of archaeologists, and because of the important responsibilities Great Basin people hold toward their Ancestors, and if things don't improve, I am sure it will not be the last.

Multiple recent sociopolitical issues concerning ancestral human remains are emerging as this dissertation is being written regarding material objects and human remains' ownership and curation, as well as issues related to human subject's research

among Great Basin Natives. Much has been written about the role of museums in heritage issues. In the Great Basin the relationship between the Nevada State Museum and Tribes has not always been good. Not only are there issues of curated collections, but there is also the way museums choose to interpret and display the materials they hold in their repositories (Lonetree 2012). It's past due time to decolonize the institutions built on our lands, holding our heritage, and teaching our citizens.

A similar, continuing debate occurs about the rights of the dead. A separate set of rules has been developed for the treatment of the Native dead from those individuals who meet the standards of passing for another race. This is troubling for several reasons, and those topics include but aren't necessarily restricted to biocolonialism (Harry 2009b), biopolitics (Mayes 2010), and intellectual property rights (Hollowell and Nicholas 2008; Nicholas 2009).

At least some methods of scientific analysis require the destruction of a portion of a material object. Using our Ancestors bodies for research is against our Ma ne pu neen. For this reason, I am aware that numerous tribal communities in the Great Basin are strongly opposed to such analyses. When tribes spoke out about their opposition to destructive analysis, archaeologist involved in both the Ancient One of Kennewick and the Ancient One of Spirit Cave cases, weaponized the stereotypes of Native people still held by the public, against our tribal communities. Why do we not hear more conversations about these issues here in the Great Basin? I would venture to say there are most often no conversations between archaeologists and tribal groups about these issues, because the power inequality is currently such that those who wish to perform the

destructive analysis have the freedom to do so without having those potentially awkward interactions.

Although archaeologists may not realize it, the NAGPRA cultural affiliation and how it has been determined to date by the “experts” is not entirely new. The politics of biological identity and blood politics has been going on since initial colonization. To this day, the federal government regulates who can claim legal status as an Indian. Federal legislation determined whether children would be able to stay with their parents or be removed to a boarding school for reeducation and assimilation into American society. Identity issues still face us today as objects of the Western gaze (Gercken-Hawkins 2004). But at the very heart of the various policies that guide the treatment of Natives, is the fact that the federal government has made hundreds of treaties, agreements, and conventions, with Indigenous tribal groups and these contracts are legally binding with no expiration date. The legal parties are the US and sovereign tribal nations. When the US can claim that there are no members of tribal sovereign nation left, they will no doubt attempt to extinguish or retire their contract with said group. Within this strange system, the US government has decided what makes someone a member of a Tribe is their blood lineage to that Tribe. The Tribe as a sovereign nation may be a creation of sociopolitical forces brought on by colonialism to begin, yet the ability to trace enough of one’s blood lineage to a specific tribal political organization is what the government recognizes as sufficient to be recognized as someone eligible under their criteria. Within this system, there are “full-blooded” people who have only blood from Ancestors indigenous to this continent as well as “mixed blood” people who can’t meet the minimum threshold set forth by the federal government. This is a system established to dispossess the

descendants of the cultural groups who hold binding contracts with the federal government. So, the system currently in place to dispossess the living from their Ancestors isn't surprising. It isn't fair and it isn't right, but it is par for the course.

Great Basin Archaeological Research: What Value is it for Tribes?

In the Great Basin, many archaeological models have been built upon ecological models of hunting and gathering or foraging to the detriment of culture. This issue is so pervasive, it alone could be the topic of a dissertation focused on the decolonization of Great Basin archaeology. There are multitudes of assumptions built into these models that include the notion that individuals will be in continuous pursuit of resources and terms like “exploiting” are often employed. This, to someone like me who understands traditional tribal values and practices, is completely absurd. This deconstruction necessarily requires a series of tribal Great Basin guest speakers to visit and share their perspectives of the traditional relationships tribal people hold with the ecosystem.

Archaeology, as a subdiscipline of anthropology, has inherited much of the status of the discipline in terms of mainstream acknowledgement that academic archaeologists must surely be doing important and innovative work that propels human understanding of the past forward. Until recently, there has been no question as to the academic right to research whatever and wherever desired. Additionally, because of the peculiarities of the early to recent culture of archaeology, one could not successfully be considered a bona fide professional archaeologist unless they served as a supervising authority over a substantial field excavation. For many of our tribal people, our heritage has continued to

be used as both a training ground for fledgling social scientists, and as the physical manifestations of an academic rite of passage.

Government-to-Government Consultation: What is it?

Legislated cultural resource management (CRM) happened without tribal voice. What constitutes government-to-government consultation is not widely agreed upon. There are many problems with the current policies and processes which will be delved into in future publications.

Furthermore, since cultural resource management is a legislated reality of today's world, Tribes can utilize it to protect heritage. My personal goal as a traditional knowledge keeper is to prepare our tribal members to have intellectual toolkits containing both our traditional values and archaeological understandings. Archaeology is not what we call our heritage, but it is what most state and federal laws call our heritage, so we must maintain an understanding of how to navigate between worldviews and lexicons. I find it to be very fulfilling to have meaningful and well-received interactions with land management agencies, as well as with private and public landowners about my community's needs. We struggle to help the public realize we as tribal people are still here, living and breathing among everyone else. We also have a lot of work to do, hopefully with the help of a growing number of allies, to share in an understandable way how we feel about our homelands. Most critically important is that people know our duty to protect our Ancestors.

Many Tribes in the Great Basin, as well as Tribes elsewhere, have enormous difficulty navigating the bureaucratic and often opaque processes that control cultural

resource protection in the United States. The laws are written to protect cultural resources, but cultural resources are most often defined as “archaeological resources,” so an immediate roadblock is presented in navigating the process. Elected tribal officials, who are the primary contacts for cultural resource management consultation, are not typically trained in archaeology or cultural resource management law. Furthermore, many Tribes do not have the financial capacity to hire a specialist who can sufficiently respond to the numerous letters received by Tribes during peak months. For Tribes who are fortunate enough to have cultural protection policies in place, finding enough financial resources to travel to meetings, review documents such as environmental analyses (EAs), Historic Resources Management Plans (HRMPs), etc., is also burdensome to tribal communities. If all those needs are met, then it is up to the Tribe to find a way to translate their heritage management needs into a set of requests and considerations that the receiving party can understand and is willing to apply to the protection plan.

The needs of tribal heritage protection are landscape and ecosystem-based, while the laws and processes speak to specific areas that are rarely larger than the direct footprint of a project. Tribal cultural resources typically include not only the material record of past human activity on a landscape, and burials, but also often include consideration for the wellbeing of the water, animals, plants, fish, air, birds, and other beings that may be affected by an activity.

Today, cultural resource management as a for-profit business endeavor is ubiquitous. CRM is in constant interplay with tribal communities in the Great Basin. There are numerous cultural resource management businesses that operate within the Great Basin, and they are typically called upon to perform work when a federal nexus is

identified and either the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), or both are implemented. How does cultural resource management as business engages tribal heritage concerns. Because most of the work that private for-profit cultural resource management businesses are not responsible for performing the government-to-government consultation called for in federal legislation, they rarely interact in meaningful ways with Tribes. Occasionally, by design, projects bring tribal representatives in contact with private for-profit CRM companies. Because CRM companies typically only hire individuals with a bachelor's degree or greater in anthropology or a related field, cultural resource management work is often inaccessible to tribal people. In the northern Great Basin, the Oregon portion of the Northern Great Basin, tribal members who have completed archaeological field school have been working for private cultural resource management companies as archaeological technicians for at least the last two decades. This situation does not appear to be widespread, however. When a large interstate utilities project brought more work than there were archaeologists to perform it, tribal members from Great Basin Tribes were hired to train in archaeological pedestrian survey, archaeological testing excavation, and archaeological data recovery. This field interaction, while not collaborative, did allow for archaeologists and Great Basin Natives the opportunity to build one-on-one working relationships. Conversations about the importance of tribal heritage were incorporated into the broader field conversations, although it remains to be seen if any of that information was considered in the final written reports.

Toward a Decolonialist Agenda

In my understanding of a decolonial and collaborative archaeology, a fully vetted project requires both the meaningful involvement of tribal knowledge keepers, the “PhDs” of our traditional culture, and archaeologists with advanced training in Western academia. While some answers to the past may never be possible, a more complete picture is achievable through the inclusion of communities that hold cultural ties to the cultural materials in question. I have been involved in the field of archaeology since paper maps, alidade, and compass technology were all standard necessities of the trade, with those tools now mostly replaced by GIS, GPS, total stations, and the like. It is extremely encouraging to witness that a paradigmatic change is occurring because of the multitude of voices rising from within academic circles and beyond questioning the status quo.

We engage with some collaborative and decolonizing practices at work through analysis of recent case studies to better understand the elements that are necessary for successful collaborations, as well as identify methods that could be applied more broadly in cultural resource management and academic contexts where collaboration is not a central factor. Recent examples of Indigenous collaborative projects include the collaborative field schools that have been occurring at Grand Ronde, Oregon (Bach 2016), and the collaborative field school that occurred at Stewart Indian School (Cowie et al. 2019).

The Grand Ronde Tribe is comprised of numerous tribal groups that were relocated to a Coastal Reservation in Oregon in the late 19th century. In the mid-twentieth century, the federal government chose to extinguish recognition of its treaties and agreements to various Tribes and the Grande Ronde was among those sovereign nations

that were terminated. They achieved restoration in the late 20th century and have become the most successful gaming Tribe in Oregon. They have recently partnered with the University of Washington Department of Anthropology to work collaboratively toward archaeological documenting their history at Grand Ronde. The collaborative archaeological field school has been by all reports very successful toward meeting the needs of both the Grand Ronde tribal people and the University of Washington Department of Anthropology.

The Stewart Indian School historic collaborative field school exemplifies a strong effort with many successes in collaboration. Multiple tribal people served as collaborators throughout the project, and the project became what it became because of the collective efforts to find and work on a project that would be meaningful for all the collaborators. The Native students learned more about field methods and academic archaeology, and the university students learned about tribal values and the effects of archaeology and potentially, their own future research on tribal peoples. Moreover, we all gained more experience with listening and finding ways to reach consensus.

Revisiting Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project

The Our Ancestors' Walk of Sorrow Project has fulfilled the goals for true collaboration. This project addresses how, after the Bannock War of 1878, surviving Paiute, Shoshone, and Bannock peoples marched to Washington State. Those people marched from Ft. Harney, Oregon, and were held as prisoners of war at Ft. Simcoe before being released. The people that left went to numerous places including at least 10 currently active Indian Reservations. They and their descendants continue to hold the

history of those events. The written works include those of Sarah Winnemucca who played an important but controversial role in historical events. Archived historic military journals, public newspaper accounts, oral histories of tribal and nontribal historians, provide additional details. This, coupled with the contemporary technologies of geography and archaeology will provide the greatest evidence for creating accurate narratives of the removal event. The collaborative model is evidenced in the working title as an agreed upon project name derived from thoughtful discussion among the collaborators. The consensus driven discussions have been very fruitful thus far, and in addition to providing data associated with the direct research design, will contribute to the broader goals of sharing power and knowledge to make our discipline greater than ever before.

Great Basin Tribal Culture and Heritage Issues

It is common knowledge among our tribal communities that archaeologists hold power over our heritage. Because of the current positionality of archaeologists, they may also use their social capital to reduce those power inequalities. The control archaeologists levy over our heritage is evidenced in every publication and report recorded and filed that did not have appropriate tribal inclusion. This is the legacy of part archaeological work. What will be acceptable practice in the future? Incorporating discussion of some of these issues into scholarly publications and classroom syllabi will move the conversations forward toward a more inclusive future.

The Importance of Indigenous Presence in Archaeological Discourse

Because of whom I am and what I do, I imagine I have approached the issue of the Great Basin differently than most would, posed the same questions. A common refrain from my tribal relatives in many places in the Great Basin is that “archaeologists make up things about our people.” Because of past and-to a great degree-current power inequalities between Great Basin tribal peoples, and governmental and academic institutions, what the tribal people think about archaeologists and archaeology hasn’t made much impact. An angry phone call here, a demonstration there, attorneys now and again, but the status quo has mostly continued. As an Indigenous archaeologist who knows that archaeologists and tribal peoples can and do work together and achieve great successes when they achieve true collaboration, I ask, why are we so far behind in the Great Basin, and what can we do to catch up? I assert that until we are willing to break down the barriers that have isolated academic knowledge from tribal knowledge, our work is incomplete, and our work is inaccurate. While we can never completely know whether our research results are The Truth, we come much closer to exhausting options of alternative truths if we take the time to earnestly consider a question from all available facets. Until there are more frequent and meaningful conversations where true partnerships are reached, the power imbalances will remain, and the distrust will continue. Our Great Basin heritage protection efforts will be limited to archaeological heritage only perhaps inadvertently also benefiting tribal heritage in some random way. The archaeological heritage of the Great Basin has used the material record of this region, but not for the benefit of the Indigenous people of the Great Basin. There is an element of perversion in confiscating someone else’s past and reinventing it as one’s own. While I

understand the campaigns to save “America’s Treasures” (National Park Service 2024) were an attempt to curb the looting and other destructive activities modern populations were participating in that caused damage to cultural sites, there must be a better way to preserve and protect sites while at the same time honoring, or at least acknowledging the communities who have direct cultural ties to those people and things of the past. It must also be remembered that many of the places that have always been important, continue to be important, and continue to be frequented as accessible. It’s difficult for tribal people to share that information when there has been a long history of researchers gleaning information from tribal people, representing the information in the writing, and then becoming the “expert” of the people and the topic at hand. Early career archaeologists and students need to understand these dynamics. They need to consider these issues to decide whether they will aim to perpetuate the status quo or move the discipline in more enlightened directions as they become the next generation of researchers.

The Great Basin as a cultural sphere includes part of California, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada. Due to the relatively late colonization of the area and the tribal peoples’ tenacity to hold onto their cultures and traditional lands, there continues to be strong tribal communities in the Great Basin. There is also extremely good preservation of the material record of the past because of the arid climate and low population density in the region. There has been a great deal of anthropological and archaeological research completed since the early 20th century. For all these reasons and because of emerging practices in working together, there is enormous potential for collaboration in the Great Basin. To achieve this, archaeologists must agree it is both ethical and in the best interest of their discipline to find ways to extend olive branches when feasible and relinquish

some of the power they have inherited via the mechanisms of colonialism and State domination. Writing an academic paper on the topic of Great Basin heritage, as tribal heritage, was difficult to write about Indigenous concerns with archaeology during the millennium. There simply wasn't much literature that could be drawn from to cite points raised and conclusions drawn. Everything I have stated as a tribal concern, when I was unable to find a specific reference, is drawn from my 36 years of interactions in tribal heritage management in the Great Basin, and the many conversations I have had with Great Basin tribal Elders and other on these issues. I do not try to paint myself as an authority or "expert," but I have my own experiential wisdom to bring to the conversation, and as tribal tradition tells us, it too has value.

This life understanding of connection to place and working hard is cemented through ritual and practice from the time Neme (Northern Paiute) are born. Traditional Northern Paiute culture asserts not taking too much from any one source, and that in engaging in that exchange, a reciprocal relationship must be established. In practice, still today, traditional Northern Paiute people do not strive to achieve great strides in the capitalist economic system. Work for a wage is something that should only be engaged in only to the point it meets basic needs and allows for helping others. Excess material possessions often lead to illness and to maintain balance, wage economy work is not something that should become central in one's life, at least not for the sake of earning a greater wage.

Within archaeology, especially historical archaeology, it has been my experience that racial assignment of material objects happens without much thought. These assumptions often posit that if an arrowhead, bead, ground stone, and the like is found in

the Great Basin, that the ethnicity assigned should be Native American. Conversely, if a metal object, formed boot leather, etc., is found, its usually assumed and recorded as a non-Native American artifact assemblage. When these assumptions are made, they perpetuate the concept that Natives are part of the past and did not continue to exist past the time of westward expansion.

One additional potential consideration of this from my own experiences may be that because a person's energy, known in our culture as Puha, is left on everything that is made or touched throughout the course of a lifetime. Traditional custom must occur when an individual passes away for the person to experience wellness in the afterlife. Because of this, the material record of traditional Northern Paiutes would look quite different than the archaeological matrices of Western culture.

Issue: Archaeologists Making Ethnic Assignments to the Material Record

Since the late 1950s, various hypotheses related to population movements in the Great Basin were emerging. Of considerable discussion was the perceived inability of archaeologists to account for a hypothesized population expansion of Numic peoples throughout the Great Basin in the last millennium (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982:485). Since no impetus for adaptive change was evident, the hypothesized Numic spread concept left researchers seeking alternative explanations. One alternative explanation offered that reinvigorated discussion was that competitive advantages inherent to a particular group's adaptive strategy may allow them to prevail over another group with an adaptive strategy less advantageous to the given situation in the given time (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982). A variety of other ideas and assertions of when, why, and how a

Numic Spread occurred have been posited since 1982 (see Madsen and Rhode 1994) with little consensus emerging.

If the Numic Spread occurred in a manner like what Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982) assert, the population movement should be evidenced in the material record. Desert Side-Notched Projectile Points have been considered to mark the arrival of Numic groups and therefore provide an opportunity to evaluate a potential population movement via the material record. The supposition of this study is that if Desert Side-Notched technology accompanied by a population movement did occur, the area's most recently inhabited by a new group's lithic technology, would have fewer relative quantities of that technology represented in the material record. Yet, we have no way of knowing the true quantity of deposits of these point types. As the Culture & Heritage Department Director at the Burns Paiute tribe I have monthly, sometimes weekly requests for the return of our people's cultural items. As discussed elsewhere, the sheer volume of items that have been removed from our lands over the last two centuries is surely enormous.

Desert Side-Notched projectile points were found in our northern reaches of our homelands that were identified in direct association with camas bulbs that were baked in subterranean ovens. The dates indicate people were in the Northern peripheries of the Great Basin using Desert Side-Notched points much earlier than previous proposed (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013). Shaul (2014) offers a recent critical view of some NEH assertions as well.

Who are the Neme?

The word meaning ‘The People’ for Northern Paiute and Western Shoshone is Numu, or Numa, or Neme, or Newe, depending on what part of the Great Basin you are in and which tribal group you are addressing. Most if not all Tribes belonging to the Numa assert their band has been in their homelands since time immemorial. Merriam-Webster (2024) defines time immemorial as: “1: time so long past as to be indefinite in history or tradition,” and “2: a time antedating a period legally fixed as the basis for a custom or right.” Certainly, in the context of the various tribal websites and other publications, the use of the term time immemorial is arguably meant to mean since the beginning of the People.

Dr. Melvin Brewster (2003:7) archaeologist and Northern Paiute from Schurz, Nevada, stated of the Numu in his dissertation, “It reflects the connection of all life, as seen through the perspective of a related people. It is a term inclusive of all Numic speaking peoples and related Uto-Aztecan speakers....” Brewster (2003:7) goes on to say, “This connection is that we (Numu, Nuwuvi, Numa, Nutsiyu, and Nuwe, or Punown) are the people here now, connected to those of the past and those of the future.” The origin of the Numa as an ethnically distinct group of people is currently undeterminable in terms of the absolute. What is safe to say is that for those Tribes asserting their home in the Great Basin since time immemorial decidedly do not mean since the last 500-1000 years.

When will the Numic Expansion Hypothesis Die?

The term “Numic” appears to have originated from a linguistic classification system developed by Kroeber and adopted by (Lamb 1958:96). Lamb relays Kroeber’s subdivision of Numic into three categories: mono-Paviotso, Shoshone Comanche, and Ute Chemehuevi. The term Numic has since been used broadly within archaeological and linguistic circles.

Critiques of archaeology as they relate to Great Basin heritage issues are emerging. Because it is an issue of such monumental headache, no Great Basin Indigenous heritage researchers should go without a thorough discussion of the Numic Expansion Hypothesis (NEH). Lamb (1958) developed a glottochronological hypothesis for the Uto-Aztecan language branch evident in the Great Basin. The Numic spread model is based on the Numic Expansion Hypothesis (NEH) posited by Lamb in 1958. Lamb conducted lexicostatistical linguistic analysis on the temporal and geographic data for Numic speaking culture groups. He asserted that the origin of the Numic culture was in the region of Death Valley. Based on his calculations, Lamb (1958:98-99) suggested the expansion started about 1000 years ago.

As Lamb (1958:98) acknowledged, lexicostatistics was controversial. It appears especially problematic for use among non-Indo-European language stocks (Black 1997). Grayson (1994:20) discusses potential problems with Lamb’s analysis, in addition to the difficulty of archaeological application of Lamb’s hypothesis. Regardless, numerous archaeologists have used the Numic Spread as a backdrop to their research (Adovasio 1986a, 1994; Madsen and Rhode 1994:3). Unbeknownst to many archaeologists is the

outrage the NEH inspires among Indigenous Great Basin communities once they become aware of it.

Others at that time (Hoijer 1955) and later (Oswald 1965; Onwuejeogwu 1975; Starostin 2013) have also critiqued the validity of lexicostatistics for accurately determining language diffusion. Grayson (1994:20) also mentions this potential problem with Lamb's analysis about archaeological applications of Lamb's hypothesis. Despite these potential problems, numerous archaeologists have used the Numic Expansion Hypothesis as a measure from which to compare and interpret their own analyses (e.g., Madsen and Rhode 1993:3; Adovasio 1986a). Archaeological interpretation of the NEH as not only a language spread but a population spread have looked for evidence of such a movement in the material record from a variety of contexts. A variety of topics and methods have been employed to evaluate cultural affinity comparing ethnographic and archaeological data in the Great Basin. Organizing the material record both chronologically and by culture type, specifically archaeological culture type, has been an important goal of archaeologists in the Great Basin (Grossup 1960; Gunnerson 1962). Likewise, many Great Basin cultural anthropologists (Steward 1941; 1943; Stewart 1941, 1942; Fowler 2002; Fowler and Liljeblad 1986; Kelly and Fowler 1986) also have participated in such efforts.

Basketry is asserted by Great Basin anthropologists (Adovasio 1986a, Fowler 1989; Grayson 2011) to be one of the strongest cultural markers used by anthropologist to assign ethnicity. Adovasio (1986b:194) reports that the preservation of basketry in North America is unparalleled to anywhere else in the world. In an evaluation of basketry as a cultural affinity marker Barker et al. (2000: 24) state:

Between 4500 B.C. and A.D. 1000 coiled parching trays were characteristic and dominated other forms of basketry. After A.D. 1000 they are conspicuously eclipsed by twined textile. An example of a distinct technological change is that the pre-Paiute occupants constructed three rod foundation coiled bowls, caps, and round flat trays. Northern Paiute constructed twined parching trays, twined baskets, and twined caps. Lawrence Dawson suggests those pitched water bottles, so characteristic of the Northern Paiute, are not present in the archaeological record before A.D. 1000. Lovelock wickerware is present between 1000 B.C. and A.D. 1000 in the form of burden baskets. The Northern Paiute constructed twined burden baskets. Z-twisted twined technology dominates archaeological textiles dated before A.D. 1000. After the postulated arrival of the Numic speakers, twining predominates. Ethnographic accounts demonstrate that Northern Paiute women did not make coiled baskets until relatively recently. (Fowler 1989:83-84 and footnotes there) and some, including those from the Spirit Cave area never adopted the practice (Stewart 1941:386). Park's informant from Pyramid Lake said that "In the old days coiled baskets were not made. Women learned to make them after they saw them in stores." (Fowler [sic] 1989:83-84).

From my humble perspective, I would argue that it is not always the case that form and method will be completely consistent. For instance, for quite some time now I have pondered the issue of our Wadatika *huup* or cradleboard being different from the other Paiute bands. While many of the attributes are shared with the Neme from other basins, the main structure of our cradleboards differs in significant ways from others. While overall, there may be certain assumptions that can be made for a people as an ethnic group, it only stands to reason that there will be variation among and between the specific functional and stylistic attributes of any aspect of the material attribute of a given culture. I recall a class sponsored by the Burns Paiute Culture & Heritage Department for making Neme moko (Paiute moccasins). We concluded there were two primary styles made by our people that had been handed down through their families. Two very different methods for manufacture. Yet, both styles were unequivocally, Paiute. In light of all of the socio-political trouble archaeologist bring to our communities with their postulating

about culturally constructed ethnic identities and what heritage items constitute which heritage, I think it's past due time that archaeologists stop stirring the pot. There are too many unknown variables about ethnic identity in the past and we have seen how quickly identity can change regardless of the physical objects present in one's household. We only need to look at how quickly people became American or Mexican or Metis, to see that searching for ethnicity in the ground is highly subjective.

Some preliminary studies have been conducted in the Great Basin to determine genetic affinities between living Great Basin Indigenous communities, and the skeletal materials that have been recovered from the Great Basin (Kaestle 1995, 1997, 1998; Kaestle and Horsburgh 2002; Kaestle, et al. 1999). While genetic relationships are traceable from the present to the recent past, it is yet unachievable to provide a consistently traceable genetic lineage for an entire contemporary cultural population into the deep past even when all available evidence is analyzed. Kaestle (1995, 1997, 1998) and others have worked extensively in the region with inconclusive results for the long-term genetic lineage of Great Basin populations. The recent conclusion of DNA analysis confirming the biological affinities of the Ancient One of Spirit Cave to the Fallon Paiute-Shoshone Tribe, and similar results from the Ancient One of Kennewick having biological affinities to nearby tribal nations may quiet all but the most persistent corpse abusing enthusiasts. It is truly a shame that our communities are put on trial in the public court of opinion when we work to protect our Ancestors. It is also shameful that our Ancestors are metaphysically and physically assaulted by the Western scientific inquiries.

Burial practices have been considered by some anthropologists to be an indicator of ethnic affinity. Perhaps one of the starkest differentiations between Northern Paiutes

cultures and some of the tribal groups to the north and west is the treatment of the dead. In at least the ethnographic period and within the memory of the informants involved in the various anthropological ethnographic studies, it is held that Northern Paiute typically bury their dead, opting for cremation in specific situations (Stewart 1941:421, 443), while numerous other groups such as the Klamath traditionally cremated their deceased at cremation mounds (Cressman 1956:396). While it is difficult and presumptuous today, this is how it has always been, it is certainly a consideration when looking at the overall picture of Great Basin precontact elements. While due to various legislation such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA), and much analysis of Native American bodies and burial items have been curtailed, it is still often possible to identify in inadvertent discovery contexts whether human remains are associated with a burial or cremation event.

Oral tradition has been used by some archaeologists (Moss 1993; Losey 2002; McMillin and Hutchison 2002; Whitely 2002) to support interpretations of the archaeological record. Sutton (1993) relates information reported in ethnographic data to evaluate his interpretations of the information against the archaeological record to look for any clues of migration in the history of Numic speaking peoples. Most oral history he reports is at least third hand, but he interprets the data to support northerly and easterly movements by the actors within the narratives. From this, Sutton (1993:124) finds support of a population migration within the ethnographies of Numic peoples.

Several curiosities enveloped my thoughts in reading the Sutton article. The first related to his recounting of a Lowie (1909) report discusses “The Boy’s Travels and the Water Youths (119)” and I cannot help but wonder if he did not misinterpret this tale. I

have never personally heard of any stories about “Water Youths,” but we certainly have many about water babies. Next is the issue of pine nuts. Sutton uses examples of recounted stories about the search for and the theft of pine nuts (1993:117, 119). For us in the northernmost reaches of the cultural extent of the Great Basin, we have a story of stolen pine nuts as well, only our story tells us that pine nuts once grew here in southeastern Oregon, until they were stolen by crow, who sliced a slit in his leg and hid the pine nuts in his wound then flew south with them. Additionally, Sutton (1993:117) discusses Numic stories about the ice barrier. A Wadatika oral history of the wall of ice is well known which I take to recount when the glaciers were still on the landscape. We also have an oral history of when the Cascade Mountains were erupting and raining fire to the west, but that is for discussion of another day.

The projectile point typologies of the Northern Great Basin are well established. Thomas (1981), and others (Justice 2012; Oetting 1994) have published projectile point chronologies for areas in the Western Great Basin. Of projectile point types, the most prevalent arrow point types in the Western Great Basin are Rosegate Series, Eastgate Series, and Desert Series. Desert Side-Notched projectile points (DSN) are argued to be the latest form to appear in the Western Great Basin and have been posited by some to be indicators of an ethnic population movement expanding northward and eastward across the Great Basin (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982).

When Hudson Trading Company fur trapper, Peter Skene Ogden entered the Malheur Lake Basin in 1834, he commented on the population of Snakes (a common reference for Paiute people in the area) present around the Lake. He stated there were so many lodges that the people must represent the largest nation in all the Americas (Ogden

1909). Deadly foreign diseases preceded the coming of Euro-Americans to the Northern Great Basin of Oregon. Post-contact interactions led to an extermination campaign led by General Crook in the 1860s, war in the 1870s, and removal in 1979 (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997). By the time the people were marching north to Fort Yakama, less than 800 Neme remained. When early 20th century ethnographers began their efforts to salvage traditional lifeways, only a small percentage of the population was left to provide information. After all that was experienced, it is a wonder anyone willingly participated in the ethnographic process. Our Elders preach “don’t tell the Taibo anything,” so much of our deepest understandings and most critically important historical details remain within our communities. In our attempts to understand the past, our communities must be actively involved. If we are to understand the past, we must start with what is known and work toward what is not known employing Occam’s razor. Madsen and Rhode (1994:213) conclude their edited volume with these considerations:

What accounts for the historical distribution of people who spoke Numic languages? This fundamental question is easily stated, but, as the papers in this volume attest, arriving at a satisfactory answer is not. The basic question quickly gives way to a series of distinct but related issues: Where did the first Numic speakers come from? When did they spread out across the West? How did they accomplish their spread, and who did they replace? What ultimate conditions caused their expansion? Who are “they,” anyway, and how can we recognize them in the prehistoric, linguistic, and ethnologic residues of their passing?

None of these questions has an answer all can agree on. Indeed, the range of opinion expressed here suggests that a consensus about many aspects of Numic prehistory is a long way off. Opinions differ not simply on empirical details such as the location of the Numic homeland, when they spread from that homeland, and why they spread, but go deeper to embrace matters of epistemology and method. At the same time, there appear to be surprising areas of consensus that may, unfortunately, be masked by the enthusiastic manner in which the contributors express their diverse opinions. It is worthwhile, then, to review where the community of scholars represented in this volume stand on these basic issues, to detect

areas of general consensus and visit some points of divergence in perspective, and to seek some paths to resolution.

They (Madsen and Rhode 1994:213) conclude that among the “traditionalist,” “basinist,” and “peripheralist” camps of thought about a Numic Spread, that most archaeologist agree on the coarse-grained overview of a population expansion occurring within the Great Basin, while there appeared no coming consensus of the fine-grained specific of when, why, and how, such an expansion occurred.

In Madsen and Rhode (1994) edited volume, Aikens (1998) discusses Nichols’ (1981) identification of areal language features shared among Uto-Aztecan and neighboring Penutian and Hokan languages that indicate a deep temporal relationship between the languages. Such commonalities include word formation and grammar.

About glottochronology, Aikens (1998:5) states:

Application of this method, along with a healthy dose of intuition, yields a date of about 5000 years ago for the ancient speech community that gave rise to the Uto-Aztecan languages known today (Hale 1958; Swadesh 1954; 1967; Miller 1966, 1983). A recent review however (Grayson 1994), extends earlier critiques to show convincingly that glottochronological age determinations are subject to so many potentially confounding variables that they simply cannot be relied upon. Subscribing to this viewpoint, and for reasons adduced below, I have come back around to support some of the earlier contentions of Taylor (1961), Hopkins (1965), and Goss (1977), who argued on various grounds that Uto-Aztecan ancestry in the far west, and especially the northern intermontane, is traceable to a much greater time depth than 5000 years.

From the discussion of Aikens and others discussed in this work the issue of the Numic Spread as a onetime unidirectional population movement is highly unlikely. He instead supports the hypotheses that ethnic populations with a deep time history of interaction

fluctuated in use range dependent on a variety of yet to be identified factors (Aikens 1998:8).

A skilled flintknapper could make a projectile point in five to seven minutes (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013). With the abundance of high-quality obsidian available in the Great Basin region of Oregon is odd that relatively few Desert Side-Notched projectile points would be identified overall. Given Peter Skene Ogden's (1909) account of the populace around Malheur Lake in 1834, and the paucity of Desert Side-Notched projectile points in the material record, it may be possible that as some have argued, Rosegate, Rose Spring, and other stylistic variations may still have been in use at contact in the Northern Great Basin along with adoption of a recently introduced projectile point form.

Life for Indigenous people of the Americas has changed dramatically in the last 525 years. In the Great Basin, disease preceded first contact, as did the introduction of the horse. Genocide, war, relocation, removal, and the historic-to-present day Indian reservation system all affect intragroup and intergroup interactions among tribal peoples in varying ways. Traditional interaction between Northern Paiutes and their ethnic neighbors has consisted of a continuous relationship of skirmish and raid with theft of women and children often a primary goal. In ethnographic literature, Klamath informants report the practice of sending their women to the middle of Klamath Lake when Northern Paiute raiders were nearby. Likewise, raiding parties from the north and west frequented the Northern Great Basin to seek out women to capture. These raids into the Great Basin increased after 1700 when trade of Northern Paiute men, women, and children as slaves, to Northwest Tribes became more prevalent. Spier (1930:49) discusses the taking of

slaves as wives by the Klamath. What follows is that there must have been a fair amount of genetic mixing between the ethnicities just as there is today.

Hundreds of thousands of archaeological sites exist within the homelands of the Burns Paiute that can be directly attributed to the everyday life practices of our Ancestors. Another archaeological positive indicator of Northern Paiute presence at a given archaeological site includes locating and identifying Desert Side-Notched (DSN) projectile points. While the absence of such points in the assemblage does not negate a Paiute presence, the appearance of DSNs most certainly correlates with Northern Paiute utilization of the locale. DSN projectile points were the last type of arrowhead style used before the bow and arrow fell out of use in the northern Great Basin. While Northern Paiutes did use other stone tool forms both prior to and contemporaneously with DSNs, no well documented evidence of Tribes other than Northern Paiute utilizing the DSN typology exists.

Chapter X: Where Do We Go from Here? Recommendations for the Future

Contemporary Political Considerations

The Burns Paiute Tribe was created as a federally recognized tribal entity in 1968. Historic documents from the Burns Paiute from the early 20th century indicate that most people participating in the general membership meetings of 1936 were survivors of what can best be described as the Paiute Holocaust, supported the official name of the community to be The Confederated Paiute Bands of Oregon (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b). The story of our Tribe being named after the Scottish poet, Robert Burns, seems stranger than fiction. Our 20th Century Ancestors felt the urgency of giving the federal government a name within the stated deadline. Because federal recognition was more important than what we were to be called, Burns Paiute Tribe was quickly decided upon as our official new name (Personal communication with Burns Paiute Elcers). A true, “call me whatever you want, except late for dinner” scenario!

Our tribal membership consists primarily of descendants of the Wadatika (Wada eaters) Band of Northern Paiute Indians (aka “Snakes” or “Shoshone” Indians in some historical documentation). Although the surviving peoples of at least six other eastern Oregon Northern Paiute bands also returned to Harney County their home and after the Bannock War.

The Burns Paiute Tribe holds aboriginal title over 5250 square miles within central-eastern Oregon, northern Nevada, northeastern California, and western Idaho. The Burns Paiute Tribe’s aboriginal territory and traditional use areas are well documented and include portions of the Cascade Mountain range to the west, the Columbia River to

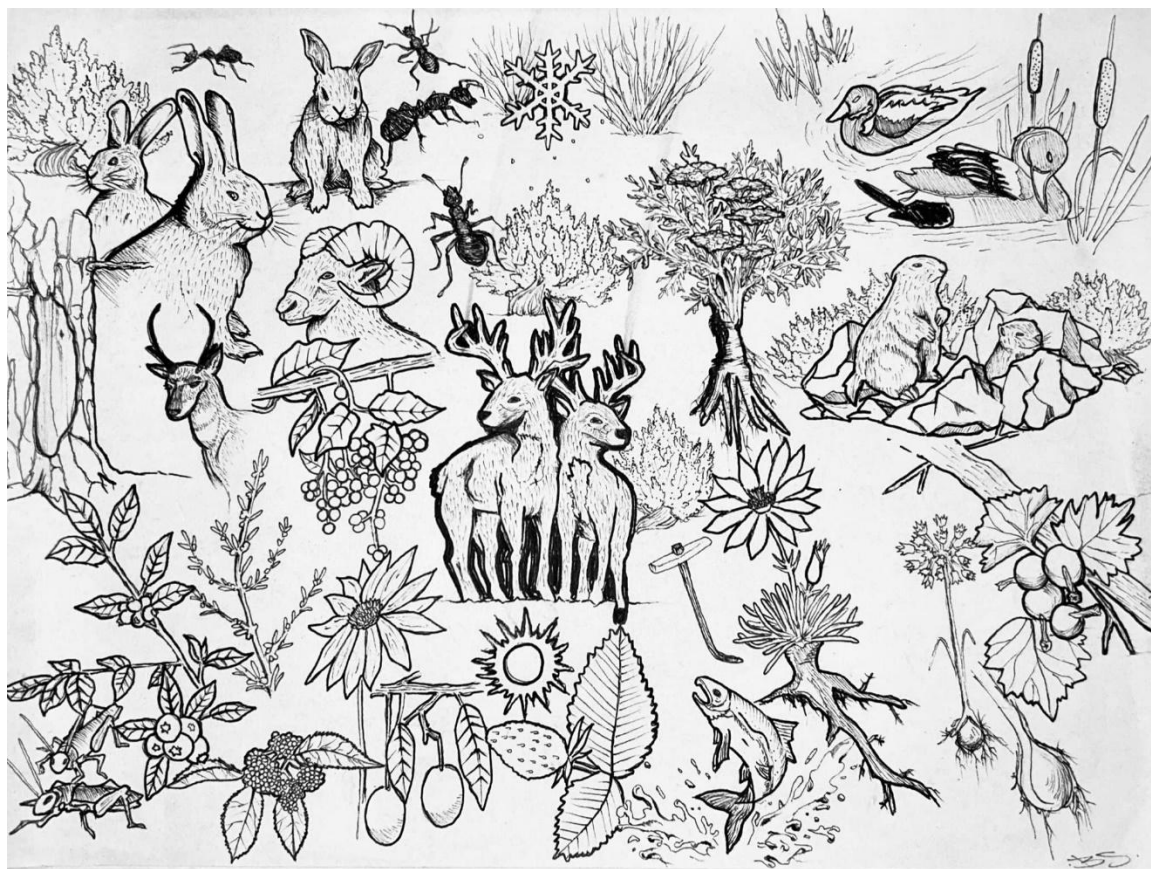
the North, the Western Great Basin to the south, and the High Plains/Plateau to the east. The geographic expanse of Northern Paiute homeland is well documented by tribal oral history, exploration military history, and ethnographic and archaeological records (Braly 2007; Burns Paiute Tribe 2013; Couture 1978 and 1996; Kroeber 1925; Kroeber and Marsden 1972; Steward 1938; Stewart 1941; Stowell 2002; and Whiting 1950; Winnemucca-Hopkins 2022).

The Burns Paiute Tribe realizes and understands that our aboriginal territory and traditional use areas overlap those of some of our neighboring Tribes. This has been the way it always has been as far back as our oral histories reach. Because of the overlapping areas of concern, the Burns Paiute Tribe has made efforts to work cooperatively with our neighboring Tribes to the degree possible, to assure that the ecosystems within our shared lands are exempt from further degradation.

According to archaeological classifications, the ecosystem that exists within the homelands of the Burns Paiute Tribe consists of patchy resources that are usually highly predictable in their localities, but only available in seasonal cycles. Prior to Euro-American intrusion, each band had their own “seasonal round” that allowed members of the band to arrive in their usual and accustomed hunting and gathering locales in time each year to collect necessary supplies to survive through the following winter. There were and are no exclusive band level rights to most areas within the homelands of the Northern Paiute. From my understanding of our Paiute etiquette, an invitation is needed or otherwise gained permission from the people who are born of a particular area, before hunting and/or gathering in an area where the primacy of another band is recognized. Families typically return to the same particular areas they have cultivated through years

of use. If the seasonal rounds of families were to each be mapped, they would be a series of overlapping circles inclusive of seasonal gathering locales that were and are more heavily populated during specific times of the year. I don't anticipate such a map ever being produced given the secrecy of important family-centric landscapes. What we can offer is some of our ecosystem relatives (Figure 10.1) to hold space for those that cannot speak for themselves in these dialogues.

Balance and health consist of maintaining an equitable and balanced relationship between and among all things that possess *spirit* and *power*. Water, Sun, Moon, Stars, Air, plants, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, insects, and landforms are some of the beings



**Figure 10.1 Burns Paiute Seasonal Round 1st Edition
(Illustrated by Brett A. Sam 2024)**

possessing their own *spirit* and *power*. Along with the responsibility to always use best practices to maintain a balance within our interactions with other beings indigenous to our homelands, we are charged with the moral imperative of protecting the human remains of our Ancestors. Refusing to do everything in our power to protect our Ancestors and our environment will result in disaster for our people (Teeman 2008).

Portland State University Master's student Marilyn Couture began working with our community in the 1970s. After completing her graduate degree, Couture continued to actively work with our community into the 1990s. Couture (1996:77) explains her understanding of Burns Paiute cultural belief and interaction with others in our homelands in the following:

Taken as a whole, the world view of the Paiute was one of humanity in cooperation with the spiritual realm. Power was granted to the individual to be better able to deal with the forces at hand, or to come to the healing aid of the community. To not accept or obey the instruction of the spirit powers was to invite danger, illness, or death.

Furthermore, Couture states (1996:77):

The Paiute existed for long centuries in a landscape which today presents challenges for its modern inhabitants, even with all of their attendant conveniences and technology. The Paiute clearly had a relationship with their world which worked for thousands of years. This is a satisfactory measure for the relative success of any culture.

The cosmological beliefs of the Burns Paiutes are like those of other Northern Paiute groups in Oregon, California, Nevada, and Idaho. The very act of living involves continuous observance of individual level ritual. To be an ethical person consists of using one's own individual power to help keep everything in balance.

The Burns Paiutes are the descendants of the survivors of an all-out military assault that was documented as a campaign of extermination (Crook 1986; Lesniak 2014; Michno 2011) as discussed in Chapters IV and VI. The people that made it back to Oregon and lived together as a community in Harney County represent only a small fraction of the Paiute people who were residing within our homelands prior to the mid-1800s. Posttraumatic stress, intergenerational trauma, continued racism, introduced diseases, and extreme poverty due to a lack of access to lands and resources that made up a complete seasonal round, severely impeded the Burns Paiute's ability to protect the ecosystems that comprise their homelands.

Over the course of the last century, the Burns Paiute have slowly increased their population and have worked to improve our socioeconomic status. Along with the increased wellness of our people, we have diligently worked to increase our efforts to perform our ethical duties toward the other beings within our homelands. We must be the voice helping protect the water, the land, the animals, the birds, the fish, and every other being with Spirit and Power.

Our Relatives are not Resources

In addition to the concerns to protect and preserve cultural resources, it must be noted that the term, resources, is only used because it is already part of the federal legislation that controls our heritage, landscapes, and ecosystems. We do not, as a rule, speak of our relatives as *resources*. In our aboriginal territory and traditional use areas, there is also the mostly unspoken but ever-present concern for the human remains and funerary objects of our Ancestors who were taken by force from our homelands before

and during initial Euro-American contact, and also those people who were died along the marches to Ft. Vancouver and Ft. Simcoe, as well as those who died before returning or died as they attempted to return. Finding a way to protect those Ancestors is also critically important to the wellness of our community, but a comprehensive methodology to effectively protect the Ancestors whose remains are beyond our homelands is yet to be fully developed.

In seeing the need to speak to issues of culture and heritage protections in our aboriginal territory, the Burns Paiute adopted the Aboriginal Territorial Protection Policy (Burns Paiute Tribe 2006:1), which includes the following statement:

The Burns Paiute Tribe belongs to the Great Basin culture, and its members practice the traditions that were handed down by their Ancestors. The Ancestors of the Burns Paiute Tribe traditionally followed the food supply throughout central/eastern Oregon, Idaho, Northern California, and northern Nevada. Major campsites were along lakes, streams, and rivers, where water sources as well as food could be collected. The resources found within this ancestral territory sustained the Wadatika, and provided for their material, spiritual, and medicinal needs. Today, the Tribe's prehistoric, historic, and contemporary cultural materials including plant resources, medicines, fish, and wildlife are on the decline throughout the Tribe's traditional territory. This decline places the preservation and maintenance of the Tribe's culture and the Tribe's wellbeing in jeopardy.

Because the physical and spiritual health of our people depends upon our good work including protecting our cultural resources, our Tribe is making every effort to expand our ability to protect our homelands.

Burns Paiute Tribe's Cultural Resources Defined

In seeing a need to set forth a more proactive approach to cultural resource protection, the Burns Paiute tribal Council adopted the Cultural Resources Protection and

Management Code in 2007. The Code discusses items with the designation of culturally significant to include but is not necessarily limited to (Burns Paiute Tribe 2007:4.4.112):

- (1) Earth, air, and Water, to the extent the other tribal Laws, Rules, or Regulations do not provide general protection of these resources.
- (2) Human Remains obtained by any federal, state or local agency, and any public or private foundation, company, educational institution, museum or individual within aboriginal territory.
- (3) Funerary items, any jewelry, regalia, tools, sacred objects, clothing, works of art or any other item thought to have been associated, found or obtained at or near a burial site.
- (4) Native wild plants, any native wild traditional plant, or plant parts, plant extract, tree or tree parts, tree extract, grasses, root, bark, seed, or berry used for sustenance, clothing, lodging, regalia, ceremony, arts and crafts, nets, weapons, and healing, by Indian people, traditionally, historically, and contemporarily.
- (5) Native Wild game, any native wild traditional game animal or fish or parts, used for subsistence by Indian people, traditionally, historically, and contemporarily.
- (6) Medicines, any traditional plant, animal, or animal parts, mineral, object, water, or in any combination thereof, used for medicinal purposes by Indian peoples, traditionally, historically, and contemporarily.
- (7) Native Wild Animals. Any wild mammal, bird, fish, insect, reptile or amphibian, parts, hides, skins, bones, teeth, hair, or feathers, not used for sustenance, but having traditional, historical, and contemporary value to the Burns Paiute Tribe in preserving Tribal culture, tradition, history, rights and interests.
- (8) Material associated with traditional habitation and subsistence practices such as stones, stone tools, stone works of art, stone flakes, bones, bone tools, shells, and any other objects commonly associated with archaeological finds or undertakings.
- (9) Petroglyphs, Pictographs, and Petrographs, any work of art that has been etched into stone, with or without the use of pigment, or any work of art that has been placed upon stone by the mere use of pigment. Petroglyphs, Pictographs, and Petrographs shall include only those works of art that have been identified to have traditional and or historical value to the Burns Paiute Tribe and shall not include contemporary works of art or “graffiti.”

This code also sets forth the legal consequences for anyone caught harming or attempting to harm our cultural resources within the lands currently under our Tribe’s jurisdiction.

There are many concerns in terms of cultural protection that go beyond our relationship to archaeology. Some of those broadened concerns are discussed throughout this offering. I would be remiss in my ethical obligation to those other beings if I did not take time to bring their concerns to the forefront, albeit ever so briefly. I have outlined some of the ongoing topics below.

Traditional Cultural Properties

Our Tribe has several legislatively designated Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs), and several more areas that are in queue to be legislatively designated as such. In most cases, the view sheds associated with the central locus of the TCP are included within the TCP designation. Suffice it to say that if there are tangible modifications to the landscape will undoubtedly result in a negative effect for the surrounding ecosystem.

Intangible Losses: A Lesson from Water

CRM as legislated and practiced does not adequately account for the critically important relationships between Indigenous people and their homelands and everyone else, including the winged, four legged, finned, and so on, in those homelands. For the Great Basin, CRM does not do justice in accounting for the importance of the reciprocal relationship between our people and everything else in the ecosystem. A widespread example of this blindness in CRM concerns Water. Seen as a resource by mainstream Western society, the waters are understood by our Neme to have personhood. Because the rights of the waters are often if not always ignored, the *power* and the *spirit* of the waters and everything that depends upon the health of those waters continue to be

negatively affected without consideration. When any consideration does occur, it is usually in reference to the value of water as a resource to humans. The same pattern of neglect of consideration for the ecosystem's rights and our tribal peoples' role in the reciprocal relationships with everything else is played out repeatedly.

Salmon were once abundant within the waterways of our aboriginal territory, and an important part of our Tribe's seasonal round (Couture et. al.1986) but are now completely absent in the eastern portion of our homelands. Furthermore, there is a sharp decrease in their numbers in the rivers of the northern and northwestern areas of our homelands and that sad reality has a negative impact for all the other beings whose survival is interrelated to the survival of those anadromous fish. It is well documented that salmon were a major part of the seasonal round for many if not all the Paiute bands of Oregon and Idaho (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b; Couture 1978; Ogden 1909; Whiting 1950). The salmon runs are within the memories of our oldest living elders, and the Burns Paiute people are working to help the salmon return to their homelands as well (Burns Paiute Tribe 2013b).

We cannot show our children how to hunt, gather, and fish, when there is nothing left to hunt gather, and fish. We cannot practice reciprocal relationships with being who are no longer with us. Failure to adequately protect the ecosystems within our lands is recognized when we must tell our children "What we used to do" because it is no longer an activity that is possible due to environmental degradation.

Today, the Burns Paiute Tribe lives with the cumulative effects of a century and a half of ecosystem degradation within our homeland. The long-term goals of the Burns Paiute include fish passage for the salmon and improved water and habitat quality to the

point that the water systems within our homelands will once again provide healthy sustainable waters for anadromous fish and other beings that depend on water for life.

Our contemporary tribal people suffer under the cumulative adverse effects from current day land uses and management that does not adhere to our Ma ne pu neen. At the same time, it is our responsibility to try and improve things for our descendants. Any alternative under consideration besides those within the ecosystem-based functions as exhibited in our seasonal round will continue to result in a negative effect for the cultural resources of our Neme people. The ecosystem-based approach may result in either no effect or potentially have beneficial effect should efforts toward plant, animals, and fish habitat restoration, water quality improvement, and cultural site protections be effectively implemented.

As previously discussed in several chapters above, Indigenous archaeology(ies) are continuing to emerge as a type of archaeological theory, method, and practice. First, I discuss how archaeology around the world has intersected with Indigenous peoples past and present. I then turn to discussion of the term “Indigeneity” as it has been considered by scholars and others. Next, I discuss “Indigenous Archaeology” as it has come to be understood by people who practice and support it, including the emergence of Indigenous Archaeologies. I conclude with discussion of the value of Indigenous archaeology(ies) to an ever-evolving archaeological discipline and highlight some of the ways Indigenous archaeology(ies) serve to increase archaeology’s efficacy in providing a service to human cultures past and present.

Returning to Indigenous Archaeology: Development, Method, and Theory

Since its inception, archaeology and anthropology have been tools of the State to control Indigenous peoples and their heritage (Atalay 2010a:79; Warrick 2017:88; Wobst 2010a:77). In North America, anthropology dismissed Indigenous peoples' perspectives of their own cultures (Thomas 2000:101). Many Indigenous groups had been silenced by their experience with colonialism and the sociopolitical plight they were left with after conquest. Through these same mechanisms, the academic gained and maintained the position of expert of Indigenous communities (Deloria Jr. 1992:595), and gatekeeper to Indigenous heritage via archaeology (Collwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010). While many tribal groups continue to be opposed to the excavation of their lands and removal of artifacts (Cowie et al. 2022; Warrick 2017:90), the exhumation of their people, and the unabashed study of their material and living cultures, they have historically been powerless to affect much change. In the mid to late 20th century, sociopolitical movements brought about sweeping changes both in North America and elsewhere.

The American Indian Movement (AIM) assisted tribal people in North America to gain voice in some of the archaeological research that was occurring in their aboriginal lands beginning with a protest that occurred at a location in Minnesota (Thomas 2000:198). At the same time, a few Indigenous people were beginning to graduate with archaeological degrees (Watkins 2010:323) from Western education institutions, and tribal people such as Vine Deloria Jr. (1970) and others (Atalay 2010b:47) began to publicly critique anthropology and archaeology.

Internationally, in the archaeological realm, the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) was formally established in 1986 (Smith and Wobst 2005:5). WAC helped and

continues to help facilitate opportunities for scholars, regularly including Indigenous scholars and providing welcoming forums for them to present their research. WAC is welcoming of research such as Indigenous archaeology that has not been readily accepted by some archaeologists but none the less at the forefront of forward thinking in the discipline (Colwell 2016:119).

The Society for American Archaeology (SAA) has continued to make strides toward greater inclusion of Indigenous scholars, with the creation of the Committee on Native American Relations, greater discussions related to Indigenous concerns in the ethics and repatriation committees, numerous sponsored sessions on issues of archaeology and Indigenous peoples, at least one plenary session on the issues of Indigenous peoples and archaeologists working together (2008), and more representation of Indigenous archaeologists on the SAA Executive Board. This advancement in representation has been hard fought and relatively recent. In the United States, tensions escalated during and after the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which brought a multitude of issues to the forefront of discussion that reverberated around the globe. For many Indigenous people, protecting their Ancestors is critically important (Minthorn 2008:42; Sampson 2008:40). Among other things, treatment of burials expresses a worldview, and this can constitute a type of Indigenous knowledge (Nicholas and Bannister 2010:101). Moreover, I argue the dead should be afforded the same dignity and respect regardless of how recent or ancient their interment.

At least some archaeologists were unaware of Indigenous concerns (Wilcox 2010:221), and repatriation brought home the issue. Of the hard feeling between archaeologists and Natives of which Vine Deloria Jr. (1992:595) observed:

...when the reburial issue was first raised and we heard cries of “Science” and its sanctity given as the excuse for not considering the repatriation of Indian human remains and funerary objects, Indians naturally got their backs arched and resentments built quickly. We have been the objects of scientific inquiry for far too long, and it is our intent to become people once again, not specimens.

This unfair but popular portrayal of living Native Americans as backward and/or seeking to negatively affect “America’s heritage” and damage science was commonly held by processualist archaeologists (Clark 1996), and it has been a struggle for many to see things more broadly (Wilcox 2010:221). Also, troubling is the media’s negative lens placed on Indigenous peoples trying to protect their Ancestors (Burke and Smith 2008:20). This negative media causes real life consequences for Indigenous peoples. I recall discussing the Ancient One of Kennewick with my principal investigator as we conducted field work along the shore of the Columbia River. Forgetting in the moment my tribal affiliation he blurted out “damn Indians,” followed by a long awkward pause, and later, an even more awkward apology. Archaeologists don’t typically have a thorough understanding of living Indigenous peoples. Indigenous people’s repatriation and decolonization efforts have been viewed by some archaeologists as an attempt to undermine science (Burke and Smith 2008:20), and as special rights (McGhee 2008) or treatment (Brace et al. 2008:154) by others. The published critiques of archaeology by Indigenous academics continued (Deloria Jr. 1997), while at the same time more Indigenous scholars achieved degrees in archaeology (Silliman 2008:190). In my experience and as others

will attest to below, increased communication across party lines has done much to improve these conditions, but the development of community, collaborative, public, and Indigenous archaeologies has greatly helped quell the antagonisms (Atalay 2012:45; Colwell 2016:119).

The earliest and most notable use of the term “Indigenous archaeology” came about with the publication of Watkins’s (2000) manuscript of the same title. Watkins has a chapter dedicated specifically to the topic of Indigenous archaeology yet never discusses its definition and/or scope. His book primarily speaks to issues in North American among Native Tribes, although he does examples of tribal people from other continents in his discussion of the Indigenous.

Swidler et al.’s (1997) edited volume “*Native Americans and Archaeologists: Stepping Stones to Common Ground*,” Linda Tuhuwai Smith’s (1999) “*Decolonizing Methodologies*,” Watkins’s (2000) “*Indigenous Archaeology*,” and Mihesuah’s (2000) edited volume “*Repatriation Reader*,” were Godsend for Indigenous archaeologists seeking published scholarly materials to support their own writing. Although still limited, these publications provided peer-reviewed chapters and manuscripts in support of Indigenous perspectives about decolonization and archaeology.

While some archaeologists identified these discussions as part of the post-processual endeavor (Wylie 2000:228), archaeology continued to serve its core values of placing a precedent on scientific endeavors. More and more pressure has been placed on archaeology to consider the ethics and human rights issues associated with their work (Smith and Wobst 2005:5). In addition to the shifting conversations of the previous decades, the demographic of individuals involved in the discussions is changing.

First, the women's movement facilitated increased enrollment of women in anthropology and archaeology, then more people of color, and those who consider themselves "Indigenous" began seeking advanced degrees in archaeology. In the early 2000s, the number of Native women with advanced degrees were few and only two were known to have completed doctorate work. This changed very rapidly. As mentioned in the introduction of Chapter II, a loosely organized group for Native archaeologists pursuing advanced degrees called the "Closet Chickens" (Wenner-Gren 2012) provided networking and moral support for individuals making their way through the Ivory Tower. I was first inducted into the Closet Chicken group in 2003 by Desiree Martinez (Tongva), a doctoral student at Harvard, and Dr. Martin Wobst. The group provided support for Indigenous archaeology graduate students, who in many instances were first generations college students, with a shared experience of feeling ideologically isolated in their academic endeavors. Once in conversation, we discovered that we held in common many of the same experiences and critiques of archaeology despite coming from Indigenous communities across North America and beyond, with very different traditional belief systems. Still, coming to an understanding of what we mean individually and as a group when we envision Indigenous archaeology is a continuing conversation (Atalay 2010a:80). Of Indigenous archaeology, Wilcox (2010:222) states, "many of its practitioners have consciously resisted the temptation to enshrine or institute Indigenous archaeology as an exclusive intellectual domain a trend not usually supported by the intellectual territoriality of the academy." I assert that Indigenous Archaeology(ies) exist(s) in a perpetual state of becoming, and that the primary foundational theory of Indigenous archaeology(ies) is that absent colonialist/State control, we as humans hold a

level of equality facilitates consideration of epistemological difference. Nicholas's (2008:1660) enumerates the major goals of Indigenous archaeology(ies) including:

Indigenous archaeology is an expression of archaeological theory and practice in which the discipline intersects with Indigenous values, knowledge, practices, ethics, and sensibilities, and through collaborative and community-originated or directed projects and related critical perspectives. Indigenous archaeology seeks to (1) make archaeology more representative of, responsible to, and relevant for Indigenous communities; (2) redress real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology; and (3) inform and broaden the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological record through the incorporation of Aboriginal worldviews, histories, and science.

These goals are in keeping with the work of numerous Indigenous archaeologists (Atalay 2012; Marek-Martinez 2008; Silliman 2010). Of such research, Wobst (2010a:76-77) writes: "We are witnessing the emergence of a new form of archaeology, an archaeology that is informed by indigenous values and agendas." To be informed by the values of Indigenous communities is a far cry from rejecting Western science in favor of Indigenous epistemologies, yet that is what some people charge of Indigenous archaeology.

Alternative Knowledges

One of the goals of Indigenous Archaeology(ies), for at least some, is to incorporate Indigenous philosophy of cultural heritage management into the archaeological endeavor (Atalay 2006). The concept of time itself is varied among cultures of the world (Harris 2010:65), and some Indigenous archaeologies recognize that traditional Indigenous cultures have equally valid ways of knowing the world (Harris 2010:66). Nicholas and Bannister (2010:102) assert that Indigenous science is directly

comparable to Western science, and that artifacts serve as a link to both Ancestors and their knowledge for some (Nicholas and Bannister 2010:100).

It is far easier to consider the theoretical and methodological implications of Indigenous archaeology(ies) in an academic setting, but the difficulties of carrying out these ideals in real-world situations is sometimes problematic, even in a tribal setting (Thompson 2011).

On Indigeneity and Indigenous archaeology

Smith and Wobst (2005) do not provide a definition for the term “Indigenous” in their seminal volume on the topic of Indigenous archaeologies. Instead, they discuss some of the political and social implications of attempting to define the term stating, “A broadening of the groups that identify as Indigenous has the potential to both strengthen and challenge Indigenous voice, depending on the particular histories and dynamics of local situations” (Smith and Wobst 2005:12). Watkins (2005:430) states that there are numerous issues rolled up within the term “Indigenous” and opts for a definition offered by the International Labor Organization that includes people who are distinguishable from the national community by their custom and tradition, and who are also members of the population that were in a region prior to colonization by another population. Silliman (2008:21) defines Indigenous as referring to “the broad identity of groups who continue to negotiate their sovereignty and self-determination in colonial, settler, postcolonial, and neocolonial worlds.” Johnson (2010:208) discusses the term Indigenous by saying: “‘Indigenous’ is a difficult term to define, and it is often spelt with a capital I to denote its

complexity, but generally refers to Native peoples who have been dispossessed in colonial contexts, such as Native Americans or the Indigenous peoples of Australia.”

The term “Indigenous,” as it concerns Indigenous archaeology is discussed by Wobst (2010b:19) as referring to having a longevity in a place or of being grown of a place, and he uses the terms “old-timers and newcomers” with old-timers being considered Indigenous. He asserts that Indigenous is a relative term dependent upon the sequence of subsequent populations that inhabited a locality. Of this Wobst (2010b:19) states: “Thus, one’s “indigenusness” is not absolute, but variable, and its characteristics are defined relative to encounters with people newer to a place.” In response to a charge made by McGhee (2008), Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. (2010:230) state:

The concept of Indigeneity here is not anchored in an Orientalism-like Aboriginalism eternal, pure, noble, but rather has emerged from the real lived experiences of people who see themselves, and are seen by the world, as native peoples (Clark 2002). The broad-brush strokes of essentialism with which McGhee paints this new paradigm in fact obscures the rich diversity of practices, discussions, and viewpoints that are developing under the banner of Indigenous archaeology.

From my own perspective, what has drawn my toward finding value in meaning in the conversations I’ve had with the “Closet Chickens” and other Indigenous peoples have been the kinship we share not based on any biological affinity, but that we have shared experiences because of the way in which the World sees us. Colonialism essentializes the other (Wobst 2010b:20), colonialism has essentialized us, not the other way around. Smith (2010:61) also points out that issues of Indigenous authenticity are sometimes hurled to delegitimize Indigenous peoples, while at a moment’s notice they may be subject to imposed essentialisms. This recalls the discussion one of my Elders had with me about the difference between an Indian professional and a professional Indian, the

latter being something undesired. We do great harm to ourselves when attempting to judge and/or categorize one another.

Haber (2010:39), discusses his caution of the use or rallying around the concept of “Indigenous” as it is not, he argues, something that exists outside of the colonialist system. That someone is Indigenous is in direct relationship to the colonialist endeavor and what “Indigeneity” is in any given circumstance is mediated by the relationships and circumstances of colonialism. I would argue that although Haber’s identification of the relationship of Indigeneity its meaning is indeed directly related to specific contexts of colonization, at a macro level, but in a closer context, to identify oneself or another as Indigenous from my perspective, is to hold an understanding that the term expresses a kinship among those who are born of communities that have experienced the yoke of colonialism in one fashion or another. Discussions of varying modifications to the traditionally applied definition of Indigenous have been offered (Shay 2012), in attempt to decolonize or post-colonialize the term, but I find their attempts problematic because it continues to be scholars from the Ivory Tower making sweeping decisions potentially affecting many individuals and communities.

Because one does not need to be an Indigenous person to perform Indigenous archaeology, and because attempting to create a hard definition of what constitutes Indigenous in this situation enters the realm of identity politics that reek of the colonial practices of sorting people to either include or exclude from membership, I think it is best to leave the issue of the definition of Indigenous open and fluid. Any attempt to further define it could potentially work counter to the larger mission of decolonization as Smith and Wobst (2005:12) have pointed out the complexities of pinning down the meaning.

A brief return to the topic of Closet Chickens. Echo-Hawk (2010) discusses the network in terms of being brought together because of racialization. I do not agree with that assessment. While it is true, the group sought out Natives pursuing advanced degrees in archaeology, the kinship I felt was not simply that of being a “Native.” It is a common understanding of the destructive nature of archaeology to our communities and Tribes, as well as a common shared understanding of the experiences of being “Othered,” both through life experiences and experiences within the Ivory Tower. Harris (2010:63) points out that Indigenous cultures have more in common with each other as contrasted to the Western worldview. Western epistemologies at work in academia provide an authoritative lens through which to evaluate the “other” (Atalay 2010a:79). This is all part of the legacy of colonialism embedded within our educational and knowledge making systems. Colonialism created the “Other” (Smith 2010:58), and archaeology creates an “Other” to study that is mysterious and unknown (Atalay 2010a:79). The “Othering” happens in varying degrees dependent upon an Indigenous person’s ability or perceived distance to or from mainstream Western society.

As with the term Indigenous, Indigenous archaeology has also for the most part defied definition, although Nicholas (2008:1660) has provided some parameters of its current scope. He states:

In its broadest sense, Indigenous archaeology may be defined as any one (or more) of the following: (1) the active participation or consultation of indigenous peoples in archaeology; (2) a political statement concerned with issues of Aboriginal self-government, sovereignty, land rights, identity, and heritage; (3) a postcolonial enterprise designed to decolonize the discipline; (4) a manifestation of Indigenous epistemologies; (5) the basis for alternative models of cultural heritage management or stewardship; (6) the product of choices and actions made by individual archaeologists; (7) a means of empowerment and cultural revitalization or political resistance;

(8) an extension, evaluation, critique, or application of current archaeological theory.

I would caution that while this list discusses many of the ways in which Indigenous archaeology has presented itself thus far, its scope could become even more inclusive in future efforts.

Contributions of Indigenous Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future

The term Indigenous archaeologies, in the plural, came about during discussions among scholars as to the inadequacy of “Indigenous archaeology” in the singular, to encapsulate the diversity of assertions that Indigenous scholars and communities felt Indigenous archaeology should be for their needs and desires. Hence, Indigenous archaeologies in the plural allows for there to be an unlimited number of Indigenous theories and methods applied under the term while still ascribing the research to the Indigenous archaeological movement.

There are differing ideas about what Indigenous archaeology should be in theory and practice. Indigenous archaeology does not include Indigenous researchers conducting traditional archaeological practice (Atalay 2010a:81), as that would not offer any effect to the decolonization effort central to Indigenous archaeology.

Within these notions of what Indigenous archaeology ought to be, is discussion of what constitutes appropriate Indigenous archaeological research, and Colwell (2016:117) provides well organized discussion of the colonialist-Indigenous power spectrum. Indigenous archaeology by its very nature does not put positivism before the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are often misunderstood and misrepresented by

academics (Deloria 1992:595), especially when academics have a stake in the issue at hand. Nowhere was this more apparent than in repatriation issues. Deloria (1992:596) states: "...Indians were made to appear as if they were looting the scientific heritage instead of receiving back the remains of loved ones who had been illegally and immorally taken from them a century or more ago."

One of the strongest elements of Indigenous archaeology from my perspective is the collaboration that occurs when done well. Collaborative archaeology may follow a community-based model such as that laid out by Atalay (2012), but it is not necessarily such. Collaboration may simply be forging ahead together with full disclosure as a group of interested individuals: appointed, official, or volunteer. Collaborative projects (Warner and Baldwin 2004), collaborative archaeological training efforts (Kerber 2010), and academic discourse about the present and future of collaborative efforts (Colwell 2016; Gonzales and Marek-Martinez 2015) within Indigenous archaeology are each valuable toward improving relationships and understanding of each other's concerns and goals. Numerous mutual benefits have also been identified (Nicholas et al. 2008).

Working Together Toward Mutually Beneficial Outcomes

One benefit of Indigenous archaeology and the collaborative efforts associated with it is the ability to have expanded cross-cultural experiences (Harris 2010:67). Having Indigenous community members involved allows for multiple knowledges on a topic to be shared, experienced, and potentially implemented (Atalay 2010a; Harris 2010:68). Atalay (2010a:86) states:

Thus Indigenous Archaeology is not marginal in its applicability but rather has implications for mainstream archaeological practice globally. It offers the potential of bringing to archaeology a more ethical and engaged practice, one that is more inclusive and rich without sacrificing the rigor and knowledge production capacity that makes it such a powerful tool for understanding and creating knowledge of the past....

In my experiences of working with my tribal community, our research product has always been exponentially enriched when we have actively involved the community. Although there are still hard feelings in some tribal communities as well as among some archaeologists, we must work to improve those relationships. Of the perceived impasse between archaeology and Indigenous peoples, Wobst (2010a:76) asks: “what in its present theory and method separates archaeology from Indigenous interests, and what needs to change to overcome that separation.” These are the questions we must ask ourselves to overcome perceived and real barriers. Wobst (2010a:77) states, “A truly shared and constructive future for Indigenous people and archaeologists will come about only once archaeological theory and method is liberated from its First World bias” and he calls for us to be “decolonizing allies” (Wobst 2010a:78). It was heartening to see a multipage section dedicated to Indigenous Archaeologies in archaeological theory text I was assigned while at the university (Johnson 2010:208-210). Change is occurring regionally, nationally, and internationally.

Nicholas and Bannister (2010:101) discuss Australia’s National Aboriginal Sites Authorities Committee and their categorization for the value of cultural sites. These being:

- (1) archaeological sites, whose significance is defined “on the basis of scientific enquiry and general cultural and historical values,” and (2) “sites which are the tangible embodiment of the secular and sacred traditions of

the Aboriginal peoples of Australia.” It is noted that the latter sites may include the former and that the “relative significance of these sites may only be determined by the Aboriginal custodians.

Although I have not read additional accounts of Australia’s process mentioned above, it is heartening to know there appears to be an attempt to place the Indigenous communities in control of their heritage with archaeology being a consideration but not the premier consideration.

The Birth of Indigenous Archaeology: Education, Publics, and Power

Until relatively recently, traditional archaeology has been all but devoid of Indigenous voices. This has occurred for many reasons, but colonialism, sociopolitical control, and access to power have been primary drivers. Indigenous peoples have had little to no say in the research that has objectified them. Research has been highly destructive of tribal heritage. While it is true that Indigenous people around the world have served as laborers for decades in archaeological field operations, the more thoughtful aspects of the research have been beyond their reach. Of this Wobst (2010a:76) writes:

Why write about archaeological theory and method in a book on Indigenous archaeologies? Are these topics not at loggerheads in discussion of archaeological practice? Why do theory and method in archaeology and Indigenous archaeologies suggest an internal contradiction, if not an oxymoron when used in the same sentence?

I think the questions Wobst raises are at the heart of the deepest-seated issues with the disunity of thinking between traditional archaeology and some indigenous archaeologies.

Kawela (2014:31) also discusses the position of power and authority academic archaeologists hold as they provide narratives of Indigenous peoples' precontact histories. These "politics of the past" as she, and others (Smith 2010:59) have pointed out, are grounded in different ontological and epistemological foundations, and fed by systems of academic power, prestige, and income (Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010:230; Deloria 1992; Wobst 2010b:21). Wobst (2010a:77) points out that the public and archaeologists are primarily interested in the Indigenous past but not the indigenous present.

An additional area of consideration is Indigenous archaeology's interaction with the cultural resource management world. In her study, Kawelu (2014:34) discusses the intersections of the development of cultural resource laws in Hawaii, and their impact on how compliance-driven archaeology affected the way indigenous peoples had access to such projects, the ability to further document their histories through oral history projects, and continued restrictions to control over their Ancestors' burials and bodies. Warrick (2017:93) asserts that tribal monitors working with archaeologists has helped build stronger relationships between the two and facilitated greater protection of Indigenous heritage.

Kawelu (2014:334) also mentions the struggle of being an Indigenous person who studies and/or practices archaeology. Because most tribal communities have historically had negative interactions with archaeologists, although the encounters were typically infrequent, being an Indigenous person and an archaeologist, is tantamount to placing oneself in a questionable position (Watkins 2010:322). Within Lippert's (2010:194) discussion of Foucault's "heterotopia," she states: "Indeed, Native archaeologists exist in

a sort of heterotopia ourselves in that our work within archaeology is viewed by some Natives as an act of treason and by others as an act of revolution.” How could you be one of them, if you are one of us? Have you become a scout for the opposition? Why do you want to dig up our bones? All questions I have personally been asked at one time or another, and Atalay (2010b:49) also discusses this. The experience of losing some of one’s legitimacy in their community, even if only for a time, to pursue a profession that always questions one’s capacity for full membership because of a perceived potential lack of objectivity, is a truly strange space to reside.

An additional topic of consideration involving Indigenous archaeology concerns challenges to traditional academic reporting and writing. It is customary to learn specific writing norms for the discipline in which one receives academic training. This is all good and well until it presents an impasse for the appropriate telling of information that originates within a traditional Indigenous worldview. Appropriateness of content, context, and delivery, of specific traditional information are not stand considerations in academic texts. The normalized processes of transference of information through traditional oral expression, must find a venue in written expression for the Indigenous archaeology project to be accomplished. I have yet to find any specific reference to this issue in Indigenous discourse, but I know it is an issue, nonetheless. The spoken word, in all its diversity contains a richness scarcely effectively captured in print.

Most Indigenous archaeologists are looking to decolonize the discipline (Silliman 2010:219), but there is a diversity of what that should entail. I contend that Indigenous archaeology is primarily about decolonizing archaeology. While questions of seeking understanding and agreement of what is meant by “Indigenous” and who is legitimately

Indigenous, and who can perform Indigenous archaeology are all interesting ponderings, the force of the movement isn't about semantics. It is about deconstructing the Master's house, mostly with the master's tools, to rebuild a home in which we all have adequate space. Indigenous peoples have been stuffed into the coat closet of the academic house and their voices stifled by the weight of decades of cloaked colonial suppression disguised as scientific narrative. If we can free ourselves of the notion that archaeology has some innate essence of neutrality, and see the subjectivity of all our scholarly contributions, perhaps we can come to some common ground of understanding.

Toward the future, there have been and will continue to be numerous archaeological field projects and activities (Bendremer and Thomas 2010; Bloch 2014; Mills et al. 2010; Nicholas 2010b; Rossen 2010; Silliman and Dring 2008) that introduce various audiences to Indigenous archaeology(ies). Such projects and activities will no doubt continue to influence the rapidity of the anticipated paradigm shift toward decolonized archaeology.

Traditionally, archaeology has been the subdiscipline of anthropology that, concerns the material record of "past cultures." What was lacking in recognition was the fact that many of the locations that held the material record of past human activity had a continuous use by the descendants of the Ancestors who made the earlier material record.

Indigenous archaeology includes the living, be they individuals, communities, tribal nations, etc., and in this regard, is much akin to cultural anthropology, but some types of indigenous archaeology vary in the degree to which non-archaeologists are involved in the specifics of the research process.

Community archaeology shares many of the same practices as community and public anthropology. Matthews et al. (2011:483) state:

Questions about the collaboration between archaeologists and nonprofessional associated communities have become an established discourse in the subfield of public archaeology. Critical reviews of how archaeologists think about the past, heritage, communities, and stakeholders; how they practice engagement, collaboration and activism; and the ethical implications of these practices have broadened and deepened the significance of the “public” in archaeology.

This practice is anthropological in that it concerns living communities but focused topically on archaeology which has traditionally focused on the past and not concerned itself with its relationship to the living.

Matthews et al. (2011:484) also discuss the concerns that any project that is purported to be “public” or “community” based is not usually representative of the community of the public(s) in their entirety and therefore may become highly political. While collaborative public and community projects endeavor to achieve multivocality, it is true that there will always be some voices that for various reasons are not incorporated into the mix. Nonetheless, this has always been the case with archaeological and anthropological research. Ethnographies, which are often used to characterize a community, only represent a sampling of the population based on who is willing to speak with the anthropologist.

Responsibility to protect and manage the lands, landscapes, and places, are typically an aspect of being a tribal person. But beyond that, is the special relationship long interaction with the land has for many Indigenous people (Handsman and McBride 2008:146). Indigenous archaeology opens the door for discussions of human interactions and relationships with the lands, and Indigenous language sometimes facilitates

explanation of those relationships in a more effective way than current imposed languages.

The Data and Expertise of Indigenous Archaeologies

Much like collaborative archaeology, which attempts to work toward consensus among collaborating parties throughout a research project's life, Indigenous archaeology also seeks collaboration (Atalay 2010a:81). The specifics of agreements and tension among and between participants and collaborators in each project is unique to each project, but within Indigenous archaeology broadly speaking, the ontological, epistemological, ethical, and practical values of the Indigenous community are given equal or greater precedent to traditional archaeological theoretical and methodological norms.

There is no formula of theory and method that can be said to be Indigenous Archaeology. Because collaboration is key component of this research, and because each collaborative journey is unique, there are no hard boundaries to what theory and method will be employed. I think it is safe to say that classical anthropological theory and method that stems from social Darwinism, and the like will never be on the cart du jour of offerings or selection. Although there are some Indigenous peoples who do not currently object to certain nondestructive and destructive analysis to their Ancestors remains, many others find it objectional to use another person as means to an end. Research that is viewed as dehumanizing and disrespectful to Indigenous cultures, primarily as it concerns burials, and human remains will I am sure also not be a frequent topic of Indigenous archaeological pursuits.

Knowledge and Power: Overcoming the Doctrine of Discovery Toward Post-Colonialism

Since the enlightenment and the subsequent emergence of Western science, its methods and processes have been the path to identifying how to achieve what is considered valid knowledge, and what is given approval as valid knowledge. Wylie (2000:227) discusses what she calls “Science Wars” to situate post-processual critiques of Western science. She states (2000:228) “As diverse as they are, what these critics share that makes them the target of defensive reaction is a concern to raise skeptical questions about expansive claims of authority made on behalf of science.” Smith (2010:179) argues that “archaeological knowledge may be understood as a “technology of the government” a body of knowledge the state employs to help policymakers understand certain demands and claims based on appeals to the past.” From this, she argues, the state facilitates archaeologists’ authority to make pronouncements about cultural identity among other things (Smith 2010:178). Such issues will no doubt continue to be topics of decolonization dialogue until they are neutralized.

As discussed above, there is a reoccurring charge of essentialism, as the leading impetus guiding any efforts of Indigenous archaeologists and Indigenous archaeologies to move forward their goals and objectives (McGhee 2008). It doesn’t take too hard of a look to realize that this accusation is incorrect. Some of the most highly regarded and oft quoted Indigenous archaeologists do not identify as Indigenous. What is important though are mutual respect and building relationships. Silliman (2010:218) states: “The foundations of this kind of community-based archeology already hinge powerfully on

those interpersonal connections; otherwise, indigenous archaeology projects would end before they even started.”

While every new type of research goes through a vetting process, Indigenous archaeology has been sometimes outrightly rejected or ridiculed without due consideration (McGhee 2008; 2010). Of this Silliman states (2010:217):

New kinds of archaeologies should undergo careful evaluation as they mature and exert influence in the discipline, and the appearance of Indigenous archaeology over the last 10 years should not be exempt. Evaluation involves taking stock of the field and suggesting new directions for future growth, and it also involves critique and recommendations for rethinking.

An additional avenue of inquiry for the analysis of Indigenous Archaeology is the degree to which the topic has been discussed and incorporated into nontribal and tribal cultural resource management (CRM) efforts. Since many archaeology university graduates find careers in CRM, and because a growing number of Indigenous communities hold CRM offices, the effects of Indigenous archaeology in these venues is of interest.

Discussion

The voices of Indigenous people have been elevated, and their concerns now more often than not considered. While there is much yet to do, we are headed in the right direction, and Indigenous archaeology is helping those efforts. Indigenous archaeology has come a long way in its short existence, and it will continue to be an important aspect of archaeological work to the degree that the sociopolitical mechanisms that guide and control what knowledge is pursued, and support continues to allow a place for such avenues of academic inquiry.

At the end of the day, all knowledge is based on human experience. Positivism relies on measured repeatable processes and observation of results to support knowledge creation; other epistemologies also rely on experience. In many traditional cultures, experience is highly valued. Although perhaps less measured in some instances, all cultural knowledge creation systems depend on observation and analysis of those observational experiences.

Indigenous archaeology allows for value of alternative ways of knowing the world and for that alone, those branches of archaeology that are dependent upon a strict adherence to Western positivism may not have room to consider expanding what can be known and ways to know it. For those of us who follow a more Socratic method of understanding the world, and how knowledge is created, our options are open to the possibility that other cultures' knowledge systems have value and should legitimately be part of the human endeavor to understand our World.

Conclusions

Throughout this work I've discussed the emergence and continued strengthening of Indigenous archaeology as a type of archaeological theory, method, and practice. I provided discussion of prevailing definitions of "Indigeneity," and an overview of how archaeology around the world has intersected with Indigenous populations past and present. I concluded with discussion of the value of Indigenous archaeology to an ever-evolving archaeological subdiscipline and highlight some of the exemplary ways in which Indigenous archaeology is increasing archaeology's accuracy toward its representations of human cultures past and present.

Archaeological heritage management needs to be an understanding that the heritage of our tribal cultures is not archaeology's heritage. In the 1970s a campaign was started to help get the public behind preservation of ancient, and sometimes not so ancient, tribal heritage sites. That messaging was that the cultural sites in the United States belonged to us all and it was all our responsibility to protect it. This perhaps is where the misunderstanding was most fervently cemented in the minds of the American public that the heritage of the first peoples was not solely theirs but now belonged to every US citizen. When I have asked, why this heritage appropriation would seem appropriate I have been told that it was believed to be the only way to get buy in from the American people. Protecting the heritage of Native Americans for the sake of Native Americans most likely would not get the same support, but if individuals alive today have a stake in the situation because the cultural sites were now also a part of our shared American heritage, there would be greater potential for the campaign to work. These decisions of course also made for us and without us.

Archaeological efforts in the Great Basin continue to impact the lives of people Indigenous to the Great Basin. Archaeology has developed from its inception in the mid-nineteenth century, into a mechanism for both generating new knowledge and new truths about its subject matter, but also as a portal for creating careers for individuals who take on the assignment of becoming archaeologists. At the same time, archaeologists practicing archaeology, have created, and perpetuated the narratives mainstream culture relies upon for understandings the past, and likewise by association, their understandings of living tribal peoples. While this structure may seem relatively harmless at first gloss, it is far from it. The knowledge proclamations that have been made by anthropologists over

the course of the history of the discipline have been devastating for Indigenous populations around the globe and have brought about ideological assertions that have justified acts of genocide. How did we get to this state of being? The next chapter examines the history of the initial development of anthropology and archaeology during the preliminary colonialist efforts in North America.

Within archaeology, I have been repeatedly told my positions are dangerous. I am okay with that designation. I realize that being affiliated with a Tribe doesn't necessarily mean an individual is in the academy to fight for the rights of their Tribe, although in my opinion, all the best students are. As mentioned earlier, having a self-awareness of where different opportunities call for an Indian professional, and when the outer world is seeking a professional Indian, is important to distinguish. My mentor said we must decide at some point which we will be in this place, academia, which caters to and tokenizes our people. I have never forgotten that shared wisdom. There is a very broad spectrum among our tribal people who practice archaeology. At one end of the spectrum are individuals who place the Western scientific method at the center of knowledge creation with all else along the periphery. At the other end of the spectrum are people like me who hold our traditional culture and unwritten laws at the center of knowledge creation and bring in the tools of other cultures and sciences when the need arises to interpret between two or more worldviews. There are many variations of thought and practice between those book ends. Twenty-two years ago, in 2003, I first reported to my colleagues in a World Archaeological Congress Intersession in Auckland Aotearoa, that only 32% of our Ancestors were being defined by repository personnel to be culturally affiliated (Teeman 2003:5). I thought everyone would be as aghast as I was, and the newly acquired

information would be a call to action. The response was lukewarm from most. I was puzzled at why this data would not make others blood boil as it had mine. I quickly came to realize several things. Changing the system requires infiltrating the system and infiltration is only allowed when the infiltrator maintains an adequate level of acceptability. In other words, those among us would not be able to advance in their tenure track positions if they made too many waves too soon.

Addressing Disenfranchisement

Our tribal communities have often been politically disenfranchised, removed from having access to our first foods and sacred landscapes, pushed to the margins of consideration in all aspects of mainstream society. We laughed when a news report listed US ethnicities positions on an important topic, and we were categorized as “something else.” But what else has carried us through except our tenacity, resilience, and humor. Truth is stranger than fiction. Our Chief Egan (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997) testified to the abyss our people were being relegated to in response to the Indian agent at Malheur Agency (Burns Paiute Tribe 1997:8):

Did the government tell you to come here and drive us off this reservation?” the Paiute Chief demanded to know. “Did the Big Father say, go and kill us all off, so you can have our land? Did he tell you to pull our children’s ears off, and put handcuffs on them, and carry a pistol to shoot us with? We want to know how the government came by this land. Is the government mightier than our SpiritFather, or is he our SpiritFather? Oh, what have we done that he is to take all from us that he has given us? His white children have come and taken all our mountains, and all our valleys, and all our rivers; and now, because he has given us this little place without our asking him for it, he sends you here to tell us to go away.

We seek acknowledgement from legislators and academics that manifest destiny was and is a hoax. A ploy to justify genocide. We seek acknowledgement we are fully human. We assert our culture, one of the original cultures, is not inferior to any other. The efforts to assimilate our children, while effective, were nothing more than a political maneuver to destroy our ways of life. We assert our traditional culture is more civilized in many ways than the contemporary global culture. We wait for equity and acknowledgement of the value we bring as a thread in the weaving of the blanket of life.

Hope for the Future

A new generation of academic and cultural resource management (CRM) workforce is emerging. Where previously no interactions with living tribal people were necessary, students are often now introduced to the concept of engaging Tribes in research discussions or cultural resource consultants. Still there is much work to be done. Even if the discipline itself were to welcome the ideological assertions of the people whose heritage is studied, the legacy of institutionalized racism that has poured out and onto everything and everyone else in mainstream society may take generations to correct.

Overcoming the systemic mechanisms of colonialism, the legacy of the abhorrent treatment of not only our Neme, but all Native Americans as federal policy and academic knowledge and power reify the settler colonialist agenda.

In consideration of conducting responsible research, Strega and Brown (2015:4) state, “Given the already widespread negative stereotypes of those on the margins, we should be concerned about whether our research will feed these stereotypes or allow even more negative portrayals.”

To begin the process of effectively healing from our objectification, an objectification that began with anthropology, we must have social justice. We must overcome the commodification of Native bodies. There are a multitude of social justice issues screaming out for response. The well-being of our communities and the opportunity to heal from all we have endured is upon us. We need anthropology to vindicate itself and we need archaeologists to stop reopening wounds.

Since the onset of era of purchase of our bodies to curate as scientific comparative collection specimens, an era we have not fully retired, and the legacy of the normalization of disrespecting tribal burials will have negative effects into the foreseeable future. Although we welcome improvements to the NAGPRA's efficacy in allowing Ancestors to come home, the work will be daunting and expensive. In addition to archaeologists causing living tribal members potential metaphysical harm because of the repatriation efforts, less credentialed grave robbers continue to wreak havoc. Although our tribal people have had no part in creating this dilemma, many are willing to try and improve the predicament. Let us strategize together what can be done to rectify this situation. Linked to the dehumanization of our Ancestors, is the objectification of our living tribal communities.

Changes to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) have occurred since that day in Auckland, more Indigenous scholars have tagged in to work on making archaeology more palatable to colonized cultures. Surely the recent changes to the NAGPRA will help the law be carried out as it was initially legislatively intended. The changes made the intent of repatriation clearer and streamlined a process for that to occur when welcomed by federally recognized tribes

(Department of Interior 2024a). In addition, harms inflicted upon our Ancestors, the stereotypes of our people continue to harm the living in a variety of ways. The most extreme harms include the continued efforts toward genocide.

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and People

There is a humanitarian crisis being experienced by our living tribal people in terms of missing and murdered women and people (MMIWP). The extreme disproportion of tribal people victimized and exploited by human trafficking is mind-blowing. Or is it simply that since colonization, have we not always been positioned as targets of legislated victimization? The attitudes of the public about tribal people and the stereotypes that create judgement of our value are all rooted in academic discourse. Academic institutions create research evidence that justifies legislation. Let us proceed with the greatest of caution and humanity when we determine where our academic curiosity will take us. The research academic holds great power, and often, great intellect. For social justice considerations, let's consider the sociopolitical ramifications of what we choose to create. It's time to return humanity to the study of humans. Many if not all our tribal traditional cultures are rooted deeply in the expression of ideology. Ideologies that understand our close and integral ties with our Mother Earth. While all our populations have experienced the boot of colonialism on the back of necks, our women carry the promise for nurturing decolonization among our future generations. Evans et al. (2022:1) state:

Indigenous women across the globe are precious and rare: we comprise about 1.5 per cent of the world's population (Garnett et al 2018), yet the mark we leave is far greater than our numbers. We have nurtured,

stewarded, loved, and cared for our planet across thousands of generations in every place that our evolving humanity has been found. We are as integral to the world's health as the air we breathe. We are the grandmothers, mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, and nieces that sing and grow into being the lands, skies, and seas, biodiversity and giving environments that sustain families, communities, societies, and life through our deep knowledges and worldviews gained from "caring for everything" (Danjoo Koorliny Social Impact 2019, p.60).

Despite the current epidemic we face, we will continue to persevere because the future of our peoples' and perhaps all peoples' existence depends greatly upon our existence. Archaeology and anthropology play a role in how our tribal people are viewed by mainstream society and therefore the social capital we hold. It is my hope we will do better moving forward.

Future Efforts

This dissertation is concluding at a time of great change within the federal-tribal relationship. Numerous changes within the Department of Interior (DOI) are increasing communications between agencies and Tribes. In my capacity as the Culture & Heritage Dept. Director of my Tribe, I am optimistic about these opportunities and look forward to publishing those experiences in the very near future. I am hopeful with increased meaningful communication and collaboration we can work to stop those archaeological attitudes, methods, and institutionalized racisms that perpetuate violence against our Ancestors, our heritage, and our living communities. This move toward social justice, I am confident will allow for the future of archaeological inquiry to align to at least some degree, the values and interests of tribal communities leading to increased cross-cultural value being recognized for our discipline.

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